

ALSO BY BARACK OBAMA

Dreams from My Father

The Audacity of Hope

同樣是由巴拉克·奧巴馬所著

來自我父親的夢想

勇氣可嘉的希望

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To Michelle—my love and life's partner

and

Malia and Sasha—whose dazzling light makes everything brighter

給我的愛和一生的伴侶 Michelle，

還有 Malia 和 Sasha—你們耀眼的光芒讓一切都更明亮。

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PREFACE

IBEGAN WRITING THIS BOOK shortly after the end of my presidency—after Michelle and I had boarded Air Force One for the last time and traveled west for a long-deferred break. The mood on the plane was bittersweet. Both of us were drained, physically and emotionally, not only by the labors of the previous eight years but by the unexpected results of an election in which someone diametrically opposed to everything we stood for had been chosen as my successor. Still, having run our leg of the race to completion, we took satisfaction in knowing that we'd done our very best—and that however much I'd fallen short as president, whatever projects I'd hoped but failed to accomplish, the country was in better shape now than it had been when I'd started. For a month, Michelle and I slept late, ate leisurely dinners, went for long walks, swam in the ocean, took stock, replenished our friendship, rediscovered our love, and planned for a less eventful but hopefully no less satisfying second act. And by the time I was ready to get back to work and sat down with a pen and yellow pad (I still like writing things out in longhand, finding that a computer gives even my roughest drafts too smooth a gloss and lends half-baked thoughts the mask of tidiness), I had a clear outline of the book in my head.

前言

离任不久后，我开始写下这本书——在米歇尔和我最后一次乘坐空军一号飞机往西旅行时。飞机上的氛围是苦涩的。我们俩都已经被之前八年的工作精神和身体上的极度疲惫所疲倦，而这次选举的意外结果更是让人难以承受，那个被选为我的继任者的人和我们坚持的一切观念截然相反。不过，我们已经完成我们的赛道，我们非常满意，因为我们尽了最大的努力。我可能没有做到总统想要的那么好，有一些希望但未能实现的项目，但最终美国国家的发展状况比我在任时更好了。在一个月的时间里，米歇尔和我睡了很多懒觉，吃了很多悠闲的晚餐，漫步长街，畅游海洋，清点了自己的人生阅历，重燃友情，重新发现了我们的爱，为更加平稳但同样令人满足的第二幕作计划。而当我准备重返工作，坐下来拿起一支钢笔和黄色便笺本（我仍然喜欢手写，因为电脑的软件往往让文稿显得太过精细，即使初稿也会暴露出很多问题。），我已经在脑海中清楚地画出了这本书的大纲。

First and foremost, I hoped to give an honest rendering of my time in office—not just a historical record of key events that happened on my watch and important figures with whom I interacted but also an account of some of the political, economic, and cultural crosscurrents that helped determine the challenges my administration faced and the choices my team and I made in response. Where possible, I wanted to offer readers a sense of what it's like to be the president of the United States; I wanted to pull the curtain back a bit and remind people that, for all its power and pomp, the presidency is still just a job and our federal government is a human enterprise like any other, and the men and women who work in the White House experience the same daily mix of satisfaction, disappointment, office friction, screw-ups, and small triumphs as the rest of their fellow citizens. Finally, I wanted to tell a more personal story that might inspire young people considering a life of public service: how my career in politics really started with a search for a place to fit in, a way to explain the different strands of my mixed-up heritage, and how it was only by hitching my wagon to something larger than myself that I was ultimately able to locate a community and purpose for my life.

首先，我希望诚实地呈现我在任期间的经历，不仅包括我主持的重要事件和与我互动的重要人物的历史记录，还包括一些政治、经济和文化的交错，这些交错决定了我 administration 面临的挑战和我和我的团队作出的选择。在可能的情况下，我希望为读者提供成为美国总统的感觉；我想揭开一点帷幕，提醒人们，尽管总统拥有强大的权力和权威，但总统仍然只是一份工作，我们的联邦政府像任何其他人类企业一样，白宫工作人员也经历着与其他公民一样的满足，失望，办公室摩擦，挫败和小胜利的混合日常。最后，我想讲述一段更个人的故事，可以激励考虑从事公共服务的年轻人：我的政治生涯是从寻找一个容身之处开始的，一种解释我混乱遗传因素的方式，仅是通过将我的马车挂在比我更大的事物上，我最终才能找到一个社区和生命目的地。

I figured I could do all that in maybe five hundred pages. I expected to be done in a year.

It's fair to say that the writing process didn't go exactly as I'd planned. Despite my best intentions, the book kept growing in length and scope—the reason why I eventually decided to break it into two volumes. I'm painfully aware that a more gifted writer could have found a way to tell the same story with greater brevity (after all, my home office in the White House sat right next to the Lincoln Bedroom, where a signed copy of the 272-word Gettysburg Address rests beneath a glass case). But each time that I sat down to write—whether it was to describe the early phases of my campaign, or my administration's handling of the financial crisis, or negotiations with the Russians on nuclear arms control, or the forces that led to the Arab Spring—I found my mind resisting a simple linear narrative. Often, I felt obliged to provide context for the decisions I and others had made, and I didn't want to relegate that background to footnotes or endnotes (I hate footnotes and endnotes). I discovered that I couldn't always explain my motivations just by referencing reams of economic data or recalling an exhaustive Oval Office briefing, for they'd been shaped by a conversation I'd had with a stranger on the campaign trail, a visit to a military hospital, or a childhood lesson I'd received years earlier from my mother. Repeatedly my memories would toss up seemingly incidental details (trying to find a discreet location to grab an evening smoke; my staff and I having a laugh while playing cards aboard Air Force One) that captured, in a way the public record never could, my lived experience during the eight years I spent in the White House.

我原本以为只需要写五百页就能完成这本书，一年时间足矣。但事实证明，写作的过程并不像我计划的那样进行。尽管我尽最大努力，但这本书的篇幅和主题逐渐扩大，最终我决定将其分成两卷。我深知，如果有一个更具天赋的作者，可能会用更简短的篇幅讲述同样的故事（毕竟，我的白宫办公室就在林肯卧室旁边，那里有一个272字的《葛底斯堡演说》的签名副本，放在玻璃柜里）。但每次我坐下来写作，无论是描述我的竞选初期，还是我政府在金融危机中的处理，抑或是与俄罗斯关于核武器控制的谈判，以及导致阿拉伯之春的各种力量，我都发现我的思维无法接受一个简单的线性叙述。经常地，我觉得有必要为我和其他人所做的决定提供背景，我不想将那些背景放置在脚注或尾注中（我讨厌脚注和尾注）。我发现，我无法仅通过引用大量经济数据或回忆一次详尽的椭圆形办公室简报来解释我的动机，因为这些动机是由我在竞选路上与陌生人的对话、访问一家军医院或从母亲那里接受的童年教训所塑造的。我的记忆屡次提供了看似不重要的细节（试图找到一个离散的位置来吸一支晚上的烟；我和我的员工在空军一号上打牌时会开怀大笑），这些细节以一种公开记录永远无法做到的方式，呈现了我在白宫度过的八年的生经历。

Beyond the struggle to put words on a page, what I didn't fully anticipate was the way events would unfold during the three and a half years after that last flight on Air Force One. As I sit here, the country remains in the grips of a global pandemic and the accompanying economic crisis, with more than 178,000 Americans dead, businesses shuttered, and millions of people out of work. Across the nation, people from all walks of life have poured into the streets to protest the deaths of unarmed Black men and women at the hands of the police. Perhaps most troubling of all, our democracy seems to be teetering on the brink of crisis—a crisis rooted in a fundamental contest between two opposing visions of what America is and what it should be; a crisis that has left the body politic divided, angry, and mistrustful, and has allowed for an ongoing breach of institutional norms, procedural safeguards, and the adherence to basic facts that both Republicans and Democrats once took for granted.

除了努力将字放在纸上的斗争之外，我没有完全预料到在那最后一次搭乘空军一号之后的三年半内事件会如何展开。当我坐在这里时，这个国家仍然在全球大流行和相应的经济危机的控制下，已有超过178,000名美国人死亡，企业倒闭，数百万失业。全国各地的人们从各行各业涌进街道，抗议警察手下无辜黑人男女的死亡。也许最令人不安的是，我们的民主似乎濒临危机，这场危机根源于两种对美国是什么以及应该是什么的截然不同的视觉之间的基本竞争；一场危机让政治生态倾向于分裂，愤怒和不信任，并且使共和党人和民主党人曾经视为理所当然的制度规范，程序保障和遵守基本事实的违反持续下去。

This contest is not new, of course. In many ways, it has defined the American experience. It's embedded in founding documents that could simultaneously proclaim all men equal and yet count a slave as three-fifths of a man. It finds expression in our earliest court opinions, as when the chief justice of the Supreme Court bluntly explains to Native Americans that their tribe's rights to convey property aren't enforceable since the court of the conqueror has no capacity to recognize the just claims of the conquered. It's a contest that's been fought on the fields of Gettysburg and Appomattox but also in the halls of Congress, on a bridge in Selma, across the vineyards of California, and down the streets of New York—a contest fought by soldiers but more often by union organizers, suffragists, Pullman porters, student leaders, waves of immigrants, and LGBTQ activists, armed with nothing more than picket signs, pamphlets, or a pair of marching shoes. At the heart of this long-running battle is a simple question: Do we care to match the reality of America to its ideals? If so, do we really believe that our notions of self-government and individual freedom, equality of opportunity and equality before the law, apply to everybody? Or are we instead committed, in practice if not in statute, to reserving those things for a privileged few?

這場競爭當然不是新鮮事，它在很多方面都定義了美國的經驗。它被固化在創始文件中，同時宣布所有人平等，卻將奴隸計算為三分之五個人。在我們最早的法院意見中，當最高法院首席大法官直言不諱地向美洲原住民解釋他們部落財產轉讓權不可執行時，它也找到了表達方式。因為征服者的法院沒有承認征服者的正當權利。這是一場在葛底斯堡和阿波馬托克斯的戰場上進行的競爭，但它也發生在國會大廳、Selma的橋上、加州的葡萄園以及紐約的街頭，由工會組織者、婦女選舉權主義者、普爾曼港口工人、學生領袖、移民浪潮和LGBTQ活動家打鬥，他們只拿著柵欄牌、小冊子或一雙行軍靴，沒有更多。在這場長期的戰鬥的核心，是一個簡單的問題：我們是否關心將美國的現實與其理想相匹配？如果是，我們是否真正相信，我們的自我管理和個人自由、機會均等和法律面前的平等，適用於每個人？還是我們實際上致力於為少數特權人士保留這些東西，即使不是在法律上？

I recognize that there are those who believe that it's time to discard the myth—that an examination of America's past and an even cursory glance at today's headlines show that this nation's ideals have always been secondary to conquest and subjugation, a racial caste system and rapacious capitalism, and that to pretend otherwise is to be complicit in a game that was rigged from the start. And I confess that there have been times during the course of writing this book, as I've reflected on my presidency and all that's happened since, when I've had to ask myself whether I was too tempered in speaking the truth as I saw it, too cautious in either word or deed, convinced as I was that by appealing to what Lincoln called the better angels of our nature I stood a greater chance of leading us in the direction of the America we've been promised.

我承认有些人认为时候摒弃神话了——因为美国的历史和当今的头条新闻都显示了这个国家的理想总是次于征服和剥削、种族隔离制度和贪婪的资本主义，而去假装不知道只会使自己成为从一开始就被偏见束缚的参与者。我得承认，在写这本书的过程中，我反思自己的总统任期和之后的历史，有时会问自己，我是否在说出自己看到的真相时过于心平气和、在言辞或行为上过于谨慎，因为我相信，通过呼吁林肯所说的我们本性中更好的天使，我才有更大的机会引领我们走向那个向我们承诺的美国。

I don't know. What I can say for certain is that I'm not yet ready to abandon the possibility of America—not just for the sake of future generations of Americans but for all of humankind. For I'm convinced that the pandemic we're currently living through is both a manifestation of and a mere interruption in the relentless march toward an interconnected world, one in which peoples and cultures can't help but collide. In that world—of global supply chains, instantaneous capital transfers, social media, transnational terrorist networks, climate change, mass migration, and ever-increasing complexity—we will learn to live together, cooperate with one another, and recognize the dignity of others, or we will perish. And so the world watches America—the only great power in history made up of people from every corner of the planet, comprising every race and faith and cultural practice—to see if our experiment in democracy can work. To see if we can do what no other nation has ever done. To see if we can actually live up to the meaning of our creed.

我不知道。但我可以肯定地说，我还没有准备好放弃美国的可能性，这不仅是为了未来美国人民，也是为了全人类。因为我确信，我们目前经历的这场大流行病，既是对不断向着互联世界前进的表现，也只是其中的暂时中断。在这个全球供应链、即时资本转移、社交媒体、跨国恐怖网络、气候变化、大规模移民和日益增长的复杂性的世界中，我们将学会共存、互相合作，认识到他人的尊严，否则我们将灭亡。因此，全世界都在关注美国——历史上唯一一个由来自地球各个角落、包容各种种族、信仰和文化传统的人民组成强大国家，这个国家能否实现我们的民主实验，能否做到其他国家从未做到的成就，能否真正践行我们的信条。

The jury's still out. By the time this first volume is published, a U.S. election will have taken place, and while I believe the stakes could not be higher, I also know that no single election will settle the matter. If I remain hopeful, it's because I've learned to place my faith in my fellow citizens, especially those of the next generation, whose conviction in the equal worth of all people seems to come as second nature, and who insist on making real those principles that their parents and teachers told them were true but perhaps never fully believed themselves. More than anyone, this book is for those young people—an invitation to once again remake the world, and to bring about, through hard work, determination, and a big dose of imagination, an America that finally aligns with all that is best in us.

尚未有定論。在這第一卷出版時，美國的選舉已經結束，儘管我相信賭注在此刻是最高的，卻也知道沒有一次選舉能解決問題。如果我仍然充滿希望，那是因為我已經學會相信我的同胞，特別是下一代的人們，他們深信所有人都是平等的，且堅持使這些原則得以實現。他們的父母和老師告訴他們這一點是真實的，但也許自己從未完全相信。比任何人都要多，這本書是為這些年輕人所寫的，是對他們的邀請，讓他們再一次重塑世界，通過辛勤工作、決心和豐富的想象力，創造出一個真正符合我們最好一面的美國。

August 2020

2020年8月

PART ONE

THE BET

第一部分

賭注

CHAPTER 1

OF ALL THE ROOMS and halls and landmarks that make up the White House and its grounds, it was the West Colonnade that I loved best.

For eight years that walkway would frame my day, a minute-long, open-air commute from home to office and back again. It was where each morning I felt the first slap of winter wind or pulse of summer heat; the place where I'd gather my thoughts, ticking through the meetings that lay ahead, preparing arguments for skeptical members of Congress or anxious constituents, girding myself for this decision or that slow-rolling crisis.

第一章

在白宫及其周围的所有房间、大厅和地标中，我最喜欢的是西柱廊。在八年的时间里，它成为了我日程的重心，是我每天从家到办公室再回去的一段约一分钟的步行路程。在那里，我感受到每个早晨冬日的寒风或夏日酷热的冲击；那是我准备会议、为怀疑的国会成员或不安的选民辩护、为这个或那个缓慢升级的危机做好准备的地方。

In the earliest days of the White House, the executive offices and the First Family's residence fit under one roof, and the West Colonnade was little more than a path to the horse stables. But when Teddy Roosevelt came into office, he determined that a single building couldn't accommodate a modern staff, six boisterous children, and his sanity. He ordered construction of what would become the West Wing and Oval Office, and over decades and successive presidencies, the colonnade's current configuration emerged: a bracket to the Rose Garden north and west—the thick wall on the north side, mute and unadorned save for high half-moon windows; the stately white columns on the west side, like an honor guard assuring safe passage.在白宫最早的日子，行政办公室和第一家庭的住所位于一个屋顶下，而西柱廊只是一条通往马厩的小路。但是，当西奥多·罗斯福当选总统时，他认为一个建筑无法容纳现代工作人员、六个活泼的孩子和他的理智。他下令建造西厢房和椭圆形办公室，在数十年和连续的总统任期中，柱廊的当前配置出现了：向北和向西的玫瑰花园标志着一个括号——北侧厚墙，沉默而不粉饰，除了高半月形窗户外没有其他装饰；西侧高贵的白色柱子，像一支荣誉卫队，确保安全通行。

As a general rule, I'm a slow walker—a Hawaiian walk, Michelle likes to say, sometimes with a hint of impatience. I walked differently, though, on the colonnade, conscious of the history that had been made there and those who had preceded me. My stride got longer, my steps a bit brisker, my footfall on stone echoed by the Secret Service detail trailing me a few yards back. When I reached the ramp at the end of the colonnade (a legacy of FDR and his wheelchair—I picture him smiling, chin out, cigarette holder clenched tight in his teeth as he strains to roll up the incline), I'd wave at the uniformed guard just inside the glass-paned door. Sometimes the guard would be holding back a surprised flock of visitors. If I had time, I would shake their hands and ask where they were from. Usually, though, I just turned left, following the outer wall of the Cabinet Room and slipping into the side door by the Oval Office, where I greeted my personal staff, grabbed my schedule and a cup of hot tea, and started the business of the day.

一般来说，我走路比较慢 - 米歇尔喜欢用夏威夷步行来形容，有时带有一点不耐烦的意味。但我在走廊上走得不同了，意识到历史曾经在那里诞生，先驱们曾经在那里留下了足迹。我的步幅加长了，步伐稍微加快了些，脚步声在石头上回荡，紧随在几码之后的特勤小组也跟着回响。当我到达走廊的结尾，走上斜坡（这是罗斯福遗留下来的，为了配合他的轮椅，我想象他微笑着，下巴微微翘起，紧咬着烟嘴，努力地爬上斜坡），我会向玻璃门里面守卫站里的制服警卫依依告别。有时候，警卫会挡住一群惊喜的游客。如果我有时间，我会握握他们的手，询问他们来自哪里。通常，我只会往左转，沿着内阁会议室的外墙溜进总统办公室旁边的小门，和我的私人工作人员打招呼，拿到我的日程表和一杯热茶，开始今天的工作。

Several times a week, I would step out onto the colonnade to find the groundskeepers, all employees of the National Park Service, working in the Rose Garden. They were older men, mostly, dressed in green khaki uniforms, sometimes matched with a floppy hat to block the sun, or a bulky coat against the cold. If I wasn't running late, I might stop to compliment them on the fresh plantings or ask about the damage done by the previous night's storm, and they'd explain their work with quiet pride. They were men of few words; even with one another they made their points with a gesture or a nod, each of them focused on his individual task but all of them moving with synchronized grace. One of the oldest was Ed Thomas, a tall, wiry Black man with sunken cheeks who had worked at the White House for forty years. The first time I met him, he reached into his back pocket for a cloth to wipe off the dirt before shaking my hand. His hand, thick with veins and knots like the roots of a tree, engulfed mine. I asked how much longer he intended to stay at the White House before taking his retirement.

每周几次，我会走到走廊上，在玫瑰花园里找到国家公园服务的园林工人。他们大多是年长的男人，穿着绿色的卡其制服，有时戴着遮阳的帽子或者厚衣服抵御寒冷。如果我没有赶时间，我可能会停下来夸赞他们新植的花草或者询问前一晚风暴造成的损失，他们会自豪地解释他们的工作。他们都是寡言的人，即使在彼此之间也是通过手势或点头来表达意思，每个人专注于自己的任务，但所有人都具有同步的优雅动作。其中最老的是埃德·托马斯（Ed Thomas），一个个头高高、瘦瘦的黑人，他的脸颊深陷，为白宫工作了40年。第一次见到他时，他从后口袋里拿出一块布擦去污垢，然后握住我的手。他的手像树根一样厚，充满了静脉和结节。我问他打算在白宫工作多久后退休。

"I don't know, Mr. President," he said. "I like to work. Getting a little hard on the joints. But I reckon I might stay long as you're here. Make sure the garden looks good."

Oh, how good that garden looked! The shady magnolias rising high at each corner; the hedges, thick and rich green; the crab apple trees pruned just so. And the flowers, cultivated in greenhouses a few miles away, providing a constant explosion of color—reds and yellows and pinks and purples; in spring, the tulips massed in bunches, their heads tilted toward the sun; in summer, lavender heliotrope and geraniums and lilies; in fall, chrysanthemums and daisies and wildflowers. And always a few roses, red mostly but sometimes yellow or white, each one flush in its bloom.

“我不知道，总统先生”，他说道，“我喜欢工作。但我感觉关节有点难受。但只要您在这里，我想我可能会一直留下来，确保花园看起来很漂亮。”

哦，那个花园看起来多么美丽！每个角落都有高耸的阴凉木兰树，浓密翠绿的树篱，整齐修剪的海棠树。而花朵则是在几英里之外的温室里栽培的，提供了不断爆炸般的颜色——红色、黄色、粉色和紫色；春天里，郁金香成束地聚集在一起，向阳斜倚；夏天则有薰衣草、麝香草、百合花；秋天则有菊花、雏菊、野花。而且总有一些玫瑰花，大多数是红色的，但有时是黄色或白色的，每一朵都在绽放中闪耀。

Each time I walked down the colonnade or looked out the window of the Oval Office, I saw the handiwork of the men and women who worked outside. They reminded me of the small Norman Rockwell painting I kept on the wall, next to the portrait of George Washington and above the bust of Dr. King: five tiny figures of varying skin tones, workingmen in dungarees, hoisted up by ropes into a crisp blue sky to polish the lamp of Lady Liberty. The men in the painting, the groundskeepers in the garden—they were guardians, I thought, the quiet priests of a good and solemn order. And I would tell myself that I needed to work as hard and take as much care in my job as they did in theirs.

每次我走过柱廊或看向椭圆形办公室的窗外，我都看到外面工作的男女们的手工艺。他们让我想起了我挂在乔治华盛顿肖像画和马丁路德金博士半身像上方墙壁上的小型诺曼·罗克韦尔绘画，五个不同肤色的小人物，穿着工作服的工人被吊起到清爽的蓝天下，擦拭自由女神像的灯。画中的男人、花园中的园丁——我认为，他们是守护者，是一种良善和庄严秩序的沉静祭司。我告诉自己，我需要像他们一样努力工作，对我的工作一样认真细致。

With time, my walks down the colonnade would accumulate with memories. There were the big public events, of course—announcements made before a phalanx of cameras, press conferences with foreign leaders. But there were also the moments few others saw—Malia and Sasha racing each other to greet me on a surprise afternoon visit, or our dogs, Bo and Sunny, bounding through the snow, their paws sinking so deep that their chins were bearded white. Tossing footballs on a bright fall day, or comforting an aide after a personal hardship.

隨著時間的推移，我在柱廊下漫步的時光逐漸積累了回憶。當然，有大型的公共事件，比如在眾多攝像機前發布消息，與外國領導人舉行新聞發布會。但也有少有人看到的時刻——Malia和Sasha在一個驚喜的下午拼命迎接我，或者我們的狗Bo和Sunny在雪地裡蹦蹦跳跳，腳掌深深地陷入雪堆，下巴沾滿了白毛。在明亮的秋季日子裡甩足球，或者在個人困境之後安慰一位助手。

Such images would often flash through my mind, interrupting whatever calculations were occupying me. They reminded me of time passing, sometimes filling me with longing—a desire to turn back the clock and begin again. This wasn't possible on my morning walk, for time's arrow moved only forward then; the day's work beckoned; I needed to focus on only those things to come.

The night was different. On the evening walk back to the residence, my briefcase stuffed with papers, I would try to slow myself down, sometimes even stop. I'd breathe air laced with the scent of soil and grass and pollen, and listen to the wind or the patter of rain. I sometimes stared at the light against the columns, and the regal mass of the White House, its flag aloft on the roof, lit bright, or I'd look toward the Washington Monument piercing the black sky in the distance, occasionally catching sight of the moon and stars above it, or the twinkling of a passing jet.

這樣的影像常常在腦海中閃現，打斷了我正在進行的任何計算。它們讓我想起流逝的時間，有時候充滿了渴望——想要倒回鍾錶，重新開始。在我早晨的散步中是不可能的，因為時間的箭頭只會向前移動；一天的工作在召喚著我，我只需要專注於接下來要做的事情。

晚上不一樣。在步行回住所的途中，我的公事包塞滿了文件，我會試著放慢自己的步伐，甚至停下來。我會呼吸帶有土壤、草和花粉香味的空氣，聆聽風或雨的聲音。有時我會凝望那些柱子上的燈光，以及白宮那威嚴的外貌，它的屋頂上升著國旗，明亮地照耀著，或者我會朝向華盛頓紀念碑，它在遠處穿透黑暗的天空，偶爾能看到它上方的月亮和星星，或者一輛飛機的閃爍。

In moments like these, I would wonder at the strange path—and the idea—that had brought me to this place.

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I DON'T COME from a political family. My maternal grandparents were midwesterners from mostly Scots-Irish stock. They would have been considered liberal, especially by the standards of the Depression-era Kansas towns they were born in, and they were diligent about keeping up with the news. “It's part of being a well-informed citizen,” my grandmother, whom we all called Toot (short for Tutu, or Grandma, in Hawaiian), would tell me, peering over the top of her morning Honolulu Advertiser. But she and my grandfather had no firm ideological or partisan leanings to speak of, beyond what they considered to be common sense. They thought about work—my grandmother was vice president of escrow at one of the local banks, my grandfather a life insurance salesman—and paying the bills, and the small diversions that life had to offer.像这些时刻，我会感到惊讶于将我带到这个地方的奇怪路径和想法。

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我并不来自政治家庭。我的祖父母是中西部人，主要是苏格兰和爱尔兰混血儿。按当时大萧条时期堪萨斯州城镇的标准来看，他们被认为是自由派的，并且非常勤奋地关注新闻。“这是成为一个消息灵通的公民的一部分，”我们都叫做Toot（夏威夷语中的Tutu或奶奶），她告诉我，俯视她早上的檀香山广告商报。但是，除了他们认为是常识之外，他们没有固定的意识形态或党派倾向。他们考虑工作——我的祖母是当地一家银行的托管副总裁，我的祖父是人寿保险推销员——付账单和生活带来的小乐趣。

And anyway, they lived on Oahu, where nothing seemed that urgent. After years spent in places as disparate as Oklahoma, Texas, and Washington State, they'd finally moved to Hawaii in 1960, a year after its statehood was established. A big ocean now separated them from riots and protests and other such things. The only political conversation I can recall my grandparents having while I was growing up had to do with a beachside bar: Honolulu's mayor had torn down Gramps's favorite watering hole in order to renovate the beachfront at the far end of Waikiki.

反正，在瓦胡岛上生活似乎没有什么急迫的事情。在经历过俄克拉荷马州、得克萨斯州和华盛顿州等地的岁月后，他们最终在1960年搬到夏威夷，那是一个州成立后的第一年。现在，一片大海将他们与暴乱、抗议和其他类似的事情隔开了。我在成长过程中能想起的我祖父母唯一的政治谈话与一个沙滩边的酒吧有关：檀香山市长拆毁了爷爷最喜欢的酒吧，为了翻新威基基海滩的远端。

Gramps never forgave him for it.

My mother, Ann Dunham, was different, full of strong opinions. My grandparents' only child, she rebelled against convention in high school—reading beatnik poets and French existentialists, joyriding with a friend to San Francisco for days without telling anyone. As a kid, I'd hear from her about civil rights marches, and why the Vietnam War was a misguided disaster; about the women's movement (yes on equal pay, not as keen on not shaving her legs) and the War on Poverty. When we moved to Indonesia to live with my stepfather, she made sure to explain the sins of government corruption (“It's just stealing, Barry”), even if everyone appeared to be doing it. Later, during the summer I turned twelve, when we went on a month-long family vacation traveling across the United States, she insisted we watch the Watergate hearings every night, providing her own running commentary (“What do you expect from a McCarthyite?”).

爺爺永遠不會原諒他。

我的母親安·達倫漢不同尋常，擁有強烈的觀點。她是我祖父母的獨生子女，在高中時期反抗傳統——閱讀垮掉派詩人和法國存在主義者，與朋友偷偷前往舊金山遊玩幾天而沒有告訴任何人。我從她那裡聽到了有關民權遊行、越南戰爭為何是錯誤的災難，有關婦女運動（支持同工同酬，對不剃腿毛沒有那麼熱衷）和扶貧戰爭的故事。當我們與我的繼父一起搬到印尼居住時，她確保向我解釋了政府腐敗的罪惡（“這只是竊取，巴里”），即使每個人都似乎在這樣做。後來，在我十二歲的暑假中，當我們全家一個月的旅遊穿越美國時，她堅持每晚收看水門聽證會，並提供她自己的評論（“你能期待一個麥卡錫主義者會做什麼呢？”）。

She didn't just focus on headlines either. Once, when she discovered I had been part of a group that was teasing a kid at school, she sat me down in front of her, lips pursed with disappointment.

“You know, Barry,” she said (that's the nickname she and my grandparents used for me when I was growing up, often shortened to “Bar,” pronounced “Bear”), “there are people in the world who think only about themselves. They don't care what happens to other people so long as they get what they want. They put other people down to make themselves feel important.

她并不仅关注头条新闻。有一次，当她发现我是一个群体里嘲笑学校小孩的人之一时，她让我坐在她面前，用失望的口吻说道：“你知道吗，巴里（这是我小时候她和我的祖父母给我的昵称，经常缩写成“Bar”，发音为“Bear”）？世界上有些人只考虑自己，不关心其他人会做什么，只要他们得到他们想要的就可以。他们贬低别人来感觉重要。”

“Then there are people who do the opposite, who are able to imagine how others must feel, and make sure that they don't do things that hurt people. “So,” she said, looking me squarely in the eye. “Which kind of person do you want to be?”

I felt lousy. As she intended it to, her question stayed with me for a long time.

For my mother, the world was full of opportunities for moral instruction. But I never knew her to get involved in a political campaign. Like my grandparents, she was suspicious of platforms, doctrines, absolutes, preferring to express her values on a smaller canvas. “The world is complicated, Bar. That's why it's interesting.” Dismayed by the war in Southeast Asia, she'd end up spending most of her life there, absorbing the language and culture, setting up micro-lending programs for people in poverty long before micro-credit became trendy in international development. Appalled by racism, she would marry outside her race not once but twice, and go on to lavish what seemed like an inexhaustible love on her two brown children.

Incensed by societal constraints put upon women, she'd divorce both men when they proved overbearing or disappointing, carving out a career of her own choosing, raising her kids according to her own standards of decency, and pretty much doing whatever she damn well pleased.

然后有些人则反其道而行，他们能够想象别人的感受，并确保不会做伤害人的事情。她直视着我的眼睛问：“你想成为哪种人？”我感到很糟糕。正如她所期望的那样，这个问题困扰了我很长时间。

对于我母亲来说，世界充满了道德教育的机会。但我从未见过她参与政治运动。像我的祖父母一样，她对平台、教条、绝对主义持怀疑态度，更喜欢在更小的舞台上表达自己的价值观。她说：“这个世界很复杂，Bar。这就是为什么它很有趣。”她对东南亚战争感到沮丧，结果在那里度过了大部分生命，学习语言和文化，开展针对贫困人民的小额贷款计划，在国际发展领域兴起小额信贷之前就这样做。她对种族主义感到愤怒，不止一次嫁给了与自己不同种族的人，并继续将似乎永无止境的爱献给她的两个棕色孩子。她对社会对女性的限制感到愤怒，当两个男人变得专横或令人失望时，她会离婚，选择自己想要的职业，按照自己的道德标准抚养孩子，然后基本上随心所欲做任何事情。

In my mother's world, the personal really was political—although she wouldn't have had much use for the slogan.

None of this is to say that she lacked ambition for her son. Despite the financial strain, she and my grandparents would send me to Punahoa, Hawaii's top prep school. The thought of me not going to college was never entertained. But no one in my family would ever have suggested I might hold public office someday. If you'd asked my mother, she might have imagined that I'd end up heading a philanthropic institution like the Ford Foundation. My grandparents would have loved to see me become a judge, or a great courtroom lawyer like Perry Mason.

在我母親的世界裡，個人的事情確實與政治有關——儘管她對這個口號不怎麼感興趣。這並不是說她對兒子的抱負不高。儘管財務壓力很大，她和我的祖父母仍然把我送到夏威夷最高的預科學校——Punahoa。從未考慮過我不上大學的可能性。但家裡沒有人會建議我未來可能擔任公職。如果你問我母親，她可能會想象我會成為像福特基金會這樣的慈善機構的領袖。我的祖父母會很樂意看到我成為一名法官，或者像Perry Mason一樣偉大的法庭律師。

“Might as well put that smart mouth of his to use,” Gramps would say.

Since I didn't know my father, he didn't have much input. I vaguely understood that he had worked for the Kenyan government for a time, and when I was ten, he traveled from Kenya to stay with us for a month in Honolulu. That was the first and last I saw of him; after that, I heard from him only through the occasional letter, written on thin blue airmail paper that was preprinted to fold and address without an envelope. “Your mother tells me you think you may want to study architecture,” one letter might read. “I think this is a very practical profession, and one that can be practiced anywhere in the world.”

“老头子会说，不如让他那机智的嘴巴也派上用场。”由于我不认识我的父亲，他没有太多的发言权。据我所知，他曾在肯尼亚政府工作过一段时间，我十岁时，他从肯尼亚来到檀香山与我们住了一个月。那是我第一次也是最后一次见到他；之后，我只偶尔收到他用事先印有折叠和地址的蓝色航空邮件纸写的信件。有时一封信上会写着：“你妈妈告诉我你想学建筑学，我认为这是一个非常实用的行业，可以在世界上任何地方练习。”

It was not much to go on.

As for the world beyond my family—well, what they would see for most of my teenage years was not a budding leader but rather a lackadaisical student, a passionate basketball player of limited talent, and an incessant, dedicated partyer. No student government for me; no Eagle Scouts or interning at the local congressman's office. Through high school, my friends and I didn't discuss much beyond sports, girls, music, and plans for getting loaded. Three of these guys—Bobby Titcomb, Greg Orme, and Mike Ramos—remain some of my closest friends. To this day, we can laugh for hours over stories of our misspent youth. In later years, they would throw themselves into my campaigns with a loyalty for which I will always be grateful, becoming as skilled at defending my record as anyone on MSNBC.那沒有太多依據。至於我的家庭以外的世界，大部分我十幾歲的年華裡，他們所看到的不是一個正在崛起的領袖，而是一個懶散的學生、有限才能的狂熱籃球運動員和一個不知疲倦、專注於派對的人。沒有學生政府，沒有鷹童或在當地國會議員辦公室實習。在高中，我和我的朋友們一直都只討論體育、女孩、音樂和喝酒的計劃，除此之外沒有別的了。這幾個人中的其中三個，Bobby Titcomb、Greg Orme、Mike Ramos，至今仍是我最親密的朋友之一。後來的岁月里，他们以一种我永远感激的忠诚度投身于我的竞选之中，成为像MSNBC上的任何人一样熟练地捍卫我的记录。

But there were also times during my presidency—after they had watched me speak to a big crowd, say, or receive a series of crisp salutes from young Marines during a base tour—when their faces would betray a certain bafflement, as if they were trying to reconcile the graying man in a suit and tie with the ill-defined man-child they'd once known.

That guy? they must have said to themselves. How the hell did that happen?

And if my friends had ever asked me directly, I'm not sure I'd have had a good answer.

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I DO KNOW that sometime in high school I started asking questions—about my father's absence and my mother's choices; about how it was I'd come to live in a place where few people looked like me. A lot of the questions centered on race: Why did Blacks play professional basketball but not coach it? What did that girl from school mean when she said she didn't think of me as Black? Why were all the Black men in action movies switchblade-wielding lunatics except for maybe the one decent Black guy—the sidekick, of course—who always seemed to end up getting killed?

但在我的总统任期期间，有时他们看到我在大群人面前讲话或者在一个基地巡视期间收到一连串整齐的年轻海军陆战队员的敬礼后，他们的脸上会流露出一种困惑，仿佛他们试图将手穿正装打着领带的老年人与他们曾经认识的那个不成熟的小孩子联系起来。他们一定会想：“这个人是怎么了？”

如果我的朋友们曾经直接问我，我不确定我是否能回答好。

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我确实知道，在高中的某个时候，我开始问一些问题——关于父亲的缺席和母亲的选择；关于我如何来到一个很少有人像我这样的地方。很多问题都集中在种族上：为什么黑人能打职业篮球但不能练习？学校那个女孩说她不把我当黑人，她是什么意思？为什么动作电影里的所有黑人男子都是持刀疯子，除了最好的一个——当然是配角——他总是最后会被杀掉？

But I wasn't concerned only with race. It was class as well. Growing up in Indonesia, I'd seen the yawning chasm between the lives of wealthy elites and impoverished masses. I had a nascent awareness of the tribal tensions in my father's country—the hatred that could exist between those who on the surface might look the same. I bore daily witness to the seemingly cramped lives of my grandparents, the disappointments they filled with TV and liquor and sometimes a new appliance or car. I noticed that my mother paid for her intellectual freedom with chronic financial struggles and occasional personal chaos, and I became attuned to the not-so-subtle hierarchies among my prep school classmates, mostly having to do with how much money their parents had. And then there was the unsettling fact that, despite whatever my mother might claim, the bullies, cheats, and self-promoters seemed to be doing quite well, while those she considered good and decent people seemed to get screwed an awful lot. 然而我并不只关心种族问题，还有阶级问题。在印度尼西亚长大，我见证了贫富之间形成的巨大鸿沟。我对父亲的国家里部落间的紧张关系有初步意识——那些表面上看来相同的人之间存在着仇恨。我每天都目睹着祖父母的生活似乎被挤得透不过气来，他们用电视、酒精，有时用新的家电或汽车来填补失落的感觉。我注意到母亲为了获得知识的自由，必须忍受长期的财务困难和偶尔的个人混乱，我也开始对我所在的预备学校班级中那些有钱家长的学生之间的微妙阶级等级关系敏感起来。更令我感到不安的是，不管我母亲说什么，那些恶霸、欺诈和自我推销的人似乎都很出色，而那些她认为是善良正直的人就遇到了很多麻烦。

All of this pulled me in different directions. It was as if, because of the very strangeness of my heritage and the worlds I straddled, I was from everywhere and nowhere at once, a combination of ill-fitting parts, like a platypus or some imaginary beast, confined to a fragile habitat, unsure of where I belonged. And I sensed, without fully understanding why or how, that unless I could stitch my life together and situate myself along some firm axis, I might end up in some basic way living my life alone.

I didn't talk to anyone about this, certainly not my friends or family. I didn't want to hurt their feelings or stand out more than I already did. But I did find refuge in books. The reading habit was my mother's doing, instilled early in my childhood—her go-to move anytime I complained of boredom, or when she couldn't afford to send me to the international school in Indonesia, or when I had to accompany her to the office because she didn't have a babysitter.

所有这一切都让我朝着不同的方向发展。好像由于我的传承和我跨越的世界非常奇怪，我既来自任何地方，又来自任何地方，一种不合适的组合，就像鸭嘴兽或某些想象中的野兽，被限制在一个脆弱的栖息地，不确定我属于哪里。我感觉到，尽管我没有完全理解为什么或如何，但除非我能将我的生活缝合在一起，并沿着某个坚实的轴线安置自己，否则我可能以某种基本的方式独自生活。我没有和任何人谈论这个问题，当然不包括我的朋友或家人。我不想伤害他们的感情或比我已经引起的更引人注目。但我确实在书中找到了避难所。阅读习惯是我母亲早年给我灌注的——她在我童年时期就这样做，每当我抱怨无聊，或当她无法负担送我去印尼的国际学校，或当她因为没有保姆而不得不带我去办公室时。

Go read a book, she would say. Then come back and tell me something you learned.

There were a few years when I lived with my grandparents in Hawaii while my mother continued her work in Indonesia and raised my younger sister, Maya. Without my mother around to nag me, I didn't learn as much, as my grades readily attested. Then, around tenth grade, that changed. I still remember going with my grandparents to a rummage sale at the Central Union Church, across the street from our apartment, and finding myself in front of a bin of old hardcover books. For some reason, I started pulling out titles that appealed to me, or sounded vaguely familiar—books by Ralph Ellison and Langston Hughes, Robert Penn Warren and Dostoyevsky, D. H. Lawrence and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Gramps, who was eyeing a set of used golf clubs, gave me a confused look when I walked up with my box of books. 她会说：“去读一本书，然后回来告诉我你学到了什么。”有几年我和我的祖父母住在夏威夷，而我的母亲则在印度尼西亚继续工作并抚养我的妹妹玛雅。没有了妈妈的唠叨，我的学习成绩不如意。直到高二左右，一切才有了改变。我还记得和祖父母一起去中央联合教堂的旧货拍卖会时，我自己站在一堆旧精装书前。出于某种原因，我开始挑选吸引我的或者听起来有些耳熟的书，如拉尔夫·艾利森和兰斯顿·休斯、罗伯特·彭恩·沃伦和陀思妥耶夫斯基、D.H.劳伦斯和拉尔夫·沃尔多·爱默生的作品。我手里提着书盒走向祖父，而他正注视着一套二手高尔夫球杆，面露困惑。

“Planning to open a library?”

My grandmother shushed him, finding my sudden interest in literature admirable. Ever practical, she did suggest I might want to focus on my class assignments before digging into Crime and Punishment.

I ended up reading all those books, sometimes late, after I got home from basketball practice and a six-pack with my friends, sometimes after bodysurfing on a Saturday afternoon, sitting alone in Gramps's rickety old Ford Granada with a towel around my waist to avoid getting the upholstery wet. When I finished with the first set of books, I went to other rummage sales, looking for more. Much of what I read I only dimly understood; I took to circling unfamiliar words to look up in the dictionary, although I was less scrupulous about decoding pronunciations—deep into my twenties I would know the meaning of words I couldn't pronounce. There was no system to this, no rhyme or pattern. I was like a young tinkerer in my parents' garage, gathering up old cathode-ray tubes and bolts and loose wires, not sure what I'd do with any of it, but convinced it would prove handy once I figured out the nature of my calling. “计划开一家图书馆吗？”奶奶把他制止住，觉得我突然对文学感兴趣很值得称赞。实际上，她建议我在深入研究《罪与罚》之前，可能应该把注意力集中在课业上。最终，我读完了所有那些书，有时在晚上从篮球训练或和朋友一起喝了六罐啤酒后，有时是在周六下午冲浪后，独自坐在爷爷那辆摇摇欲坠的老福特格拉纳达里，裹着一条毛巾，以免弄湿座椅。当我读完第一批书后，我去找其他的旧书拍卖会，寻找更多书籍。我阅读的很多内容都只是模模糊糊地理解；我会在生词周围打圈来查字典，但我对解码发音并不那么认真——直到我二十多岁时，我才知道那些我念不出来的单词的意思。这一切都没有系统，没有韵律或模式。我就像一个年轻的发明家，在父母的车库里搜集旧的阴极射线管、螺栓和松散的电线，不确定会做什么，但相信一旦我找到呼喚的本性，它们就会派上用场。

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MY INTEREST IN books probably explains why I not only survived high school but arrived at Occidental College in 1979 with a thin but passable knowledge of political issues and a series of half-baked opinions that I'd toss out during late-night bull sessions in the dorm. Looking back, it's embarrassing to recognize the degree to which my intellectual curiosity those first two years of college paralleled the interests of various women I was attempting to get to know: Marx and Marcuse so I had something to say to the long-legged socialist who lived in my dorm; Fanon and Gwendolyn Brooks for the smooth-skinned sociology major who never gave me a second look; Foucault and Woolf for the ethereal bisexual who wore mostly black. As a strategy for picking up girls, my pseudo-intellectualism proved mostly worthless; I found myself in a series of affectionate but chaste friendships.

我对书籍的兴趣可能解释了为什么我不仅在高中生存下来，1979年来到奥克西迪尔学院时，我有着薄弱但可以理解的政治问题知识和一系列半成品的观点，我会在宿舍里晚上出现的时候抛出这些观点。

回顾过去，意识到我那前两年大学的知识好奇心与我尝试认识的不同女性的兴趣相似，真是让人尴尬：例如马克思和马尔库塞，我为长腿社会主义者所奉行；范农和格温多林·布鲁克斯，是给对我毫不关心的光滑皮肤社会学主修的女孩；福柯和伍尔夫是给那个穿着大多数是黑色的飘逸双性恋女孩。作为接近女孩的策略，我的伪装智慧被证明是毫无价值的，我最终发现自己陷入了一系列可爱但没有感情的友谊中。

Still, these halting efforts served a purpose: Something approaching a worldview took shape in my mind. I was helped along by a handful of professors who tolerated my iffy study habits and my youthful pretensions. I was helped even more by a handful of mostly older students—Black kids from the inner city, white kids who had scratched their way into college from small towns, first-generation Latino kids, international students from Pakistan or India or countries in Africa that teetered on the edge of chaos. They knew what mattered to them; when they spoke in class, their views were rooted in actual communities, actual struggles. Here's what these budget cuts mean in my neighborhood. Let me tell you about my school before you complain about affirmative action. The First Amendment is great, but why does the U.S. government say nothing about the political prisoners in my country?

然而，这些短暂的尝试有所用处：类似于一个世界观的东西在我的脑海中形成了。我得到了一些教授的帮助，他们容忍了我不可靠的学习习惯和我年轻的自负。更重要的是，我得到了一些大多数是年长的学生的帮助 - 来自内城的黑人孩子，从小镇艰难进入大学的白人孩子，第一代拉丁裔孩子，来自巴基斯坦、印度或摇摆于混乱边缘的非洲国家的国际学生。他们知道什么对他们重要；当他们在课堂上发言时，他们的观点是根植于实际的社区，实际的斗争。这就是这些预算削减在我的社区意味着什么。在你抱怨平权行动之前，请让我告诉你关于我的学校。第一修正案很好，但为什么美国政府对我国的政治囚犯什么也不说？

The two years I spent at Occidental represented the start of my political awakening. But that didn't mean I believed in politics. With few exceptions, everything I observed about politicians seemed dubious: the blow-dried hair, the wolfish grins, the bromides and self-peddling on TV while behind closed doors they curried the favor of corporations and other monied interests. They were actors in a rigged game, I decided, and I wanted no part of it. What did capture my attention was something broader and less conventional—not political campaigns but social movements, where ordinary people joined together to make change. I became a student of the suffragists and early labor organizers; of Gandhi and Lech Wałęsa and the African National Congress. Most of all I was inspired by the young leaders of the civil rights movement—not just Dr. King but John Lewis and Bob Moses, Fannie Lou Hamer and Diane Nash. In their heroic efforts—going door-to-door to register voters, sitting down at lunch counters, and marching to freedom songs—I saw the possibility of practicing the values my mother had taught me; how you could build power not by putting others down but by lifting them up. This was true democracy at work—democracy not as a gift from on high, or a division of spoils between interest groups, but rather democracy that was earned, the work of everybody. The result was not just a change in material conditions but a sense of dignity for people and communities, a bond between those who had once seemed far apart.

我在奥克西德大学度过的两年代表了我政治意识觉醒的开始。但这并不意味着我相信政治。除了极少数人外，我所观察到的所有政治人物似乎都有些可疑：吹干的头发、狼吞虎咽的微笑、电视上的陈词滥调和自我推销，而在闭门的背后，他们却巴结企业和其他富有利益集团。我认为他们是操纵游戏的演员，我不想参与其中。

引起我的注意的是更广泛、不太传统的东西——社会运动，普通人团结起来制造变革。我成为妇女选举权运动和早期劳工组织者的学生；学习甘地、勒赫·瓦文萨和非洲民族大会的。最重要的是，我受到了民权运动的年轻领袖的启发——不仅是金博士，还有约翰·刘易斯和鲍勃·莫西斯、芬妮·露·哈默和黛安·纳什。在他们的英勇努力——挨家挨户地登记选民、坐在午餐柜台前，并为自由的歌曲而行走中，我看到了实践我母亲教给我的价值观的可能性；你可以通过抬举而不是贬低别人来建立力量。这就是真正的民主在发挥作用——不是上天赐予的礼物，也不是各利益集团之间的分赃，而是每个人都应该努力获得的民主。结果不仅改变了物质条件，也给人们和社区带来了尊严，把曾经相距甚远的人团结在一起。

This, I decided, was an ideal worth pursuing. I just needed focus. After my sophomore year I transferred to Columbia University, figuring it would be a new start. For three years in New York, holed up in a series of dilapidated apartments, largely shorn of old friends and bad habits, I lived like a monk—reading, writing, filling up journals, rarely bothering with college parties or even eating hot meals. I got lost in my head, preoccupied with questions that seemed to layer themselves one over the next. What made some movements succeed where others failed? Was it a sign of success when portions of a cause were absorbed by conventional politics, or was it a sign that the cause had been hijacked? When was compromise acceptable and when was it selling out, and how did one know the difference?

我决定，这是一个值得追求的理想。我只需要专注。大二后，我转学到哥伦比亚大学，觉得这将是一个新的开始。在纽约的三年里，我住在一系列破旧公寓里，几乎没有老朋友和坏习惯，像个僧侣一样生活——阅读、写作、填满日记，很少去参加大学派对甚至吃热饭。我迷失在自己的内心，沉迷于看似一层又

一层的问题。什么使得一些运动成功而其他失败？当一个事业的部分被普通政治吸收时，这是成功的标志，还是这意味着这个事业已经被劫持了？妥协什么时候是可接受的，什么时候是出卖，如何区分呢？

Oh, how earnest I was then—how fierce and humorless! When I look back on my journal entries from this time, I feel a great affection for the young man that I was, aching to make a mark on the world, wanting to be a part of something grand and idealistic, which evidence seemed to indicate did not exist. This was America in the early 1980s, after all. The social movements of the previous decade had lost their vibrancy. A new conservatism was taking hold. Ronald Reagan was president; the economy was in recession; the Cold War was in full swing.

啊，我当时多么真诚——多么凶猛无趣！回顾我当时的日记条目，我对曾经的年轻人感到深深的爱意，渴望在世界上留下自己的痕迹，希望成为宏伟理想的一部分，但这似乎并不存在。毕竟，这是20世纪80年代初的美国。前十年的社会运动已失去了活力。新保守主义开始占据主导地位。罗纳德·里根是总统；经济处于衰退状态；冷战正全面展开。

If I were to travel back in time, I might urge the young man I was to set the books aside for a minute, open the windows, and let in some fresh air (my smoking habit was then in full bloom). I'd tell him to relax, go meet some people, and enjoy the pleasures that life reserves for those in their twenties. The few friends I had in New York tried to offer similar advice.

“You need to lighten up, Barack.”

“You need to get laid.”

“You're so idealistic. It's great, but I don't know if what you're saying is really possible.”

如果我能夠穿越回到過去，我可能會勸告當時那個年輕的自己停下書本，打開窗戶，讓新鮮空氣進入（因為當時我正在大量吸菸）。我會告訴他放鬆一下，去認識一些人，享受那些為二十幾歲人留下的樂趣。我在紐約時，只有幾個朋友嘗試給我類似的建議。

「你需要放輕鬆，巴拉克。」

「你需要尋找一點慾望。」

「你太理想化了。這很不錯，但我不知道你所說的是否真的可能實現。」

I resisted these voices. I resisted precisely because I feared they were right. Whatever I was incubating during those hours spent alone, whatever vision for a better world I'd let flourish in the hothouse of my youthful mind, it could hardly withstand even a simple conversational road test. In the gray light of a Manhattan winter and against the overarching cynicism of the times, my ideas, spoken aloud in class or over coffee with friends, came off as fanciful and far-fetched. And I knew it. In fact, it's one of the things that may have saved me from becoming a full-blown crank before I reached the age of twenty-two; at some basic level I understood the absurdity of my vision, how wide the gap was between my grand ambitions and anything I was actually doing in my life. I was like a young Walter Mitty; a Don Quixote with no Sancho Panza.

我抗拒这些声音。我之所以抗拒，正是因为我害怕它们是正确的。在那些独处的小时里，我正在孕育着什么，我在年轻的头脑中孕育出了关于更美好世界的愿景，它几乎无法经受甚至是一个简单的交谈路试。在曼哈顿的冬季灰色光线和时代的普遍愤世嫉俗的背景下，我所说的想法，在班上或与朋友喝咖啡时大都显得异想天开，不切实际。我知道它。实际上，这可能是在我未满二十二岁之前避免变成一个彻头彻尾的怪人的事情之一；在某种基本层面上，我理解了我愿景的荒谬，我的宏伟抱负和我在现实生活中所做的任何事情之间有多么大的差距。我就像一个年轻的瓦尔特·米蒂；没有桑乔·潘萨的唐·吉多。

This, too, can be found in my journal entries from that time, a pretty accurate chronicle of all my shortcomings. My preference for navel-gazing over action. A certain reserve, even shyness, traceable perhaps to my Hawaiian and Indonesian upbringing, but also the result of a deep self-consciousness. A sensitivity to rejection or looking stupid. Maybe even a fundamental laziness.

I took it upon myself to purge such softness with a regimen of self-improvement that I've never entirely shed. (Michelle and the girls point out that to this day I can't get into a pool or the ocean without feeling compelled to swim laps. “Why don't you just wade?” they'll say with a snicker. “It's fun. Here... we'll show you how.”) I made lists. I started working out, going for runs around the Central Park Reservoir or along the East River and eating cans of tuna fish and hard-boiled eggs for fuel. I stripped myself of excess belongings—who needs more than five shirts?这也可以在我的日记记录中找到，对我所有缺点的准确记录。我更喜欢自我沉迷而非行动。一定程度上与我在夏威夷和印度尼西亚的成长有关，但也是深层次自我意识的结果。对拒绝或看起来愚蠢的敏感。甚至可能是一种根本上的懒惰。

我自己决定通过自我改进来消除这种软弱，这一点我从未完全摆脱。（米歇尔和女孩们指出，即使到今天我也不能去泳池或海洋而不游泳。“你为什么不只是涉水呢？”他们会嘲笑地说。“很有趣。在这里……我们会告诉你该怎么做。”）我做了清单。我开始锻炼身体，在中央公园水池周围或沿东河跑步，用罐装金鱼和煮熟的鸡蛋为燃料。我放弃了多余的财物——谁需要超过五件衬衫呢？

What great contest was I preparing for? Whatever it was, I knew I wasn't ready. That uncertainty, that self-doubt, kept me from settling too quickly on easy answers. I got into the habit of questioning my own assumptions, and this, I think, ultimately came in handy, not only because it prevented me from becoming insufferable, but because it inoculated me against the revolutionary formulas embraced by a lot of people on the left at the dawn of the Reagan era.

Certainly that was true when it came to questions of race. I experienced my fair share of racial slights and could see all too well the enduring legacy of slavery and Jim Crow anytime I walked through Harlem or parts of the Bronx. But, by dint of biography, I learned not to claim my own victimhood too readily and resisted the notion held by some of the Black folks I knew that white people were irredeemably racist.我為了什麼偉大的競賽而準備？不管是什麼，我知道我還沒有準備好。這種不確定性和自我懷疑讓我不會太快接受簡單明瞭的答案。我養成了質疑自己想當然的習慣，這最終對我很有幫助，不僅因為這樣我不會變得難以忍受，而且因為它使我對左派在里根時代初所推崇的革命公式產生了免疫力。

當涉及到種族問題時，這當然也是如此。我經歷了許多種族輕蔑，每當我走過哈林或布朗克斯的某些地區時，都可以清楚地看到奴隸制和吉姆·克勞的歷史遺產。但我根據自己的生平經歷，學會了不要太快聲稱自己是受害者，並抵制我所認識的一些黑人所持有的觀點，認為白人是不可救藥的種族主義者。

The conviction that racism wasn't inevitable may also explain my willingness to defend the American idea: what the country was, and what it could become.

My mother and grandparents had never been noisy in their patriotism. Reciting the Pledge of Allegiance in class, waving small flags on the Fourth of July —these were treated as pleasant rituals, not sacred duties (their attitudes toward Easter and Christmas were pretty much the same). Even Gramps's service in World War II was downplayed; he told me more about eating K rations—"Terrible!"—than he ever told me about the glory of marching in Patton's army.

對於種族歧視不是必然的信念，或許可以解釋為何我願意捍衛美國的理念：這個國家過去和未來的樣貌。我母親和祖父母從未怒聲嚷嚷地表達他們的愛國情懷。在課堂上面向國旗宣誓，或者在七月四日揮舞小小的國旗，這些僅僅被當作是一種儀式，而不是神聖的責任（他們對待耶誕節和聖誕節的態度也差不多）。就連爺爺在二次世界大戰中的服役也被淡化了。他告訴我更多的是他吃下K口糧的滋味，而不是他在巴頓將軍的軍隊中行軍的光榮事蹟。

And yet the pride in being American, the notion that America was the greatest country on earth—that was always a given. As a young man, I chafed against books that dismissed the notion of American exceptionalism; got into long, drawn-out arguments with friends who insisted the American hegemon was the root of oppression worldwide. I had lived overseas; I knew too much. That America fell perpetually short of its ideals, I readily conceded. The version of American history taught in schools, with slavery glossed over and the slaughter of Native Americans all but omitted—that, I did not defend. The blundering exercise of military power, the rapaciousness of multinationals—yeah, yeah, I got all that.

然而，作为美国人的自豪感，认为美国是世界上最伟大的国家的观念，一直是既定的。作为一个年轻人，我对那些否定美国例外主义观念的书感到不满；和那些坚称美国霸权是全球压迫的根源的朋友进行了漫长而又拖沓的争论。我曾经在国外生活过；我知道得太多了。我很快就承认，美国在实现其理想方面经常失败。学校里所教授的那种美国历史版本，对于奴隶制的掩盖和对印第安人的屠杀几乎被遗忘，那我是不能支持的。军事力量的失误，跨国公司的贪婪行为都是浪费精力，是的，我都知道这些。

But the idea of America, the promise of America: this I clung to with a stubbornness that surprised even me. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal"—that was my America. The America Tocqueville wrote about, the countryside of Whitman and Thoreau, with no person my inferior or my better; the America of pioneers heading west in search of a better life or immigrants landing on Ellis Island, propelled by a yearning for freedom.

It was the America of Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers, making dreams take flight, and Jackie Robinson stealing home. It was Chuck Berry and Bob Dylan, Billie Holiday at the Village Vanguard and Johnny Cash at Folsom State Prison—all those misfits who took the scraps that others overlooked or discarded and made beauty no one had seen before.

但是美国的理念，美国的承诺：这是我顽强坚持的东西，甚至让我都感到惊讶。“我们认为这些真理是不证自明的，即所有人生而平等”——这就是我的美国。托克维尔所写的美国，惠特曼和梭罗的乡村，没有任何一个人比我优越或劣越；是那个追求美好生活的先锋或者登陆埃利斯岛的移民被自由的渴望所推动的美国。

这是托马斯·爱迪生和莱特兄弟的美国，让梦想飞翔，还有杰基·罗宾逊盗垒得手的美国。是查克·贝里和鲍勃·迪伦，比利·荷莉戴在村庄前卫和乔尼·卡什在福尔瑟姆州监狱 - 所有那些拿着别人忽略或抛弃的碎片做出从未见过的美丽的不合适的人。

It was the America of Lincoln at Gettysburg, and Jane Addams toiling in a Chicago settlement home, and weary GIs at Normandy, and Dr. King on the National Mall summoning courage in others and in himself.

It was the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, crafted by flawed but brilliant thinkers who reasoned their way to a system at once sturdy and capable of change.

An America that could explain me.

"Dream on, Barack" is how those arguments with my college friends would usually end, as some smug bastard dropped a newspaper in front of me, its headlines trumpeting the U.S. invasion of Grenada or cuts in the school lunch program or some other disheartening news. "Sorry, but that's your America."那是林肯在葛底斯堡、简·亚当斯在芝加哥工作室里的辛勤劳作、在诺曼底的疲惫士兵和马丁·路德·金在国家广场鼓舞自己和别人的勇气的美国。那是由有缺陷但却才智过人的思想家们推理出来的宪法和权利法案，一套既稳健又能够变革的体系。

那是能够解释我自身的美国。

“做梦吧，奥巴马”这就是我与大学朋友争辩时的结论。总有一些傲慢自大的家伙会在我面前掉落报纸，报道着美国入侵格林纳达、削减校园午餐项目或其他令人沮丧的新闻。“对不起，但那就是你的美国。”

—

SUCH WAS MY state when I graduated in 1983: big ideas and nowhere to go. There were no movements to join, no selfless leader to follow. The closest I could find to what I had in mind was something called "community organizing"—grassroots work that brought ordinary people together around issues of local concern. After bouncing around in a couple of ill-fitting jobs in New York, I heard about a position in Chicago, working with a group of churches that were trying to stabilize communities racked by steel plant closures. Nothing grand, but a place to start.

1983年我毕业时的情况是这样的：有很多大想法，却没有去处。没有可以加入的运动，也没有无私的领袖可跟随。我所能找到的最接近我心目中的理想是一些叫做“社区组织”的事物——团结普通民众为当地关注的问题而努力。在纽约待了一段时间，做了几份毫不吻合的工作后，我听说了芝加哥有一份工作，与

一些教堂合作，试图稳定因钢铁厂关闭而受到冲击的社区。虽然不算重要，但这是一个开始。

I've recorded elsewhere my organizing years in Chicago. Victories were small and transitory in the mostly Black working-class neighborhoods where I spent my time; my organization was a bit player in its attempts to address the changes that were sweeping not just Chicago but cities across the country—the decline of manufacturing, white flight, the rise of a discrete and disconnected underclass even as a new knowledge class began to fuel gentrification in the urban core.

But if my own impact on Chicago was small, the city changed the arc of my life.

我已经在别处记录了我在芝加哥组织的岁月。在我所呆过的大多是黑人工人阶级社区中，胜利是小而短暂的；我的组织在试图应对横扫整个美国城市的变革中只起到了次要作用，这些变革包括制造业的衰落、白人逃离以及一个新的知识阶层正在推动城市核心的繁荣。但是，即使我对芝加哥的影响很小，这座城市依然改变了我的人生轨迹。

For starters, it got me out of my own head. I had to listen to, and not just theorize about, what mattered to people. I had to ask strangers to join me and one another on real-life projects—fixing up a park, or removing asbestos from a housing project, or starting an after-school program. I experienced failure and learned to buck up so I could rally those who'd put their trust in me. I suffered rejections and insults often enough to stop fearing them. In other words, I grew up—and got my sense of humor back.

首先，它讓我不再只是沉浸在自己的世界中。我需要聆聽，而不僅僅是構想，人們關心的事情。我必須邀請陌生人加入我們，一同參與實際項目—一如整修公園、清除房屋工程中的石棉，或啟動課後計劃。我體驗了失敗，學會了奮力前行，這樣我才能團結那些信任我們的人。我也經歷了拒絕和侮辱，足夠讓我不再畏懼它們。換句話說，我成長了—也找回了我的幽默感。

I came to love the men and women I worked with: the single mom living on a ravaged block who somehow got all four children through college; the Irish priest who threw open the church doors every evening so that kids had an option other than gangs; the laid-off steelworker who went back to school to become a social worker. Their stories of hardship and their modest victories confirmed for me again and again the basic decency of people. Through them, I saw the transformation that took place when citizens held their leaders and institutions to account, even on something as small as putting in a stop sign on a busy corner or getting more police patrols. I noticed how people stood up a little straighter, saw themselves differently, when they learned that their voices mattered.

我开始喜爱与我共事的男人和女人：住在荒芜街区的单亲妈妈，她不知怎的把四个孩子送进了大学；爱尔兰牧师每天晚上敞开教堂大门，让孩子们有了其他选择以免加入帮派；下岗的钢厂工人重新上学成为社工。他们的艰辛经历和小小的胜利坚定了我对人类基本善良的信念。通过他们，我看到了当公民对领袖和机构负责，即使只是为了在繁忙的拐角处安装停车标志或增加警察巡逻，会发生的转变。我注意到人们学会自强自立，认为自己的声音很有分量。

Through them, I resolved the lingering questions of my racial identity. For it turned out there was no single way to be Black; just trying to be a good man was enough.

Through them, I discovered a community of faith—that it was okay to doubt, to question, and still reach for something beyond the here and now. And because I heard in church basements and on bungalow porches the very same values—honesty, and hard work, and empathy—that had been drilled into me by my mother and grandparents, I came to trust the common thread that existed between people.

透過他們，我解決了我對種族身份的疑惑。因為事實證明，成為一個好人是足夠的，並沒有單一成為黑人的方式。

透過他們，我發現了一個信仰共同體-即使產生懷疑和問題，仍要追求超越現在的東西也是可以的。

因為在教堂地下室和平房門廊上，我聽到了母親和祖父母教導我的誠實、勤奮和同理心這些價值觀，我開始相信人民之間存在著共同的紐帶。

I can't help but wonder sometimes what would have happened if I had stayed with organizing, or at least some version of it. Like many local heroes I've met over the years, I might have managed to build up an institution that could reshape a neighborhood or a portion of the city. Anchored deep in a community, I might have steered money and imagination to change not the world but just that one place or that one set of kids, doing work that touched the lives of neighbors and friends in some measurable and useful way.

有时候我禁不住想，如果我留在组织领域，或至少某个版本的组织领域，会发生什么。和我认识的很多当地英雄一样，我可能会成功地建立一个可以重塑社区或城市部分的机构。深深扎根于社区，我可能会引导资金和想象力，以改变不是整个世界，而只是那一个地方或那一群孩子，做一些触及邻居和朋友的工作，并产生一些实际和有用的影响。

But I didn't stay. I left for Harvard Law School. And here's where the story gets murkier in my mind, with my motives open to interpretation.

—

I TOLD MYSELF THEN—and like to tell myself still—that I left organizing because I saw the work I was doing as too slow, too limited, not able to match the needs of the people I hoped to serve. A local job-training center couldn't make up for thousands of steel jobs lost by a plant closing. An after-school program couldn't compensate for chronically underfunded schools, or kids raised by their grandparents because both parents were doing time. On every issue, it seemed, we kept bumping up against somebody—a politician, a bureaucrat, some distant CEO—who had the power to make things better but didn't. And when we did get concessions from them, it was most often too little, too late. The power to shape budgets and guide policy was what we needed, and that power lay elsewhere.

但我没有留下来。我去了哈佛法学院。这就是在我心中，故事变得更加混沌，我的动机也变得更加模糊的地方。

我当时告诉自己 - 也一直这样告诉自己 - 我离开组织是因为我觉得我的工作太慢，范围太小，无法满足我希望服务的人们的需求。当地的就业培训中心无法弥补一家工厂关闭所失去的数千个钢铁工人工作。一项课后计划无法弥补长期资金不足的学校或由祖父母抚养的孩子，因为两个父母都在坐牢。在每一个问题上，似乎我们总是遇到一些拥有权力改善事情但并未这样做的人 - 政治家，官员或一些远离的CEO。即使我们从他们那里得到了让步，往往也太少，太迟。我们需要的是塑造预算和指导政策的力量，而这种力量在别处。

Moreover, I came to realize that just two years before I arrived, there had been a movement for change in Chicago, one that was both social and political – a deep swift current that I had failed to fully appreciate because it hadn’t conformed to my theories. It was the movement to elect Harold Washington as the city’s first Black mayor.

It seemed like it sprang out of nowhere, as grassroots a political campaign as anything modern politics had ever seen. A small band of Black activists and business leaders, tired of the chronic bias and inequities of America’s most segregated big city, decided to register a record number of voters, and then drafted a rotund congressman of prodigious talent but limited ambition to run for an office that appeared well out of reach.

此外，我开始意识到，在我到达芝加哥的仅仅两年前，有一次变革的运动，既是社会的也是政治的，我未能完全认识到它之深刻迅速之处，因为它没有符合我的理论。这就是让黑人哈洛德·华盛顿当选城市首位黑人市长的运动。

它似乎像从无到有一样冒出来，是现代政治中最为草根的政治竞选之一。一小部分黑人活动家和商业领袖，厌倦了美国最为种族隔离的大城市的长期偏见和不公平待遇，决定登记一个创纪录的选民人数，然后召集一个性格温和但才华横溢却野心有限的议员参选一个看似很遥远的职位。

Nobody thought it had a chance; even Harold was skeptical. The campaign operated hand to mouth, staffed largely by inexperienced volunteers. But then it happened—some form of spontaneous combustion. People who had never thought about politics, people who had never even voted, got swept up in the cause. Seniors and schoolchildren started sporting the campaign’s blue buttons. A collective unwillingness to keep putting up with a steady accumulation of unfairness and slights—all the bogus traffic stops and secondhand textbooks; all the times Black folks walked past a Park District field house on the North Side and noticed how much nicer it was than the one in their neighborhood; all the times they’d been passed over for promotions or denied bank loans—gathered like a cyclone and toppled city hall.没有人认为它有机会，甚至哈罗德也持怀疑态度。竞选活动几乎是凑合度日，由经验不足的志愿者主要组成。但然后发生了某种自发性的燃烧。那些从未考虑过政治的人，那些从未投过票的人，被这个事业所拥抱。老年人和学童开始佩戴竞选活动的蓝色按钮。一种集体的不愿意一直忍受不公平和轻视的积累——所有虚假的交通站点和二手教科书；所有黑人走过北边的公园区活动中心时会注意到它比他们社区的更漂亮；所有他们被忽视升职或被拒绝银行贷款的时候——像旋风一样聚集起来，推翻了市政厅。

By the time I arrived in Chicago, Harold was halfway through his first term. The city council, once a rubber stamp for Old Man Daley, had divided into racial camps, a controlling majority of white aldermen blocking every reform that Harold proposed. He tried to wheedle and cut deals, but they wouldn’t budge. It was riveting television, tribal and raw, but it limited what Harold could deliver for those who’d elected him. It took a federal court redrawing a racially gerrymandered aldermanic map for Harold to finally get the majority and break the deadlock. And before he could realize many of the changes he’d promised, he was dead of a heart attack. A scion of the old order, Rich Daley, ultimately regained his father’s throne.

當我到達芝加哥時，哈羅德已經完成了他的第一個任期的一半。市議會曾經是老戴利的橡皮圖章，現在分裂成種族營地，多數白人委員阻礙哈羅德提出的每一項改革。他試圖討好和進行交易，但他們不會讓步。電視上的情況非常引人入勝，部落性和原始性，但它限制了哈羅德能為選民們帶來的改變。聯邦法院重新劃分種族營套選舉區地圖，讓哈羅德最終得到多數人的支持，打破了僵局。然而，他還來不及實現他承諾的許多變革，就因心臟病發去世了。舊秩序的嫡系 Rich Daley 最終重登父親的寶座。

Far from the center of the action, I watched this drama unfold and tried to absorb its lessons. I saw how the tremendous energy of the movement couldn’t be sustained without structure, organization, and skills in governance. I saw how a political campaign based on racial redress, no matter how reasonable, generated fear and backlash and ultimately placed limits on progress. And in the rapid collapse of Harold’s coalition after his death, I saw the danger of relying on a single charismatic leader to bring about change.

遠離行動中心，我觀察這場戲劇的演變，試圖吸收它的教訓。我看到運動的巨大能量無法在沒有結構、組織和治理技能的情況下持續下去。我看到基於種族補償的政治運動，無論多麼合理，都會產生恐懼和反彈，最終限制了進展。在哈羅德去世後迅速瓦解的聯盟中，我看到依賴單一魅力領袖推動改變的危險。

And yet what a force he was for those five years. Despite the roadblocks, Chicago changed on his watch. City services, from tree trimming to snow removal to road repair, came to be spread more evenly across wards. New schools were built in poor neighborhoods. City jobs were no longer subject solely to patronage, and the business community at long last started paying attention to the lack of diversity in their ranks.

Above all, Harold gave people hope. The way Black Chicagoans talked about him in those years was reminiscent of how a certain generation of white progressives talked about Bobby Kennedy—it wasn’t so much what he did as how he made you feel. Like anything was possible. Like the world was yours to remake.

然而，對於這五年來說，他是一股巨大的力量。儘管有路障，芝加哥在他任內發生了變化。城市服務，從修剪樹木到除雪到道路維修，開始在選區間更為平均分配。在貧困社區建造了新學校。市政工作不再僅限於任人唯親，商界終於開始關注其中缺乏多樣性的問題。

最重要的是，哈羅德帶給人們希望。黑人芝加哥人在那些年的談論方式讓人想起一些白人進步主義者談論博比·肯尼迪的時候 - 不是他做了什麼，而是他讓你感受到什麼。像一切都有可能。好像可以重建世界。

For me, this planted a seed. It made me think for the first time that I wanted to someday run for public office. (I wasn’t the only one thus inspired—it was shortly after Harold’s election that Jesse Jackson would announce he was running for president.) Wasn’t this where the energy of the civil rights

movement had migrated—into electoral politics? John Lewis, Andrew Young, Julian Bond—hadn't they run for office, deciding this was the arena where they could make the most difference? I knew there were pitfalls—the compromises, the constant money chase, the losing track of ideals, and the relentless pursuit of winning.

對我來說，這種感覺像種下了一顆種子。它使我第一次想到有朝一日我也想競選公職。(我不是唯一被激發的人，就在哈羅德當選後，傑西·傑克遜宣布將競選總統。)這不就是民權運動的能量去到哪裡嗎 - 進入選舉政治領域嗎？約翰·路易斯、安德魯·楊和朱利安·邦德不是都參選了嗎，認定這是可以產生最大影響的領域嗎？我知道其中存在陷阱 - 妥協、不斷追逐金錢、忘卻理想和不斷追求勝利。

But maybe there was another way. Maybe you could generate the same energy, the same sense of purpose, not just within the Black community but across racial lines. Maybe with enough preparation, policy know-how, and management skills, you could avoid some of Harold's mistakes. Maybe the principles of organizing could be marshaled not just to run a campaign but to govern—to encourage participation and active citizenship among those who'd been left out, and to teach them not just to trust their elected leaders, but to trust one another, and themselves.

也许还有其他方法。也许你可以创造同样的能量，同样的目的感，不仅仅局限于黑人社区，而是跨越种族界限。也许通过充分准备、政策知识和管理技巧，你可以避免一些哈罗德的错误。也许组织原则可以被动员起来，不仅仅是为了竞选而是为了治理——鼓励那些被排除在外的人参与和积极公民身份，教育他们不仅要信任他们选举出来的领导，而且要相互信任、相信自己。

That's what I told myself. But it wasn't the whole story. I was also struggling with narrower questions of my own ambitions. As much as I'd learned from organizing, I didn't have much to show for it in terms of concrete accomplishments. Even my mother, the woman who'd always marched to a different drummer, worried about me.

"I don't know, Bar," she told me one Christmas. "You can spend a lifetime working outside institutions. But you might get more done trying to change those institutions from the inside."

"Plus, take it from me," she said with a rueful laugh. "Being broke is overrated."这是我告诉自己的。但这并不是全部的事实。我也在努力解决自己更加狭窄的抱负问题。虽然我从组织中学到了很多，但在具体成就方面，我还没有太多展示出来。即便是我那总是走自己路的母亲，也为我担心。

"我不知道，巴尔，"她在一个圣诞节告诉我。"你可以花一生时间在机构外工作。但也许试图从内部改变这些机构会更有成效。

"另外，从我的经验来看，"她带着苦笑说道。"一贫如洗并不是上佳状态。"

And so it was that in the fall of 1988, I took my ambitions to a place where ambition hardly stood out. Valedictorians, student body presidents, Latin scholars, debate champions—the people I found at Harvard Law School were generally impressive young men and women who, unlike me, had grown up with the justifiable conviction that they were destined to lead lives of consequence. That I ended up doing well there I attribute mostly to the fact that I was a few years older than my classmates. Whereas many felt burdened by the workload, for me days spent in the library—or, better yet, on the couch of my off-campus apartment, a ball game on with the sound muted—felt like an absolute luxury after three years of organizing community meetings and knocking on doors in the cold.

因此，1988年秋季，我把我的抱负带到了一个几乎没有人关注抱负的地方。成绩优秀的毕业生、学生会主席、拉丁学者、辩论冠军——我在哈佛法学院遇到的人基本上是一些令人印象深刻的年轻人，他们与我不同，他们从小就有理由相信自己注定要过着有意义的生活。我能在那做得很不错，主要是因为我比同学们年长几岁。许多人觉得工作量很重，而对我来说，在图书馆里度过的日子——或者更好的是，在我的校外公寓里的沙发上，打开球赛但静音——在三年的组织社区会议和在寒冷中敲门之后，感觉就像是一种绝对的奢侈。

There was also this: The study of law, it turned out, wasn't so different from what I'd done during my years of solitary musing on civic questions. What principles should govern the relationship between the individual and society, and how far did our obligations to others extend? How much should the government regulate the market? How does social change happen, and how can rules ensure that everybody has a voice?

I couldn't get enough of this stuff. I loved the back-and-forth, especially with the more conservative students, who despite our disagreements seemed to appreciate the fact that I took their arguments seriously. In classroom discussions, my hand kept shooting up, earning me some well-deserved eye rolls. I couldn't help it; it was as if, after years of locking myself away with a strange obsession—like juggling, say, or sword swallowing—I now found myself in circus school.还有这个：原来研究法律与我独立思考公民问题的过程并没有太大不同。应该采用何种原则来管理个人和社会的关系？我们对他人的义务应该有多大程度？政府应该怎样管制市场？社会变革是如何发生的？规则又如何确保每个人都有发言权？我对这些内容没法释怀。我喜欢这种互动交流，特别是和那些更为保守的同学讨论时，尽管我们意见不合，但是他们似乎很欣赏我对他们的观点认真对待。在课堂讨论中，我总是迫不及待地举手，赢得了一些不必要的轻视。但我无法控制自己，仿佛这几年我一直追求的奇怪爱好——比如杂耍、剑 swallowing 等——现在变成了马戏学校。

Enthusiasm makes up for a host of deficiencies, I tell my daughters—and at least that was true for me at Harvard. In my second year, I was elected the first Black head of the Law Review, which generated a bit of national press. I signed a contract to write a book. Job offers arrived from around the country, and it was assumed that my path was now charted, just as it had been for my predecessors at the Law Review: I'd clerk for a Supreme Court justice, work for a top law firm or the Office of the United States Attorney, and when the time was right, I could, if I wanted to, try my hand at politics.

熱情可以彌補許多缺陷，我告訴我的女兒們——至少在哈佛大學對我來說是如此。在我的第二年，我當選為法律評論編輯部的第一位黑人主編，這引起了一些國家級的關注。我簽了一份合約來寫一本書。來自全國各地的工作機會紛至沓來，人們認為我的未來之路已經規劃好了，就像法律評論前輩們一樣：我將成為最高法院法官的審判助手，為頂尖的律師事務所或美國檢察官辦公室工作，而當時機成熟時，如果我想的話，我也可以嘗試政治。

It was heady stuff. The only person who questioned this smooth path of ascent seemed to be me. It had come too quickly. The big salaries being dangled, the attention—it felt like a trap.

Luckily I had time to consider my next move. And anyway, the most important decision ahead would end up having nothing to do with law.

这是令人兴奋的事情。似乎只有我一个人质疑这条平稳的晋升之路。一切来得太快了，高薪挂在眼前，关注度不断升高——这感觉像是一个陷阱。幸运的是，我有时间考虑下一步行动。而且，前方最重要的决定最终与法律无关。

## CHAPTER 2

MICHELLE LAVAUGHN ROBINSON was already practicing law when we met. She was twenty-five years old and an associate at Sidley & Austin, the Chicago-based firm where I worked the summer after my first year of law school. She was tall, beautiful, funny, outgoing, generous, and wickedly smart—and I was smitten almost from the second I saw her. She'd been assigned by the firm to look out for me, to make sure I knew where the office photocopier was and that I generally felt welcome. That also meant we got to go out for lunches together, which allowed us to sit and talk—at first about our jobs and eventually about everything else.

### 第2章

米歇尔·拉沃恩·罗宾逊在我們認識時已經當了律師。她當時25歲，在芝加哥的辛德利和奧斯汀律師事務所擔任助理。在我大一暑假才進入法學院的時候，我就在這個事務所工作。她身材高挑、美麗、風趣、外向、大方、非常聰明，我幾乎在第一眼看到她時就愛上了她。事務所委派她照顧我，確保我知道辦公室複印機在哪裡，並確保我感到受歡迎。這也意味著我們可以一起出去吃午餐，進而讓我們坐下來交談一起初是關於我們的工作，最終是關於其他的一切。

Over the course of the next couple of years, during school breaks and when Michelle came to Harvard as part of the Sidley recruiting team, the two of us went out to dinner and took long walks along the Charles River, talking about movies and family and places in the world we wanted to see. When her father unexpectedly died of complications arising from multiple sclerosis, I flew out to be with her, and she comforted me when I learned that Gramps had advanced prostate cancer.

In other words, we became friends as well as lovers, and as my law school graduation approached, we gingerly circled around the prospect of a life together. Once, I took her to an organizing workshop I was conducting, a favor for a friend who ran a community center on the South Side. The participants were mostly single moms, some on welfare, few with any marketable skills. I asked them to describe their world as it was and as they would like it to be. It was a simple exercise I'd done many times, a way for people to bridge the reality of their communities and their lives with the things they could conceivably change. Afterward, as we were walking to the car, Michelle laced her arm through mine and said she'd been touched by my easy rapport with the women.在未来几年中，我们在学校假期和Michelle作为Sidley招聘团队的一部分来到哈佛期间，一起晚餐并在查尔斯河边漫步。我们谈论着电影，谈论家庭，谈论想去看的世界地方。当她的父亲意外死于由多发性硬化症引起的并发症时，我飞去与她在一起，并在得知Gramps患有晚期前列腺癌时，她安慰了我。

换句话说，我们不仅成为情侣，也成为了朋友，随着我法学院毕业的临近，我们小心翼翼地绕着在一起生活的前景周旋。有一次，我带她去了我主持的一个组织工作坊，这是为一个在南区的社区中心工作的朋友的一个恩惠。参与者大多是单身母亲，一些人在领取福利，很少有任何有价值的技能。我让她们描述自己的世界，以及他们想要实现的样子。这是一个我已经做过多次的简单练习，帮助人们将他们社区和生活的现实与他们能够想象改变的事情联系在一起。之后，当我们走向汽车时，Michelle环绕住我的胳膊说，她被我与这些女人轻松自然的互动所触动。

“You gave them hope.”

“They need more than hope,” I said. I tried to explain to her the conflict that I was feeling: between working for change within the system and pushing against it; wanting to lead but wanting to empower people to make change for themselves; wanting to be in politics but not of it.

Michelle looked at me. “The world as it is, and the world as it should be,” she said softly.

“Something like that.”

Michelle was an original; I knew nobody quite like her. And although it hadn't happened yet, I was starting to think I might ask her to marry me. For Michelle, marriage was a given—the organic next step in a relationship as serious as ours. For me, someone who'd grown up with a mother whose marriages didn't last, the need to formalize a relationship had always felt less pressing. Not only that, but in those early years of our courtship, our arguments could be fierce. As cocksure as I could be, she never gave ground. Her brother, Craig, a basketball star at Princeton who had worked in investment banking before getting into coaching, used to joke that the family didn't think Michelle (“Miche,” they called her) would ever get married because she was too tough—no guy could keep up with her. The weird thing was, I liked that about her; how she constantly challenged me and kept me honest.“你给了他们希望。”

“他们需要的不仅仅是希望，”我说。我试图向她解释我所感受到的冲突：在系统内工作以实现改变和推动改变之间的冲突；想要领导，但又想赋予人们自己实现改变的力量；想要从政，但不想被政治所束缚。

米歇尔看着我。“世界本应如此，你想要做的就是让它变成那样。”她轻轻地说道。

“差不多就是这个意思。”

米歇尔是个原创人物；我认识的没人能跟她相比。虽然还没有发生，但我开始想要向她求婚了。对于米歇尔来说，婚姻是理所当然的——这是一段如此认真的恋情的有机下一步。但对我来说，由于从小跟着母亲经历了多次婚姻的失败，关系需要正式化的需求一直都不那么紧迫。不仅如此，在我们的约会初期，我们的争吵常常会非常激烈。尽管我时常很自信，但她总是不肯让步。她的哥哥克雷格在普林斯顿大学是个篮球明星，曾在投资银行工作后转行教练，他经常开玩笑说，家族认为米歇尔（他们叫她“米歇”）永远也嫁不出去，因为她太强了——没有哪个男人能跟上她的步伐。但奇怪的是，我喜欢她这点；她不断挑战我，让我保持诚实。

And what was Michelle thinking? I imagine her just before we met, very much the young professional, tailored and crisp, focused on her career and doing things the way they're supposed to be done, with no time for nonsense. And then this strange guy from Hawaii with a scruffy wardrobe and crazy dreams wanders into her life. That was part of my appeal, she would tell me, how different I was from the guys she'd grown up with, the men she had dated.

Different even from her own father, whom she adored: a man who had never finished community college, who had been struck by MS in his early thirties, but who had never complained and had gone to work every single day and made all of Michelle's dance recitals and Craig's basketball games, and was always present for his family, truly his pride and joy.

那时，米歇尔在想什么呢？我想象着在我们相遇之前，她是一位年轻的职业女性，衣着整洁得体，专注于职业发展，按照既定方式努力工作，没有时间去理会无谓的事情。然后，一个来自夏威夷的穿着褴褛、心怀疯狂梦想的陌生人走进了她的生活。她告诉我，这正是我吸引她的部分——我与她曾交往过的男孩和她自己的父亲都不一样。她十分爱戴她的父亲，可他从未完成社区大学的学业，在三十多岁时便被诊断患上多发性硬化症，但他从未抱怨过，每天都去上班，参加米歇尔的舞蹈比赛和克雷格的篮球比赛，一直呵护着家人，真正是他的骄傲和喜悦。

Life with me promised Michelle something else, those things that she saw she had missed as a child. Adventure. Travel. A breaking of constraints. Just as her roots in Chicago—her big, extended family, her common sense, her desire to be a good mom above all else—promised an anchor that I'd been missing for much of my youth. We didn't just love each other and make each other laugh and share the same basic values—there was symmetry there, the way we complemented each other. We could have each other's back, guard each other's blind spots. We could be a team.

和我在一起的生活向米歇尔承诺了不同的东西，她在童年时所错过的那些东西。冒险、旅行、突破约束。正如她在芝加哥的根——她庞大的家族、她的常识、她最重要的愿望是做一个好妈妈——在很大程度上承诺了一种锚定，而我在我的青春期间缺失了这种锚定。我们不仅彼此相爱、相互取笑，分享着同样的基本价值观——还有一种对称性，我们互相补充。我们可以相互支持，保护彼此的盲点。我们可以成为一个团队。

Of course, that was another way of saying we were very different, in experience and in temperament. For Michelle, the road to the good life was narrow and full of hazards. Family was all you could count on, big risks weren't taken lightly, and outward success—a good job, a nice house—never made you feel ambivalent because failure and want were all around you, just a layoff or a shooting away. Michelle never worried about selling out, because growing up on the South Side meant you were always, at some level, an outsider. In her mind, the roadblocks to making it were plenty clear; you didn't have to go looking for them. The doubts arose from having to prove, no matter how well you did, that you belonged in the room—prove it not just to those who doubted you but to yourself.

當然，這樣說也就意味著我們在經歷和性情上非常不同。對米歇爾來說，通往美好生活的道路狹窄且充滿風險。家庭是唯一可以依靠的，不會輕易冒險，外在成功——如好工作、漂亮的房子——永遠不會讓你感到矛盾，因為失敗和缺乏總是在身邊，只要有一次裁員或槍擊事件就會發生。米歇爾從不擔心出賣自己，因為在南區長大意味著你總是在某種程度上是局外人。在她的心目中，成功的障礙清晰可見，你不需要去尋找它們。疑慮是源於必須證明自己屬於這個圈子，無論做得多好，都要證明給那些懷疑你的人和自己看。

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AS LAW SCHOOL was coming to an end, I told Michelle of my plan. I wouldn't clerk. Instead, I'd move back to Chicago, try to keep my hand in community work while also practicing law at a small firm that specialized in civil rights. If a good opportunity presented itself, I said, I could even see myself running for office.

None of this came as a surprise to her. She trusted me, she said, to do what I believed was right.

"But I need to tell you, Barack," she said, "I think what you want to do is really hard. I mean, I wish I had your optimism. Sometimes I do. But people can be so selfish and just plain ignorant. I think a lot of people don't want to be bothered. And I think politics seems like it's full of people willing to do anything for power, who just think about themselves. Especially in Chicago. I'm not sure you'll ever change that."

當法學院即將結束時，我告訴米歇爾我的計劃。我不會當助理法官。相反，我會搬回芝加哥，在一家專門從事民權的小型律師事務所實踐法律，同時試圖保持我對社區工作的參與。如果出現好的機會，我甚至可以考慮競選公職。

她沒有感到意外。她說，她相信我會做我認為對的事情。

"但我必須告訴你，巴拉克，"她說，"我認為你想做的事很困難。我的意思是，我希望我有你的樂觀主義。有時候我也有。但人們可以如此自私和愚昧。我認為許多人不想被麻煩。而且我覺得政治似乎充滿了願意為權力不擇手段、只關心自己的人。尤其是在芝加哥。我不確定你能改變這種狀況。"

"I can try, can't I?" I said with a smile. "What's the point of having a fancy law degree if you can't take some risks? If it doesn't work, it doesn't work. I'll be okay. We'll be okay."

She took my face in her hands. "Have you ever noticed that if there's a hard way and an easy way, you choose the hard way every time? Why do you think that is?"

We both laughed. But I could tell Michelle thought she was onto something. It was an insight that would carry implications for us both.

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AFTER SEVERAL YEARS of dating, Michelle and I were married at Trinity United Church of Christ on October 3, 1992, with more than three hundred of our friends, colleagues, and family members crammed happily into the pews. The service was officiated by the church's pastor, Reverend Jeremiah A. Wright, Jr., whom I'd come to know and admire during my organizer days. We were joyful. Our future together was officially beginning.

"我可以尝试，不是吗？"我带着微笑说，“拥有一张高级法律学位又有何意义，如果你不能冒一些险呢？如果不奏效，那也没有关系。我会没事的。我们会没事的。”

她用手托着我的脸，“你有没有注意到，如果有一条难路和一条易路，你总是选择难路？这是为什么？”

我们俩都笑了起来。但我知道，米歇尔认为她已经说到点子上。这一点将对我们俩都产生重要影响。

—

交往了几年之后，米歇尔和我在1992年10月3日在三一联合基督教会举行了婚礼，超过三百位我们的朋友、同事和家人高高兴兴地挤进了教堂。仪式由教会牧师耶利米·A·怀特主持，而我在组织者时期就已经认识并钦佩他。我们充满喜悦，我们的未来正式开始了。

I had passed the bar and then delayed my law practice for a year to run Project VOTE! in advance of the 1992 presidential race—one of the largest voter-registration drives in Illinois history. After returning from our honeymoon on the California coast, I taught at the University of Chicago Law School, finished my book, and officially joined Davis, Miner, Barnhill & Galland, a small civil rights firm that specialized in employment discrimination cases and did real estate work for affordable housing groups. Michelle, meanwhile, had decided she'd had enough of corporate law and made a move to the City of Chicago's Department of Planning and Development, working there for a year and a half before agreeing to direct a nonprofit youth leadership program called Public Allies.

我通过了律师考试，但在1992年总统竞选之前，我延迟了法律实践一年，负责运营“投票计划”（Project VOTE！）——伊利诺伊州历史上最大的选民登记活动之一。在我们从加利福尼亚海岸度蜜月后，我在芝加哥大学法学院任教，完成了我的著作，并正式加入了戴维斯、矿工、巴恩希尔和加兰德律师事务所，这是一家专门从事雇佣歧视案件和为负担得起的住房团体提供房地产服务的小型民权律师事务所。与此同时，米歇尔已经决定不再从事公司法律工作，并转而到芝加哥市规划和发展部门工作了一年半，然后同意担任一个名为“公共盟友”的非营利性青年领导计划的负责人。

Both of us enjoyed our jobs and the people we worked with, and as time went on, we got involved with various civic and philanthropic efforts. We took in ball games and concerts and shared dinners with a widening circle of friends. We were able to buy a modest but cozy condo in Hyde Park, right across from Lake Michigan and Promontory Point, just a few doors down from where Craig and his young family lived. Michelle's mother, Marian, still lived in the family's South Shore house, less than fifteen minutes away, and we visited often, feasting on her fried chicken and greens and red velvet cake and barbecue made by Michelle's Uncle Pete. Once we were stuffed, we'd sit around the kitchen and listen to her uncles tell stories of growing up, the laughter louder as the evening wore on, while cousins and nephews and nieces bounced on the sofa cushions until they were sent out into the yard.

我们俩很享受自己的工作和同事们相处的时光，随着时间的推移，我们也参与了各种公益和慈善活动。我们一起去棒球比赛、音乐会，还和日益扩大的朋友圈分享晚餐。我们在海德公园买了一套简约却舒适的公寓，就在密歇根湖和普罗蒙托里角的对面，距离克雷格和他的年幼家人住的地方只有几扇门的距离。米歇尔的母亲玛丽安仍然住在家族在南岸拥有的房子里，距离不到15分钟车程，我们经常去拜访，享用她做的炸鸡、青菜和红丝绒蛋糕，还有米歇尔的叔叔彼得做的烤肉。吃饱后，我们会围着厨房坐下来，听她的叔叔们讲述他们的成长故事，晚间时分，笑声越来越响，而表兄弟、侄子和侄女们则在沙发垫子上跳来跳去，最后被赶出去到院子里。

Driving home in the twilight, Michelle and I sometimes talked about having kids of our own—what they might be like, or how many, and what about a dog?—and imagined all the things we'd do together as a family.

A normal life. A productive, happy life. It should have been enough.

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BUT THEN IN the summer of 1995, a political opportunity arose suddenly, through a strange chain of events. The sitting congressman from the Second District of Illinois, Mel Reynolds, had been indicted on several charges, including allegedly having sex with a sixteen-year-old campaign volunteer. If he was convicted, a special election would be promptly held to replace him. 在黃昏時開車回家時，米歇爾和我有時會談論有自己的孩子會是什麼樣子，或者會有多少個孩子，還有一只狗呢？- 然後想象我們一家人會一起做的所有事情。

一個普通的生活。一個充實，快樂的生活。這本應該足夠。

但是，在1995年的夏天，通過一連串奇怪的事件，突然出現了一個政治機會。來自伊利諾伊州第二選區的現任眾議員梅爾·雷諾斯(Mel Reynolds)因涉嫌與一名16歲的競選志願者發生性行為等多項指控而被起訴。如果他被定罪，將立即舉行特別選舉來替代他。

I didn't live in the district, and I lacked the name recognition and base of support to launch a congressional race. The state senator from our area, Alice Palmer, however, was eligible to run for the seat and, not long before the congressman was convicted in August, she threw her hat into the ring. Palmer, an African American former educator with deep roots in the community, had a solid if unremarkable record and was well liked by progressives and some of the old-time Black activists who had helped Harold get elected; and although I didn't know her, we had mutual friends. Based on the work I'd done for Project VOTE! I was asked to help her nascent campaign, and as the weeks went by, several people encouraged me to think about filing to run for Alice's soon-to-be-vacant senate seat.

我没有住在该选区，也缺乏发起一场国会选举的名气和支持基础。然而，我们所在区域的州参议员艾丽丝·帕尔默有资格竞选议员席位，而在议员在8月份被判有罪之前不久，她就加入了竞选。帕尔默是一位非裔美国人、曾经的教育工作者，在社区有着深厚的根基，她的记录扎实但不突出，受到进步派和一些曾经帮助哈罗德当选的老式黑人活动人士的喜爱；虽然我不认识她，但我们有一些共同的朋友。基于我为Project VOTE!所做的工作，我被要求帮助她初期的竞选，并且随着时间的推移，有几个人鼓励我考虑参选即将空缺的艾丽丝参议员席位。

Before talking to Michelle, I made a list of pros and cons. A state senator wasn't a glamorous post—most people had no idea who their state legislators were—and Springfield, the state capital, was notorious for old-style pork-barreling, logrolling, payola, and other political mischief. On the other hand, I had to start somewhere and pay my dues. Also, the Illinois state legislature was in session only a few weeks out of the year, which meant I could continue teaching and working at the law firm.

Best of all, Alice Palmer agreed to endorse me. With Reynolds's trial still pending, it was difficult to know how the timing would work. Technically it would

be possible for Alice to run for Congress while keeping the option of retaining her state seat if she lost the bigger race, but she insisted to me and others that she was done with the senate, ready to move on. Along with an offer of support from our local alderman, Toni Preckwinkle, who boasted the best organization in the area, my chances looked better than good.

在跟Michelle交谈之前，我列了一张优缺点列表。成为州参议员并不是一个光彩夺目的职位——大多数人都不知道自己的州议员是谁——而伊利诺伊州的首府斯普林菲尔德以老式的猪肉分配，政治交易，受贿等政治恶行而出名。但另一方面，我必须从基础做起，付出努力。此外，伊利诺伊州议会每年只开会数周，这意味着我可以继续教书并在律师事务所工作。

最重要的是，爱丽丝·帕尔默同意背书支持我。考虑到雷诺兹案仍在审理中，很难确定时机如何安排。技术上，爱丽丝可以在竞选国会议员的同时保留自己的州议员职位，如果她输了大选，可以再次担任州议员，但她向我和其他人坚称她已经结束了州参议员生涯，准备前进。加上我们当地的市议员托尼·普瑞克温克尔提供的支持，她在该地区拥有最好的组织，我的机会比好的多。

I went to Michelle and made my pitch. "Think of it as a test run," I said.

"Hmph."

"Dipping our toes in the water."

"Right."

"So what do you think?"

She pecked me on the cheek. "I think this is something you want to do, so you should do it. Just promise me I won't have to spend time in Springfield." I had one last person to check in with before I pulled the trigger. Earlier in the year, my mother had fallen sick and had been diagnosed with uterine cancer.

The prognosis wasn't good. At least once a day, the thought of losing her made my heart constrict. I'd flown to Hawaii right after she'd gotten the news and had been relieved to find that she looked like herself and was in good spirits. She confessed she was scared but wanted to be as aggressive as possible with her treatment.

我去找了Michelle并说了我的计划。“把它当作测试运行来考虑，”我说。

“哼。”

“试水一下。”

“对。”

“那你觉得怎么样？”

她轻吻我的脸颊。“我认为这是你想做的事情，所以你应该去做。只要保证我不用在斯普林菲尔德待很长时间。”

在决定之前，我还要与最后一个人商量。今年早些时候，我的母亲生病了，被诊断出患有子宫癌。

预后不太好。每天至少一次，我都会担心失去她。她得知消息后，我立刻飞到夏威夷，幸运的是，发现她看起来和往常一样，并且情绪很好。她承认自己害怕，但想尽可能采取积极的治疗措施。

"I'm not going anywhere," she said, "until you give me some grandchildren."

She received the news of my possible state senate run with her usual enthusiasm, insisting I tell her every detail. She acknowledged it would be a lot of work, but my mother was never one to see hard work as anything but good.

"Make sure Michelle's all right with it," she said. "Not that I'm the marriage expert. And don't you dare use me as an excuse not to do it. I've got enough to deal with without feeling like everybody's putting their lives on hold. It's morbid, understand?"

“你必须给我孙子，否则我不会走。”她说道。

得知我可能参加州议员竞选的消息后，她像往常一样充满热情，坚持让我告诉她每一个细节。她承认这会是一项巨大的工作，但我的母亲从来不认为艰苦的劳动是什么不好的事情。

“确保米歇尔没意见，”她说道。“我不是婚姻专家。你不能因为我而退缩。我已经有足够多的事情要处理了，不想感觉大家都在等着我们。这太不好了，明白吗？”

“Got it.”

Seven months after her diagnosis, the situation would turn grim. In September, Michelle and I flew to New York to join Maya and my mother for a consultation with a specialist at Memorial Sloan Kettering. Midway through chemo now, she was physically transformed. Her long dark hair was gone; her eyes looked hollow. Worse, the specialist's assessment was that her cancer was at stage four and that treatment options were limited. Watching my mother suck on ice cubes because her saliva glands had shut down, I did my best to put on a brave face. I told her funny stories about my work and recounted the plot of a movie I'd just seen. We laughed as Maya—nine years younger than me and then studying at New York University—reminded me what a bossy big brother I'd been. I held my mother's hand, making sure she was comfortable before she settled in to rest. Then I went back to the hotel room and cried.

“知道了。”在诊断后的七个月，情况转为严峻。在九月份，米歇尔和我飞往纽约，与玛雅和我母亲一起去看望 Memorial Sloan Kettering 的专家进行咨询。现在进行的化疗已经持续了一半时间，她的身体发生了巨大的变化。她的长发消失了，眼睛显得空洞。更糟糕的是，专家的评估是她的癌症已经进入第四阶段，治疗选择有限。看着我的母亲含着冰块，因为她的唾液腺已经关闭，我尽力保持镇定。我给她讲我的工作中有趣的故事，并回忆起一部我刚刚看过的电

影的情节。我们笑了起来，马雅——比我小九岁，当时正在纽约大学学习——提醒我我曾经是一个好管闲事的大哥哥。我握住母亲的手，确保她感到舒适之后休息。然后我回到酒店房间哭泣。”

It was on that trip to New York that I suggested my mother come stay with us in Chicago; my grandmother was too old to care for her full-time. But my mother, forever the architect of her own destiny, declined. “I’d rather be someplace familiar and warm,” she said, looking out the window. I sat there feeling helpless, thinking about the long path she had traveled in her life, how unexpected each step along the way must have been, so full of happy accidents. I’d never once heard her dwell on the disappointments. Instead she seemed to find small pleasures everywhere.

就在那次前往紐約的旅途中，我建議母親來芝加哥和我們一起生活，因為她的祖母已經太老了，無法全職照顧她。但是，我母親總是自己決定自己的命運，婉拒了我的建議。“我寧願待在一個熟悉且溫暖的地方。”她看著窗外說。我坐在那裡，感到無助，想著她的生命旅途有多麼漫長，每一步都是意外之中的意外，充滿了愉快的巧合。我從未聽她嘆息過失望，相反，她似乎在每個地方都找到了小小的快樂。

Until this.

“Life is strange, isn’t it?” she said softly.

It was.

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FOLLOWING MY MOTHER’S advice, I threw myself into my maiden political campaign. It makes me laugh to think back on what a bare-bones operation it was—not much more sophisticated than a campaign for student council. There were no pollsters, no researchers, no TV or radio buys. My announcement, on September 19, 1995, was at the Ramada Inn in Hyde Park, with pretzels and chips and a couple hundred supporters—probably a quarter of whom were related to Michelle. Our campaign literature consisted of an eight-by-four-inch card with what looked like a passport picture of me, a few lines of biography, and four or five bullet points that I’d tapped out on my computer. I’d had it printed at Kinko’s.直到這個時刻。

「人生真奇妙，不是嗎？」她柔聲地說道。

確實如此。

—  
按照我母親的建議，我全力投入了我的童貞政治競選活動。回想起當時的簡陋運作，我不禁笑了出來，這跟學生會競選活動幾乎沒有太大區別。沒有民意測驗、沒有研究員，沒有電視或廣播媒體購買。1995年9月19日，我在海德公園的拉瑪達酒店宣布競選，有脆餅和薯片和幾百名支持者——可能四分之一是米歇爾的親戚。我們的競選宣傳資料只有一張8x4英寸的卡片，上面貼了一張看起來像護照照片的照片，幾行簡介以及我在電腦上輸入的四五個要點。我在金可印店把它印出來。

I did make a point of hiring two political veterans I’d met working on Project VOTE! Carol Anne Harwell, my campaign manager, was tall and sassy, in her early forties and on loan from a West Side ward office. Although she came off as irrepressibly cheerful, she knew her way around Chicago’s bare-knuckle politics. Ron Davis, a big grizzly bear of a man, was our field director and petition expert. He had a gray-flecked Afro, scraggly facial hair, and thick wire-rimmed glasses, his bulk hidden by the untucked black shirt he seemed to wear every single day.

我特别聘请了两位我曾在“投票计划”项目中遇到的政治老手。我的竞选经理卡罗尔·安·哈韦尔身材高大，私底下有点嚣张，年龄在四十岁左右，是从西区选区借来的。尽管她表现得极为开朗，但她熟悉芝加哥的街头政治。罗恩·戴维斯是我们的实地主管和请愿专家，一个大个子棕色熊一样的男人。他头上有灰色点缀的蓬松卷发，下面是稀疏的胡渣，还有厚重的金属框眼镜，他的身形被藏在一件似乎每天都穿的敞着的黑衬衣里。

Ron proved to be indispensable: Illinois had strict ballot access rules, designed to make life hard on challengers who didn’t have party support. To get on the ballot, a candidate needed more than seven hundred registered voters who lived in the district to sign a petition that was circulated and attested to by someone who also lived in the district. A “good” signature had to be legible, accurately linked to a local address, and from a registered voter. I still remember the first time a group of us gathered around our dining room table, Ron huffing and puffing as he passed out clipboards with the petitions attached, along with voter files and a sheet of instructions. I suggested that before we talked about petitions, we should organize some meet-the-candidate forums, maybe draft some position papers. Carol and Ron looked at each other and laughed.

罗恩证明自己是不可缺少的：伊利诺伊州有严格的选票准入规则，旨在使没有党派支持的挑战者难以立足。为了上选票，候选人需要有超过七百名居住在该地区的注册选民签署由居住在该地区的人证明的请愿书。一个“好”的签名必须清晰可辨，与当地地址精确连接，并来自注册选民。我仍然记得我们第一次聚在餐桌旁时的情景，罗恩喘着气，分发着附有请愿书、选民档案和一张说明书的夹板。我建议在讨论请愿书之前，我们应该组织一些接触候选人的论坛，或者起草一些立场文件。Carol和Ron看着彼此笑了起来。

“Boss, let me tell you something,” Carol said. “You can save all that League of Women Voters shit for after the election. Right now, the only thing that matters is these petitions. The folks you’re running against, they’re gonna go through these things with a fine-tooth comb to see if your signatures are legit. If they’re not, you don’t get to play. And I guarantee you, no matter how careful we are, about half of the signatures will end up being bad, which is why we got to get at least twice as many as they say we do.”

“老板，我有话要对您说，”卡罗尔说道。“您可以把那些妇女选民联盟的事留到选举之后再说。现在唯一重要的事情是这些请愿书。您的竞争对手将会仔细审查这些请愿书的签名是否真实有效。如果无效，您将无法参选。而且我保证，无论我们多么小心，至少一半的签名都将是不合法的，这就是为什么我们要至少得到两倍的所需签名数。”

“Four times as many,” Ron corrected, handing me a clipboard.

Duly chastened, I drove out to one of the neighborhoods Ron had selected to gather signatures. It felt just like my early organizing days, going from

house to house, some people not home or unwilling to open the door; women in hair curlers with kids scampering about, men doing yard work; occasionally young men in T-shirts and do-rags, breath thick with alcohol as they scanned the block. There were those who wanted to talk to me about problems at the local school or the gun violence that was creeping into what had been a stable, working-class neighborhood. But mostly folks would take the clipboard, sign it, and try as quickly as possible to get back to what they'd been doing.“四倍多。”罗恩纠正着，递给我一个剪贴板。

我受到了惩戒，便开车前往罗恩选定的一个社区收集签名。这感觉就像我早期的组织工作，从门到门，有些人不在家或不愿意开门；有着卷发夹的女人带着孩子四处乱窜，男人在做园艺工作；偶尔有穿着T恤和头巾的年轻人，呼出浓密的酒精气息，扫视着街区。有些人想和我谈谈当地学校的问题，或是潜入这个曾经稳定的工人阶级社区的枪支暴力事件。不过大多数人会拿起剪贴板，签上自己的名字，然后尽快回到他们原本在做的事情上。

If knocking on doors was pretty standard fare for me, the experience was new to Michelle, who gamely dedicated part of every weekend to helping out. And while she'd often collect more signatures than I did—with her megawatt smile and stories of growing up just a few blocks away—there were no smiles two hours later when we'd get back into the car to drive home.

“All I know,” she said at one point, “is that I must really love you to spend my Saturday morning doing this.”

Over the course of several months, we managed to collect four times the number of required signatures. When I wasn't at the firm or teaching, I visited block clubs, church socials, and senior citizen homes, making my case to voters. I wasn't great. My stump speech was stiff, heavy on policy speak, short on inspiration and humor. I also found it awkward to talk about myself. As an organizer, I'd been trained to always stay in the background.

如果敲門是我的標準工作，那對米歇爾來說這是一個新經驗，她每個週末都毫不遲疑地幫忙。雖然她經常收集的簽名比我多，因為她的超級笑容和生長在幾條街以外的故事，但在兩個小時後，當我們回到車子裡開車回家時，她絲毫沒有微笑。

她有一次說：“我知道的是我一定非常愛你，才會在星期六早上做這件事。”

在幾個月的時間裡，我們成功收集了四倍於所需的簽名。當我不在公司或教學時，我參觀鄰里俱樂部、教堂社交活動和老人院，向選民宣傳我的觀點。我並不擅長演講，我的政策言談過於呆板，缺乏激勵和幽默。而且，我發現自我介紹很尷尬。作為一個組織者，我一直被訓練在幕後工作。

I did get better, though, more relaxed, and slowly the ranks of my supporters grew. I rounded up endorsements from local officials, pastors, and a handful of progressive organizations; I even got a few position papers drafted. And I'd like to say that this is how my first campaign ended—the plucky young candidate and his accomplished, beautiful, and forbearing wife, starting with a few friends in their dining room, rallying the people around a new brand of politics.

But that's not how it happened. In August 1995, our disgraced congressman was finally convicted and sentenced to prison; a special election was called for late November. With his seat empty and the timeline officially set, others besides Alice Palmer jumped into the congressional race, among them Jesse Jackson, Jr., who had drawn national attention for the stirring introduction of his father at the 1988 Democratic National Convention. Michelle and I knew and liked Jesse Jr. His sister Santita had been one of Michelle's best friends in high school and the maid of honor at our wedding. He was popular enough that his announcement immediately changed the dynamics of the race, putting Alice at an enormous disadvantage.

我确实变得更好了，更加轻松，并且我的支持者数量慢慢增加。我收到了来自当地官员、牧师和一些进步组织的认可；我甚至准备了几份立场文件。我想说，我的第一次竞选就是这样结束的——这位勇敢年轻的候选人和他优秀、美丽、忍耐的妻子从他们的餐厅里出发，团结人民，推广新的政治品牌。

但事实并非如此。1995年8月，我们沮丧的国会议员终于被定罪并被判入狱；特别选举定于11月下旬举行。随着他的席位空缺和时间表正式确定，除了艾丽丝·帕尔默外，其他人也加入了国会竞选，其中包括杰西·杰克逊·朱尤，他在1988年民主党全国大会上为他的父亲进行了激动人心的介绍而引起了全国媒体的关注。米歇尔和我认识并喜欢杰西·杰克逊·朱尤，他的姐姐桑蒂塔是米歇尔高中最好的朋友，也是我们婚礼的伴娘。他非常受欢迎，他的宣布立即改变了竞选的动态，使艾丽丝处于极大的劣势。

And because the special congressional election was now going to take place a few weeks before petitions for Alice's senate seat had to be filed, my team started to worry.

“You better check again to make sure Alice isn't going to mess with you if she loses to Jesse Jr.,” Ron said.

I shook my head. “She promised me she wasn't running. Gave me her word. And she's said it publicly. In the papers, even.”

“That's fine, Barack. But can you just check again, please?”

I did, phoning Alice and once again getting her assurance that regardless of what happened with her congressional run, she still intended to leave state politics.

由于特别国会选举现在要在爱丽丝提名参议员的签名截止日期前几周举行，我的团队开始担心起来。

“如果她输给杰西少爷，你最好再确认一下，看看爱丽丝会不会对你进行干扰。”罗恩说。

我摇了摇头。“她向我保证她不会参选。她发誓了。而且她公开说过，在报纸上都说过。”

“那好，巴拉克。但是请你再确认一下，好吗？”

我打了电话给爱丽丝，再次得到了她的保证，无论她在国会竞选中遇到什么事情，她仍打算离开州政治圈。

But when Jesse Jr. handily won the special election, with Alice coming in a distant third, something shifted. Stories started surfacing in the local press about a “Draft Alice Palmer” campaign. A few of her longtime supporters asked for a meeting, and when I showed up they advised me to get out of the

race. The community couldn't afford to give up Alice's seniority, they said. I should be patient; my turn would come. I stood my ground—I had volunteers and donors who had already invested a lot in the campaign, after all; I had stuck with Alice even when Jesse Jr. got in—but the room was unmoved. By the time I spoke to Alice, it was clear where events were headed. The following week she held a press conference in Springfield, announcing that she was filing her own last-minute petitions to get on the ballot and retain her seat.

但是，当杰西·杰克逊Jr.轻松地赢得特别选举，而艾丽丝排名第三时，情况发生了变化。当地媒体开始报道“支持艾丽丝·帕尔默竞选”的故事。她的几个长期支持者要求见面，当我出现时，他们建议我退出比赛。他们说社区无法承担失去艾丽丝的资历。我应该耐心等待我的机会。我坚持自己的立场 - 毕竟，我已经有志愿者和捐赠者在竞选中投入了很多精力; 当杰西·杰克逊Jr.进入竞选时，我一直坚定地支持艾丽丝。但是这个房间没有动摇。当我和艾丽丝交谈时，事件的走向已经很清楚了。接下来的一周，她在斯普林菲尔德举行了新闻发布会，宣布她正在提交自己的最后一分钟的请求，以在选民名单上保留自己的席位。

“Told ya,” Carol said, taking a drag from her cigarette and blowing a thin plume of smoke to the ceiling.

I felt disheartened and betrayed, but I figured all was not lost. We had built up a good organization over the previous few months, and almost all the elected officials who'd endorsed me said they'd stick with us. Ron and Carol were less sanguine.

“Hate to tell you, boss,” Carol said, “but most folks still have no idea who you are. Shit, they don't know who she is either, but—no offense, now—‘Alice Palmer’ is a hell of a lot better ballot name than ‘Barack Obama.’”

“卡罗尔说：“我告诉你了。”她从烟中吸了一口，吹了一股薄烟上升到天花板。

我感到沮丧和背叛，但我想一切还没有结束。在过去的几个月里，我们建立了一个很好的组织，几乎所有支持我的当选官员都说他们会和我们一起。罗恩和卡罗尔则不那么乐观。

“老板，我很抱歉告诉你，”卡罗尔说，“但大多数人仍然不知道你是谁。该死，他们也不知道她是谁，但是 - 不冒犯，现在的话 - '艾丽斯·帕尔默' 是比 '巴拉克·奥巴马' 更好的投票名字。”

I saw her point but told them we were going to see things through, even as a number of prominent Chicagoans were suddenly urging me to drop out of the race. And then one afternoon Ron and Carol arrived at my house, breathless and looking like they'd won the lottery.

“Alice's petitions,” Ron said. “They're terrible. Worst I've ever seen. All those Negroes who were trying to bully you out of the race, they didn't bother actually doing the work. This could get her knocked off the ballot.”

I looked through the informal tallies Ron and our campaign volunteers had done. It was true; the petitions Alice had submitted appeared to be filled with invalid signatures: people whose addresses were outside the district, multiple signatures with different names but the same handwriting. I scratched my head. “I don't know, guys...”

我明白她的想法，但我告诉他们我们会坚持到底，尽管许多著名的芝加哥人突然敦促我退出竞选。然后有一天下午，罗恩和卡罗尔气喘吁吁地来到我家，看起来像赢了彩票一样。

“艾丽丝的申请表，”罗恩说。“太糟糕了。我见过的最糟糕的。所有那些试图吓唬你退出竞选的黑人，他们没有真正去做这项工作。这可能会让她被否决掉。”

我查阅了罗恩和我们的竞选志愿者所做的非正式计票。事实是，爱丽丝提交的申请表似乎充满了无效的签名：地址在选区之外的人，多个不同姓名但笔迹相同的签名。我摸了摸头。“我不知道，伙计们……”

“You don't know what?” Carol said.

“I don't know if I want to win like this. I mean, yeah, I'm pissed about what's happened. But these ballot rules don't make much sense. I'd rather just beat her.”

Carol pulled back, her jaw tightening. “This woman gave you her word, Barack!” she said. “We've all been busting our asses out here, based on that promise. And now, when she tries to screw you, and can't even do that right, you're going to let her get away with it? You don't think they would knock you off the ballot in a second if they could?” She shook her head. “Naw, Barack. You're a good guy...that's why we believe in you. But if you let this go, you might as well go back to being a professor and whatnot, 'cause politics is not for you. You will get chewed up and won't be doing anybody a damn bit of good.”

“你不知道什麼？”卡羅爾說。

“我不知道我是否想要像這樣贏。我的意思是，是的，我對發生的事情感到憤怒。但這些選票規則沒有多大意義。我寧願打敗她。”

卡羅爾退縮了，她的下巴收緊了。“這個女人給了你她的承諾，巴拉克!”她說。“我們所有人都在基於那個承諾為此努力。現在，當她試圖騙你的時候，甚至不能做到正確，你就要讓她得逞？你不認為他們會在一秒鐘內撤下你的選票嗎？”她搖了搖頭。“不，巴拉克。你是一個好人……這就是為什麼我們相信你。但如果你讓這件事情消失，你可能就要回到成為一個教授之類的工作，因為政治不適合你。你會被吞噬，不會對任何人有任何幫助。”

I looked at Ron, who said quietly, “She's right.”

I leaned back in my chair and lit a cigarette. I felt suspended in time, trying to decipher what I was feeling in my gut. How much did I want this? I reminded myself about what I believed I could get done in office, how hard I was willing to work if I got the chance.

“Okay,” I said finally.

“Okay!” Carol said, her smile returning. Ron gathered up his papers and put them in his bag.

It would take a couple of months for the process to play out, but with my decision that day, the race was effectively over. We filed our challenge with the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners and when it became clear the board was going to rule in our favor, Alice dropped out. While we were at it, we

knocked several other Democrats with bad petitions off the ballot as well. Without a Democratic opponent and with only token Republican opposition, I was on my way to the state senate.

我看了看罗恩，他轻声说：“她是对的。”

我瘫坐在椅子上，点燃一支香烟。我感到时间停滞了，试图理解自己内心的感受。我有多想要这个职位？我想起了我相信我能在公职中完成的事情，想着如果有机会我愿意多努力一些。

“好的，”我最终说道。

“好的！”卡罗尔说着，她的微笑重新出现。罗恩收拾起文件放进袋中。

整个过程需要几个月的时间，但是在那一天我做的这个决定，竞选基本上就结束了。我们向芝加哥选举委员会提出了挑战，当该委员会明确会支持我们时，爱丽丝退出了。顺便说一句，我们也让其他几位提交无效请愿书的民主党人从候选名单上下来了。由于没有民主党对手，只有象征性的共和党反对，我在上州议会的路途上就此开启了。

Whatever vision I had for a more noble kind of politics, it would have to wait.

I suppose there are useful lessons to draw from that first campaign. I learned to respect the nuts and bolts of politics, the attention to detail required, the daily grind that might prove the difference between winning and losing. It confirmed, too, what I already knew about myself: that whatever preferences I had for fair play, I didn't like to lose.

But the lesson that stayed with me most had nothing to do with campaign mechanics or hardball politics. It had to do with the phone call I received from Maya in Hawaii one day in early November, well before I knew how my race would turn out.

無論我對更崇高的政治有甚麼願景，都必須等待。我猜從那次競選中可以獲取一些有用的教訓。我學會了尊重政治的基礎細節，了解到勝敗的關鍵在於細節。這也確認我的自我認識：我喜歡公平競爭，但不喜歡輸。然而，最讓我受益的教訓並不是關於競選技巧或硬球政治，而是那個早在11月初的一天我接到從夏威夷的瑪雅打來的一通電話。

“She's taken a bad turn, Bar,” Maya said.

“How bad?”

“I think you need to come now.”

I already knew that my mother's condition had been deteriorating; I'd spoken to her just a few days before. Hearing a new level of pain and resignation in her voice, I had booked a flight to Hawaii for the following week.

“Can she talk?” I asked Maya now.

“I don't think so. She's fading in and out.”

I hung up the phone and called the airline to reschedule my flight for first thing in the morning. I called Carol to cancel some campaign events and run through what needed to be done in my absence. A few hours later, Maya called back.

“瑪雅說：‘她病情惡化了，Bar。’

“有多嚴重？”

“我想你現在需要過來。”

我已經知道我母親的病情正在惡化，幾天前我還和她談過話。聽到她的聲音中有新的痛苦和頹廢，我已經預訂了下周去夏威夷的航班。

“她能說話嗎？”我現在問瑪雅。

“我不覺得。她時而清醒時而昏迷。”

我掛斷了電話，打電話給航空公司將我的航班改到第二天早上。我打電話給卡羅爾取消一些競選活動，並過一遍在我離開期間需要做的事情。幾個小時後，瑪雅回電了。

“I'm sorry, honey. Mom's gone.” She had never regained consciousness, my sister told me; Maya had sat at her hospital bedside, reading out loud from a book of folktales as our mother slipped away.

We held a memorial service that week, in the Japanese garden behind the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii. I remembered playing there as a child, my mother sitting in the sun and watching me as I tumbled in the grass, hopped over the rock steps, and caught tadpoles in the stream that ran down one side. Afterward, Maya and I drove out to the lookout near Koko Head and scattered her ashes into the sea, the waves crashing against the rocks. And I thought about my mother and sister alone in that hospital room, and me not there, so busy with my grand pursuits. I knew I could never get that moment back. On top of my sorrow, I felt a great shame.

“對不起，親愛的。媽媽走了。”我姐告訴我，母親再也沒有恢復意識了，瑪雅一邊在醫院床邊朗讀民間故事書，一邊看著母親逐漸離開了這個世界。

這周，我們在夏威夷大學東西中心後面的日式花園舉辦了追悼會。我記得我孩童時玩耍的情景，母親坐在陽光下看著我在草地上翻滾，在石階上跳躍，還在小溪裡捉蝌蚪。之後，瑪雅和我一起開車到了“光之頭”附近的觀景點，將母親的骨灰撒在大海中，海浪拍打著岩石。我想起母親和姐姐獨自在醫院房間裡，而我卻不在場，忙於我的大事業。我知道我永遠無法挽回那一刻。除了悲傷，我還感到了一種巨大的羞愧。

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UNLESS YOU LIVE at the southern tip of Chicago, the quickest route to Springfield is via I-55. During rush hour, heading out of downtown and through the western suburbs, traffic slows to a crawl; but once you get past Joliet things open up, a straight, smooth spread of asphalt cutting southwest through

Bloomington (home of State Farm insurance and Beer Nuts) and Lincoln (named after the president, who helped incorporate the town when he was still just a lawyer) and taking you past miles and miles of corn.

除非你住在芝加哥的南端，否则到斯普林菲尔德的最快路线是通过I-55。在高峰时间，从市中心穿过西郊区时，交通会减速；但是一旦你经过朱利埃特，事情就会变得开阔，一条笔直、平滑的沥青路铺成了通向西南方向，穿过布卢明顿(州农场保险和啤酒果仁的家乡)和林肯(以总统的名字命名，当他仍然只是个律师时帮助组建了这个城镇)，并带你经过数英里的玉米田。

For almost eight years I made this drive, usually alone, usually in about three and a half hours, trekking back and forth to Springfield for a few weeks in the fall and through much of the winter and early spring, when the Illinois legislature did the bulk of its work. I'd drive down Tuesday night after dinner and get back home Thursday evening or Friday morning. Cell phone service dropped about an hour outside of Chicago, and the only signals that registered on the dial after that were talk radio and Christian music stations. To stay awake, I listened to audiobooks, the longer the better—novels mostly (John le Carré and Toni Morrison were favorites) but also histories, of the Civil War, the Victorian era, the fall of the Roman Empire.

幾乎八年來，我一直獨自駕車旅行，通常需要約三個半小時的時間，來回穿梭於春田市和我的家之間，一直到秋季和冬初的大部分時間，當時伊利諾伊州議會做最多的工作。我通常是在星期二晚餐後開車去，然後在星期四晚上或星期五早上回家。芝加哥市外大約一小時的地方，手機服務就不行了，之後只有談話廣播和基督教音樂電台的信號。為了保持警覺，我會聽有聲書，而且應該越長越好—主要是小說（約翰·勒卡雷和托尼·莫里森是我的最愛），還有一些歷史書，如美國南北戰爭，維多利亞時代和羅馬帝國的崩潰。

When asked, I'd tell skeptical friends how much I was learning in Springfield, and, for the first few years at least, it was true. Of all fifty states, Illinois best represented the demographics of the nation, home to a teeming metropolis, sprawling suburbs, farm country, factory towns, and a downstate region considered more southern than northern. On any given day, under the high dome of the capitol, you'd see a cross section of America on full display, a Carl Sandburg poem come to life. There were inner-city kids jostling one another on a field trip, well-coiffed bankers working their flip phones, farmers in seed caps looking to widen the locks that allowed industrial barges to take their crops to market. You'd see Latina moms looking to fund a new day-care center and middle-aged biker crews, complete with muttonchops and leather jackets, trying to stop yet another legislative effort to make them wear helmets.

當被問及時，我會告訴懷疑的朋友在春田市我學到了多少，至少在最初的幾年是真的。在五十個州中，伊利諾伊州最能代表全國的民族結構，擁有一個熱鬧的大都市、廣闊的郊區、農田、工廠城鎮和一個被認為更南方而不是北方的下州地區。在國會大廈高圓頂下的任何一天，你都可以看到一個美國的樣本，一首卡爾·桑德伯格的詩成為現實。有城市內部的孩子在野外旅行中擠擁著，整齊的銀行家在用翻轉手機工作，戴著種子帽的農民正在尋求擴寬允許工業駁船運送他們的農作物到市場的水閘門。你會看到拉丁裔的媽媽們正在尋求資金來建立一個新的日托中心，還有帶著綿羊胡子和皮夾克的中年機車隊，試圖阻止另一個立法舉措要求他們戴安全帽。

I kept my head down in those early months. Some of my colleagues were suspicious of my odd name and Harvard pedigree, but I did my homework and helped raise money for other senators' campaigns. I got to know my fellow legislators and their staffers not just in the senate chamber but also on the basketball court and at golf outings and during the weekly bipartisan poker games we organized—with a two-dollar, three-raise limit, the room thick with smoke, trash talk, and the slow fizz of yet another beer can being opened.

在那些早期的月份里，我一直低头走路。我的一些同事对我的奇怪名字和哈佛出身持怀疑态度，但我认真学习，为其他参议员的竞选筹款。我不仅在参议院会堂，而且在篮球场、高尔夫球比赛和每周举办的两党扑克牌游戏中认识了我的同事和他们的员工——在这个游戏中，限制为两美元、三个加注，房间里弥漫着烟雾、废话和另一个啤酒罐子的缓慢沸腾。

It helped that I already knew the senate minority leader, a hefty Black man in his sixties named Emil Jones. He'd come up through the ranks of one of the traditional ward organizations under Daley Sr. and represented the district where I'd once organized. That's how we first met: I'd brought a group of parents to his office, demanding a meeting to get a college prep program funded for area youth. Rather than stiff-arm us, he invited us in.

"You may not know it," he said, "but I been waiting for y'all to show up!" He explained how he'd never had the chance to graduate from college himself; he wanted to make sure more state money was steered to neglected Black neighborhoods. "I'm gonna leave it up to you to figure out what we need," he told me with a slap on the back as my group left his office. "You leave the politics to me."我已经认识参议院少数党领袖——一个奥黛尔·西尼奥 (Daley Sr.) 时代传统选区组织中的重量级黑人男性，他已在六十多岁的年纪了，名叫艾米尔·琼斯 (Emil Jones)。他代表我曾经组织过的那个区。我们第一次相遇是这样的：我带着一群家长去他的办公室，要求会面以获得为当地青年资助大学预科课程的资金。他没有为难我们，反而邀请我们进去了。

"你们可能不知道，"他说，"但我一直在等着你们现身！"他解释说，他自己从未有机会毕业上大学；他希望更多的州资金流向被忽视的黑人社区。"关于我们需要什么，我要把决定权交给你们，"他在我的团队离开他的办公室时拍了拍我的背，"关于政治的事情，交给我处理就好了。"

Sure enough, Emil got the program funded, and our friendship carried over to the senate. He took an odd pride in me and became almost protective of my reformist ways. Even when he badly needed a vote on a deal he was cooking up (getting riverboat gambling licensed in Chicago was a particular obsession), he would never squeeze me if I told him I couldn't do it—though he wasn't above uttering a few choice curses as he charged off to try someone else.

"Barack's different," he once told a staffer. "He's going places."

埃米尔最终获得了项目的资助，我们之间的友谊也延续到了参议院。他对我感到骄傲，而且几乎对我这种改革者具有保护作用。即使他在筹备某项计划时急需我的投票（特别是让芝加哥合法化赌博船只的计划），他也不会强迫我去做——尽管他可能会在咒骂中投向其他人的时候恨恨地说几句。

"巴拉克不一样"，他曾告诉一位助手。"他要走得更远。"

For all my diligence and Emil's goodwill, neither of us could change one stark fact: We were in the minority party. Republicans in the Illinois senate had adopted the same uncompromising approach that Newt Gingrich was using at the time to neuter Democrats in Congress. The GOP exercised absolute control over what bills got out of committee and which amendments were in order. Springfield had a special designation for junior members in the minority like me—"mushrooms," because "you're fed shit and kept in the dark."

儘管我們努力不懈且艾米爾非常友好，但我們無法改變一個殘酷的事實：我們是少數黨。伊利諾伊州參議院的共和黨人採取了與當時紐特金裡奇在國會中專橫的立場相同的方法來削弱民主黨人。共和黨對哪些法案出委員會以及哪些修正案得到批准擁有絕對控制權。斯普林菲尔德對像我這樣的少數派初級成員有一個特殊的稱呼——“蘑菇”，因為“你被喂著屎然後被關在黑暗中”。

On occasion, I found myself able to shape significant legislation. I helped make sure Illinois's version of the national welfare reform bill signed by Bill Clinton provided sufficient support for those transitioning to work. In the wake of one of Springfield's perennial scandals, Emil assigned me to represent the caucus on a committee to update the ethics laws. Nobody else wanted the job, figuring it was a lost cause, but thanks to a good rapport with my Republican counterpart, Kirk Dillard, we passed a law that curbed some of the more embarrassing practices—making it impossible, for example, to use campaign dollars for personal items like a home addition or a fur coat. (There were senators who didn't talk to us for weeks after that.)

有时候，我有机会参与重要的立法。我帮助确保伊利诺伊州的全国福利改革法案与比尔·克林顿签署的法案一样，为那些正在转向工作的人提供足够的支持。在发生一次斯普林菲尔德的经常性丑闻之后，艾米尔指派我代表核心小组在一个委员会上更新道德法规。没有其他人愿意接手这件事，他们认为这是一场徒劳无功的斗争，但由于我与共和党对手柯克·迪拉德的良好关系，我们通过了一项法律，限制了一些更为尴尬的做法——例如，不再可能使用竞选资金购买个人物品，如新建房屋或毛皮大衣。(那时有些参议员在这件事之后的几周里都不和我们说话)。

More typical was the time, toward the end of the first session, when I rose from my seat to oppose a blatant tax giveaway to some favored industry when the state was cutting services for the poor. I had lined up my facts and prepared with the thoroughness of a courtroom lawyer; I pointed out why such unjustified tax breaks violated the conservative market principles Republicans claimed to believe in. When I sat down, the senate president, Pate Philip—a beefy, white-haired ex-Marine notorious for insulting women and people of color with remarkably casual frequency—wandered up to my desk.更典型的情况是，在第一届会议结束时，我站起身来反对一项明显的税收优惠政策，当时该州正削减对穷人的服务。我已经准备好了我的事实，并以法庭律师的彻底性做好了准备；我指出为什么这些不合理的税收优惠违反了共和党所声称信仰的保守市场原则。当我坐下来时，参议院主席帕特·菲利普（Pate Philip）——一个以极其轻松的频率侮辱妇女和有色人种而臭名昭著的肥胖、白发的前海军陆战队员——漫步到我的桌子前。

"That was a hell of a speech," he said, chewing on an unlit cigar. "Made some good points."

"Thanks."

"Might have even changed a lot of minds," he said. "But you didn't change any votes." With that, he signaled to the presiding officer and watched with satisfaction as the green lights signifying "aye" lit up the board.

That was politics in Springfield: a series of transactions mostly hidden from view, legislators weighing the competing pressures of various interests with the dispassion of bazaar merchants, all the while keeping a careful eye on the handful of ideological hot buttons—guns, abortion, taxes—that might generate heat from their base.

“那是一篇逼人的演讲，”他嚼着未点燃的雪茄说，“提出了一些好观点。”

“谢谢。”

“可能会改变很多人的想法，”他说，“但你并没有改变任何投票。”说完，他向议长示意，满意地看着代表“赞成”的绿色灯亮起。

这就是斯普林菲尔德的政治：一系列大多数隐藏在视野之外的交易，立法者以集市商贩的冷静衡量不同利益的竞争压力，同时小心翼翼地关注几个意识形态热点——枪支、堕胎、税收——可能会引起他们基础选民的反弹。

It wasn't that people didn't know the difference between good and bad policy. It just didn't matter. What everyone in Springfield understood was that 90 percent of the time the voters back home weren't paying attention. A complicated but worthy compromise, bucking party orthodoxy to support an innovative idea—that could cost you a key endorsement, a big financial backer, a leadership post, or even an election.

Could you get voters to pay attention? I tried. Back in the district, I accepted just about any invitation that came my way. I started writing a regular column for the Hyde Park Herald, a neighborhood weekly with a readership of less than five thousand. I hosted town halls, setting out refreshments and stacks of legislative updates, and then usually sat there with my lonesome staffer, looking at my watch, waiting for a crowd that never came.不是人们不知道好政策和坏政策的区别，只是这些都没有关系。在斯普林菲尔德，每个人都知道，90%的时间选民在家里都不关心政治。一个复杂但值得的妥协，打破政党正统以支持创新的想法，这可能会让你失去重要的支持、大笔的资金支持、领导职位，甚至会让你输掉选举。

你能让选民关注到吗？我曾经努力过。回到选区，我接受几乎所有的邀请。我开始为海德公园先锋报写专栏，这是一个只有不到五千名读者的邻里周报。我主持镇厅会议，准备好茶点和立法更新的资料，然后通常会坐在那里，和孤独的工作人员一起等待从未到来的人群。

I couldn't blame folks for not showing up. They were busy, they had families, and surely most of the debates in Springfield seemed remote. Meanwhile, on the few high-profile issues that my constituents did care about, they probably agreed with me already, since the lines of my district—like those of almost every district in Illinois—had been drawn with surgical precision to ensure one-party dominance. If I wanted more funding for schools in poor neighborhoods, if I wanted more access to primary healthcare or retraining for laid-off workers, I didn't need to convince my constituents. The people I needed to engage and persuade—they lived somewhere else.我不能指责人们不出席。他们很忙，有家庭，显然斯普林菲尔德的大多数辩论似乎与他们无关。与此同时，在我选民所关心的少数几个高调问题上，他们可能已经同意我的立场，因为像伊利诺伊州几乎每个选区的边界一样，我选区的边界也是经过

手术精确划定的，以确保一党制的支配。如果我希望在贫困社区提供更多的学校经费，如果我希望更多地提供初级医疗保健或为下岗工人提供再培训机会，我不需要说服我的选民。我需要接触和说服的人住在其他地方。

By the end of my second session, I could feel the atmosphere of the capitol weighing on me—the futility of being in the minority, the cynicism of so many of my colleagues worn like a badge of honor. No doubt it showed. One day, while I was standing in the rotunda after a bill I'd introduced went down in flames, a well-meaning lobbyist came up and put his arm around me.

“You've got to stop beating your head against the wall, Barack,” he said. “The key to surviving this place is understanding that it's a business. Like selling cars. Or the dry cleaner down the street. You start believing it's more than that, it'll drive you crazy.”

到了我第二次會議的結尾，我感覺到首都的氣氛壓在我身上——處於少數的無力感，眾多同事的玩世不恭如同徽章一樣炫耀。毫無疑問，這一切都顯示出來了。有一天，在我推出的一個議案被擊倒後，我站在圓頂廊下，一個善意的遊說者過來搭在我肩膀上。

“你必須停止撞牆，巴拉克，”他說。“在這裡生存的關鍵是了解這是一個生意。像賣車或街上的乾洗店一樣。你開始相信它超過這個範疇，它會讓你發狂。”

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SOME POLITICAL SCIENTISTS argue that everything I've said about Springfield describes exactly how pluralism is supposed to work; that the horse trading between interest groups may not be inspiring, but it keeps democracy muddling along. And maybe that argument would have gone down easier with me at the time if it weren't for the life I was missing at home.

The first two years in the legislature were fine—Michelle was busy with her own work, and although she kept her promise not to come down to the state capital except for my swearing in, we'd still have leisurely conversations on the phone on nights I was away. Then one day in the fall of 1997, she called me at the office, her voice trembling.

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有一些政治學家認為，我所描述的斯普林菲尔德城的一切正是多元主義正常運作的典範；利益集團之間的馬商交易雖然並不激勵人心，但它讓民主鄉野「混亂」地前進。如果當時我不是在家裡損失了自己的生活，或許這個論點更容易讓我接受。我在議會的前兩年還很好——米雪爾忙著自己的工作，雖然她遵守了承諾，只在我宣誓就職的時候來過州府，但當我不在家時，我們仍然可以在電話裡休閒地聊天。然而，1997年秋天的某一天，她在辦公室打來電話，聲音顫抖。

“It's happening.”

“What's happening?”

“You're going to be a daddy.”

I was going to be a daddy. How full of joy the months that followed were! I lived up to every cliché of the expectant father: attending Lamaze classes, trying to figure out how to assemble a crib, reading the book *What to Expect When You're Expecting* with pen in hand to underline key passages. Around six a.m. on the Fourth of July, Michelle poked me and said it was time to go to the hospital. I fumbled around and gathered the bag I'd set by the door, and just seven hours later was introduced to Malia Ann Obama, eight pounds and fifteen ounces of perfection.“它正在發生。”

“什么在发生？”

“你要当爸爸了。”

我将成为一个爸爸。接下来的几个月充满了喜悦！我充分体现了即将成为父亲的陈词滥调：参加拉玛泽课程，试图弄清如何组装婴儿床，带着笔阅读《怀孕时期应该期待什么》，划出关键的段落。在七月四日早上六点左右，米歇尔戳了戳我，说该去医院了。我拿起门边的袋子，七个小时后，我差点被完美的马莉亚·安·奥巴马强行认领了，她出生时八磅十五盎司。

Among her many talents, our new daughter had good timing; with no session, no classes, and no big pending cases to work on, I could take the rest of the summer off. A night owl by nature, I manned the late shift so Michelle could sleep, resting Malia on my thighs to read to her as she looked up with big questioning eyes, or dozing as she lay on my chest, a burp and good poop behind us, so warm and serene. I thought about the generations of men who had missed such moments, and I thought about my own father, whose absence had done more to shape me than the brief time I'd spent with him, and I realized that there was no place on earth I would rather be.

在我們新生女兒眾多的天賦中，她的時機感很好。沒有任何會議、課程和未竟之案可供忙碌，我可以放下所有工作來度過這個夏天的餘暇。由於天生習慣夜貓子，我在深夜輪班工作，讓米歇爾可以休息。我把瑪麗亞放在大腿上，搖著她入睡，她會用好奇的眼神看著我聽我讀書，有時她睡在我的胸上，已經打了個嗝，順利的拉過肚子，感覺是那麼的溫馨而寧靜。我想到那些錯過這些時刻的男人們，想到自己的父親，他的缺席對我造成的影響甚至比我與他相處的短暫時間還要深遠。我意識到，在這個世界上，沒有比跟我的女兒一起度過這些時光更美好的事情了。

But the strains of young parenthood eventually took their toll. After a blissful few months, Michelle went back to work, and I went back to juggling three jobs. We were lucky to find a wonderful nanny who cared for Malia during the day, but the addition of a full-time employee to our family enterprise squeezed the budget hard.

Michelle bore the brunt of all this, shuttling between mothering and work, unconvinced that she was doing either job well. At the end of each night, after feeding and bath time and story time and cleaning up the apartment and trying to keep track of whether she'd picked up the dry cleaning and making a note to herself to schedule an appointment with the pediatrician, she would often fall into an empty bed, knowing the whole cycle would start all over again in a few short hours while her husband was off doing “important things.”但年轻的父母压力最终还是让我们精疲力竭。幸福美好的几个月过后，米歇尔回到了工作岗位，而我则继续忙碌着三份工作。我们很幸运地找到了一位优秀的保姆来照顾玛利亚，但一名全职员工的加入却给我们的财政造成了极大压力。

米歇尔承受了这一切的重压，穿梭于母亲和工作之间，对自己是否做得好这两份工作持怀疑态度。每到傍晚，她经过喂养、洗澡、讲故事、打扫公寓和确认是否取回干洗衣物等琐事后，常常落入空无一物的床上，知道这一整个循环将在短短几个小时内再次开始，而她的丈夫却在为“重要的事情”忙碌。

We began arguing more, usually late at night when the two of us were thoroughly drained. "This isn't what I signed up for, Barack," Michelle said at one point. "I feel like I'm doing it all by myself."

I was hurt by that. If I wasn't working, I was home—and if I was home and forgot to clean up the kitchen after dinner, it was because I had to stay up late grading exams or fine-tuning a brief. But even as I mounted my defense, I knew I was falling short. Inside Michelle's anger lay a more difficult truth. I was trying to deliver a lot of things to a lot of different people. I was taking the hard way, just as she'd predicted back when our burdens were lighter, our personal responsibilities not so enmeshed. I thought now about the promise I'd made to myself after Malia was born; that my kids would know me, that they'd grow up knowing my love for them, feeling that I had always put them first.

我們開始經常爭吵，通常是在深夜時分，當我們兩個都已精疲力盡。“這不是我所期望的，巴拉克，”米歇爾有一次說。“我感覺像是我在獨自一個人做這一切。”

那讓我很受傷。如果我不工作，我就在家裡 - 如果我在家裡，忘記了晚餐後清理廚房，那是因為我得熬夜批改試卷或微調一份簡報。但即使我在辯護，我也知道我做得不夠好。米歇爾的怒氣之中隱藏著更困難的真相。我試圖向許多不同的人交付很多東西。我正在採取艱難的方式，就像她曾經預測的那樣，當時我們的負擔更輕，我們的個人責任不是那麼糾纏。我現在想起了瑪麗亞出生後我對自己的承諾; 我的孩子們會認識我，他們會從小就知道我對他們的愛，感覺到我始終把他們放在第一位。

Sitting in the dim light of our living room, Michelle no longer seemed angry, just sad. "Is it worth it?" she asked.

I don't recall what I said in response. I know I couldn't admit to her that I was no longer sure.

—

IT'S HARD, in retrospect, to understand why you did something stupid. I don't mean the small stuff—ruining your favorite tie because you tried to eat soup in the car or throwing out your back because you got talked into playing tackle football on Thanksgiving. I mean dumb choices in the wake of considerable deliberation: those times when you identify a real problem in your life, analyze it, and then with utter confidence come up with precisely the wrong answer.

坐在我们客厅昏暗的灯光下，米歇尔不再生气，只是悲伤。“这是否值得？”她问。

我不记得我当时回答了什么。我知道我不能告诉她我再也不确定了。

回顾过去很难理解你为什么会做一些愚蠢的事情。我不是指小事——比如因为在车里试图吃汤而毁了你最喜欢的领带，或者因为被说服在感恩节玩推挤式橄榄球而扭伤了后背。我指的是在经过深思熟虑后做出愚蠢选择的那些时刻：当你认识到你生活中真正的问题并分析后，却以极度自信的态度得出完全错误的答案。

That was me running for Congress. After numerous conversations, I had to concede that Michelle was right to question whether the difference I was making in Springfield justified the sacrifice. Rather than lightening my load, though, I went in the opposite direction, deciding I needed to step on the gas and secure a more influential office. Around this same time, veteran congressman Bobby Rush, a former Black Panther, challenged Mayor Daley in the 1999 election and got trounced, doing poorly even in his own district.

那是我竞选国会议员。在多次对话后，我不得不承认Michelle是对的，质疑我在Springfield所做的改变是否值得牺牲。然而，我没有减轻负担，相反，我决定需要加油争取更具影响力的职位。大约在同一时间，经验丰富的国会议员Bobby Rush，一位前黑豹党员，在1999年竞选芝加哥市长失败，并在他自己的选区中表现不佳。

I thought Rush's campaign had been uninspired, without a rationale other than the vague promise to continue Harold Washington's legacy. If this was how he operated in Congress, I figured I could do better. After talking it over with a few trusted advisors, I had my staff jerry-rig an in-house poll to see whether a race against Rush would be viable. Our informal sampling gave us a shot. Using the results, I was able to persuade several of my closest friends to help finance the race. And then, despite warnings from more experienced political hands that Rush was stronger than he looked, and despite Michelle's incredulity that I would somehow think she'd feel better with me being in Washington instead of Springfield, I announced my candidacy for congressman from the First Congressional District.

我认为 Rush 的竞选活动毫无灵感，没有其他理由，只有模糊的承诺继续 Harold Washington 的遗产。如果他在国会中的运作方式是这样的话，我认为我可以做得更好。在与几个值得信任的顾问商议后，我让我的工作人员在内部搭建了一个民意调查，以了解是否有可能参加对抗 Rush 的竞选。我们非正式的样本调查给了我们机会。利用这些结果，我能够说服我的几个最亲密的朋友帮助资助这次竞选。然后，尽管有更有经验的政治家警告说 Rush 比看起来强大，尽管米歇尔感到难以置信我会认为她会更喜欢我在华盛顿而不是在斯普林菲尔德，我宣布自己竞选第一国会选区的国会议员。

Almost from the start, the race was a disaster. A few weeks in, the rumblings from the Rush camp began: Obama's an outsider; he's backed by white folks; he's a Harvard elitist. And that name—is he even Black?

Having raised enough money to commission a proper poll, I discovered that Bobby had 90 percent name recognition in the district and a 70 percent approval rating, whereas only 11 percent of voters even knew who I was. Shortly thereafter, Bobby's adult son was tragically shot and killed, eliciting an outpouring of sympathy. I effectively suspended my campaign for a month and watched television coverage of the funeral taking place at my own church, with Reverend Jeremiah Wright presiding. Already on thin ice at home, I took the family to Hawaii for an abbreviated Christmas break, only to have the

governor call a special legislative session to vote on a gun control measure I supported. With eighteen-month-old Malia sick and unable to fly, I missed the vote and was roundly flayed by the Chicago press.

從一開始就失敗了，很快地，Rush 的聲音開始出現：奧巴馬是個局外人；他受到白人的支持；他是哈佛的精英主義者。那個名字——他到底算不算是黑人？

在籌集了足夠的資金進行費用償還的調查後，我發現 Bobby 在這個區域有著90%的名字知名度和70%的認可率，而只有11%的選民知道我是誰。不久之後，Bobby 的成年兒子不幸被槍擊而遇難，引起了人們的哀悼。我有效地暫停了一個月的競選活動，親眼看著電視報道我的教堂舉行的葬禮，由 Jeremiah Wright 牧師主持。此時，在家已經很困難了，我帶著家人去夏威夷度過簡短的聖誕假期，但州長召開了一個特別的立法會議來表決我支持的槍支管制措施。因為18個月大的瑪麗亞生病不能飛行，我錯過了那次表決，並受到了芝加哥媒體的猛烈抨擊。

I lost by thirty points.

When talking to young people about politics, I sometimes offer this story as an object lesson of what not to do. Usually I throw in a postscript, describing how, a few months after my loss, a friend of mine, worried that I'd fallen into a funk, insisted that I join him at the 2000 Democratic National Convention in L.A. ("You need to get back on the horse," he said.) But when I landed at LAX and tried to rent a car, I was turned down because my American Express card was over its limit. I managed to get myself to the Staples Center, but then learned that the credential my friend had secured for me didn't allow entry to the convention floor, which left me to haplessly circle the perimeter and watch the festivities on mounted TV screens. Finally, after an awkward episode later that evening in which my friend couldn't get me into a party he was attending, I took a cab back to the hotel, slept on the couch in his suite, and flew back to Chicago just as Al Gore was accepting the nomination.

我以三十分敗北了。

当和年轻人谈论政治时，我有时把这个故事作为反面教材。通常我还会补充说，在败选几个月后，我的一个朋友担心我陷入了低落情绪，坚持让我陪他去洛杉矶参加2000年的民主党全国大会（他说：“你需要重新振作起来。”）。但当我降落在LAX机场并试图租车时，我的美国运通卡已经超出了限额，租车行拒绝了我的申请。我设法到了斯台普斯中心，但随后发现我朋友为我准备的证件并不能进入会场，让我陷入了无助地在边缘游荡，观看通过安装的电视屏幕上的聚会。最后，在那天晚些时候发生的一场尴尬场面之后，我的朋友无法让我进入他要参加的派对，我就打车回到了酒店，在他的套房里的沙发上睡觉，并在阿尔·戈尔接受提名的同时飞回了芝加哥。

It's a funny story, especially in light of where I ultimately ended up. It speaks, I tell my audience, to the unpredictable nature of politics, and the necessity for resilience.

What I don't mention is my dark mood on that flight back. I was almost forty, broke, coming off a humiliating defeat and with my marriage strained. I felt for perhaps the first time in my life that I had taken a wrong turn; that whatever reservoirs of energy and optimism I thought I had, whatever potential I'd always banked on, had been used up on a fool's errand. Worse, I recognized that in running for Congress I'd been driven not by some selfless dream of changing the world, but rather by the need to justify the choices I had already made, or to satisfy my ego, or to quell my envy of those who had achieved what I had not.

這是個有趣的故事，特別是考慮到我的最終結果。我告訴我的觀眾，它揭示了政治的不可預測性以及堅韌不拔的必要性。然而，我沒有提及我在回程的航班上的那種陰暗情緒。當時我將近四十歲，一貧如洗，經歷了一次可恥的失敗，我的婚姻也感到有壓力。我感到人生中第一次走錯路；我原本依靠的能量和樂觀主義的儲備和潛力似乎已經用盡了。更糟糕的是，我意識到自己參選國會並不是因為某種無私的改變世界的夢想，而是因為需要證明自己已經做出的選擇是對的，滿足自己的自負心，或者平息自己對那些已經取得自己未達到的成就的羨慕之心。

In other words, I had become the very thing that, as a younger man, I had warned myself against. I had become a politician—and not a very good one at that.

換言之，我變成了一個年輕時曾警惕自己的人。我已經成為了一名政治家-而且不是一個很好的政治家。

### CHAPTER 3

AFTER GETTING DRUBBED BY Bobby Rush, I allowed myself a few months to mope and lick my wounds before deciding that I had to reframe my priorities and get on with things. I told Michelle I needed to do better by her. We had a new baby on the way, and even though I was still gone more than she would have preferred, she at least noticed the effort I was making. I scheduled my meetings in Springfield so that I'd be home for dinner more often. I tried to be more punctual and more present. And on June 10, 2001, not quite three years after Malia's birth, we experienced the same blast of joy—the same utter amazement—when Sasha arrived, as plump and lovely as her sister had been, with thick black curls that were impossible to resist.

### 第三章

在被 Bobby Rush 打敗後，我花了几個月時間來痛苦和舔舐我的傷口，然後決定重新調整我的優先事項並繼續前進。我告訴 Michelle，我需要對她做得更好。我們有了一個即將到來的新寶寶，儘管我仍然經常離開，但她至少注意到我正在努力。我安排在斯普林菲尔德的會議，以便我能更頻繁地回家吃晚餐。我試圖更加準時和更加出席。2001年6月10日，莫名其妙的喜悅瞬間再次降臨到我們身上 - 薩莎的到來與瑪麗亞的誕生有著同樣的震撼和驚訝，她又胖又可愛，濃密的黑色卷發不可抗拒。

For the next two years, I led a quieter life, full of small satisfactions, content with the balance I'd seemingly struck. I relished wriggling Malia into her first ballet tights or grasping her hand as we walked to the park; watching baby Sasha laugh and laugh as I nibbled her feet; listening to Michelle's breath slow, her head resting against my shoulder, as she drifted off to sleep in the middle of an old movie. I rededicated myself to my work in the state senate

and savored the time spent with my students at the law school. I took a serious look at our finances and put together a plan to pay down our debts. Inside the slower rhythms of my work and the pleasures of fatherhood, I began to consider options for a life after politics—perhaps teaching and writing full-time, or returning to law practice, or applying for a job at a local charitable foundation, as my mother had once imagined I'd do.

在接下来的两年里，我过着安逸的生活，享受着小小的满足感，对所谓的平衡满意。我喜欢给玛莉亚穿上她的第一件芭蕾舞裙，或者牵着她的手一起去公园；看着莎莎宝宝笑个不停，我轻咬她的脚；听着米歇尔的呼吸变慢，她的头靠在我的肩上，进入梦乡，看着一部老电影。我重新致力于我在州议会的工作，并享受在法学院与我的学生们共度的时光。我认真审视了我们的财务状况，并制定了一个还清债务的计划。在工作的缓慢节奏和做父亲的乐趣中，我开始考虑政治生涯结束后的选择——也许是全职教书写作，或者重返律师执业，或者像我母亲曾经想象的那样，在当地的慈善基金会申请一份工作。

In other words, following my ill-fated run for Congress, I experienced a certain letting go—if not of my desire to make a difference in the world, then at least of the insistence that it had to be done on a larger stage. What might have begun as a sense of resignation at whatever limits fate had imposed on my life came to feel more like gratitude for the bounty it had already delivered.

Two things, however, kept me from making a clean break from politics. First, Illinois Democrats had won the right to oversee the redrawing of state districting maps to reflect new data from the 2000 census, thanks to a quirk in the state constitution that called for a dispute between the Democrat-controlled house and the Republican senate to be settled by drawing a name out of one of Abraham Lincoln's old stovepipe hats. With this power, Democrats could reverse the Republican gerrymandering of the previous decade and vastly better the odds that senate Democrats would be in the majority after the 2002 election. I knew that with one more term, I'd finally get a chance to pass some bills, deliver something meaningful for the people I represented—and perhaps end my political career on a higher note than it was currently on.

换句话说，在我不幸参加国会竞选后，我经历了一种释放，即使不是对于我想要改变这个世界的愿望，至少是放弃了这种坚持认为必须在更大的舞台上实现。也许开始时是对命运限制我生命的任何界限的一种辞职感，但后来却更像是对它已经带来的丰厚收获的感激。然而，有两件事情阻止我彻底摆脱政治。首先，由于伊利诺伊州宪法中的一处怪异规定，民主党赢得了负责根据2000年人口普查的新数据重新划分州选区的权利，该规定要求由民主党控制的众议院和共和党控制的参议院之间的争议通过从亚伯拉罕·林肯旧的烟囱帽子里抽出一个名字来解决。有了这个权力，民主党人可以扭转前一个十年共和党人的选区划分，大大改善民主党参议院在2002年选举之后成为多数的可能性。我知道，再任期一届，我终于有机会通过一些法案，为我代表的人民提供有意义的东西，或者以比目前更高的音符结束我的政治生涯。

The second factor was an instinct rather than an event. Since being elected, I'd tried to spend a few days each summer visiting various colleagues in their home districts across Illinois. Usually I'd go with my chief senate aide, Dan Shomon—a former UPI reporter with thick glasses, boundless energy, and a foghorn voice. We'd throw our golf clubs, a map, and a couple of sets of clothes in the back of my Jeep and head south or west, winding our way to Rock Island or Pinckneyville, Alton or Carbondale.

Dan was my key political advisor, a good friend, and an ideal road trip companion: easy to talk to, perfectly fine with silence, and he shared my habit of smoking in the car. He also had an encyclopedic knowledge of state politics. The first time we made the trip, I could tell he was a little nervous about how folks downstate might react to a Black lawyer from Chicago with an Arab-sounding name.

第二个因素是一种本能而非事件。自从当选后，我试着每年夏天花几天时间拜访伊利诺伊州各地同事的家乡。通常我会和我的参议院首席助手丹·肖蒙一起出行——他是一位有着厚厚眼镜、源源不断的活力和雾号般的嗓音的前《合众国际通讯社》记者。我们会在我的吉普车后备箱里放上高尔夫球杆、一张地图和几套衣服，然后朝南方或西方驶向床石岛、平克尼维尔、阿尔顿或卡本代尔。

丹是我的主要政治顾问、好朋友，也是理想的公路旅行伴侣：易于交流、对沉默没有意见，和我一样习惯在车里吸烟。他还有一部政治百科全书式的知识。我们第一次旅行的时候，我可以感觉到他有点紧张，担心南部地区的人们如何对来自芝加哥的黑人律师，而且名字听起来像阿拉伯人的人反应如何。

“No fancy shirts,” he instructed before we left.

“I don't have fancy shirts,” I said.

“Good. Just polos and khakis.”

“Got it.”

Despite Dan's worries that I'd be out of place, what struck me most during our travels was how familiar everything felt—whether we were at a county fair or a union hall or on the porch on someone's farm. In the way people described their families or their jobs. In their modesty and their hospitality. In their enthusiasm for high school basketball. In the food they served, the fried chicken and baked beans and Jell-O molds. In them, I heard echoes of my grandparents, my mother, Michelle's mom and dad. Same values. Same hopes and dreams.

“我们出门前不要穿花里胡哨的衬衫”，他吩咐道。

“我没有那样的衬衫”，我说。

“很好。就穿半袖衫和卡其裤吧。”

“明白了。”

尽管丹担心我不适应当地环境，但我们旅行中最令我印象深刻的是一切都感觉熟悉——无论我们在嘉年华会或工会大厅或别人的农场门廊上。在人们谈及家庭或工作时的表述方式。在他们的谦逊和好客之中。在他们对高中篮球的热情之中。在他们提供的食物，炸鸡、烤豆和果冻。在他们身上，我听到了我祖父母、我母亲、米歇尔的父母的回声。同样的价值观。同样的希望和梦想。

These excursions became more sporadic once my kids were born. But the simple, recurring insight they offered stayed with me. As long as the residents of my Chicago district and districts downstate remained strangers to one another, I realized, our politics would never truly change. It would always be too

easy for politicians to feed the stereotypes that pitted Black against white, immigrant against native-born, rural interests against those of cities. If, on the other hand, a campaign could somehow challenge America's reigning political assumptions about how divided we were, well then just maybe it would be possible to build a new covenant between its citizens. The insiders would no longer be able to play one group against another. Legislators might be freed from defining their constituents' interests—and their own—so narrowly. The media might take notice and examine issues based not on which side won or lost but on whether our common goals were met.自從我的孩子出生後，這些郊遊變得更加零散。但是，它們帶來的簡單而持續的洞察力卻一直伴隨著我。我意識到，只要我所在的芝加哥區和其他下游地區的居民互相陌生，我們的政治就永遠不會真正改變。政治家們總是很容易煽動鬥爭，將黑人對白人、移民對本土人、鄉村利益對抗城市利益等形成刻板印象。如果另一方面，一場競選活動能夠挑戰美國現有的有關分裂的政治假設，那麼也許就有可能在公民之間建立新的契約。內部人員就再不能對不同人群進行利用了。立法者可能會從狹隘地定義他們選民的利益以及自己的角色中解脫出來。媒體也可能會注意到，並且基於是否實現了我們的共同目標來檢視問題，而不是關注哪一方勝利或失敗。

Ultimately wasn't this what I was after—a politics that bridged America's racial, ethnic, and religious divides, as well as the many strands of my own life? Maybe I was being unrealistic; maybe such divisions were too deeply entrenched. But no matter how hard I tried to convince myself otherwise, I couldn't shake the feeling that it was too early to give up on my deepest convictions. Much as I'd tried to tell myself I was done, or nearly done, with political life, I knew in my heart that I wasn't ready to let go.

最終，這不就是我想要的嗎——一個能夠跨越美國種族、族裔、宗教分歧以及我自己生命中許多方面的政治？也許我太不現實了，也許這樣的分歧根深蒂固。但無論我如何努力說服自己，我都無法擺脫這種感覺，覺得現在放棄我的信念還為時過早。盡管我試圖告訴自己我已經完成或幾乎完成了政治生涯，但我知道在我內心深處，我還沒有準備好放手。

As I gave the future more thought, one thing became clear: The kind of bridge-building politics I imagined wasn't suited to a congressional race. The problem was structural, a matter of how district lines were drawn: In an overwhelmingly Black district like the one I lived in, in a community that had long been battered by discrimination and neglect, the test for politicians would more often than not be defined in racial terms, just as it was in many white, rural districts that felt left behind. How well will you stand up to those who are not like us, voters asked, those who have taken advantage of us, who look down on us?

當我仔細思考未來時，有一件事變得清楚：我所想像的搭建橋樑的政治並不適合競選國會議員。問題在結構上，是選區劃分的問題：在像我所住的這樣一個絕大多數居民為黑人的選區中，這個長期受到歧視和忽視的社區，政治家的評測往往會以種族為單位，就像許多被拋棄的白人農村選區一樣。選民會問，你會如何對抗那些不像我們的人，那些利用我們、看不起我們的人呢？

You could make a difference from such a narrow political base; with some seniority, you could secure better services for your constituents, bring a big project or two back to your home district, and, by working with allies, try to influence the national debate. But that wouldn't be enough to lift the political constraints that made it so difficult to deliver healthcare for those who most needed it, or better schools for poor kids, or jobs where there were none; the same constraints that Bobby Rush labored under every day.

你可以從如此狹窄的政治基礎上做出改變；憑藉一些資深的經驗，你可以為你的選民提供更好的服務，將一個或兩個重大項目帶回你的家鄉，通過與盟友合作，試著影響全國的辯論。但這些還不足以解決政治約束，這些約束使最需要醫療保健的人難以得到治療，貧困兒童難以得到更好的學校教育，而在無人問津的地方幫助人們找到工作。這也是鮑比·拉什每天都在努力解決的問題。

To really shake things up, I realized, I needed to speak to and for the widest possible audience. And the best way to do that was to run for a statewide office—like, for example, the U.S. Senate.

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WHEN I THINK back now on the brashness—the sheer chutzpah—of me wanting to launch a U.S. Senate race, fresh as I was off a resounding defeat, it's hard not to admit the possibility that I was just desperate for another shot, like an alcoholic rationalizing one last drink. Except that's not how it felt. Instead, as I rolled the idea around in my head, I experienced a great clarity—not so much that I would win, but that I could win, and that if I did win, I could have a big impact. I could see it, feel it, like a running back who spots an opening at the line of scrimmage and knows that if he can get to that hole fast enough and break through, there will be nothing but open field between him and the end zone. Along with this clarity came a parallel realization: If I didn't pull it off, it would be time to leave politics—and so long as I had given it my best effort, I could do so without regret.

為了真正搖動事情，我意識到需要與最廣泛的觀眾交談。而要做到這一點的最佳方法是競選州級職位——例如，美國參議院。

當我現在回想起自己想要發起美國參議院競選的自大和大膽，像我經歷過一次沉痛的失敗，很難不承認我只是渴望再次嘗試，像一個理智化最後一口酒的酗酒者一樣。除了這樣感覺外，當我在腦海中轉動這個想法時，我體驗了非常清晰的感覺——不是我會贏，而是我能贏，如果我贏了，我可以有很大的影響力。我能看到它，感受到它，就像一個跑回員在比賽中發現了摧毀防守線的機會，知道如果他足夠快地跑到這個空檔並突破，他將跑到終點區之間只有一個開放的領域。隨著這種清晰度的出現，還有一個相應的認識：如果我沒有成功，那麼就是離開政治的時候了——只要我盡力而為，我可以毫不後悔地這樣做。

Quietly, over the course of 2002, I began to test the proposition. Looking at the Illinois political landscape, I saw that the notion of a little-known Black state legislator going to the U.S. Senate wasn't totally far-fetched. Several African Americans had won statewide office before, including former U.S. senator Carol Moseley Braun, a talented but erratic politician whose victory had electrified the country before she was dinged up by a series of self-inflicted wounds involving financial ethics. Meanwhile, the Republican who'd beaten her, Peter Fitzgerald, was a wealthy banker whose sharply conservative views had made him relatively unpopular across our increasingly Democratic state.

悄悄地，在2002年间，我开始测试这个命题。看着伊利诺伊政治格局，我发现一个默默无闻的黑人州议员去参选美国参议院并非完全不切实际。此前，已有几名非洲裔赢得过州级公职，其中包括前参议员卡罗尔·莫斯利·布劳恩，她是一位才华横溢但表现不稳定的政治家，当选后曾轰动全国，但因一系列自讨苦吃的财务伦理方面的失误而被人诟病。与此同时，击败她的共和党人彼得·菲茨杰拉德是一位富有的银行家，他的极端保守观点让他在越来越民主的州内比较不受欢迎。

I began by talking to a trio of my state senate poker buddies—Democrats Terry Link, Denny Jacobs, and Larry Walsh—to see whether they thought I could compete in the white working-class and rural enclaves they represented. From what they'd seen during my visits, they thought I could, and all agreed to support me if I ran. So did a number of white progressive elected officials along Chicago's lakefront and a handful of independent Latino legislators as well. I asked Jesse Jr. if he had any interest in running, and he said no, adding that he was prepared to lend me his support. Congressman Danny Davis, the genial third Black congressman in the Illinois delegation, signed on too. (I could hardly fault Bobby Rush for being less enthusiastic.)我起初先和三位来自州参议院的扑克好友——民主党人Terry Link、Denny Jacobs和Larry Walsh进行了交谈，询问他们是否认为我能够在他们所代表的白人工人阶层和乡村小区中获得竞选成功。从我之前的访问情况来看，他们认为我可以，并同意在我竞选时予以支持。芝加哥湖滨地区的一些白人进步选官以及一些独立的拉丁裔立法者也表示支持我。我还询问了耶西·杰克逊是否有参选的兴趣，他说没有，但表示他准备支持我。第三位黑人国会议员丹尼·戴维斯也表示支持我。（我并不怪罪鲍比·拉什对我没有那么热情。）

Most important was Emil Jones, now poised to be state senate president and hence one of the three most powerful politicians in Illinois. At a meeting in his office, I pointed out that not a single current U.S. senator was African American, and that the policies that we'd fought for together in Springfield really could use a champion in Washington. I added that if he were to help get one of his own elected to the U.S. Senate, it would surely gall some of the old-guard white Republicans in Springfield who he felt had always sold him short, which was a rationale I think he particularly liked.

最重要的人是埃尔·琼斯，他现在有望成为州参议院主席，因此是伊利诺伊州三大最有权势的政治家之一。在他的办公室开会时，我指出当前美国没有一位非裔美国参议员，而我们在斯普林菲尔德为之奋斗的政策确实需要在华盛顿有一个代言人。我补充道，如果他能帮助选出一位自己人当选美国参议员，那肯定会激怒斯普林菲尔德的老派白人共和党人，他们一直认为琼斯被贬低了，而这也是他非常喜欢的理由。

With David Axelrod, I took a different tack. A media consultant who'd previously been a journalist and whose clients included Harold Washington, former U.S. senator Paul Simon, and Mayor Richard M. Daley, Axe had developed a national reputation for being smart, tough, and a skilled ad maker. I admired his work and knew that having him on board would lend my nascent campaign credibility not just around the state but with national donors and pundits. I knew, too, that he'd be a tough sell. "It's a reach," he said on the day we met for lunch at a River North bistro. Axe had been one of many who'd warned me against taking on Bobby Rush. Between hearty bites of his sandwich, he told me I couldn't afford a second loss. And he doubted a candidate whose name rhymed with "Osama" could get downstate votes. Plus, he'd already been approached by at least two other likely Senate candidates—state comptroller Dan Hynes and multimillionaire hedge fund manager Blair Hull—both of whom seemed in much stronger positions to win, so taking me on as a client was likely to cost his firm a hefty sum.

我和大卫·阿克塞尔罗德走了不同的路线。他是一位媒体顾问，曾经是一名记者，客户包括哈罗德·华盛顿、前美国参议员保罗·西蒙和市长理查德·M·戴利。阿克斯以聪明、强硬和娴熟的广告制作而享誉全国。我钦佩他的工作，知道他加入我的初创竞选活动将不仅在全州范围内增加我的信任度，而且还能提供全国捐赠者和评论员的信任度。

我也知道他会是个难缠的人。在一家河北区餐厅的午餐会上，他说：“这很难”，他曾是众多之一，警告我不要挑战博比·拉什。他一边大口吃着三明治，一边告诉我，我不能承受第二次失败。而且，他怀疑一个名字和“奥萨马”押韵的候选人能否得到下游选票。此外，他已经被至少两位可能的参议员候选人——州审计长丹·海恩斯和亿万富翁对冲基金经理布莱尔·赫尔——其中都似乎处于更强势的胜算位置，所以让我成为他的客户可能会让他的公司付出巨额代价。

"Wait till Rich Daley retires and then run for mayor," he concluded, wiping mustard off his mustache. "It's the better bet."

He was right, of course. But I wasn't playing the conventional odds. And in Axe I sensed—beneath all the poll data and strategy memos and talking points that were the tools of his trade—someone who saw himself as more than just a hired gun; someone who might be a kindred spirit. Rather than argue campaign mechanics, I tried to appeal to his heart.

"Do you ever think about how JFK and Bobby Kennedy seemed to tap into what's best in people?" I asked. "Or wonder how it must have felt to help LBJ pass the Voting Rights Act, or FDR pass Social Security, knowing you'd made millions of people's lives better? Politics doesn't have to be what people think it is. It can be something more."他擦掉嘴巴上的芥末，结束了話題：“等到里奇·戴利退休後再參選市長，這樣更保險。”當然他是對的。但我並不打算走傳統的路線。在艾克斯(Axe)的身上，我感覺到他不僅僅是一個僱傭槍手，還可能是一個志同道合的人。我沒有與他爭論競選策略，而是試圖打動他的心靈。我問：“你有沒有想過肯尼迪和鮑比·肯尼迪似乎能夠激發出人們最好的一面？你有沒有想過幫助林登·詹森通過選舉權法案或富蘭克林·羅斯福通過社會保障法案的感受？知道自己讓成千上萬人的生活變得更美好？政治不必像人們想像的那樣，它可以成為更多的東西。”

Axe's imposing eyebrows went up as he scanned my face. It must have been clear that I wasn't just trying to convince him; I was convincing myself. A few weeks later, he called to say that after talking it over with his business partners and his wife, Susan, he'd decided to take me on as a client. Before I could thank him, he added a proviso.

"Your idealism is stirring, Barack...but unless you raise five million bucks to get it on TV so people can hear it, you don't stand a chance."

With this, I finally felt ready to test the waters with Michelle. She was now working as the executive director for community affairs at the University of Chicago hospital system, a job that gave her more flexibility but still required her to juggle high-level professional responsibilities with coordinating the girls' playdates and school pickups. So I was a little surprised when instead of responding with a "Hell no, Barack!" she suggested we talk it through with some of our closest friends, including Marty Nesbitt, a successful businessman whose wife, Dr. Anita Blanchard, had delivered both our girls, and Valerie

Jarrett, a brilliant and well-connected attorney who'd been Michelle's boss at the city's planning department and become like an older sister to us. What I didn't know at the time was that Michelle had already gotten to Marty and Valerie and assigned them the job of talking me out of my foolishness.

艾克斯盯着我的脸看，他强大的眉毛也随之上扬。显然我不仅要说服他，也要说服自己。几周后，他打电话告诉我，经过和他的商业合作伙伴和妻子苏珊商量，他决定将我作为客户接受。在我来得及感谢他之前，他又加了一个附带条件。

“你的理想主义很振奋人心，巴拉克…但如果你没有筹集五百万美元在电视上播出，让人们听到，你就没有希望。”

这时，我终于觉得可以试着跟米歇尔商量了。她如今在芝加哥大学医院系统担任社区事务执行总监，这份工作给她更多灵活性，但仍需要她平衡高级职业责任和女儿的聚会和接送。所以，当她提出与我们几个最亲密的朋友，包括马蒂·尼斯比特、一位成功的商人，他的妻子、安尼塔·布兰查德博士给我们出主意时，我有点惊讶。瓦莱丽·贾瑞特是一位聪明而且与人脉广泛的律师，在市规划部曾经是米歇尔的老板，也成为了我们的一个姐姐。当时我不知道的是，米歇尔已经找到了马蒂和瓦莱丽，并让他们的工作是说服我放弃我的愚蠢想法。

We gathered at Valerie's Hyde Park apartment, and over a long brunch, I explained my thought process, mapping out the scenarios that would get us to the Democratic nomination and answering questions about how this race would be different from the last. With Michelle, I didn't sugarcoat the amount of time I'd be away. But this was it, I promised, up or out; if I lost this one, we were done with politics for good.

By the time I finished, Valerie and Marty had been persuaded, no doubt to Michelle's chagrin. It wasn't a question of strategy for her, aside from the fact that the thought of another campaign appealed to her about as much as a root canal. She was most concerned with the effect on our family finances, which still hadn't fully recovered from the last one. She reminded me that we had student loans, a mortgage, and credit card debt to think about. We hadn't started saving for our daughters' college educations yet, and on top of that, a Senate run would require me to stop practicing law in order to avoid conflicts of interest, which would further diminish our income.

我們聚集在瓦莉的海德公園公寓，一邊享用著漫長的早午餐，我一邊解釋我的思路，列出能讓我們獲得民主黨提名的情境，並回答有關這場比賽和上次比賽不同之處的問題。對於米歇爾，我沒有掩飾我將會離開的時間的長短。但我保證，這是最後一次了；如果我輸了這場比賽，我們就永遠與政治無緣了。

我講完後，瓦莉和馬蒂被我說服了，但這無疑讓米歇爾感到不悅。對她來說，這並不是策略的問題，除了讓她想起牙醫治療一樣可怕之外，另一個主要擔憂是對我們家庭財務的影響，因為我們的財務狀況仍未完全從上次比賽中恢復。她提醒我們還有學生貸款、房貸和信用卡債務要考慮。我們還沒有開始為女兒的大學教育存錢，而另外，參選參議院必須停止律師執業以避免利益衝突，這會進一步減少我們的收入。

“If you lose, we'll be deeper in the hole,” she said. “And what happens if you win? How are we supposed to maintain two households, in Washington and Chicago, when we can barely keep up with one?”

I'd anticipated this. “If I win, hon,” I said, “it will draw national attention. I'll be the only African American in the Senate. With a higher profile, I can write another book, and it'll sell a lot of copies, and that will cover the added expenses.”

Michelle let out a sharp laugh. I'd made some money on my first book, but nothing close to what it would take to pay for the expenses I was now talking about incurring. As my wife saw it—as most people would see it, I imagine—an unwritten book was hardly a financial plan.“如果你输了，我们的困境将变得更深。”她说。“如果你赢了，我们如何维持在华盛顿和芝加哥两个家庭？我们现在几乎都无法维持一个家庭。”我已经预料到这种情况。“如果我赢了，亲爱的，”我说，“那将吸引全国关注。我将成为参议院中唯一的非裔美国人。有了更高的知名度，我可以写另一本书，并且它将卖出很多份，这将弥补增加的开销。”米歇尔发出尖锐的笑声。我在第一本书中赚了一些钱，但远远不足以支付现在我提到的那些费用。我夫人认为-正如大多数人所看到的那样-未写的书几乎不是一个财务计划。

“In other words,” she said, “you've got some magic beans in your pocket. That's what you're telling me. You have some magic beans, and you're going to plant them, and overnight a huge beanstalk is going to grow high into the sky, and you'll climb up the beanstalk, kill the giant who lives in the clouds, and then bring home a goose that lays golden eggs. Is that it?”

“Something like that,” I said.

Michelle shook her head and looked out the window. We both knew what I was asking for. Another disruption. Another gamble. Another step in the direction of something I wanted and she truly didn't.

“换句话说，”她说，“你口袋里有一些魔法豆。这就是你告诉我的内容。你有一些魔法豆，你要种下它们，然后在一个晚上，一个巨大的豆茎就会长高进入云霄，你会爬上豆茎，杀死住在云中的巨人，然后带回一只下金蛋的鹅。是这样吗？”

“有点像，”我说。

米歇尔摇了摇头，看着窗外。我们都知道我在要求什么。另一个干扰。另一个赌博。另一步向着我想要的方向的行动，而她却真的不想。

**“This is it, Barack,” Michelle said. “One last time. But don't expect me to do any campaigning. In fact, you shouldn't even count on my vote.”**

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**AS A KID, I had sometimes watched as my salesman grandfather tried to sell life insurance policies over the phone, his face registering misery as he made cold calls in the evening from our tenth-floor apartment in a Honolulu high-rise. During the early months of 2003, I found myself thinking of him often as I sat at my desk**

**in the sparsely furnished headquarters of my newly launched Senate campaign, beneath a poster of Muhammad Ali posed triumphantly over a defeated Sonny Liston, trying to pep-talk myself into making another fundraising call.“这就是了，巴拉克，”米歇尔说。“最后一次了。但是不要指望我参加任何竞选活动。实际上，你甚至不能指望我投票。”**

当我还是个孩子的时候，我有时会看着我的销售员爷爷在电话中销售人寿保险，他的脸上流露出痛苦的神情，他从我们在檀香山高层公寓的十层楼里晚上打冷电话。在2003年的早些时候，当我坐在我新成立的参议院竞选总部的简陋办公室里，挂着穆罕默德·阿里战胜桑尼·利斯顿的海报，试着让自己再次打电话筹集资金时，我经常想起他。

Aside from Dan Shomon and a Kentuckian named Jim Cauley we'd recruited as campaign manager, our staff consisted mostly of kids in their twenties, only half of whom were paid—and two of whom were still undergraduates. I felt especially sorry for my lone full-time fundraiser, who had to push me to pick up the phone and solicit donations.

Was I getting better at being a politician? I couldn't say. In the first scheduled candidates' forum in February 2003, I was stiff and ineffectual, unable to get my brain to operate in the tidy phrases such formats required. But my loss to Bobby Rush had given me a clear blueprint for upping my game: I needed to interact more effectively with the media, learning to get my ideas across in pithy sound bites. I needed to build a campaign that was less about policy papers and more about connecting one-on-one with voters. And I needed to raise money—lots of it. We'd conducted multiple polls, which seemed to confirm that I could win, but only if I managed to improve my visibility with costly TV ads.

除了丹·肖蒙和肯塔基州人吉姆·考利 (Jim Cauley) ，我们招募的竞选经理，我们的员工主要是二十多岁的年轻人，只有一半是有薪水的，其中两个人还是本科生。我特别为我的唯一一名全职筹款人感到难过，他不得不鼓励我拿起电话来募捐。

我变成了一个更好的政治家吗？我无法说。在2003年2月的第一次预定候选人论坛中，我非常僵硬、无效，无法让我的大脑在这种格式要求的整洁短语中操作。但对我鲍比·拉什 (Bobby Rush) 的失败给了我一个明确的提高战斗力的蓝图：我需要更有效地与媒体互动，学会用简短的口号传达我的想法。我需要建立一个更少关于政策文件，更多关于与选民一对一联系的竞选活动。我需要筹集大量资金。我们进行了多次调查，似乎确认我能赢得选举，但只有在我设法通过昂贵的电视广告提高能见度的情况下。

And yet, as snakebit as my congressional race had been, this one felt charmed. In April, Peter Fitzgerald decided not to run for reelection. Carol Moseley Braun, who would probably have locked up the Democratic nomination for her old seat, had inexplicably chosen to run for president instead, leaving the contest wide open. In a primary race against six other Democrats, I went about lining up endorsements from unions and popular members of our congressional delegation, helping to shore up my downstate and liberal bases. Aided by Emil and a Democratic majority in the state senate, I spearheaded the passage of a slew of bills, from a law requiring the videotaping of interrogations in capital cases to an expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, reinforcing my credentials as an effective legislator.

然而，即使我的国会竞选充满挫折，这一次的竞选却让我感到幸运。四月份，彼得·菲茨杰拉德决定不再竞选连任。卡罗尔·莫斯利·布劳恩本应该锁定民主党提名，重新担任她的议员席位，但她莫名其妙地选择参加总统竞选，使得这场竞选变得十分开放。在与其他六名民主党人的初选竞争中，我开始寻找工会和我国会代表团中深受欢迎的支持者的认可，帮助巩固我在边远地区和自由派阵营的基础。在伊米尔和州参议院民主党人的支持下，我领导通过了一系列法案，从要求在资本案件中录制审讯视频的法律到扩大所得税抵免，强化了我作为一个有效的立法者的证明。

The national political landscape tilted in my favor as well. In October 2002, before even announcing my candidacy, I'd been invited to speak against the impending U.S. invasion of Iraq, addressing an antiwar rally held in downtown Chicago. For a soon-to-be Senate candidate, the politics were muddy. Both Axe and Dan thought that taking a clear, unequivocal stand against the war would help in a Democratic primary. Others cautioned that, given the post-9/11 mood of the country (at the time, national polls showed as many as 67 percent of Americans in favor of taking military action against Iraq), the likelihood of at least short-term military success, and my already challenging name and lineage, opposition to the war could cripple my candidacy by election time.

国家政治形势也朝着我的方向倾斜。2002年10月，在宣布参选之前，我被邀请在芝加哥市中心的反战集会上发表演讲，反对即将到来的美国入侵伊拉克。对于即将成为参议员候选人的我来说，政治之路充满泥泞。艾克斯和丹认为，在民主党初选中公开、明确反对战争会有助于我的竞选。其他人则警告说，考虑到国家在911事件后的情绪（当时，全国民调显示多达67%的美国人支持对伊拉克采取军事行动），即使短期军事行动获得成功，加上我的姓名和家族背景已经具有挑战性，反对战争可能会在选举时使我的竞选受到严重打击。

“America likes to kick ass,” one friend warned.

I mulled over the question for a day or so and decided this was my first test: Would I run the kind of campaign that I'd promised myself? I typed out a short speech, five or six minutes long, and—satisfied that it reflected my honest beliefs—went to bed without sending it to the team for review. On the day of the rally, more than a thousand people had gathered at Federal Plaza, with Jesse Jackson as the headliner. It was cold, the wind gusting. There was a smattering of applause muffled by mittens and gloves as my name was called and I stepped up to the microphone.

「美國喜歡踢屁股。」一位朋友警告道。

我思考了一天左右，决定這是我的第一个考验：我會不會展開我承諾的競選活動？我打了一篇簡短的演講稿，五到六分鐘，確定它反映了我真正的信仰，就

在沒審核團隊的情況下上床睡覺了。在集會當天，超過一千人聚集在聯邦廣場，傑西·傑克森擔任領軍人物。天氣很冷，颶風。當我的名字被叫出來，我走上麥克風時，只有悄悄的掌聲被手套和手套的沉默所蒙蔽。」

“Let me begin by saying that although this has been billed as an antiwar rally, I stand before you as someone who is not opposed to war in all circumstances.”

The crowd grew quiet, uncertain of where I was going. I described the blood spilled to preserve the Union and usher in a new birth of freedom; the pride I had in my grandfather volunteering to fight in the wake of Pearl Harbor; my support for our military actions in Afghanistan and my own willingness to take up arms to prevent another 9/11. “I don’t oppose all wars,” I said. “What I am opposed to is a dumb war.” I went on to argue that Saddam Hussein posed no imminent threat to the United States or its neighbors, and that “even a successful war against Iraq will require a U.S. occupation of undetermined length, at undetermined cost, with undetermined consequences.” I ended with the suggestion that if President Bush was looking for a fight, he should finish the job against al-Qaeda, stop supporting repressive regimes, and wean America off Middle Eastern oil.

“让我先说一下，虽然这被标榜为反战集会，但我站在你们面前，不是反对在所有情况下都反对战争的人。”人群安静下来，对我的想法产生了疑虑。我描述了为保护联盟和迎来新的自由而流血的情况，我为我祖父在珍珠港袭击后自愿参战而感到骄傲；我支持我们在阿富汗的军事行动，我自己也愿意拿起武器防止另一个911事件的发生。“我不反对所有的战争，”我说。“我所反对的是无意义的战争。”我接着辩称，萨达姆·侯赛因对美国或其邻国没有即时威胁，并且“即使在伊拉克打一场成功的战争也需要美国进行不确定长度、不可预测代价和后果的占领。”我最后建议说，如果布什总统正在寻找一场战斗，他应该完成对基地组织的战斗，停止支持压迫性政权，并让美国摆脱中东石油。

I took my seat. The crowd cheered. Leaving the plaza, I assumed my remarks would be little more than a footnote. News reports barely mentioned my presence at the rally.

ONLY A FEW months after a U.S.-led military coalition began bombing Baghdad, Democrats started turning against the Iraq War. As casualties and chaos mounted, the press began asking questions that should have been posed from the outset. A groundswell of grassroots activism lifted a little-known Vermont governor, Howard Dean, to challenge 2004 presidential candidates like John Kerry who had voted in support of the war. The short speech I’d given at the antiwar rally suddenly looked prescient and began to circulate on the internet. My young staff had to explain to me what the hell “blogs” and “MySpace” had to do with the flood of new volunteers and grassroots donations we were suddenly getting.

我坐在座位上，人群欢呼。离开广场后，我认为我的讲话只是一个脚注而已。新闻报道几乎没有提到我在集会中的存在。

美国领导的军事联盟轰炸巴格达仅仅几个月后，民主党人开始反对伊拉克战争。随着伤亡和混乱加剧，媒体开始提出本应从一开始就应该提出的问题。一股基层活动的汹涌潮流，将一个鲜为人知的佛蒙特州州长霍华德·迪安（Howard Dean）推到了2004年总统候选人的挑战者之列，而这些候选人曾经投票支持这场战争。我在反战集会上发表的短暂演讲突然看起来像是预言，并开始在互联网上流传。我的年轻工作人员不得不向我解释“博客”和“我的空间”和我们突然得到的新志愿者和基层捐款有什么关系。

As a candidate, I was having fun. In Chicago, I spent Saturdays plunging into ethnic neighborhoods—Mexican, Italian, Indian, Polish, Greek—eating and dancing, marching in parades, kissing babies and hugging grandmas. Sundays would find me in Black churches, some of them modest storefronts wedged between nail salons and fast-food joints, others expansive megachurches with parking lots the size of football fields. I hopscotchted through the suburbs, from the leafy, mansion-filled North Shore to towns just south and west of the city, where poverty and abandoned buildings made some of them indistinguishable from Chicago’s roughest neighborhoods. Every couple of weeks, I’d head downstate—sometimes driving myself but more often traveling with Jeremiah Posedel or Anita Decker, the two talented staffers running my operations there.

作為一名候選人，我很開心。在芝加哥，我會整天待在少數族裔社區裏—墨西哥、意大利、印度、波蘭、希臘—享受美食、跳舞，參加遊行，親吻嬰兒和抱抱祖母們。週天，我會去黑人教會，有些教會只是簡陋的店面，夾在美甲沙龍和快餐店之間，而有些教堂則非常寬敞，配有足球場那麼大的停車場。我在郊區到處疾馳，從綠蔭繁茂的北岸豪宅到城市南部和西部的城鎮，那裏的貧困和廢棄建築物使一些地方和芝加哥最惡劣的社區判若兩人。每隔幾週，我都會前往下州，有時自己開車，但更常常與運營團隊的兩位才華橫溢的工作人員Jeremiah Posedel或Anita Decker一同前往。

Talking to voters in the early days of the campaign, I tended to address the issues I was running on—ending tax breaks for companies that were moving jobs overseas, or promoting renewable energy, or making it easier for kids to afford college. I explained why I had opposed the war in Iraq, acknowledging the remarkable service of our soldiers but questioning why we had started a new war when we hadn’t finished the one in Afghanistan while Osama bin Laden was still at large.

Over time, though, I focused more on listening. And the more I listened, the more people opened up. They’d tell me about how it felt to be laid off after a lifetime of work, or what it was like to have your home foreclosed upon or to have to sell the family farm. They’d tell me about not being able to afford health insurance, and how sometimes they broke the pills their doctors prescribed in half, hoping to make their medicine last longer. They spoke of young people moving away because there were no good jobs in their town, or others having to drop out of college just short of graduation because they couldn’t cover the tuition.

在競選的早期，我通常會著重在我所提出的問題上——結束那些搬遷工作到海外的企業的稅收優惠，推廣可再生能源，或者使孩子們更容易負擔上大學的費用。我解釋為什麼我反對伊拉克戰爭，承認我們軍人的卓越服務，但質疑為什麼我們在阿富汗戰爭還未結束，奧薩瑪·本·拉登仍未落網的情況下開始了一場新

的戰爭。

不過，隨著時間的推移，我更加注重聆聽。而越是傾聽，越是有人願意開口。他們會告訴我，一生工作後被裁員後的感覺，或者家裡被徵收或賣掉農場的情況。他們會告訴我，沒有能力負擔醫療保險，有時候他們需要將醫生開的藥片折半服用，希望藥物可以更長時間地維持作用。他們談論年輕人因為家鄉缺乏好工作而不得不離開，或者因為無法支付學費而不得不在大學畢業前輟學。

My stump speech became less a series of positions and more a chronicle of these disparate voices, a chorus of Americans from every corner of the state.

“Here's the thing,” I would say. “Most people, wherever they're from, whatever they look like, are looking for the same thing. They're not trying to get filthy rich. They don't expect someone else to do what they can do for themselves.

“But they do expect that if they're willing to work, they should be able to find a job that supports a family. They expect that they shouldn't go bankrupt just because they get sick. They expect that their kids should be able to get a good education, one that prepares them for this new economy, and they should be able to afford college if they've put in the effort. They want to be safe, from criminals or terrorists. And they figure that after a lifetime of work, they should be able to retire with dignity and respect.

我的競選演說不再是一系列的立場，而更像是這些不同聲音的編年史，來自州內各個角落的美國人的合唱。

“事情是這樣的”，我會說，“大多數人，無論他們來自哪裡，長得什麼樣子，都在追尋同樣的東西。他們不是在追求暴富，也不希望有人代替他們做他們自己可以做的事情。

“但他們期望如果他們願意工作，他們應該能找到一份能夠支持家庭的工作。他們期望自己不會因為生病而破產。他們期望他們的孩子能夠接受良好的教育，為他們準備這個新經濟，如果他們付出了努力，他們應該能夠負擔得起大學。他們想要安全，遠離罪犯或恐怖分子的威脅。他們認為在一生的努力工作後，應該能夠光榮地和尊重地退休。”

“That's about it. It's not a lot. And although they don't expect government to solve all their problems, they do know, deep in their bones, that with just a slight change in priorities government could help.”

The room would be quiet, and I'd take a few questions. When a meeting was over, people lined up to shake my hand, pick up some campaign literature, or talk to Jeremiah, Anita, or a local campaign volunteer about how they could get involved. And I'd drive on to the next town, knowing that the story I was telling was true; convinced that this campaign was no longer about me and that I had become a mere conduit through which people might recognize the value of their own stories, their own worth, and share them with one another.

“就是這樣。並不算多。儘管他們並不指望政府解決所有問題，但他們深深知道，只要稍微改變一下優先順序，政府就能給予幫助。”

現場會很安靜，我會回答幾個問題。在會議結束後，人們會排隊握手我的手，拿些競選文宣，或者與傑里米亞、安妮塔或當地的競選志願者交談，了解如何參與其中。我會開車前往下一個城鎮，知道我講述的故事是真實的；相信這場競選已不再關乎我，而是我成為了一個媒介，使人們能夠認識到他們自己的故事的價值和分享它們的價值。”

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WHETHER IN SPORTS or politics, it's hard to understand the precise nature of momentum. But by the beginning of 2004 we had it. Axe had us shoot two television ads: The first had me speaking directly to the camera, ending with the tagline “Yes we can.” (I thought this was corny, but Axe immediately appealed to a higher power, showing it to Michelle, who deemed it “not corny at all.”) The second featured Sheila Simon, daughter of the state's beloved former senator Paul Simon, who had died following heart surgery days before he'd planned to publicly endorse me.

无论是在体育还是政治上，难以理解动量的精确本质。但在2004年初，我们已经拥有了它。斧子向我们拍摄了两个电视广告：第一个是我直接对着摄像机讲话，最后以口号“是的，我们能做到”结束。（我觉得这很俗气，但斧子立刻向更高的力量呼吁，把广告向米歇尔展示，米歇尔认为这一点都不俗气。）第二个广告是由州里备受喜爱的前参议员保罗·西蒙的女儿希拉·西蒙出演的，不久前，她的父亲因心脏手术去世，这位前参议员原本计划公开支持我。

We released the ads just four weeks before the primaries. In short order, my support almost doubled. When the state's five largest newspapers endorsed me, Axe recut the ads to highlight it, explaining that Black candidates tended to benefit more than white candidates from the validation. Around this time, the bottom fell out of my closest rival's campaign after news outlets published details from previously sealed court documents in which his ex-wife alleged domestic abuse. On March 16, 2004, the day of the Democratic primary, we ended up winning almost 53 percent of the vote in our seven-person field—not only more than all the other Democratic candidates combined, but more than all the Republican votes that had been cast statewide in their primary.

我們在初選前短短四週推出了廣告。很快，我的支持率幾乎翻了一番。當該州的五大報紙支持我時，Axe重新剪輯了廣告以突出這一點，並解釋說，與白人候選人相比，黑人候選人往往更易受益於這種認可。在這個時候，我最接近的競爭對手競選活動出現瓦解情況，因為新聞媒體發表了之前封存的法院文件中的詳細信息，他的前妻指控他有家庭暴力行為。2004年3月16日，民主黨初選當天，我們最終贏得了7人競選的近53%的選票，不僅超過了所有其他民主黨候選人的票數之和，也超過了在共和黨初選中針對整個州的所有選票之和。

I remember only two moments from that night: the delighted squeals from our daughters (with maybe a little fear mixed in for two-year-old Sasha) when the confetti guns went off at the victory party; and an ebullient Axelrod telling me that I'd won all but one of the majority white wards in Chicago, which had once served as the epicenter of racial resistance to Harold Washington. (“Harold's smiling down on us tonight,” he said.)

I remember the next morning as well, when after almost no sleep I went down to Central Station to shake hands with commuters as they headed for

work. A gentle snow had begun to fall, the flakes thick as flower petals, and as people recognized me and shook my hand, they all seemed to wear the same smile—as if we had done something surprising together.

我只记得那个晚上的两个时刻：我们女儿（两岁的萨沙可能会有一些害怕）在胜利派对上庆祝时的欢叫，当五彩缤纷的烟花筒引爆时；还有一个兴高采烈的阿克塞尔罗德告诉我，我几乎在芝加哥的所有大多数白人选区中获胜，这些选区曾经是哈罗德·华盛顿（Harold Washington）的种族抵抗的中心。（他说，“今晚哈罗德微笑着看着我们。”）

我也记得第二天早上，几乎没有睡眠的我去了中央车站，向通勤者握手。一片轻柔的雪花开始飘落，像花瓣一样厚，当人们认出我并握住我的手时，他们似乎都带着同样的微笑—好像我们一起做了令人惊讶的事情。

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“BEING SHOT FROM a cannon” was how Axe would describe the next few months, and that’s exactly how it felt. Our campaign became national news overnight, with networks calling for interviews and elected officials from around the country phoning with congratulations. It wasn’t just that we had won, or even the unexpectedly large margin of our victory; what interested observers was the way we’d won, with votes from all demographics, including from southern and rural white counties. Pundits speculated on what my campaign said about the state of American race relations—and because of my early opposition to the Iraq War, what it might say about where the Democratic Party was headed.

“从大炮中被射出来”是艾克斯用来形容接下来几个月的方式，确切地说，就是这种感觉。我们的竞选活动一夜之间成为国家新闻，各大媒体都要求采访，全国各地的当选官员也纷纷打来祝贺电话。引起观察家兴趣的不仅仅是我们的胜利，甚至不只是意想不到地大幅领先的优势，更是我们取得胜利的方式，吸引了来自各个族群，包括南部和乡村白人县的选票。政治家猜测我的竞选活动对美国种族关系的发展意味着什么，而出于我早期反对伊拉克战争的立场，又对民主党未来的发展方向提出了质疑。

My campaign didn’t have the luxury of celebration; we just scrambled to keep up. We brought on additional, more experienced staff, including communications director Robert Gibbs, a tough, quick-witted Alabaman who had worked on the Kerry campaign. While polls showed me with a nearly twenty-point lead over my Republican opponent, Jack Ryan, his résumé made me cautious about taking anything for granted—he was a Goldman Sachs banker who had quit to teach at a parochial school serving disadvantaged kids and whose matinee-idol looks sanded the edges off his very conventional Republican platform.

我的競選活動並沒有豪華的慶祝，我們只是不斷地奔波。我們新增了更有經驗的員工，包括溝通總監羅伯特·吉布斯（Robert Gibbs），他是一位來自亞拉巴馬州的硬漢，曾在Kerry競選活動中工作。儘管民調顯示我和共和黨對手傑克·瑞恩（Jack Ryan）的支持率差了近20個百分點，但他的履歷讓我謹慎起見，不能有所取慢，他曾是高盛銀行家，辭職後到一所為弱勢兒童服務的教區學校教書，他俊朗的外表使得他非常規化的共和黨政綱平息了一些方面的異議。

Fortunately for us, none of this translated on the campaign trail. Ryan was flogged by the press when, in an attempt to tag me as a big-spending, tax-hiking liberal, he used a series of charts showing numbers that turned out to be wildly and obviously wrong. He was later pilloried for having dispatched a young staffer who aggressively tailed me with a handheld camcorder, following me into lavatories and hovering even while I tried to talk to Michelle and the girls, hoping to catch me in a gaffe. The final blow came when the press got hold of sealed records from Ryan’s divorce, in which his ex-wife alleged that he had pressured her to visit sex clubs and tried to coerce her into having sex in front of strangers. Within a week, Ryan withdrew from the race.

幸运的是，这些都没有在竞选路线中得到体现。为了将我标记为一个铺张浪费、加税的自由派，莱恩试图使用一系列显示数字的图表，结果这些数字显然是错误的，他遭到了媒体的猛烈抨击。他后来又因为派遣年轻的工作人员用手持摄像机紧随我后，跟着我走进洗手间，甚至在我试图和米歇尔和女儿们交谈时依然盘旋，希望抓住我的失误而受到了谴责。最后一击是当媒体得到了莱恩离婚的密封记录时，他的前妻声称他曾迫使她去性俱乐部，并试图在陌生人面前强迫她进行性行为。一个星期内，莱恩退出了竞选。

With just five months to go until the general election, I suddenly had no opponent.

“All I know,” Gibbs announced, “is after this thing is all over, we’re going to Vegas.”

Still, I maintained a grueling schedule, often finishing the day’s business in Springfield and then driving to nearby towns for campaign events. On the way back from one such event, I got a call from someone on John Kerry’s staff, inviting me to give the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention being held in Boston in late July. That I felt neither giddy nor nervous said something about the sheer improbability of the year I’d just had. Axelrod offered to pull together the team to begin the process of drafting a speech, but I waved him off.

距离总选举仅剩五个月，我突然没有了对手。

“我所知道的是，当这件事结束后，我们要去拉斯维加斯，”吉布斯宣布道。

尽管如此，我还是保持了艰苦的日程表，经常在斯普林菲尔德结束当天的业务，然后驾车前往附近的城镇进行竞选活动。在从一次活动返回途中，我接到了约翰·克里（John Kerry）团队的电话，邀请我在七月下旬在波士顿举行的民主党全国大会上发表主题演讲。我既不感到兴奋也不紧张，这表明我所经历的一年的纯粹的不可能性。阿克塞尔罗德（Axelrod）提议组织团队开始起草演讲，但我拒绝了他的提议。

“Let me take a crack at it,” I told him. “I know what I want to say.”

For the next several days, I wrote my speech, mostly in the evenings, sprawled on my bed at the Renaissance Hotel in Springfield, a ball game buzzing in the background, filling a yellow legal pad with my thoughts. The words came swiftly, a summation of the politics I’d been searching for since those early years in college and the inner struggles that had prompted the journey to where I was now. My head felt full of voices: of my mother, my grandparents, my father; of the people I had organized with and folks on the campaign trail. I thought about all those I’d encountered who had plenty of reason to turn

bitter and cynical but had refused to go that way, who kept reaching for something higher, who kept reaching for one another. At some point, I remembered a phrase I'd heard once during a sermon by my pastor, Jeremiah Wright, one that captured this spirit.

“让我试试吧。”我告诉他，“我知道我想说什么。”接下来的几天里，我在春田的文艺复兴酒店的床上躺着，背景里响着球赛声，大多数时间都是晚上，用黄色的法律便笺记录我的想法，写着我的演讲。文字迅速涌现出来，是我一直在寻找的政治总结，是早年大学时期内心挣扎促使我走到今天所在的地方。我的脑海里充满了声音：我的母亲、祖父母、父亲、一起组织的人以及竞选路上的人。我想起那些我遇到过的人，他们有充足的理由变得苦涩和愤世嫉俗，但他们拒绝走那条路，他们一直在追求更高的东西，一直在互相追寻。在某个时刻，我想起了牧师杰里米亚·赖特曾在一次布道中说过的一句话，它捕捉到了这种精神。

The audacity of hope.

Axe and Gibbs would later swap stories about the twists and turns leading up to the night I spoke at the convention. How we had to negotiate the time I would be allotted (originally eight minutes, bargained up to seventeen). The painful cuts to my original draft by Axe and his able partner John Kupper, all of which made it better. A delayed flight to Boston as my legislative session in Springfield dragged into the night. Practicing for the first time on a teleprompter, with my coach, Michael Sheehan, explaining that the microphones worked fine, so “you don't have to yell.” My anger when a young Kerry staffer informed us that I had to cut one of my favorite lines because the nominee intended to poach it for his own speech. (“You're a state senator,” Axe helpfully reminded me, “and they've given you a national stage....I don't think it's too much to ask.”) Michelle backstage, beautiful in white, squeezing my hand, gazing lovingly into my eyes, and telling me “Just don't screw it up, buddy!” The two of us cracking up, being silly, when our love was always best, and then the introduction by the senior senator from Illinois, Dick Durbin, “Let me tell you about this Barack Obama...”希望的大胆。后来，阿克斯和吉布斯将交换有关我在大会上演讲前种种曲折的故事。我们必须协商我将被分配的时间（最开始是8分钟，最终谈判到17分钟）。阿克斯及他出色的伙伴约翰·卡帕为我最初的草稿作出艰难的删减以提高其质量。由于我的斯普林菲尔德立法会议拖到深夜，我延误了去波士顿的航班。在我的教练迈克尔·希安指导下，我第一次在电子提示器上排练，他告诉我麦克风的音量很好，不用大声喊叫。有位年轻的克里竞选助手告诉我们，我必须删掉其中一句我最喜欢的话，因为提名人打算借用这句话作自己的演讲。（“你是一名州议员，”阿克斯提醒我，“他们给你一个全国舞台……我认为这并不过分。”）美雪穿着白色衣服在后台，握着我的手，深情地注视着我的眼睛，告诉我“不要搞砸了，伙计！”我们俩一起嬉皮笑脸，总是在我们最喜欢的爱情时最好，接着，伊利诺伊州资深参议员迪克·德宾介绍我：“让我给你介绍一下这位巴拉克·奥巴马……”

I've only watched the tape of my 2004 convention speech once all the way through. I did so alone, well after the election was over, trying to understand what happened in the hall that night. With stage makeup, I look impossibly young, and I can see a touch of nerves at the beginning, places where I'm too fast or too slow, my gestures slightly awkward, betraying my inexperience.

But there comes a point in the speech where I find my cadence. The crowd quiets rather than roars. It's the kind of moment I'd come to recognize in subsequent years, on certain magic nights. There's a physical feeling, a current of emotion that passes back and forth between you and the crowd, as if your lives and theirs are suddenly spliced together, like a movie reel, projecting backward and forward in time, and your voice creeps right up to the edge of cracking, because for an instant, you feel them deeply; you can see them whole. You've tapped into some collective spirit, a thing we all know and wish for—a sense of connection that overrides our differences and replaces them with a giant swell of possibility—and like all things that matter most, you know the moment is fleeting and that soon the spell will be broken.

我只看过我2004年大会演讲的录像一次，全程都是独自看的，那时选举已经结束，我试图理解那晚场上发生了什么。化了舞台妆，我看起来非常年轻，我能看到一些紧张的感觉，一开始的地方我会过于快或过于慢，我的手势稍微有些笨拙，显露出我的经验不足。

但在演讲的某个时刻，我找到了我的节奏。人群不再咆哮，地方安静下来。这是我在随后的几年中所认识到的某些神奇夜晚上的那种时刻。有一种身体感觉，一股情感的电流在你和人群之间来回传递，就好像你和他们的生命突然被拼接在一起，像一个电影卷，向前后投射，在短暂的瞬间，你感受到了他们的深刻情感；你可以看到他们的全部。你激发了某种集体的精神，这是我们都知道并渴望的东西——一种超越我们之间差异的联系感，取而代之的是一股巨大的可能性的涌动——所有最重要的事情都是如此，你知道这个时刻是短暂的，很快这个魔咒就会被打破。

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BEFORE THAT NIGHT, I thought I understood the power of the media. I'd seen how Axelrod's ads had catapulted me into a lead in the primary, how strangers would suddenly honk and wave from their cars, or how children would rush up to me on the street and say with great seriousness, “I saw you on TV.”

But this was exposure of a different magnitude—an unfiltered, live transmission to millions of people, with clips cycled to millions more via cable news shows and across the internet. Leaving the stage, I knew the speech had gone well, and I wasn't all that surprised by the crush of people greeting us at various convention events the following day. As satisfying as the attention I got in Boston was, though, I assumed it was circumstantial. I figured these were political junkies, people who followed this stuff minute by minute.

在那晚之前，我认为我理解了媒体的力量。我看过了阿克塞尔罗德（Axelrod）的广告如何将我推到了初选的领先位置，看到陌生人突然从他们的汽车里拦下我并挥手，或者看到孩子们在街上冲向我，非常认真地说：“我在电视上看到你了。”

但这是不同程度的曝光——一个未经过滤的、现场直播的传输，面向数百万人，剪辑片段传到数百万人手中，通过有线新闻节目和互联网传播。离开演讲现场时，我知道演讲进行得不错，而随后几天在各种会展活动中我们被人们簇拥着围观，这并不让我感到惊讶。尽管我在波士顿得到了满意的关注，但我认为这只是偶然的。我想，这些都是政治迷，人们一分不离地关注这些事情。

Immediately after the convention, though, Michelle and I and the girls loaded up our stuff and set out for a weeklong RV trip in downstate Illinois designed to show voters I remained focused on Illinois and hadn't gotten too big for my britches. We were a few minutes from our first stop, rolling down the

highway, when Jeremiah, my downstate director, got a call from the advance staff.

“Okay...okay...I'll talk to the driver.”

“What's wrong?” I asked, already a little worn-out by sleep deprivation and the hectic schedule. 大会结束后，米歇尔、我和女儿们立即收拾行装，踏上了为期一周的伊利诺伊州巡回旅行。此行旨在向选民们展示我仍然专注于伊利诺伊州，没有为所欲为。我们距离第一个目的地只有几分钟的路程，正在公路上行驶时，我在疲惫和忙碌的日程表之下问道：“怎么了？”这时，我在伊利诺伊州南部的负责人耶利米亚接到了先期工作人员的电话。“好的...好的...我会和司机谈谈。”

“We were expecting maybe a hundred people at the park,” Jeremiah said, “but right now they're counting at least five hundred. They asked us to slow down so they have time to deal with the overflow.”

Twenty minutes later, we pulled up to see what looked like the entire town crammed into the park. There were parents with kids on their shoulders, seniors on lawn chairs waving small flags, men in plaid shirts and seed caps, many of them surely just curious, there to see what the fuss was about, but others standing patiently in quiet anticipation. Malia peered out the window, ignoring Sasha's efforts to shove her out of the way.

“杰瑞米亚说：“我们本来预计公园可能会有一百人，但现在他们数了至少五百人。他们要求我们放慢速度，让他们有时间处理溢出的人群。”二十分钟后，我们到达目的地，看到整个城镇似乎都挤进了公园。有父母背着孩子，老年人坐在草椅上挥舞小旗，穿着格子衬衫和种子帽的男子，其中许多人肯定只是好奇，来看看闹哪样，但其他人正在耐心地静静等待。马利亚凝视着窗外，无视萨莎试图推开她的努力。”

“What are all the people doing in the park?” Malia asked.

“They're here to see Daddy,” Michelle said.

“Why?”

I turned to Gibbs, who shrugged and just said, “You're gonna need a bigger boat.”

At every stop after that, we were met by crowds four or five times larger than any we'd seen before. And no matter how much we told ourselves that interest would fade and the balloon deflate, no matter how much we tried to guard against complacency, the election itself became almost an afterthought. By August, the Republicans—unable to find a local candidate willing to run (although former Chicago Bears coach Mike Ditka publicly flirted with the idea)—bafflingly recruited conservative firebrand Alan Keyes. (“See,” Gibbs said with a grin, “they've got their own Black guy!”) Aside from the fact that Keyes was a Maryland resident, his harsh moralizing about abortion and homosexuality didn't sit well with Illinoisans.“所有人都在公园里做什么？”Malia问道。

“他们在这里看爸爸，”Michelle说。

“为什么？”

我转身看向吉布斯，他耸了耸肩，只是说，“你会需要一艘更大的船。”

在之后的每个停靠点，我们都会遇到比之前更大四到五倍的人群。无论我们告诉自己兴趣会减退和极端主义会减弱多少次，无论我们如何设法防止满足、选举本身几乎成为了次要问题。到了八月，共和党人——找不到愿意参选的当地候选人（尽管前芝加哥熊队教练迈克·迪特卡公开表示了这个想法）——令人费解地招募保守的焦点人物艾伦·凯斯。（“你看，”吉布斯笑着说，“他们有自己的黑人！”）除了凯斯是马里兰州居民外，他对堕胎和同性恋的强烈道德谴责在伊利诺伊人中引起了不满。

“Jesus Christ would not vote for Barack Obama!” Keyes would proclaim, deliberately mispronouncing my name every time.

I beat him by more than forty points—the biggest margin for a Senate race in the state's history.

Our mood on election night was subdued, not only because our race had become a foregone conclusion but because of the national results. Kerry had lost to Bush; Republicans had retained control of the House and the Senate; even the Democratic Senate minority leader, Tom Daschle of South Dakota, had lost in an upset. Karl Rove, George Bush's political mastermind, was crowing about his dream of installing a permanent Republican majority.

“耶穌基督不會投票支持巴拉克·奧巴馬！”凱斯會宣稱，每次故意錯誤發音我的名字。

我擊敗了他超過四十分——這是該州參議院選舉歷史上最大的差距。

選舉之夜，我們的心情沉悶，不僅因為我們的競選已成為定局，還因為全國的選舉結果。克里輸給了布什；共和黨保持了眾議院和參議院的控制權；就連民主黨參議院少數黨領袖、南達科他州的湯姆·達什爾也在出人意料的落選中敗北。喬治·布什的政治智囊卡爾·羅夫正在吹噓他實現安裝永久共和黨多數派的夢想。

Meanwhile, Michelle and I were exhausted. My staff calculated that over the previous eighteen months, I had taken exactly seven days off. We used the six weeks before my swearing in as a U.S. senator to tend to mundane household details that had been largely neglected. I flew to Washington to meet with my soon-to-be colleagues, interview potential staff, and look for the cheapest apartment I could find. Michelle had decided that she and the kids would stay in Chicago, where she had a support circle of family and friends, not to mention a job she really loved. Though the thought of living apart three days a week for much of the year made my heart sink, I couldn't argue with her logic.

與此同時，米歇爾和我已經筋疲力盡。我的工作人員計算過，在過去的18個月裡，我總共只放了7天假。在我宣誓就任美國參議員之前的六個星期裡，我們處理了大量被忽略的家務事。我飛往華盛頓與我的即將成為同事們會面，面試潛在的工作人員，並尋找我能找到的最便宜的公寓。米歇爾已經決定她和孩子們會留在芝加哥，因為那裡有家庭和朋友的支持圈，更不用說她喜愛的工作了。雖然想到我們一年中有大部分時間要分開生活3天，讓我心碎不已，但我無法反駁她的邏輯。

Otherwise, we didn't dwell much on what had happened. We spent Christmas in Hawaii with Maya and Toot. We sang carols, built sandcastles, and watched the girls unwrap gifts. I tossed a flower lei into the ocean at the spot where my sister and I had scattered my mother's ashes and left one at the

National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, where my grandfather was interred. After New Year's, the whole family flew to Washington. The night before my swearing in, Michelle was in the bedroom of our hotel suite getting ready for a welcome dinner for new members of the Senate when I got a call from my book editor. The convention speech had lifted my reissued book, which had been out of print for years, to the top of the bestseller list. She was calling to congratulate me on its success and the fact that we had a deal for a new book, this time with an eye-popping advance.

否則，我們不會過多去談論發生了什麼。我們和瑪雅和圖特一起在夏威夷過聖誕節。我們唱頌歌，堆沙堡，看女孩們打開禮物。我在我們撒了我媽媽的骨灰的地方把一朵花的花環扔進海裡，並在太平洋國家紀念墓園留下了一朵花，在那裡，我的祖父被埋葬了。新年過後，全家人飛到了華盛頓。在我的宣誓就職前一晚，米歇爾正在我們的酒店套房的臥室裡為參議院的新成員歡迎晚宴做準備，我接到了我的書編輯的電話。大會演講使我的重新發行的書籍，已經絕版多年，登上了暢銷書榜的頂端。她打來的電話是為了祝賀我取得的成功和我們簽訂了一份新書，這次是有驚人預付款的。

I thanked her and hung up just as Michelle came out of the bedroom in a shimmery formal dress.

“You look so pretty, Mommy,” Sasha said. Michelle did a twirl for the girls.

“Okay, you guys behave yourselves,” I said, kissing them before saying goodbye to Michelle's mother, who was babysitting that night. We were headed down the hall toward the elevator when suddenly Michelle stopped.

“Forget something?” I asked.

She looked at me and shook her head, incredulous. “I can't believe you actually pulled this whole thing off. The campaign. The book. All of it.”我感謝她後掛斷電話，就在邁克爾穿上閃亮禮服走出臥室時。「媽媽，你看起來真漂亮，」莎莎說。米雪兒為女孩們轉了幾圈。「好了，你們表現好一點，」我說，親吻她們後告別了當晚當保姆的米雪兒的母親。我們走向電梯前的走廊時，米雪兒突然停了下來。「忘東西了？」我問。她看著我，搖了搖頭，難以置信地說：「我真的不敢相信你竟然能完成這一切。競選活動。書籍。全部都做到了。」

**I nodded and kissed her forehead. “Magic beans, baby. Magic beans.”**

**TYPICALLY THE BIGGEST challenge for a freshman senator in Washington is getting people to pay attention to anything you do. I ended up having the opposite problem. Relative to my actual status as an incoming senator, the hype that surrounded me had grown comical. Reporters routinely pressed me on my plans, most often asking if I intended to run for president. When on the day I was sworn in a reporter asked, “What do you consider your place in history?” I laughed, explaining that I had just arrived in Washington, was ranked ninety-ninth in seniority, had yet to cast a vote, and didn't know where the restrooms were in the Capitol.我点了点头，亲了亲她的额头。“神奇的豆子，宝贝。神奇的豆子。”**

对于一位新上任的参议员来说，最大的挑战通常是让人们关注你所做的事。但对我来说情况恰好相反，相对于我作为一名新上任的参议员的实际地位，围绕我的炒作已经变得有些滑稽。记者们经常询问我的计划，最常问的是我是否打算竞选总统。当有记者在我宣誓就职的那一天问我，“你认为你在历史上的地位是什么？”我笑了，解释说我刚刚到达华盛顿，排名第99位，还没有投票，也不知道国会大厦的洗手间在哪里。

I wasn't being coy. Running for the Senate had felt like a reach as it was. I was glad to be there, and eager to get started on the work. To counteract any inflated expectations, my team and I looked to the example set by Hillary Clinton, who'd entered the Senate four years earlier to a lot of fanfare and had gone on to develop a reputation for diligence, substance, and attention to her constituents. To be a workhorse, not a show horse—that was my goal. No one was temperamentally more suited to implement such a strategy than my new chief of staff, Pete Rouse. Almost sixty years old, graying, and built like a panda bear, Pete had worked on Capitol Hill for nearly thirty years. His experience, most recently as chief of staff to Tom Daschle, and his wide-ranging relationships around town led people to fondly refer to him as the 101st senator. Contrary to the stereotype of Washington political operatives, Pete was allergic to the spotlight, and—beneath a droll, gruff exterior—he was almost shy, which helped explain his long-term bachelorhood and doting affection for his cats.我并不是在卖弄，参加参议院竞选本来感觉很困难。我很高兴能够参加，也渴望着手开始工作。为了抵消任何夸大的期望，我的团队和我以希拉里·克林顿为榜样。她四年前参议院初次登场时备受欢迎，后来发展出了勤勉、实质性和关注她的选民的声望。成为一匹耕耘马而不是一匹出风头的马，这是我的目标。我的新办公室主任皮特·劳斯是最适合实施这种策略的人。他快60岁了，头发有点花白，身材像熊猫一样。他在国会山工作了将近30年，经验丰富，最近担任汤姆·达什尔的办公室主任，而他在城里各种广泛的关系让人们亲昵地称他为“第101位参议员”。与华盛顿政治操作工的刻板印象相反，皮特过敏于聚光灯下，并且在沉闷、粗鲁的外表下，他几乎是害羞的，这可以解释他长期的光棍生活和对他的猫亲切的爱。

It had required considerable effort to convince Pete to take on the job of setting up my rookie office. He was less concerned, he said, with the big step down in status than he was with the possibility that it wouldn't leave him enough time to help find jobs for all the junior staffers who, in the aftermath of Daschle's defeat, were now unemployed.

It was this unfailing decency and rectitude, as much as his knowledge, that made Pete a godsend. And it was on the basis of his reputation that I was able to recruit a topflight staff to fill out the ranks in my office. Along with Robert Gibbs as communications director, we enlisted veteran Hill staffer Chris Lu as legislative director; Mark Lippert, a sharp young naval reservist, as a foreign policy staffer; and Alyssa Mastromonaco, a top lieutenant on the Kerry

presidential campaign whose baby face belied an unmatched talent for troubleshooting and organizing events, as director of scheduling. Finally we added a thoughtful, good-looking twenty-three-year-old named Jon Favreau. Favs, as he came to be known, had also worked on the Kerry campaign and was both Gibbs's and Pete's number one choice as our speechwriter.

說服Pete負責設立我的新手辦事處需要相當大的努力。他沒有太在意地位下降這麼多，而是擔心時間不夠，無法幫助所有在Daschle失敗後失業的初級職員找到工作。

正是Pete的品行端正和清廉，不亞於他的知識，使他成為一位天賜之人。基於他的聲譽，我成功吸引了一支頂尖的團隊擔任我的辦公室。除了Robert Gibbs擔任傳媒總監外，我們還招募了資深的國會職員Chris Lu擔任立法總監；尖銳的年輕海軍後備役Mark Lippert擔任外交政策職員；則指揮和組織事件擁有無與倫比的能力的Kerry總統競選的領袖助手Alyssa Mastromonaco擔任排程主管。最後，我們還增加了一個富有思考力和英俊的23歲青年Jon Favreau。大家都稱他為Favs，他也曾在Kerry的競選中工作，並成為Gibbs和Pete的首選演講撰稿人。

“Haven’t I met him before?” I asked Gibbs after the interview.

“Yep...he’s the kid who showed up and told you that Kerry was stealing one of your lines at the convention.”

I hired him anyway.

Under Pete’s supervision, the team set up offices in Washington, Chicago, and several downstate locations. To emphasize our focus on voters back home, Alyssa put together an ambitious schedule of town hall meetings in Illinois—thirty-nine in the first year. We instituted a strict policy of avoiding national press and the Sunday morning shows, instead devoting our attention to Illinois papers and TV affiliates. Most important, Pete worked out an elaborate system for handling mail and constituent requests, spending hours with young staffers and interns who worked in the correspondence office, obsessively editing their responses and making sure they were familiar with all the federal agencies that dealt with lost Social Security checks, discontinued veterans’ benefits, or loans from the Small Business Administration.

“我之前见过他吗？”我在采访之后问吉布斯。

“对...就是那个孩子，告诉你凯瑞在会议上偷了你的一句话。”

不过我还是雇了他。

在彼得的监督下，我们的团队在华盛顿、芝加哥和伊利诺伊州设立了办公室。为了强调我们关注选民的重点，艾丽莎组织了一个宏大的伊利诺伊州市政会议日程——第一年就有39个。我们采取了一个严格的规定，避免了国家级新闻和周日早晨的节目，专注于伊利诺伊州的报纸和电视联营。最重要的是，彼得设计了一个复杂的邮件和选民请求处理系统，花费数小时与年轻的工作人员和实习生在书信办公室工作，反复检查他们的回复，确保他们熟悉处理失踪的社会保障支票、终止的退伍军人福利或小企业管理局贷款等联邦机构的方法。

“People may not like your votes,” Pete said, “but they’ll never accuse you of not answering your mail!”

With the office in good hands, I could dedicate most of my time to studying the issues and getting to know my fellow senators. My task was made easier by the generosity of Illinois’s senior senator, Dick Durbin, a friend and disciple of Paul Simon’s, and one of the most gifted debaters in the Senate. In a culture of big egos, where senators generally didn’t take kindly to a junior partner soaking up more press than them, Dick was unfailingly helpful. He introduced me around the Senate chambers, insisted that his staff share credit with us on various Illinois projects, and maintained his patience and good humor when—at the Thursday morning constituent breakfasts we jointly hosted—visitors spent much of the time asking me for pictures and autographs.“人们可能不喜欢你的选票，”皮特说，“但他们永远不会指责你不回复邮件！”借助办公室运作得当，我可以把大部分时间用于研究问题和了解我的参议员同僚。伊利诺伊州资深参议员迪克·德宾是我的好友和保罗·西蒙的信徒之一，也是参议院最有才华的辩手之一，他的慷慨使我的任务变得更容易。在自负的文化中，参议员通常不喜欢一个初级伙伴吸引了比他们更多的媒体关注，但迪克总是乐于助人。他介绍我认识参议院的各位议员，坚持让他的员工与我们分享伊利诺伊的各种项目的功劳。在我们共同主持的星期四早餐会上，当来访者大部分时间都在要求我和拍照和签名时，他保持着耐心和良好的幽默感。

The same could be said for Harry Reid, the new Democratic leader. Harry’s path to the Senate had been at least as unlikely as mine. Born dirt-poor in the small town of Searchlight, Nevada, to a miner and a laundress, he spent his early years in a shack without indoor plumbing or a telephone. Somehow, he had scratched and clawed his way into college and then George Washington University Law School, working as a uniformed United States Capitol Police officer between classes to help pay his way, and he was the first to tell you that he had never lost that chip on his shoulder.

哈利·里德是新民主黨領袖，同樣的話也適用於他。哈利進入參議院的道路與我同樣不可思議。他出生在內華達州小鎮Searchlight的一個窮礦工之家，成長於一間沒有室內衛生設施或電話的茅屋中。他設法攀上學士學位和喬治華盛頓大學法學院，在課餘工作成為統一着裝美國國會警察以支付學費。他是第一個告訴你他永遠不會放下心中絆腳石的人。

“You know, Barack, I boxed when I was a kid,” he said in his whispery voice the first time we met. “And gosh, I wasn’t a great athlete. I wasn’t big and strong. But I had two things going for me. I could take a punch. And I didn’t give up.”

That sense of overcoming long odds probably explained why, despite our differences in age and experience, Harry and I hit it off. He wasn’t one to show much emotion and in fact had a disconcerting habit of forgoing the normal niceties in any conversation, especially on the phone. You might find yourself in mid-sentence only to discover he’d already hung up. But much as Emil Jones had done in the state legislature, Harry went out of his way to look out for me when it came to committee assignments and kept me apprised of Senate business, regardless of my lowly rank.“你知道的，Barack，我小时候打过拳击，”他用他的低沉嗓音说道，我们第一次见面时。“我不是一个很好的运动员。我不高大壮实，但是我有两个优点。我可以承受打击，而且我从不放弃。”

这种战胜种种不可能的信念可能解释了为什么尽管我和哈里年龄和经验上有所不同，我们却能相处得很好。他不常表露情感，事实上在任何谈话中都不太讲

究礼貌，尤其在电话中。你可能正在说话，发现他已经挂掉了电话。但就像Emil Jones在州议院中所做的那样，哈里也不遗余力地关注我的委员会分配，并让我了解参议院的事务，无论我的级别有多低。

In fact, such collegiality seemed to be the norm. The old bulls of the Senate—Ted Kennedy and Orrin Hatch, John Warner and Robert Byrd, Dan Inouye and Ted Stevens—all maintained friendships across the aisle, operating with an easy intimacy that I found typical of the Greatest Generation. The younger senators socialized less and brought with them the sharper ideological edge that had come to characterize the House of Representatives after the Gingrich era. But even with the most conservative members, I often found common ground: Oklahoma’s Tom Coburn, for example, a devout Christian and an unyielding skeptic of government spending, would become a sincere and thoughtful friend, our staffs working together on measures to increase transparency and reduce waste in government contracting.

事实上，这种同僚关系似乎是常态。参议院的老牛们 — 泰德·肯尼迪和奥林·哈奇、约翰·沃纳和罗伯特·伯德、丹·伊诺贝和特德·史蒂文斯 — 都保持跨越党派的友谊，以我所认为最伟大的一代人的轻松亲密为运营模式。年轻的参议员社交少了一些，带来了更为锐利的意识形态边缘，这在金里奇时期之后成为代表众议院的特点。但即使对于最保守的成员，我经常发现共同点：例如，俄克拉荷马州的汤姆·科本是一位忠诚的基督徒，同时也是对政府支出持不妥协的怀疑论者，他成为了一位真诚而深思熟虑的朋友，我们的工作人员一起合作，制定措施来增加政府合同的透明度和减少浪费。

In many ways, my first year in the Senate felt a bit like a reprise of my early years in the Illinois legislature, though the stakes were higher, the spotlight brighter, and the lobbyists more skilled at wrapping their clients’ interests in the garb of grand principles. Unlike the state legislature, where many members were content to keep their heads down, often not knowing what the hell was going on, my new colleagues were well briefed and not shy with their opinions, which caused committee meetings to drag on interminably and made me far more sympathetic to those who’d suffered through my own verbosity in law school and Springfield.

在许多方面，我在参议院的第一年感觉有点像我在伊利诺伊州议会早期的岁月，尽管赌注更高，聚光灯更亮，而游说者更善于用伟大原则的外衣包裹其客户的利益。与州议会不同，许多成员满足于低调，常常不知道发生了什么事，而我的新同事们则得到了充分的简报，他们的意见也不含糊，这导致委员会会议拖了很久，并使我更加同情那些曾经在法学院和斯普林菲尔德经历过我自己的冗长演说的人们。

In the minority, my fellow Democrats and I had little say on which bills emerged from committee and got a vote on the Senate floor. We watched as Republicans put forward budgets that underfunded education or watered down environmental safeguards, feeling helpless beyond the declamations we made before a largely empty chamber and the unblinking eye of C-SPAN. Repeatedly we agonized over votes that were not designed to advance a policy so much as to undermine the Democrats and provide fodder for upcoming campaigns. Just as I had in Illinois, I tried to do what I could to influence policy at the margins, pushing modest, nonpartisan measures—funding to safeguard against a pandemic outbreak, say, or the restoration of benefits to a class of Illinois veterans.

作为少数党成员，我和我的民主党同僚对于哪些法案能够从委员会提交并在参议院进行表决，几乎没有决定权。我们眼睁睁地看着共和党人提出的预算未给予教育足够的资金支持，或是弱化了环境保护措施。我们无助地站在大多数议员都不在的会议室里，在C-SPAN的无声监视下演讲，再也无法做什么了。我们一次又一次为不得不表决的提案而苦恼，这些提案不是为了推动政策的进展，而是为了削弱民主党人，并为即将到来的竞选提供弹药。就像我在伊利诺伊州一样，我尝试着在边缘影响政策，推动一些不带党派性质的小型措施——例如为防控流行病提供资金支持，或是恢复一部分伊利诺伊州退伍军人的福利。

As frustrating as certain aspects of the Senate could be, I didn’t really mind its slower pace. As one of its youngest members and with a 70 percent approval rating back in Illinois, I knew I could afford to be patient. At some point, I thought I’d consider running for governor or, yes, even president, steered by the belief that an executive position would give me a better chance to set an agenda. But for now, forty-three years old and just starting out on the national scene, I figured I had all the time in the world.

盡管參議院的某些方面讓人感到相當沮喪，但我並不介意其較慢的步伐。作為其中最年輕的成員之一，在伊利諾伊州擁有70%的支持率，我知道自己有耐心。我曾考慮過參選州長，甚至總統，因為我相信執行職位能夠給我更好的機會來制定議程。但就目前而言，我剛步入國家舞台，年僅43歲，覺得我有足夠的時間。

My mood was further buoyed by improvements on the home front. Barring bad weather, the commute from D.C. to Chicago took no longer than the trip to and from Springfield. And once I was home, I wasn’t as busy or distracted as I’d been during the campaign or while juggling three jobs, leaving me more time to shuttle Sasha to dance class on Saturdays or read a chapter of Harry Potter to Malia before I tucked her into bed.

Our improved finances also relieved a whole lot of stress. We bought a new house, a big, handsome Georgian across from a synagogue in Kenwood. For a modest price, a young family friend and aspiring chef named Sam Kass agreed to do grocery shopping and cook healthy meals that could stretch through the week. Mike Signator—a retired Commonwealth Edison manager who had served as a volunteer during the campaign—chose to stay on as my part-time driver, practically becoming a member of our family.在家庭方面的改善讓我心情更加愉悦。除了天气糟糕的情况，从华盛顿特区到芝加哥的通勤时间不会比去和回斯普林菲尔德的时间更长。而一旦我回到家，我就没有像在竞选期间或在兼顾三份工作时那样忙碌或分心，这让我有更多时间在周六送Sasha去舞蹈课或在我把Malia塞进床上之前读一章《哈利·波特》。

我们的财务状况也缓解了大量压力。我们买了一座新房，位于肯伍德的一座壮丽的乔治王时代风格的房子，对面就是一座犹太教堂。一个年轻的家庭朋友和有抱负的厨师叫Sam Kass表示愿意以适中的价格去购买食材并做一周的健康饭菜。Mike Signator，一位曾在竞选期间担任志愿者的前卡门·埃迪森经理，选择留下来做我的兼职司机，几乎成为我们家庭的一员。

Most important, with the financial backstop we now could provide, my mother-in-law, Marian, agreed to reduce her hours at work and help look after the girls. Wise, funny, still young enough to chase after a four- and seven-year-old, she made everyone's life easier. She also happened to love her son-in-law and would rise to my defense whenever I was late, messy, or otherwise not up to scratch.

The additional help gave me and Michelle that extra bit of time together we'd been missing for too long. We laughed more, reminded once again that we were each other's best friend. Beyond that, though, what surprised us both was how little we felt changed by our new circumstances. We continued to be homebodies, shying away from glitzy parties and career-advancing soirees, because we didn't want to give up evenings with the girls, because we felt silly getting gussied up too often, and because Michelle, a perennial early riser, got sleepy after ten o'clock. Instead, we spent weekends as we always had, me playing basketball or taking Malia and Sasha to a nearby pool, Michelle running errands at Target and organizing playdates for the girls. We had dinners or afternoon barbecues with family and our tight circle of friends—especially Valerie, Marty, Anita, and Eric and Cheryl Whitaker (a pair of doctors whose children were the same ages as ours), along with Kaye and Wellington Wilson, affectionately known as "Mama Kaye" and "Papa Wellington," an older couple (he was a retired community college administrator; she was a program officer at a local foundation and a magnificent cook) whom I'd known from my organizing days and who considered themselves my surrogate parents in Chicago.

最重要的是，有了我们现在提供的财务支持，我的婆婆玛丽安同意减少工作时间，帮忙照顾女孩们。她聪明、有趣，还年轻得足以追赶上一个四岁和七岁的孩子，让每个人的生活更轻松愉快。她也碰巧爱她的女婿，每当我迟到、凌乱或者其他方面不够好的时候，她都会为我辩护。

额外的帮助让米歇尔和我有了更多一起度过的时间，这是我们太长时间以来一直缺乏的。我们笑得更多，再次提醒自己，我们是彼此最好的朋友。除此之外，令我们俩惊讶的是，我们感觉到自己的新环境改变很少。我们继续是宅男宅女，避免浮华的派对和职业晋升的聚会，因为我们不想放弃和女孩们在一起的夜晚，因为我们觉得太频繁打扮自己也有点傻，而因为米歇尔是一个长期早起的人，十点钟以后就会困意袭来。相反，我们像以前一样度过周末，我打篮球或带玛莉亚和萨沙去附近的游泳池，米歇尔在Target购物和安排女孩的玩伴。我们与家人和我们亲密的朋友们共进晚餐或下午的烧烤——特别是瓦莱丽、马蒂、安妮塔、埃里克和谢尔（一对医生，他们的孩子和我们的年龄相同），还有卡耶和威灵顿·威尔逊，他们是一对年龄较大的夫妇（他是一位退休社区学院管理员，她是一位当地基金会的项目主管和一位出色的厨师），我是在我的组织时代认识他们的，他们认为自己是在芝加哥的我的代理父母。

That's not to say that Michelle and I didn't have to make adjustments. People now recognized us in crowds, and as supportive as they generally were, we found the sudden loss of anonymity disconcerting. One evening, shortly after the election, Michelle and I went to see the biopic *Ray*, starring Jamie Foxx, and were surprised when our fellow patrons burst into applause as we walked into the movie theater. Sometimes when we went out to dinner, we noticed that people at adjoining tables either wanted to strike up long conversations or got very quiet, in a not-so-subtle effort to hear what we were saying.

这并不意味着米歇尔和我不需要做出调整。人们现在在人群中认出了我们，尽管他们通常很支持我们，但我们仍然感到突然失去匿名感令人不安。选举后不久的一个晚上，米歇尔和我去看了由杰米·福克斯主演的传记片《雷》。我们惊讶地发现，当我们走进电影院时，我们的同伴们爆发出掌声。有时当我们出去吃饭时，我们注意到邻桌的人要么想开始长时间的谈话，或者变得非常安静，试图听我们在说什么。

The girls noticed as well. One day during my first summer as a senator, I decided to take Malia and Sasha to the Lincoln Park Zoo. Mike Signator warned me that the crowds on a beautiful Sunday afternoon might be a little overwhelming, but I insisted we make the trip, confident that sunglasses and a baseball cap would shield me from any attention. And for the first half hour or so, everything went according to plan. We visited the lions prowling behind the glass in the big-cat house and made funny faces at the great apes, all without a disturbance. Then, as we stopped to look at the visitors' guide for directions to the sea lions, we heard a man shout.女孩们也注意到了。作为参议员的第一个夏天的某一天，我决定带玛利亚和莎莎去林肯公园动物园。迈克·西格纳特警告我，美丽的星期天下午人群可能有点压倒性，但我坚持要去，相信太阳镜和棒球帽会保护我免受任何关注。在前半个小时左右，一切都按计划进行。我们参观了大猫馆中玻璃后悄悄行走的狮子，并朝大猩猩做鬼脸，一切都沒有干扰。然后，当我们停下来查看游客指南的方向前往海狮区时，我们听到一个男人的喊声。

"Obama! Hey, look...it's Obama! Hey, Obama, can I take a picture with you?"

The next thing I knew, we were surrounded by families, people reaching for a handshake or an autograph, parents arranging their kids next to me for a photo. I signaled to Mike to take the girls to see the sea lions without me. For the next fifteen minutes, I gave myself over to my constituents, appreciative of their encouraging words, reminding myself that this was part of what I'd signed up for, but feeling my heart sink a little at the thought of my daughters wondering what happened to their daddy.

"歐巴馬！嘿，看……是歐巴馬！嘿，歐巴馬，我可以和你合照吗？"下一秒我知道的是，我们被家庭包围着，人们伸出手要握手或签名，家长们为他们的孩子安排在我旁边拍照。我向麦克示意让女儿去看海狮，而我则投入我的选民中，感激他们鼓励的话语，提醒自己这正是我所选择的，但也感到我的心沉了一点，想到我的女儿们会想我的父亲去哪里了。"

I finally rejoined my kids, and Mike suggested we leave the zoo and find a quiet place to get ice cream instead. As we drove, Mike stayed mercifully quiet—the girls, not so much.

"I think you need an alias," Malia declared from the backseat.

"What's an alias?" Sasha asked.

"It's a fake name you use when you don't want people to know who you are," Malia explained. "Like 'Johnny McJohn John.'"

Sasha giggled. "Yeah, Daddy...you should be Johnny McJohn John!"

"And you need to disguise your voice," Malia added. "People recognize it. You have to talk with a higher voice. And faster."

我終於和我的孩子們團聚了，邁克建議我們離開動物園，去找一個安靜的地方吃冰淇淋。在我們開車時，邁克保持安靜——女孩們卻沒有。

“我覺得你需要一個化名，”瑪麗亞從後座宣布。

“什麼是化名？”莎莎問。

“這是一個假名字，當你不想讓人們知道你是誰時使用，”瑪麗亞解釋道。“像‘Johnny McJohn John’一樣。”

莎莎咯咯笑。“是啊，爸爸...你應該是Johnny McJohn John！”

“你還需要假扮你的聲音，”瑪麗亞補充道。“人們會認出來你的聲音。你必須用更高的聲音說話。而且要更快。”

“Daddy talks so slow,” Sasha said.

“Come on, Daddy,” Malia said. “Try it.” She shifted into the highest-pitched, fastest voice she could muster, saying, “Hi! I’m Johnny McJohn John!”

Unable to contain himself, Mike burst out laughing. Later, when we got home, Malia proudly explained her scheme to Michelle, who patted her on the head.

“That’s a great idea, honey,” she said, “but the only way for Daddy to disguise himself is if he has an operation to pin back his ears.”

—

ONE FEATURE OF the Senate that excited me was the ability it gave me to influence foreign policy, something that the state legislature didn’t afford. Since college, I’d been particularly interested in nuclear issues, and so even before my swearing in, I’d written to Dick Lugar, the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, whose signature issue was nuclear nonproliferation, to let him know that I hoped to work with him.

“莎莎说：“爸爸讲话太慢了。”

“来吧，爸爸，”玛丽亚说。“试试吧。”她用最高音调，最快的速度说：“你好！我是约翰尼·麦克约翰！”

迈克无法控制地笑出声来。回家后，玛丽亚自豪地向米歇尔解释她的计划，米歇尔摸了摸她的头。

“这是个好主意，亲爱的，”她说，“但唯一能让爸爸伪装的方法就是让他动手术把他的耳朵挑回去。”

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参议院最吸引我的一个特点是它让我有机会影响外交政策，这是州议会所没有的。自上大学以来，我一直对核问题特别感兴趣，因此，在就职之前，我就写信给外交关系委员会主席迪克·卢格尔，他的标志性问题就是核不扩散，让他知道我希望与他合作工作。”

Dick’s response was enthusiastic. A Republican from Indiana and a twenty-eight-year veteran of the Senate, he was reliably conservative on domestic issues like taxes and abortion, but on foreign policy he reflected the prudent, internationalist impulses that had long guided mainstream Republicans like George H. W. Bush. In 1991, shortly after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Dick had teamed up with Democrat Sam Nunn to design and pass legislation that allowed America to aid Russia and former Soviet states in securing and deactivating weapons of mass destruction. Nunn-Lugar, as it came to be known, proved a bold and durable achievement—more than 7,500 nuclear warheads would be deactivated over the next two decades—and its implementation helped facilitate relationships between U.S. and Russian national security officials that were critical in managing a dangerous transition.

迪克的回应非常热情。他是印第安纳州的一名共和党人，也是参议院的资深议员，拥有28年的从政经验。在国内政策方面，如税收和堕胎等问题，他是可靠的保守派，但在外交政策方面，他反映了一直以来指导主流共和党人如老布什的谨慎、国际主义的倾向。1991年，在苏联解体后不久，迪克与民主党人萨姆·努恩合作设计并通过了立法，允许美国帮助俄罗斯和前苏联国家保障和解除大规模杀伤性武器。该法案被称为努恩-李加法案，被证明是一个大胆而持久的成就，接下来的20年里，超过7500枚核弹头得到了解除，并且它的实施有助于促进美俄国家安全官员之间的关系，这对于管理危险的过渡非常关键。

Now, in 2005, intelligence reports indicated that extremist groups like al-Qaeda were scouring poorly guarded outposts throughout the former Soviet bloc, searching for remaining nuclear, chemical, and biological materials. Dick and I began discussing how to build on the existing Nunn-Lugar framework to further protect against such threats. Which is how in August of that year I found myself with Dick on a military jet, headed for a weeklong visit to Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan. Though the need to monitor Nunn-Lugar’s progress had made such visits routine for Dick, this was my first official foreign trip, and over the years I had heard stories about congressional junkets—the less than strenuous schedules, the lavish dinners and shopping sprees. If that was supposed to be the deal, though, Dick had not gotten the memo. Despite being in his seventies, he maintained a relentless pace. After a day full of meetings with Russian officials in Moscow, we flew a couple of hours southeast to Saratov and then drove another hour to visit a secret nuclear storage site where American funding had helped upgrade the security surrounding Russian missiles. (We were also treated to a meal of borscht and a type of fish gelatin, which Dick gamely ate while I spread it around my plate like a six-year-old.)

現在，正值2005年，情報報告顯示，像基地組織這樣的極端主義組織正在搜索前蘇聯集團中的薄弱守衛哨所，以尋找剩餘的核、化學和生物材料。迪克和我開始討論如何在現有的納恩-盧卡框架上進一步保護免受這些威脅。這就是為什麼那一年八月我與迪克一起乘坐軍用噴氣機，前往俄羅斯、烏克蘭和阿塞拜疆進行為期一周的訪問。監測納恩-盧卡的進展需要進行此類訪問對迪克來說很常見，但這是我第一次正式的外交之旅，這些年來我聽到過國會出國考察之旅的故事，關於它們不那麼艱辛的行程安排、奢華的晚餐和購物狂歡節。儘管如此，如果那是慣例，迪克不知道。盡管已經七十多歲了，但他仍然保持著無情的節奏。在莫斯科與俄羅斯官員進行了一整天的會議之後，我們飛了幾個小時到達薩拉托夫，再開一個小時的車到訪一個秘密的核武器存儲場所，美國的資助幫助提升了俄羅斯導彈周圍的安全措施。（我們還品嚐了一道羅宋湯和一種魚凍，迪克勇敢地吃了，而我像六歲的孩子一樣在盤子裡撒播。）

Visiting the city of Perm near the Ural Mountains, we wandered through a graveyard of SS-24 and SS-25 missile casings, the last remnants of tactical nuclear warheads once aimed at Europe. In Donetsk, in the eastern part of Ukraine, we toured an installation where warehouses of conventional weapons—ammunition, high-grade explosives, surface-to-air missiles, and even tiny bombs hidden in children’s toys—had been collected from around the country and were now slated for destruction. In Kiev, we were taken by our hosts to a dilapidated, unguarded three-story complex in the center of town, where Nunn-Lugar was funding the installation of new storage systems for Cold War-era biological research samples, including anthrax and bubonic plague. It was sobering, all of it, proof of people’s capacity to harness ingenuity in the service of madness. But for me, after so many years spent focused

on domestic issues, the trip was also invigorating—a reminder of just how big the world was and of the profound human consequences of decisions made in Washington.

在乌拉尔山脉附近参观了佩尔姆市，我们漫步于一片SS-24和SS-25导弹外壳的坟场之中，这些导弹曾经是趋向欧洲的战术核弹头的最后遗迹。在乌克兰东部的顿涅茨克市，我们参观了一个集中了来自全国各地大量常规武器——两栖发射器、高性能炸药、地对空导弹、甚至是藏在儿童玩具里的小型炸弹等武器——并计划销毁的仓库。在基辅，我们的东道主带我们去了一处位于市中心的破旧三层建筑，没有警卫，这里的新存储系统是由Nunn-Lugar资助，专门用于冷战时期生物研究样本的保管，其中包括炭疽和鼠疫等瘟疫样本。所有这些令人警醒，证明了人类利用聪明才智献身于疯狂事业的能力。但对我来说，在专注于国内事务多年后，这次旅行也振奋了我——提醒我世界是多么的庞大，并且决策在华盛顿做出时有着深远的人类后果。

Watching Dick operate would leave a lasting impression. His gnomish face always fixed in a placid smile, he was tireless in answering my questions. I was struck by the care, precision, and mastery of facts he demonstrated anytime he spoke in meetings with foreign officials. I observed his willingness to endure not only travel delays but also endless stories and noontime vodka shots, knowing that common courtesy spoke across cultures and ultimately could make a difference in advancing American interests. For me, it was a useful lesson in diplomacy, an example of the real impact a senator could have.

看著狄克的操作會留下深刻的印象。他小巧的臉龐總是掛著平靜的微笑，回答我的問題毫不疲倦。他在與外國官員會談時所表現出來的關注、精確性和專業知識讓我非常印象深刻。我觀察到他願意忍受不僅是旅行延誤，還有無盡的故事和中午的伏特加，知道公共禮儀能跨越文化界限並最終對推進美國的利益有所幫助。對我來說，這是一個有用的外交教訓，也是一個參議員可以產生真正影響的例子。

Then a storm hit, and everything changed.

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OVER THE COURSE of the week I'd spent traveling with Dick, a tropical weather system that had formed over the Bahamas crossed Florida and deposited itself in the Gulf of Mexico, picking up energy over the warmer waters and aiming itself ominously at the southern shores of the United States. By the time our Senate delegation landed in London to meet with Prime Minister Tony Blair, a ferocious and full-blown catastrophe was under way. Making landfall with 125 mph winds, Hurricane Katrina had leveled entire communities along the Gulf Coast, overwhelmed levees, and left much of New Orleans underwater.

然后，一场风暴袭来，一切都变了。— 在我和狄克一起旅行的那个星期里，一个热带气旋形成于巴哈马，穿过佛罗里达州，并在墨西哥湾降下自己，从温暖的海水中吸收能量，并注视着美国南部海岸的可怕形势。当我们的参议院代表团降落在伦敦与首相托尼·布莱尔会晤时，一场凶猛而全面的灾难已经开始了。飓风卡特里娜以每小时125英里的风速登陆，摧毁了墨西哥湾沿岸的整个社区，淹没了防洪堤，使新奥尔良的大部分地区沉入水中。

I stayed up half the night watching the news coverage, stunned by the murky, primordial nightmare washing across the television screen. There were floating corpses, elderly patients trapped in hospitals, gunfire and looting, refugees huddled and losing hope. To see such suffering was bad enough; to see the slow government response, the vulnerability of so many poor and working-class people, made me ashamed.

A few days later, I joined George H. W. and Barbara Bush, along with Bill and Hillary Clinton, in a visit to Houston, where thousands of people displaced by the hurricane had been bused to emergency shelters set up inside the sprawling Astrodome convention complex. Together with the Red Cross and FEMA, the city had been working around the clock to provide basic necessities, but it struck me as I moved from cot to cot that many of the people there, most of whom were Black, had been abandoned long before the hurricane—scratching out a living on the periphery without savings or insurance. I listened to their stories about lost homes and loved ones missing in the flood, about their inability to evacuate because they had no car or couldn't move an ailing parent, people no different from those I'd worked to organize in Chicago, no different from some of Michelle's aunts or cousins. I was reminded that no matter how my circumstances may have changed, theirs had not. The politics of the country had not. Forgotten people and forgotten voices remained everywhere, neglected by a government that often appeared blind or indifferent to their needs.我熬了半夜观看新闻报道，震惊于在电视屏幕上泛滥的暗淡、原始的噩梦。有漂浮的尸体，被困在医院里的老年病人，枪声和抢劫，难民聚集并失去希望。看到这样的痛苦已经够糟糕的了；看到政府反应缓慢，许多穷人和工人阶级的人的脆弱性，让我感到羞耻。几天后，我和乔治·H·W·布什和芭芭拉·布什，以及比尔和希拉里·克林顿一同前往休斯顿参观。数千名被飓风逼迫的人被运到紧急避难所，设在广阔的Astrodome大会议中心内。与红十字会和联邦应急管理署一起，城市一直在日夜工作，提供基本必需品，但我在床铺之间移动时感到，那里的许多人，大多数是黑人，已经在飓风之前被抛弃了——没有存款或保险在外围挣扎着谋生。我听了他们关于失去家园和在洪水中失踪的亲人的故事，关于他们无法撤离，因为没有车或不能移动一个生病的父母，他们与我在芝加哥组织的人无异，与米歇尔的某些姑妈或表兄弟无异。我想起了，无论我的情况如何改变，他们的情况并没有改变，国家政治也没有改变。被遗忘的人和被忽视的声音仍然无处不在，被政府忽视或漠视他们的需求。

I felt their hardship as a rebuke, and as the only African American in the Senate, I decided it was time to end my moratorium on national media appearances. I hit the network news shows, arguing that while I didn't believe racism was the reason for the botched response to the Katrina disaster, it did speak to how little the ruling party, and America as a whole, had invested in tackling the isolation, intergenerational poverty, and lack of opportunities that persisted in large swaths of the country.

Back in Washington, I worked with my colleagues drafting plans to help rebuild the Gulf region as part of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. But life in the Senate felt different. How many years in that chamber would it take to actually make a difference in the lives of the people I'd met in Houston? How many committee hearings, failed amendments, and budget provisions negotiated with a recalcitrant chairman would be required to offset the misguided actions of a single FEMA director, Environmental Protection Agency functionary, or Department of Labor appointee?

我感到他們的困境是在斥責我，作為參議院唯一的非裔美國人，我決定是時候結束對國家媒體露面的禁止了。我出現在電視新聞節目上，辯論表示，我不認為種族主義是卡特里娜災難應對失敗的原因，但它卻代表著統治黨和整個美國對解決國家廣泛存在的孤立、代際貧困和缺乏機會所付出的少得可憐的努力。回到華盛頓，我與我的同事一起起草了幫助重建海灣地區的計劃，作為國土安全部和政府事務委員會的一部分。但是在參議院的生活感覺到與以往不同。要有多少年在那個葬禮廳才能真正改善我在休斯頓遇見的人們的生活？要通過多少委員會聽證會，在頑固的主席面前失敗的修正案和預算條款才足以抵消單個聯邦緊急管理局局長、環保署官員或勞工部任命官員的錯誤行動？

Such feelings of impatience were compounded when, a few months later, I joined a small congressional delegation on a visit to Iraq. Nearly three years after the U.S.-led invasion, the administration could no longer deny the disaster the war had become. In disbanding the Iraqi military and allowing the Shiite majority to aggressively remove large numbers of Sunni Muslims from government positions, U.S. officials had created a situation that was chaotic and increasingly perilous—a bloody sectarian conflict marked by escalating suicide assaults, roadside explosions, and car bombs detonating on crowded market streets.

當我幾個月後加入一個小型國會代表團參觀伊拉克時，這種不耐煩的感覺更加增強。在美國領導的入侵近三年後，政府再也無法否認這場戰爭變成了災難。解散伊拉克軍隊並讓什葉派多數派出大量的逊尼派穆斯林，美國官員創造了一個混亂日漸加劇、充滿危險的局勢—一場血腥的派系衝突，標誌著自殺攻擊、路邊炸彈和在擁擠的市場街道上引爆的汽車炸彈不斷升級。

Our group visited U.S. military bases in Baghdad, Fallujah, and Kirkuk, and from the Black Hawk helicopters that carried us the entire country looked exhausted, the cities pockmarked by mortar fire, the roads eerily quiet, the landscape coated with dust. At each stop, we met commanders and troops who were smart and courageous, driven by the conviction that with the right amount of military support, technical training, and elbow grease, Iraq could someday turn the corner. But my conversations with journalists and with a handful of high-ranking Iraqi officials told a different story. Wicked spirits had been unleashed, they said, with the killings and reprisals between Sunnis and Shiites making the prospect of reconciliation distant, if not unattainable. The only thing holding the country together appeared to be the thousands of young soldiers and Marines we'd deployed, many of them barely out of high school. More than two thousand of them had been killed already, and many thousands more injured. It seemed clear that the longer the war dragged on, the more our troops would become targets of an enemy they often could not see and did not understand.

我们的团队参观了巴格达、法卢杰和基尔库克的美军基地，从黑鹰直升飞机上俯瞰整个国家，所有的城市都被迫击炮打得破破烂烂，道路异常安静，整个风景被灰尘所笼罩。在每一站，我们遇见了聪明勇敢的指挥官和士兵，他们坚信只要有充足的军事支持、技术培训和辛勤付出，伊拉克总有一天会翻身。但是，我和一些高级伊拉克官员以及记者的对话告诉了我另一个故事。他们说，恶魔被释放了，在逊尼派和什叶派之间的杀戮和报复使和解的前景变得遥远，甚至不可实现。唯一维系着国家的是成千上万的年轻士兵和海军陆战队员，他们中的许多人甚至还没有高中毕业。已经有超过两千人被杀，更有成千上万人受伤。很明显，战争越拖越久，我们的部队就越容易成为他们看不到，也不理解的敌人的目标。

Flying back to the United States, I couldn't shake the thought of those kids paying the price for the arrogance of men like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, who'd rushed us into war based on faulty information and refused, still, to fully consider the consequences. The fact that more than half of my Democratic colleagues had approved this fiasco filled me with an altogether different kind of worry. I questioned what might happen to me the longer I stayed in Washington, the more embedded and comfortable I became. I saw now how it could happen—how the incrementalism and decorum, the endless positioning for the next election, and the groupthink of cable news panels all conspired to chip away at your best instincts and wear down your independence, until whatever you once believed was utterly lost.

飛回美國時，我無法擺脫那些孩子因迪克·切尼和唐納德·拉姆斯菲爾德等人的傲慢付出代價的想法，他們根據錯誤的信息急忙使我們參與戰爭，而且仍然拒絕充分考慮後果。我的超過一半民主黨同事批准了這一場災難，這讓我充滿了不同的擔憂。我懷疑如果我在華盛頓待的時間越長，我越融入進來並變得越舒適，那會發生什麼。現在我看到了這是如何可能發生的—從漸進主義和禮儀、不斷為下一場選舉進行定位，以及有線電視新聞面板的群體思維，它們會共同腐蝕你最好的本能和磨損你的獨立性，直到你曾經相信的一切都被完全失去。

If I'd been on the edge of feeling content, thinking I was in the right job, doing the right thing at an acceptable pace, Katrina and my Iraq visit put a stop to all that. Change needed to come faster—and I was going to have to decide what role I would play in bringing it about.

如果我本來覺得自己很滿足，認為自己在正確的工作中，以可接受的步伐做著正確的事情，卡特里娜和我在伊拉克的訪問結束了這一切。變革需要更快地來臨，而我必須決定在實現這個變革中的角色。

#### CHAPTER 4

RARELY DOES A WEEK GO by when I don't run into somebody—a friend, a supporter, an acquaintance, or a total stranger—who insists that from the first time they met me or heard me speak on TV, they knew I'd be president. They tell me this with affection, conviction, and a certain amount of pride in their political acumen, talent spotting, or soothsaying. Sometimes they will cloak it in religious terms. God had a plan for you, they'll tell me. I'll smile and say that I wish they had told me this back when I was thinking about running; it would have saved me a lot of stress and self-doubt.

#### 第四章

很少有一周過去，我不会遇到某人 - 朋友、支持者、熟人或完全陌生人 - 坚称从他们认识我或在电视上听我演讲的那一刻起，他们就知道我会成为总统。他们以充满情感、信念和对他们的政治眼光、发掘才能或预言能力的一定程度的骄傲告诉我这一点。有时他们会用宗教的话语来掩饰。上帝为您制定了计划，他们会告诉我。我会微笑着说，我希望他们早些时候告诉我这个，当我考虑竞选时，这会为我节省很多压力和自我怀疑。

The truth is, I've never been a big believer in destiny. I worry that it encourages resignation in the down-and-out and complacency among the powerful. I suspect that God's plan, whatever it is, works on a scale too large to admit our mortal tribulations; that in a single lifetime, accidents and happenstance determine more than we care to admit; and that the best we can do is to try to align ourselves with what we feel is right and construct some meaning out of our confusion, and with grace and nerve play at each moment the hand that we're dealt.

事實是，我從未真正相信命運。我擔心它會鼓勵無助者的頹廢和權貴們的自滿。我懷疑上帝的計劃，無論是什麼，都運作在一個太大的尺度，不能承認我們的人間困境；在一個人的一生中，意外和偶然性決定了更多，而我們不願承認；而我們所能做的最好就是努力使自己與我們感覺到的正確對齊，從混亂中構建一些意義，用優雅和勇氣玩弄我們所面臨的每一刻。

I know that by the spring of 2006, the idea of me running for president in the next election, while still unlikely, no longer felt outside the realm of possibility. Each day, our Senate office was inundated with media requests. We were getting twice as much mail as other senators. Every state party and candidate for the November midterm elections wanted me to headline their events. And our rote denials that I was planning to run seemed only to fuel speculation.

One afternoon, Pete Rouse walked into my office and closed the door behind him.

我知道在2006年春季，我參加下一屆總統選舉的想法雖然仍然不太可能，但已經不再是不可能的事。每天，我們的參議院辦公室都被媒體的請求所淹沒。我們收到的信件是其他參議員的兩倍。每個州的黨派和十一月份中期選舉的候選人都希望我主持他們的活動。而我們對我不打算競選的否認似乎只是加劇了猜測。

一個下午，皮特·勞斯走進我的辦公室，並關上了門。

“I want to ask you something,” he said.

I looked up from the constituent letters I'd been signing. “Shoot.”

“Have your plans changed for 2008?”

“I don't know. Should they?”

Pete shrugged. “I think the original plan to stay out of the limelight and focus on Illinois made sense. But your profile's not going down. If there's even a remote chance you're considering it, I'd like to write a memo outlining what we need to do to keep your options open. You all right with that?”

I leaned back in my chair and stared at the ceiling, knowing the implications of my answer. “Makes sense,” I finally said. “我想問你一個問題，”他說。

我從我正在簽署的文件中抬起頭來，“說吧。”

“你的2008年計劃有改變嗎？”

“我不知道。應該改變嗎？”

皮特聳了聳肩。“我認為最初的計劃是保持低調，專注於伊利諾伊州，這很有道理。但你的形象沒有下降。如果你甚至有一個遙遠的機會考慮這一點，我想寫一份備忘錄，概述我們需要做些什麼來保持你的選擇權。你同意嗎？”

我向後靠在椅子上，盯著天花板，知道我的回答有什麼影響。“有道理，”我終於說道。

“Okay?” Pete asked.

“Okay.” I nodded, returning to my paperwork.

“The Memo Master” is how some on the staff referred to Pete. In his hands, the lowly memorandum approached an art form, each one efficient and oddly inspiring. A few days later, he distributed a revised road map for the remainder of the year for my senior team to consider. It called for an expanded travel schedule to support more Democratic candidates in the midterms, meetings with influential party officials and donors, and a retooled stump speech.

“好不好？”Pete問。

“好。”我點頭，回到我的文書工作上。

“備忘錄大師”是工作人員中一些人用來稱呼Pete的稱號。在他手中，平淡的備忘錄變成了一種藝術形式，每一份備忘錄都高效而異常鼓舞人心。幾天後，他分發了一份修訂後的路線圖，供我的高級團隊考慮。它要求擴大旅行計劃，以支持更多的民主黨候選人在中期選舉中，會見有影響力的黨派官員和捐贈者，並重新調整競選演說。

For months to come, I followed this plan, putting myself and my ideas before new audiences, lending my support to Democrats in swing states and swing districts, and traveling to parts of the country I'd never been to before. From the West Virginia Jefferson-Jackson Dinner to the Nebraska Morrison Exon Dinner, we hit them all, packing the house and rallying the troops. Anytime someone asked if I was going to run for president, though, I continued to demur. “Right now, I'm just focused on getting Ben Nelson back to the Senate, where we need him,” I'd say.

未來幾個月，我遵循這個計劃，將自己和我的想法介紹給新的觀眾，支持在搖擺州和搖擺地區的民主黨人，並前往之前從未去過的國家的部分地區。從西弗吉尼亞州的杰斐遜杰克遜晚宴到內布拉斯加州的莫里森·埃克森晚宴，我們去了全部，將人們聚集在一起，鼓舞士氣。不過，每當有人問我是否要競選總統，我仍然不加置評。“現在，我只關注讓本·尼爾森重返參議院，我們需要他。”我會說道。

Was I fooling them? Was I fooling myself? It's hard to say. I was testing, I suppose, probing, trying to square what I was seeing and feeling as I traveled around the country with the absurdity of my launching a national campaign. I knew that a viable presidential candidacy wasn't something you just fell into. Done right, it was a deeply strategic endeavor, built slowly and quietly over time, requiring not only confidence and conviction but also piles of money and enough commitment and goodwill from others to carry you through all fifty states and two straight years of primaries and caucuses.

我是欺騙他們嗎？還是我在欺騙自己？這很難說。我想這是在測試，探究，在我周遊全國時所看到和感受到的，與我發起全國性競選活動的荒謬不謀而合。我知道，一個可行的總統候選人不是你隨隨便便就能進入的。做好了，這是一個深層戰略性的努力，慢慢而靜悄悄地建立起來，需要的不僅僅是信心和信念，還需要足夠的金錢和足夠的承諾與良心來支撐你完成五十個州和兩年的初選和支持者的眾多投票。

Already, a number of my fellow Democratic senators—Joe Biden, Chris Dodd, Evan Bayh, and, of course, Hillary Clinton—had laid the groundwork for a possible run. Some had run before; all had been preparing for years and had a seasoned cadre of staff, donors, and local officials lined up to help. Unlike me, most could point to a record of meaningful legislative accomplishments. And I liked them. They had treated me well, broadly shared my views on the issues, and were more than capable of running an effective campaign and, beyond that, an effective White House. If I was becoming convinced that I could excite voters in ways that they couldn't—if I suspected that only a wider coalition than they could build, a different language than they used, could shake up Washington and give hope to those in need—I also understood that my favored status was partly an illusion, the result of friendly media coverage and an over-stoked appetite for anything new. The infatuation could reverse itself in an instant, I knew, the rising star transformed into the callow youth, presumptuous enough to think he could run the country less than halfway through his first term.

已經有許多民主黨的參議員，包括喬·拜登、克里斯·多德、伊萬·貝伊和當然還有希拉蕊·克林頓，為可能競選總統打好了基礎。其中一些人以前已經競選過；所有人都準備了多年，並且有經驗豐富的幕僚、捐贈者和當地官員準備好幫忙。與我不同的是，他們大部分人都可以指出有意義的立法成果記錄。而且我喜歡他們。他們待我很好，廣泛分享我的觀點，並且足以主導一場有效的競選，更進一步，成為一位有效的白宮領袖。如果我開始相信我可以以他們無法做到的方式激勵選民——如果我懷疑只有比他們能夠建立的更廣泛的聯盟，使用不同的語言，才能搖動華盛頓並給需要幫助的人帶來希望——我也明白我的優越地位部分是幻覺，是友好的媒體報導和對任何新聞情報的過度熱衷的結果。我知道這種迷戀可以在瞬間反轉，上升的明星變成自負到認為他可以在第一任期還不到中途時就統治這個國家的輕狂青年。

Better to hold off, I told myself. Pay dues, collect chits, wait my turn.

On a bright spring afternoon, Harry Reid asked me to stop by his office. I trudged up the wide marble stairs from the Senate chamber to the second floor, the unsmiling, dark-eyed portraits of long-dead men staring down upon me with each step. Harry greeted me in the reception area and led me into his office, a big, high-ceilinged room with the same intricate moldings, tile work, and spectacular views that other senior senators enjoyed, but short on memorabilia or photos of handshakes with the famous that adorned other offices.最好先等等，我告訴自己。繳納會費，積攢人脈，等待我的機會。一個明媚的春日下午，哈里·里德請我來他的辦公室。我從參議院會議廳走上寬闊的大理石樓梯，每走一步，一幅幅不怎麼高興、深邃的死去男子的肖像畫都注視著我。哈里在接待區迎接我，並帶我進入他的辦公室，一個敞敞、高天花板的房間，與其他高級參議員的辦公室一樣擁有複雜的線條、瓷砖和壯觀的景色，但缺少其它辦公室布置的紀念品或與名人握手的照片。

"Let me get to the point," Harry said, as if he were known for small talk. "We've got a lot of people in our caucus planning to run for president. I can hardly count them all. And they're good people, Barack, so I can't be out there publicly, taking sides..."

"Listen, Harry, just so you know, I'm not—"

"But," he said, cutting me off, "I think you need to consider running this cycle. I know you've said you wouldn't do it. And sure, a lot of people will say you need more experience. But let me tell you something. Ten more years in the Senate won't make you a better president. You get people motivated, especially young people, minorities, even middle-of-the-road white people. That's different, you see. People are looking for something different. Sure, it will be hard, but I think you can win. Schumer thinks so too."

“讓我直言吧，”哈利說，像是以出名的閒談者聞名一樣。“我們有很多黨派的人計劃參選總統。我幾乎數不清他們了。而且，他們都是好人，巴拉克，所以我不能公開地，偏袒某一方……”

“聽著，哈利，你要知道，我不會——”

但是，他打斷了我：“但是，我認為你需要考慮在本屆大選中參選。我知道你說過你不會這樣做。當然，很多人會說你需要更多的經驗。但讓我告訴你的是，再在參議院呆十年也不會讓你成為一位更好的總統。你可以激勵人們，尤其是年輕人、少數民族，甚至是中間派的白人。這是不同的，你看到了嗎？人們正在尋找不同的東西。當然，這會很難，但我相信你能夠贏。舒默也這麼認為。”

He stood up and headed toward the door, making it clear the meeting was over. "Well, that's all I wanted to tell you. So think about it, okay?"

I left his office stunned. As good a relationship as I'd developed with Harry, I knew him to be the most practical of politicians. Walking down the stairs, I wondered if there was some angle to what he had said, some sophisticated game he was playing that I was too dim to recognize. But when I later talked to Chuck Schumer, and then to Dick Durbin, they delivered the same message: The country was desperate for a new voice. I would never be in a better position to run than I was now, and with my connection with young voters, minorities, and independents, I might broaden the map in a way that could help other Democrats down the ballot.

他站起身，朝着門走去，明確表示會議結束了。“好吧，這就是我想告訴你的了。那你考慮一下，好吗？”

我震驚地離開了他的辦公室。儘管我與哈里建立了良好的關係，但我知道他是最實際的政治家中的一員。下樓的時候，我想知道他說的是否有什么深意，他是否在玩一種我太遲鈍而無法辨別的複雜遊戲。但是當我之後與Chuck Schumer和Dick Durbin談話時，他們傳達了同樣的信息：國家渴望一個新的聲音。我現在比以往任何时候都更適合競選，並且由於與年輕選民、少數民族以及獨立選民的聯繫，我可能會以一種能夠幫助其他民主黨候選人的方式擴大陣地。

I didn't share these conversations beyond my senior staff and closest friends, feeling as if I had stepped into a minefield and shouldn't make any sudden moves. As I mulled it all over with Pete, he suggested I have one more conversation before I considered taking a more serious look at what a race would entail.

“You need to talk to Kennedy,” he said. “He knows all the players. He’s run himself. He’ll give you some perspective. And at the very least, he’ll tell you if he plans to support anyone else.”

Heir to the most famous name in American politics, Ted Kennedy was by then the closest thing Washington had to a living legend. During more than four decades in the Senate, he’d been at the forefront of every major progressive cause, from civil rights to the minimum wage to healthcare. With his great bulk, huge head, and mane of white hair, he filled every room he walked into, and was the rare senator who commanded attention whenever he gingerly rose from his seat in the chamber, searching his suit pocket for his glasses or his notes, that iconic Boston baritone launching each speech with “Thank you, Madam President.” The argument would unspool—the face reddening, the voice rising—building to a crescendo like a revivalist sermon, no matter how mundane the issue at hand. And then the speech would end, the curtain would come down, and he would become the old, avuncular Teddy again, wandering down the aisle to check on the roll call or sit next to a colleague, his hand on their shoulder or forearm, whispering in their ear or breaking into a hearty laugh—the kind that made you not care that he was probably softening you up for some future vote he might need.

我没有与我的高级员工和最亲密的朋友分享这些对话，感觉就像我踩进了一片雷区，不应该做出任何突然的举动。当我与皮特仔细考虑这一切时，他建议我在考虑对比赛的更严格的审查之前再谈一次。

“你需要和肯尼迪谈谈，”他说。“他认识所有的参与者。他自己也参加过比赛。他会给你一些看法。至少，他会告诉你他是否计划支持任何其他人。”作为美国政治最著名的名字的继承者，泰德·肯尼迪当时是华盛顿最接近传奇的人物。在参议院任职超过四十年，他一直处于每一个主要的进步事业的前沿——从民权到最低工资到医疗保健。他凭借他庞大的身躯、巨大的头部和鬃毛般的白发充满了他走进的每一个房间，他是少数那些每当他从参议院的座位上小心翼翼地站起来，在他的西装口袋里找他的眼镜或笔记时就会引起注意的参议员之一，那个标志性的波士顿嗓音会以“谢谢你，女总统”开头，争论会不断地展开，脸色变红，声音不断上升，像一个复兴派布道者一样达到高潮，不管手头的问题有多平凡。然后演讲会结束，帷幕会降下来，他会变成老牌的泰迪，漫步在过道上，检查点名或坐在同事旁边，手搭在他们的肩膀或前臂上，耳语或爆发出热情的笑声——那种让你不在乎他可能正在为他未来可能需要的投票来软化你的笑声。

Teddy’s office on the third floor of the Russell Senate Office Building was a reflection of the man—charming and full of history, its walls cluttered with photographs of Camelot and models of sailboats and paintings of Cape Cod. One painting in particular caught my attention, of dark, jagged rocks curving against a choppy, white-capped sea.

“Took me a long time to get that one right,” Teddy said, coming up beside me. “Three or four tries.”

“It was worth the effort,” I said.

We sat down in his inner sanctum, with the shades drawn and a soft light, and he began telling stories—about sailing, his children, and various fights he’d lived through on the Senate floor. Ribald stories, funny stories. Occasionally he drifted along some unrelated current before tacking back to his original course, sometimes uttering just a fragment of a thought, all the while both of us knowing that this was a performance—that we were just circling the real purpose of my visit.泰迪在罗素参议院办公大楼的三楼办公室是他本人的映象——迷人而充满历史。墙上挂满了骆驼美杜莎和帆船模型，还有画着科德角沿岸景色的画作。其中一幅画引起了我的注意，画中黑色、多棱形的岩石在波涛翻滚、浪花飞溅的海面上弯曲延伸。

泰迪从我身边走过来，说：“我用了很长时间才把这幅画画对。尝试了三四次。”

我说：“你的努力值得。”

我们坐下来，泰迪将窗帘拉上，房间里灯光柔和，他开始讲述他的故事——关于航行、他的孩子、以及他在参议院会场上经历过的各种斗争。他说些下流的笑话，有趣的故事。有时他会离题，但最终都回到话题上来，有时只说一句话，我们两个都知道这是一场表演——我们只是在转圈子，迟迟无法谈到我来访的真正目的。

“So...” he finally said, “I hear there’s talk of you running for president.”

I told him it was unlikely, but that I nevertheless wanted his counsel.

“Yes, well, who was it who said there are one hundred senators who look in the mirror and see a president?” Teddy chuckled to himself. “They ask, ‘Do I have what it takes?’ Jack, Bobby, me too, long ago. It didn’t go as planned, but things work out in their own way, I suppose...”

He trailed off, lost in his thoughts. Watching him, I wondered how he took the measure of his own life, and his brothers’ lives, the terrible price each one of them had paid in pursuit of a dream. Then, just as suddenly, he was back, his deep blue eyes fixed on mine, all business.

“所以...”他终于说道，“我听说你有意竞选总统。”

我告诉他这不太可能，但我仍然想听听他的建议。

“是啊，谁说过有一百个参议员看着镜子看到了一个总统？”泰迪笑了笑，“他们会问自己‘我有没有这个本事？’杰克、博比，还有我以前也是这样。不过事情并没有按计划进行，但我想，事情总会有它自己的方式...”

他逐渐陷入沉思，看着他，我想知道他是如何衡量他自己的生活，以及他兄弟们的生活，他们每一个人为了梦想付出的可怕代价。然后就在这时，他突然回过神，他那深邃的蓝色眼睛注视着我，变得非常严肃。

“I won’t be wading in early,” Teddy said. “Too many friends. But I can tell you this, Barack. The power to inspire is rare. Moments like this are rare. You think you may not be ready, that you’ll do it at a more convenient time. But you don’t choose the time. The time chooses you. Either you seize what may turn out to be the only chance you have, or you decide you’re willing to live with the knowledge that the chance has passed you by.”

—

MICHELLE WAS HARDLY oblivious to what was happening. At first she simply ignored the fuss. She stopped watching political news shows and waved off all the overeager questions from friends and co-workers about whether I planned to run. When one evening at home I mentioned the conversation I’d had with Harry, she just shrugged, and I did not press the issue.

“The power to inspire is rare. Moments like this are rare. You think you may not be ready, that you'll do it at a more convenient time. But you don't choose the time. The time chooses you. Either you seize what may turn out to be the only chance you have, or you decide you're willing to live with the knowledge that the chance has passed you by.”

泰迪说：“我不会早早涉足其中。太多的朋友。但我可以告诉你，巴拉克，激励人心的力量是很罕见的。像这样的时刻也是罕见的。你可能认为自己还没有准备好，觉得自己会在更方便的时候做。但你不能选择时机。时机选择你。要么你抓住这可能是唯一机会的机会，要么你决定愿意接受知道机会已经错过了的事实。”

——米歇尔很清楚正在发生的事情。起初，她只是忽视了这样的骚动。她停止观看政治新闻节目，并打发掉所有过于热心的朋友和同事们关于我是否计划参选的问题。一天晚上，在家里，当我提到我与哈利的谈话时，她只是耸了耸肩，我也没再追问这个问题。

As the summer wore on, though, the chatter began to seep through the cracks and crevices of our home life. Our evenings and weekends appeared normal so long as Malia and Sasha were swirling about, but I felt the tension whenever Michelle and I were alone. Finally, one night after the girls were asleep, I came into the den where she was watching TV and muted the sound.

“You know I didn't plan any of this,” I said, sitting down next to her on the couch.

Michelle stared at the silent screen. “I know,” she said. 随着夏季的过去，我们家庭生活中的闲话开始从破洞和裂缝中渗透出来。只要玛莉亚和萨莎转悠着，我们的晚上和周末就显得很正常，但每当米歇尔和我独处时，我感受到了紧张气氛。最终，有一天晚上，女孩们睡觉后，我走进电视房，她正在看电视，我将声音关掉了。

“你知道我没有计划任何这些事情，”我坐在沙发上，对着她说。

米歇尔盯着沉默的屏幕，“我知道，”她说。

“I realize we've barely had time to catch our breath. And until a few months ago, the idea of me running seemed crazy.”

“Yep.”

“But given everything that's happened, I feel like we have to give the idea a serious look. I've asked the team to put together a presentation. What a campaign schedule would look like. Whether we could win. How it might affect the family. I mean, if we were ever going to do this—”

Michelle cut me off, her voice choked with emotion.

“Did you say we?” she said. “You mean you, Barack. Not we. This is your thing. I've supported you the whole time, because I believe in you, even though I hate politics. I hate the way it exposes our family. You know that. And now, finally, we have some stability...even if it's still not normal, not the way I'd choose for us to live...and now you tell me you're going to run for president?”

我意识到我们几乎没有时间喘息。直到几个月前，我竞选总统的想法似乎很疯狂。”

“是的。”

“但考虑到所发生的一切，我觉得我们必须认真考虑这个想法。我已经要求团队准备一份演示文稿：竞选日程表、我们能否获胜以及它可能对家庭产生的影响。我的意思是，如果我们真的要这样做——”

米歇尔打断了我，她的声音带着情绪。

“你说的是‘我们’吗？”她说，“你的意思是你是，巴拉克。不是我们。这是你的事情。虽然我讨厌政治，但我一直支持你，因为我相信你。我讨厌政治曝光我们的家庭。你知道的。现在，我们终于有了一些稳定...即使它仍然不正常，不是我选择我们生活的方式...现在你告诉我你要竞选总统？”

I reached for her hand. “I didn't say I am running, honey. I just said we can't dismiss the possibility. But I can only consider it if you're on board.” I paused, seeing that none of her anger was dissipating. “If you don't think we should, then we won't. Simple as that. You get the final say.”

Michelle lifted her eyebrows as if to suggest she didn't believe me. “If that's really true, then the answer is no,” she said. “I don't want you to run for president, at least not now.” She gave me a hard look and got up from the couch. “God, Barack...When is it going to be enough?”

我伸出手去握住了她的手。“我并没有说我要竞选，亲爱的。我只是说我们不能排除这种可能性。但是，只有在你同意的情况下我才会考虑。”我停了一下，发现她的怒气并没有减少。“如果你觉得我们不应该，那我们就不会。就这么简单。你说了算。”

米歇尔抬起眉毛，好像是在暗示她不相信我。“如果真是这样，那么答案就是不，”她说。“至少现在我不想让你竞选总统。”她用一种强硬的口吻看着我，从沙发上站起来。“天啊，巴拉克.....什么时候才够呢？”

Before I could answer, she'd gone into the bedroom and closed the door.

How could I blame her for feeling this way? By even suggesting the possibility of a run, by involving my staff before I'd asked for her blessing, I had put her in an impossible spot. For years now, I'd asked Michelle for fortitude and forbearance when it came to my political endeavors, and she'd given it—reluctantly but with love. And then each time I'd come back again, asking for more.

Why would I put her through this? Was it just vanity? Or perhaps something darker—a raw hunger, a blind ambition wrapped in the gauzy language of service? Or was I still trying to prove myself worthy to a father who had abandoned me, live up to my mother's starry-eyed expectations of her only son, and resolve whatever self-doubt remained from being born a child of mixed race? “It's like you have a hole to fill,” Michelle had told me early in our marriage, after a stretch in which she'd watched me work myself to near exhaustion. “That's why you can't slow down.”

在我回答之前，她已经走进了卧室，并关上了门。

我怎么能责怪她有这种感觉呢？我甚至只是想提出可能要参选，却在征求她的祝福之前就让我的团队参与进来，这让她陷入了一个无法解决的境地。多年来，我一直要求米歇尔在我的政治事业上有坚韧和耐心，她虽然有些不情愿，但却用爱给了我。然后每次我都回来了，再次寻求更多。

为什么我要让她经历这个呢？这只是虚荣心吗？还是某种更黑暗的欲望，一种包裹在服务华丽语言中的盲目追求？还是我仍然试图证明自己对一个抛弃我的父亲有价值，达到母亲对她唯一儿子星星眼的期望，并解决由于出生在混血种族的孩子仍然存在的自我怀疑？“这就像你有一个需要填满的孔，”米歇尔在我们婚姻早期告诉我，在这段时间里，她看着我工作得近乎筋疲力尽。“这就是为什么你不能放慢速度的原因。”

In truth, I thought I'd resolved those issues long ago, finding affirmation in my work, security and love in my family. But I wondered now if I could ever really escape whatever it was in me that needed healing, whatever kept me reaching for more.

Maybe it was impossible to disentangle one's motives. I recalled a sermon by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., called "The Drum Major Instinct." In it, he talks about how, deep down, we all want to be first, celebrated for our greatness; we all want "to lead the parade." He goes on to point out that such selfish impulses can be reconciled by aligning that quest for greatness with more selfless aims. You can strive to be first in service, first in love. For me, it seemed a satisfying way to square the circle when it came to one's baser and higher instincts. Except now I was also confronting the obvious fact that the sacrifices were never mine alone. Family got dragged along for the ride, put in the line of fire. Dr. King's cause, and his gifts, might have justified such sacrifice. But could mine?

事實上，我曾經認為自己早已解決這些問題，從工作中得到肯定，從家庭中得到安全和愛。然而，我現在想知道我是否真的能夠擺脫內心那需要療愈的東西，那驅使我不斷追求更多的東西。

也許解開一個人的動機是不可能的。我想起了馬丁路德·金博士的一篇講道，叫做《鼓手本能》。在講道中，他談到人性深處，我們都渴望成為第一，因為我們的偉大而被讚揚，我們都想“領導遊行”。他繼續指出，這種自私的衝動可以通過將追求偉大與更無私的目標相一致來化解。你可以力爭成為服務第一，愛情第一。對我來說，這似乎是一種滿足的方式，可以解決人類低級和高級本能之間的矛盾。但現在我也面臨著一個明顯的事實，那就是犧牲絕不是我一個人的。家人也被拖入這場戰鬥中，處在危險之中。金博士的事業和他的天賦也許可以為這樣的犧牲辯護。但我的呢？

I didn't know. Whatever the nature of my faith, I couldn't take refuge in the notion of God calling me to run for president. I couldn't pretend to be simply responding to some invisible pull of the universe. I couldn't claim I was indispensable to the cause of freedom and justice, or deny responsibility for the burden I'd be placing on my family.

Circumstances may have opened the door to a presidential race, but nothing during these months had prevented me from closing it. I could easily close the door still. And the fact that I hadn't, that instead I had allowed the door to open wider, was all Michelle needed to know. If one of the qualifications of running for the most powerful office in the world was megalomania, it appeared I was passing the test.我不知道。无论我对信仰的看法如何，我都不能避难在上帝召喚我竞选总统的想法中。我不能假装只是在回应某种不可见的宇宙牵引。我不能声称对自由和正义事业不可或缺，也不能不承担在我的家庭肩上放置的负担。

虽然环境可能打开了总统竞选的大门，但在此期间没有任何事情阻止我关闭它。我也可以很容易地关闭大门。我没有这样做，反而让大门开得更大，这就是米歇尔需要知道的。如果竞选世界上最权势的职位之一的资格之一是狂妄自大，那么我似乎已经通过了测试。

—

SUCH THOUGHTS COLORED my mood as I left in August for a seventeen-day tour through Africa. In South Africa, I took the boat ride out to Robben Island and stood in the tiny cell where Nelson Mandela had passed most of his twenty-seven years in prison, keeping his faith that change would come. I met with members of the South African Supreme Court, spoke with doctors at an HIV/AIDS clinic, and spent time with Bishop Desmond Tutu, whose joyful spirit I had gotten to know during his visits to Washington.

"So is it true, Barack," he said with an impish smile, "that you are going to be our first African president of the United States? Ah, that would make us all verrry proud!"

這樣的想法讓我留下來情緒複雜地在八月去了一個為期十七天的非洲之旅。在南非，我乘船前往羅本島，站在納爾遜·曼德拉大部分的二十七年監獄裡的小牢房裡，保持他的信念，相信變革會來臨。我與南非最高法院成員會面，與HIV/AIDS診所的醫生交談，並與德斯蒙德·圖圖主教共度時光，我已經認識了他在訪問華盛頓期間的愉快精神。

「那麼，巴拉克，」他帶著狡猾的微笑說道，「你會成為我們美國的第一位非洲總統嗎？啊，那會使我們所有人都非常自豪！」

From South Africa, I flew to Nairobi, where Michelle and the girls—accompanied by our friend Anita Blanchard and her children—joined me. Abetted by wall-to-wall coverage in the local press, the Kenyan response to our presence was over the top. A visit to Kibera, one of Africa's largest shantytowns, drew thousands who packed themselves along the winding paths of red dirt, chanting my name. My half sister Auma had thoughtfully organized a family trip to Nyanza Province, so we could introduce Sasha and Malia to our father's ancestral home in the western region of the country. Traveling there, we were surprised to see people lined up and waving alongside miles of highway. And when Michelle and I stopped at a mobile health clinic to publicly take an HIV test as a means of demonstrating its safety, a crowd of thousands showed up, swamping our vehicle and giving the diplomatic security team a real scare. Only when we went on safari, parked among the lions and wildebeests, did we escape the commotion.我從南非飛到了奈洛比，在那裡Michelle和女兒們——還有我們的朋友Anita Blanchard和她的孩子——加入了我。在當地媒體的全面報道下，肯尼亞人對我們的到來反應過分。拜訪非洲最大的貧民窟之一Kibera，數千人沿著紅土路的蜿蜒小徑擠滿了人群，高呼我的名字。我的同父異母姐姐Auma精心組織了一個家庭旅行到Nyanza省，讓我們能夠帶著Sasha和Malia去我們父親在該國西部地區的祖居地。在那裡旅行時，我們驚訝地看到人們排成一排，在公路兩側揮舞著手。當我們在移動醫療診所停下來公開進行愛滋病測試以展示其安全性時，成千上萬的人群湧向我們的車輛，並使外交安全小組處於真正的恐慌狀態。只有當我們在野生動物園中停車觀看獅子和角馬時，才能逃避喧囂。

“I swear, Barack, these folks think you’re already president!” Anita joked one evening. “Just reserve me a seat on Air Force One, okay?” Neither Michelle nor I laughed.

While the family headed back to Chicago, I continued on, traveling to the Kenya-Somalia border to get briefed on U.S.-Kenyan cooperation against the terrorist group al-Shabaab; taking a helicopter from Djibouti into Ethiopia, where U.S. military personnel were assisting flood relief efforts; and finally flying into Chad to visit refugees from Darfur. At each stop, I saw men and women engaged in heroic work, in impossible circumstances. At each stop, I was told how much more America could be doing to help relieve the suffering.

“我发誓，巴拉克，这些人以为你已经是总统了！”安妮塔开玩笑地说。“给我留个座位在空军一号上好吗？”米歇尔和我都没笑。当家人回到芝加哥时，我继续前往肯尼亚-索马里边境，接受有关美国和肯尼亚合作打击恐怖组织“青年党”的简报。从吉布提乘直升机进入埃塞俄比亚，美国军人正在协助抗洪救灾工作。最后飞到乍得，探访来自达尔富尔的难民。在每个停靠点，我看到男男女女在艰难的环境下从事英勇的工作。在每个停靠点，我都被告知美国可以更多地帮助缓解苦难。

And at each stop, I was asked if I was running for president.

Just days after my return to the States, I flew to Iowa to give the keynote speech at Senator Tom Harkin’s Annual Steak Fry, a ritual that took on added importance in the run-up to presidential elections, given that Iowa was always the first state to vote in the primary process. I’d accepted the invitation months earlier—Tom had asked me to speak precisely to avoid having to choose between all the presidential aspirants who coveted the slot—but now my appearance only fueled speculation. As we were leaving the fairgrounds following my speech, I was pulled aside by Steve Hildebrand, a former political director for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and an old Iowa hand who’d been enlisted by Pete to show me around. 每到一站，我都会被问到是否正在竞选总统。就在我回到美国的几天后，我飞到了爱荷华州，在汤姆·哈金参议员的年度牛排煎炸饭上发表主题演讲，这一仪式在总统大选前尤为重要，因为爱荷华州一直是初选投票的第一个州。我几个月前就接受了邀请，汤姆让我发言，以避免选择所有渴望该位置的总统竞选者，但现在我的演讲只加剧了人们的猜测。在演讲结束后，我们离开展览会场地时，我被史蒂夫·希尔德布兰德拉到一旁，他是民主党参议员竞选委员会的前政治总监，也是一位老爱荷华州官员，他被皮特召集来带我四处参观。

“That’s the hottest reception I’ve ever seen here,” Steve said. “You can win Iowa, Barack. I can feel it. And if you win Iowa, you can win the nomination.” It felt sometimes as if I’d been caught in a tide, carried along by the current of other people’s expectations before I’d clearly defined my own. The temperature rose even higher when, a month later, just a few weeks before the midterm elections, my second book was released. I’d labored on it all year, in the evenings in my D.C. apartment and on weekends after Michelle and the girls had gone to sleep; even in Djibouti, where I’d scrambled for several hours trying to fax corrected page proofs to my editor. I had never intended the book to serve as a campaign manifesto; I just wanted to present my ideas about the current state of American politics in an interesting way and sell enough copies to justify my sizable advance.

史蒂夫说，“这是我在这里见过的最火热的接待，你可以赢得爱荷华州，巴拉克。我能感受到。如果你赢得了爱荷华州，你就能赢得提名。”有时候感觉自己被潮流卷走，被别人期待的压力推着走，还没开始明确自己的想法。一个月后，就在中期选举前几周，我的第二本书发行了。我花了整整一年的时间在晚上回到华盛顿的公寓和周末在米歇尔和孩子们睡觉后进行写作；在吉布提，我还曾为了传真页面修正证明而奋斗了数小时。我从未打算让这本书成为竞选宣言；我只是想以有趣的方式呈现我的有关美国政治现状的想法，并销售足够的副本来证明我的重要性。

But that wasn’t how it was received, by the political press or the public. Promoting it meant I was on television and radio practically nonstop, and combined with my very visible barnstorming on behalf of congressional candidates, I looked more and more like a candidate myself. On a drive down from Philly to D.C., where I was scheduled to appear the next morning on *Meet the Press*, Gibbs and Axe, along with Axe’s business partner, David Plouffe, asked me what I planned to say when the show’s host, Tim Russert, inevitably grilled me about my plans.

但政治新闻界和公众并不这么看待。推销这个计划意味着我几乎不停地出现在电视和广播中，再加上我为国会候选人穿梭拉票的公开活动，我看起来越来越像一个候选人。在从费城到华盛顿特区的路上，我被安排参加 *Meet the Press* 节目，Gibbs、Axe 以及 Axe 的商业伙伴 David Plouffe 问我准备如何回答主持人 Tim Russert 不可避免的问题。

“He’s going to run back the old tape,” Axe explained. “The one where you say unequivocally you will not run for president in 2008.”

I listened for a few minutes as the three of them began hashing out various ways to sidestep the question before I interrupted.

“Why don’t I just tell the truth? Can’t I just say that I had no intention of running two years ago, but circumstances have changed and so has my thinking, and I plan to give it serious thought after the midterms are over?”

They liked the idea, admitting that it said something about the strangeness of politics that such a straightforward answer would be considered novel. Gibbs also advised that I give Michelle a heads-up, predicting that a direct suggestion that I might run would cause the media frenzy to immediately intensify.“他打算重新回顾旧录像，”艾克斯解释道。“那个你明确表示不会在2008年竞选总统的录像。”

当三个人开始探讨绕过问题的各种方法时，我听了几分钟后打断了他们。

“我为什么不能说实话呢？我可以说我两年前没有竞选的打算，但是情况已经改变了，我的想法也改变了，在中期选举结束后我打算认真考虑。”

他们很喜欢这个想法，并承认这表明了政治的奇怪之处，一个如此直接的回答竟然被认为是新颖的。吉布斯还建议我向米歇尔透露，预计直接暗示我可能会竞选会立即激烈地引起媒体的狂热报道。

Which is exactly what happened. My admission on *Meet the Press* made headlines and the evening news. On the internet, a “Draft Obama” petition took off, gathering thousands of signatures. National columnists, including several conservative ones, penned op-eds urging me to run, and Time magazine published a cover story titled “Why Barack Obama Could Be the Next President.”

Apparently, though, not everyone was sold on my prospects. Gibbs reported that when he stopped at a kiosk on Michigan Avenue to get a copy of Time, the Indian American vendor looked down at my picture and offered a two-word response: "Fuuuuck that."

這正是發生的事情。我在《Meet the Press》的錄製成為了新聞頭條和晚間新聞。在網上，一份“支持奧巴馬競選”的請願書開始蔓延，收集了數千個簽名。國家專欄作家，包括一些保守派人士，撰寫了文章呼籲我參選，而《時代》雜誌發表了一篇封面故事標題為“為什麼巴拉克·奧巴馬可以成為下一任總統”。然而，顯然並非所有人都看好我的前景。吉布斯報告說，當他在密歇根大道的一個攤位上停下來買《時代》雜誌時，一位印度裔的小販看了看我的照片，然後口中喃喃自語說了兩個字：“操他”。

We had a good laugh over this. And as the speculation about my candidacy grew, Gibbs and I would repeat the phrase like an incantation, one that helped maintain our grasp on reality and ward off the growing sense that events were moving beyond our control. The crowd at my final stop before the midterm elections, an evening rally in Iowa City in support of the Democratic candidate for governor, was especially raucous. Standing on the stage and looking out at the thousands of people gathered there, their breath rising like mist through the klieg lights, their faces turned up in expectation, their cheers drowning out my haggard voice, I felt as if I were watching a scene in a movie, the figure onstage not my own.

我们大笑了起来。随着有关我的候选人身份的猜测越来越多，吉布斯和我会像口头禅一样重复这个短语，帮助我们保持对现实的掌握，避免事件变得超出我们的控制。期中选举前我在爱荷华城市的最后一站，为民主党州长候选人举行了晚间集会，群众非常喧闹。站在舞台上，注视着聚集在那里的成千上万的人，他们的呼吸就像通过聚光灯的雾，他们的脸庞期待着，他们的欢呼淹没了我疲惫的声音，我感觉自己像在看电影中的一个场景，舞台上的人物不是我自己。

When I got home late that night, the house was dark and Michelle was already asleep. After taking a shower and going through a stack of mail, I slipped under the covers and began drifting off. In that liminal space between wakefulness and sleep, I imagined myself stepping toward a portal of some sort, a bright and cold and airless place, uninhabited and severed from the world. And behind me, out of the darkness, I heard a voice, sharp and clear, as if someone were right next to me, uttering the same word again and again.

當我那天晚上回到家時，房子裡很暗，米雪爾已經睡著了。沖完澡並翻閱了一堆信件後，我滑進被窩裡，開始入睡。在清醒和睡眠之間的那個中間狀態裡，我想像自己朝著某種門戶走去，一個明亮、寒冷和無人居住、與世界隔絕的地方。而在我身後，從黑暗中，我聽到一個聲音，尖銳而清晰，彷彿有人就在我身旁，一遍又一遍地重複著同一個詞語。

No. No. No.

I jolted out of bed, my heart racing, and went downstairs to pour myself a drink. I sat alone in the dark, sipping vodka, my nerves jangled, my brain in sudden overdrive. My deepest fear, it turned out, was no longer of irrelevance, or being stuck in the Senate, or even losing a presidential race.

The fear came from the realization that I could win.

—

RIDING A WAVE of antipathy toward the Bush administration and the war in Iraq, Democrats swept just about every important contest in November, winning control of both the House and the Senate. As hard as we'd worked to help achieve these results, my team and I had no time to celebrate. Instead, starting the day after the election, we began charting a possible path to the White House.

不。不。不。

我惊醒了，心跳加速，下楼倒了一杯酒。我独自坐在黑暗中，啜着伏特加，神经紧绷，脑海不断思索。我最深的恐惧，现在已不再是被忽视，或被困在参议院，甚至不是输掉总统竞选的恐惧。

这种恐惧来自于一个事实——我可能会赢。

在对布什政府和伊拉克战争的反感浪潮的推动下，民主党在11月的几乎所有重要选举中都获得了胜利，控制了众议院和参议院。尽管我们为实现这些成果付出了很大努力，但我和我的团队没有时间庆祝。相反，在选举后的第二天开始，我们就开始探索通向白宫的可能道路。

Our pollster, Paul Harstad, went through the numbers and found me already among the first tier of candidates. We discussed the primary and caucus calendar, understanding that for an upstart campaign like mine, everything would depend on winning the early states, especially Iowa. We ran through what a realistic budget might look like, and how we'd go about raising the hundreds of millions of dollars it would take just to win the Democratic nomination. Pete and Alyssa presented plans for juggling my Senate duties with campaign travel. Axelrod wrote a memo outlining the themes of a potential campaign, and how—given voters' utter contempt for Washington—my message of change could compensate for my obvious lack of experience.

我们的民意调查员保罗·哈斯泰德对数据进行了分析，发现我已经是第一层级候选人之一。我们讨论了初选和选区日历，明白对于像我们这样的政治新势力，一切都取决于赢得早期的州份，尤其是爱荷华州。我们运作了一个现实的预算计划，以及如何筹集需要数以亿计的资金才能赢得民主党提名。皮特和艾丽莎提出了如何在保证参议员职责的同时进行竞选旅行的计划。阿克塞尔罗德撰写了备忘录，概述了一场潜在竞选的主题，以及如何在选民对华盛顿的绝对鄙视下，我所传达的变革信息可以弥补我的经验明显不足。

Despite how little time they'd had, everyone had carried out their assignments with thoroughness and care. I was especially impressed by David Plouffe. In his late thirties, slight and intense, with sharp features and a crisp yet informal manner, he had dropped out of college to work on a series of Democratic campaigns and also ran the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee before joining Axelrod's consulting firm. I sat listening one day

as he mapped out how we might power a grassroots state-by-state organizing effort using both our volunteer base and the internet, and later I told Pete that if we did this, Plouffe seemed like the clear choice for campaign manager.儘管時間很短，但每個人都非常認真而仔細地完成了他們的任務。我尤其對David Plouffe印象深刻。他現年三十多歲，身材苗條而緊張，長有尖銳的特徵和一個干淨而不正式的舉止，在離開大學後，他參加了一系列的民主派競選活動，還管理了民主黨國會競選委員會，之後加入了Axelrod的顧問公司。有一天，當他構想如何利用我們的志願者群體和互聯網來推動全州組織工作時，我坐在那裡傾聽。之後，我告訴彼特，如果我們這樣做的話，Plouffe似乎是當選kamapign經理的明確選擇。

“He’s excellent,” Pete said. “It might take some convincing, though. He’s got a young family.”

This was one of the more striking things about our discussions that month: The entire team displayed an ambivalence that matched my own. It wasn’t just that my candidacy remained a long shot; both Plouffe and Axelrod were blunt in saying that for me to beat Hillary Clinton, a “national brand,” we would have to pitch close to a perfect game. No, what gave them more pause was the fact that, unlike me, they had seen presidential campaigns up close. They knew all too well the grueling nature of the enterprise. They understood the toll it would take not just on me and my family but on them and their families as well.

“他很優秀，”皮特說。“不過可能需要一些說服。他有個年輕的家庭。”

這是我們當月討論中最引人注目的事情之一：整個團隊表現出與我一樣的矛盾心理。不僅是因為我的候選資格仍然是個遙遠的可能性；普魯夫和阿克塞爾羅德都直言說，為了戰勝“全國品牌”希拉里·克林頓，我們必須要做到不出差錯。更讓他們猶豫的是，與我不同，他們近距離見證了總統競選活動的一切。他們太清楚這種企業的勞累性質了。他們了解這將對我、我的家人以及他們和他們的家人產生的影響。

We’d be on the road constantly. The press would be merciless in its scrutiny—“a nonstop colonoscopy” I believe Gibbs called it. I’d see very little of Michelle or the kids for a year at least—two years if we were lucky enough to win the primary.

“I’ll be honest, Barack,” Axe told me after one meeting. “The process can be exhilarating, but it’s mostly misery. It’s like a stress test, an EKG on the soul. And for all your talent, I don’t know how you’ll respond. Neither do you. The whole thing is so crazy, so undignified and brutal, that you have to be a little pathological to do what it takes to win. And I just don’t know if you’ve got that hunger in you. I don’t think you’ll be unhappy if you never become president.”

我們必須要不停地在路上奔波。媒體會進行无情的審查，就像“不斷的結腸鏡檢查”，Gibbs這樣稱呼它。我几乎見不到米歇爾或孩子们，至少一年時間——如果我們很幸運贏得初選，兩年時間。

“Axe在一次會議後跟著我說，我要坦誠，巴拉克，”“整個過程可以讓人興奮，但大多數時候是痛苦的。這就像一次壓力測試，對靈魂的心電圖。儘管你擁有如此多的才華，但我不知道你會如何反應。你自己也不知道。整個事情太瘋狂、太不莊重和殘酷了，你必須是有点病態才能做到贏得勝利所需的事情。我只是不知道你是否有那種渴望。如果你永遠不成為總統，我認為你不會不開心。”

“That’s true,” I said.

“I know it is,” Axe said. “And as a person, that’s a strength. But for a candidate, it’s a weakness. You may be a little too normal, too well-adjusted, to run for president. And though the political consultant in me thinks it would be a thrill to see you do this, the part of me that’s your friend kind of hopes you don’t.”

Michelle, meanwhile, was also sorting out her feelings. She listened quietly during meetings, occasionally asking questions about the campaign calendar, what would be expected of her, and what it might mean for the girls. Gradually her resistance to the idea of me running had subsided. Perhaps it helped to hear the unvarnished truth of what a campaign entailed, her worst fears rendered concrete and specific and therefore more manageable. Maybe it was the conversations she’d had with Valerie and Marty, two of our most loyal friends, people whose judgment she implicitly trusted. Or the nudge she got from her brother, Craig—someone who had pursued his own unlikely dreams, first to play professional basketball and later to become a coach, even though it meant giving up a lucrative career in banking.

“没错，”我说。

“我知道。”艾克斯說。“作為一個人，這是一種優點。但對於一個候選人來說，這是一種弱點。你可能太普通，太適應了，不能競選總統。儘管作為一名政治顧問，我覺得你這樣做會很興奮，但作為你的朋友，我有點希望你不要這樣做。”

与此同时，米歇爾也在整理自己的感受。她在會議期間安靜地聽着，偶爾問一些有關競選日曆、期望和對女孩們的影響的問題。逐漸地，她對我競選的抵觸情緒消退了。也許聽到競選所涉及的最糟糕的事情變得具體和可控有所幫助。也許是她與瓦萊麗和馬蒂兩位最忠實的朋友談話所帶來的啟示，這是她隱含信任的人的判斷。或者得到了她的兄弟克雷格的推動——一個追求自己不太可能實現的夢想的人，先是成為職業籃球員，然後是成為教練，即使這意味著放棄一份有利可圖的銀行業職業生涯。

“She’s just scared,” he had told me over a beer one afternoon. He’d gone on to describe how Michelle and her mother used to watch his high school basketball games, but if the score got even a little close, they’d leave and go wait in the tunnel, the two of them too tense to stay in their seats. “They didn’t want to see me lose,” Craig said. “They didn’t want to see me hurt or disappointed. I had to explain that it’s part of competition.” He was in favor of me taking my shot at the presidency and said he planned to talk it over with his sister. “I want her to see the bigger picture,” he said. “The chance to compete at this level isn’t something you can pass up.”“她只是害怕罷了。”他曾在一個下午喝啤酒時告訴我。他接着描述了Michelle和她的母親曾經觀看他的高中籃球比賽，但是如果比分變得有一點點接近，她們就會離開去等候在隧道里，兩人太緊張了無法坐在自己的座位上。“他們不想看我失敗，”Craig說道，“他們不想看我受傷或失望。我不得不解釋這是競爭的一部分。”他贊成我競選總統，並表示他計劃和他的妹妹商量。“我想讓她看到更大的局勢，”他說，“這種參與在這個層面上的機會是不能錯過的。”

One day in December, just ahead of our holiday trip to Hawaii, our team held what was to be the final meeting before I decided whether to move forward or not. Michelle patiently endured an hour-long discussion on staffing and the logistics of a potential announcement before cutting in with an essential question.

“You’ve said there are a lot of other Democrats who are capable of winning an election and being president. You’ve told me the only reason for you to run is if you could provide something that the others can’t. Otherwise it’s not worth it. Right?”

十二月的一天，就在我们去夏威夷度假之前，我们团队召开了最后一次会议，我要决定是否继续前进。米歇尔在耐心地听了一小时有关人员配置和潜在宣布的后勤事宜的讨论后，插话问了一个基本问题。

“你曾说过有很多其他民主党人有能力赢得选举并成为总统。你告诉我你参选的唯一原因是，如果你能提供其他人不能的东西，否则不值得。是吗？”

I nodded.

“So my question is why you, Barack? Why do you need to be president?”

We looked at each other across the table. For a moment, it was as if we were alone in the room. My mind flipped back to the moment seventeen years earlier when we first met, me arriving late to her office, a little damp from the rain, Michelle rising up from her desk, so lovely and self-possessed in a lawyerly blouse and skirt, and the easy banter that followed. I had seen in those round, dark eyes of hers a vulnerability that I knew she rarely let show. I knew even then that she was special, that I would need to know her, that this was a woman I could love. How lucky I had been, I thought.

我点了点头。

“那么我的问题是，为什么是你，巴拉克？为什么你需要当总统？”

我们在桌子对面看着彼此。那一刻，仿佛我们独处一室。我的思绪回到了十七年前，当我们第一次相遇的时候。我晚到了她的办公室，有点被雨淋湿了。米歇尔从她的办公桌上站起来，穿着律师风格的衬衫和裙子，那样美丽而自信，然后是轻松愉快的闲聊。我从那双深邃的眼睛里看到了她的脆弱，而我知道她很少展现出来。那时我就知道她很特别，我需要认识她，这是一个我可以去爱的女人。我想，我当时是多么幸运啊。

“Barack?”

I shook myself out of the reverie. “Right,” I said. “Why me?” I mentioned several of the reasons we’d talked about before. That I might be able to spark a new kind of politics, or get a new generation to participate, or bridge the divisions in the country better than other candidates could.

“But who knows?” I said, looking around the table. “There’s no guarantee we can pull it off. Here’s one thing I know for sure, though. I know that the day I raise my right hand and take the oath to be president of the United States, the world will start looking at America differently. I know that kids all around this country—Black kids, Hispanic kids, kids who don’t fit in—they’ll see themselves differently, too, their horizons lifted, their possibilities expanded. And that alone...that would be worth it.”

“巴拉克？”

我摇了摇头，从幻想中清醒过来。“没错，”我说。“为什么是我？”我提到了我们之前讨论过的几个原因，我可能能够激发一种新的政治，或者让新一代参与其中，或者比其他候选人更好地弥合国家的分歧。

“但是谁知道呢？”我环视着桌子上的每一个人。“我们不能保证一定能够成功。但是有一件事我是确信的。我知道，当我举起右手宣誓就任美国总统的那天，世界会开始以不同的眼光看待美国。我知道，这个国家的孩子们——黑人孩子、西班牙裔孩子、不合群的孩子，他们也会拥有更广阔的视野，更多的可能性。仅仅这个……就值得了。”

The room was quiet. Marty smiled. Valerie was tearing up. I could see different members of the team conjuring it in their minds, the swearing in of the first African American president of the United States.

Michelle stared at me for what felt like an eternity. “Well, honey,” she said finally, “that was a pretty good answer.”

Everyone laughed, and the meeting moved on to other business. In years to come, those who’d been in the room would sometimes make reference to that meeting, understanding that my answer to Michelle’s question had been an impromptu articulation of a shared faith, the thing that had launched us all on what would be a long, rough, and improbable journey. They would remember it when they saw a little boy touch my hair in the Oval Office, or when a teacher reported that the kids in her inner-city class had started studying harder after I was elected.

房間安靜了下來。馬蒂微笑著，瓦萊麗正流淚。我能看到團隊中的不同成員在腦海中浮現出第一位非裔美國總統的就職場面。米歇爾注視著我，感覺持續了很長時間。“好吧，寶貝，”她最終說道，“那是一個相當好的回答。”大家笑了起來，會議也轉向了其他事務。在未來的幾年裡，那些曾在房間裡的人有時會提到那次會議，理解我的回答是一個即席的表達，表達了我們所有人所共有的信念，這是啟動我們長期、艱難且不可能的旅程的事物。當他們看到一個小男孩在橢圓形辦公室摸我的頭髮，或者一位老師報告說，在我當選之後，她所在的內城班級中的孩子們開始更加努力地學習時，他們會記得這件事。

And it’s true: In answering Michelle’s question, I was anticipating the ways in which I hoped that even a credible campaign might shake loose some vestiges of America’s racial past. But privately I knew that getting there also meant something more personal.

If we won, I thought, it would mean that my U.S. Senate campaign hadn’t just been dumb luck.

If we won, it would mean that what had led me into politics wasn’t just a pipe dream, that the America I believed in was possible, that the democracy I believed in was within reach.

而事實是：回答Michelle的問題時，我預期了即使是一個可信的競選活動也可能搖動美國種族歷史的殘餘部分。但私下裡，我知道到達那裡也意味著更加個人化的東西。

如果我們贏了，我想，這意味著我的美國參議院競選活動不僅僅是瞎猜。

如果我們贏了，這意味著我進入政治的原因不僅僅是一場白日夢，我所相信的美國是有可能的，我相信的民主是可以實現的。

If we won, it would mean that I wasn't alone in believing that the world didn't have to be a cold, unforgiving place, where the strong preyed on the weak and we inevitably fell back into clans and tribes, lashing out against the unknown and huddling against the darkness.

If these beliefs were made manifest, then my own life made sense, and I could then pass on that promise, that version of the world, to my children.

I had made a bet a long time ago, and this was the point of reckoning. I was about to step over some invisible line, one that would inexorably change my life, in ways I couldn't yet imagine and in ways I might not like. But to stop now, to turn back now, to lose my nerve now—that was unacceptable.

如果我们贏了，那意味着我並不孤單地相信這個世界不必是一個冷酷、無情的地方，在這裡強者掠奪弱者，我們不可避免地回到部落和氏族，攻擊未知之物，躲避黑暗。

如果這些信念成為現實，那麼我的生命就有了意義，我可以將這個承諾、這個世界的版本，傳递给我的孩子。

我很久之前就打了个賭，這是決定性的時刻。我即將跨越一條無形的線，它會以我無法想像的方式改變我的生活，也許有些方式我並不喜欢。但現在停下來，回來，失去勇氣——這是不能接受的。

I had to see how this whole thing played out.

我必須看到這整件事情的發展。

PART TWO

YES WE CAN

是的，我們能行

CHAPTER 5

ON A BRIGHT FEBRUARY MORNING in 2007, I stood on a stage before the Old State Capitol in Springfield—the same spot where Abe Lincoln had delivered his “House Divided” speech while serving in the Illinois state legislature—and announced my candidacy for president. With temperatures in the low teens, we’d been worried that the cold might scare people off, but by the time I stepped up to the microphone, more than fifteen thousand people had gathered in the plaza and adjoining streets, all of them in a festive mood, bundled in parkas, scarves, ski caps, and earmuffs, many of them hoisting handmade or campaign-provided OBAMA signs, their collective breath hovering like patches of clouds.

第五章

2007年2月一个明亮的早晨，我站在斯普林菲尔德的旧州议会大厦前的舞台上——那是林肯当年在伊利诺伊州议会任职时发表“分裂的家庭”演讲的地方——并宣布我竞选总统。当时气温低至零下几度，我们担心寒冷会吓退人们，但到我上麦克风时，已经有超过1.5万人聚集在广场和附近的街道上，他们都沉浸在欢乐的氛围中，穿着羽绒服、围巾、滑雪帽和耳罩，很多人举起自制的或由竞选团队提供的奥巴马标语牌，他们的呼吸在空中弥漫着像云朵一样的气息。

My speech, carried live on cable TV, captured our campaign’s big themes—the need for fundamental change; the need to tackle long-term problems like healthcare and climate change; the need to move past the tired Washington partisan divide; the need for an engaged and active citizenry. Michelle and the girls joined me onstage to wave at the roaring crowd when I was finished, the massive American flags hanging across nearby buildings making for a spectacular backdrop.

From there, my team and I flew to Iowa, where in eleven months the nation’s first contest for the nomination would take place, and where we were counting on an early victory to catapult us past more seasoned opponents. At a series of town hall meetings, we were once again greeted by thousands of supporters and curiosity seekers. Backstage at an event in Cedar Rapids, I overheard a veteran Iowa political operative explain to one of the fifty or so national reporters who were following us that “this is not normal.”

我的演说在有线电视上直播，传达了我们竞选的主要主题 - 需要进行根本性变革; 需要解决长期问题，如医疗保健和气候变化; 需要超越疲惫不堪的华盛顿派系分裂; 需要一个积极主动的公民团体。当我演讲结束时，米歇尔和女儿们加入我上台，向欢呼的人群挥手致意，附近建筑物上悬挂的巨大美国国旗成为了壮观的背景。

然后，我的团队和我飞往艾奥瓦州，在那里，将在十一个月后进行全国首场提名竞选，并且我们指望早期胜利来将我们推向更有经验的对手。在一系列的城镇大会上，我们再次受到数千名支持者和好奇者的欢迎。在锡达拉皮兹的一次活动后台，我听到一位有经验的艾奥瓦州政治策略家向其中一位五十多名跟随我们的全国记者解释说“这不是正常的”。

Looking at the footage from that day, it’s hard not to get swept up in the nostalgia that still holds sway over my former staff and supporters—the feeling that we were kick-starting a magical ride; that over the course of two years we would catch lightning in a bottle and tap into something essential and true about America. But while the crowds, the excitement, the media attention of that day, all foreshadowed my viability in the race, I have to remind myself that nothing felt easy or predestined at the time, that again and again it felt as if our campaign would go entirely off the rails, and that, at the outset, it seemed not just to me but to many who were paying attention that I wasn’t a particularly good candidate.

從那一天的畫面來看，很難不被我以前的工作人員和支持者仍然懷有的懷舊情懷所席捲——感覺我們正在啟動一次神奇的旅行；在兩年的時間裡，我們會捕捉到關於美國的某些重要和真實的東西。但是，盡管那天的人群、興奮和媒體關注都預示了我在競選中的可行性，我必須提醒自己，在當時沒有什麼是感覺輕鬆或注定的，一次次地，我們似乎要完全失控，而且，在開始時，不僅是對我而言，對許多關注者來說，我都不是一個特別好的候選人。

In many ways, my problems were a direct outgrowth of the buzz we'd generated, and the expectations that came with it. As Axe explained, most presidential campaigns by necessity start small—"Off-Broadway," he called it; small crowds, small venues, covered by local networks and small papers, where the candidate and his or her team could test lines, smooth out kinks, commit a pratfall, or work through a bout of stage fright without attracting much notice. We didn't have that luxury. From day one, it felt like the middle of Times Square, and under the glare of the spotlight my inexperience showed.

在很多方面，我的問題是我們所產生的熱度以及隨之而來的期望的直接結果。正如艾克斯所解釋的那樣，由於必需，大多數總統競選活動都從小規模開始——他稱其為“Off-Broadway”；小眾群體，小型場館，由當地網絡和小報報道，候選人及其團隊可以測試台詞，消除問題，犯錯誤或排解一些演出恐懼，而不會引起太多關注。但我們沒有這種奢華。從第一天開始，感覺就像在時代廣場中心，而在聚光燈下，我的經驗不足顯現出來。

My staff's biggest fear was that I'd make a "gaffe," the expression used by the press to describe any maladroit phrase by the candidate that reveals ignorance, carelessness, fuzzy thinking, insensitivity, malice, boorishness, falsehood, or hypocrisy—or is simply deemed to veer sufficiently far from conventional wisdom to make said candidate vulnerable to attack. By this definition, most humans will commit five to ten gaffes a day, each of us counting on the forbearance and goodwill of our family, co-workers, and friends to fill in the blanks, catch our drift, and generally assume the best rather than the worst in us.

我的員工最擔心的是我會犯“失言”，即媒體用來形容候選人犯的任何拙劣言辭，揭示無知、粗心、模糊的思維、缺乏敏感性、惡意、粗鄙、虛假或偽善，或者僅僅被認為足以偏离常規智慧，使候選人更易受到攻擊。根據這個定義，大多數人每天會犯五到十個失言，我們每個人都依賴家人、同事和朋友的寬容和善意來填補空缺、理解我們的意思，並普遍假設我們最好而不是最壞。

As a result, my initial instincts were to dismiss some of my team's warnings. On our way to our final stop in Iowa on announcement day, for example, Axe glanced up from his briefing book.

"You know," he said, "the town we're going to, it's pronounced 'Waterloo.'"

"Right," I said. "Waterloo."

Axe shook his head. "No, it's Water-loo. Not Water-loo."

"Do that for me again."

"Water-loo," Axe said, his lips pursing just so.

"One more time."

Axe frowned. "Okay, Barack...this is serious."

It didn't take long, though, to appreciate that the minute you announced your candidacy for president, the normal rules of speech no longer applied; that microphones were everywhere, and every word coming out of your mouth was recorded, amplified, scrutinized, and dissected. At the town hall in Ames, Iowa, on that first post-announcement tour, I was explaining my opposition to the war in Iraq when I got sloppy and said that the Bush administration's poorly-thought-out decision had resulted in more than three thousand of our young troops' lives being "wasted." The second I uttered the word, I regretted it. I'd always been careful to distinguish between my views on the war and my appreciation for the sacrifices of our troops and their families. Only a few press outlets picked up my blunder, and a quick mea culpa tamped down any controversy. But it was a reminder that words carried a different weight than before, and as I imagined how my carelessness might impact a family still grieving over the loss of a loved one, my heart sank.結果，我最初的直覺是忽略了我的團隊給出的一些警告。例如，在宣布那天我們前往愛荷華州的最後一個站點時，阿克斯從他的簡報上抬頭來。

"你知道，" 他說，"我們要去的那個城鎮，發音是'Waterloo'。"

"沒錯，" 我說，"Waterloo。"

阿克斯搖了搖頭。"不，是Water-loo，不是Water-loo。"

"再給我演示一遍。"

"Water-loo，" 阿克斯這樣說着，嘴唇微攢。

"再來一遍。"

阿克斯皺了皺眉。"好的，巴拉克……這並不好笑。"

然而，很快就意識到，一旦你宣布競選總統，正常的言論規則不再適用；麥克風無處不在，你嘴裡說的每個詞都被記錄、放大、審查和剖析。在艾姆斯愛荷華州的市政廳，就是在那次宣布之後的第一個巡回演講中，當我解釋我反對伊拉克戰爭時，我很馬虎地說，布什政府的毫無頭腦的決定導致我們三千多名年輕的士兵的生命“被浪費了”。我一說出這個詞就後悔了。我一直小心翼翼地區分我對戰爭的觀點和我對我們的軍隊及其家庭的犧牲的贊賞。只有幾家新聞機構注意到了我的失言，快速的道歉讓爭議平息了。但這提醒我，言語的重量已不同于以前，而當我想象到我的馬虎可能會對一家仍在為摯愛失去而悲痛的家庭產生的影響時，我的心沉了下去。

By nature I'm a deliberate speaker, which, by the standards of presidential candidates, helped keep my gaffe quotient relatively low. But my care with words raised another issue on the campaign trail: I was just plain wordy, and that was a problem. When asked a question, I tended to offer circuitous and ponderous answers, my mind instinctively breaking up every issue into a pile of components and subcomponents. If every argument had two sides, I usually came up with four. If there was an exception to some statement I just made, I wouldn't just point it out; I'd provide footnotes. "You're burying the

lede!" Axe would practically shout after listening to me drone on and on and on. For a day or two I'd obediently focus on brevity, only to suddenly find myself unable to resist a ten-minute explanation of the nuances of trade policy or the pace of Arctic melting.

本質上，我是一位謹慎的說話者，根據總統候選人的標準，這使得我的失言率相對較低。但我的言語小心又引起了另一個問題：我說話富有曲折性，這是個問題。當被問一個問題時，我往往會提供冗長和令人深思的答案，我的頭腦本能地將每個問題分解成一堆組件和子組件，如果每個爭論有兩面，我通常會得出四面。如果有異議對某個我剛剛提出的說法，我不僅僅會指出它，還會提供註腳。“你把重點掩蓋了！”Axe幾乎是在我絮絮叨叨了很長時間之後大喊大叫。幾天後，我會恭順地專注於簡潔，但卻突然發現自己無法抗拒對貿易政策細微差別或北極融化的步伐進行十分鐘的解釋。

“What d'ya think?” I'd say, pleased with my thoroughness as I walked offstage.

“You got an A on the quiz,” Axe would reply. “No votes, though.”

These were issues I could fix with time. Of greater concern, as we rolled into the spring, was the fact that I was grumpy. One reason for that, I realize now, was the toll of a two-year Senate campaign, a year of town halls as a senator, and months of travel on behalf of other candidates. Once the adrenaline of the announcement wore off, the sheer magnitude of the grind now before me struck with full force.

“你觉得怎么样？”我走下舞台时很满意地说。

“你这次测验得了A，但是没有选票。”Axe回答道。

这些问题随着时间可以慢慢解决。更令人担忧的是，我们已经进入了春季，而我却变得脾气暴躁。现在我意识到，一个原因是我进行了长达两年的参议院竞选，一年的市民大会议员身份，以及数月为其他候选人走穴拉票。一旦发布公告的肾上腺素消退，眼前需要我繁重的任务才真正袭来。

And it was a grind. When not in Washington for Senate business, I soon found myself in Iowa or one of the other early states, putting in sixteen-hour days, six and a half days a week—sleeping in a Hampton Inn or a Holiday Inn or an AmericInn or a Super 8. I'd wake up after five or six hours and try to squeeze in a workout at whatever facility we could find (the old treadmill in the back of a tanning salon was memorable), before packing up my clothes and gulping down a haphazard breakfast; before hopping into a van and making fundraising calls on the way to the first town hall meeting of the day; before interviews with the local paper or news station, several meet-and-greets with local party leaders, a bathroom stop, and maybe a swing by a local eatery to shake hands; before hopping back in the van to dial for more dollars. I'd repeat this three or four times, with a cold sandwich or a salad wedged in there somewhere, before finally staggering into another motel around nine p.m., trying to catch Michelle and the girls by phone before they went to bed, before reading the next day's briefing materials, the binder gradually slipping out of my hands as exhaustion knocked me out.這是一個磨練的過程。當我不在華盛頓處理參議院的業務時，很快就發現自己身處於愛荷華州或其他早期州之一，每週六天、每天16小時的工作，住在漢普頓酒店、假日酒店、美國客棧或超級8旅館。我每天只睡五到六個小時，然後在能找到的任何場所（曬黑店後面的老跑步機很值得紀念）裡進行鍛煉，然後匆匆吃早餐，坐上一輛旅行車，在前往當天第一次鎮民大會的途中進行募款電話，然後進行當地報紙或新聞站的採訪、與當地政黨領袖的幾個會見、上洗手間，也許還要去當地餐廳握手；接著重新回到旅行車中撥打更多的電話。我會重複這個過程三到四次，中間隨便塞一個冷三明治或沙拉，在晚上九點左右終於走進另一家汽車旅館，試圖在米歇爾和女兒上床前通過電話聯絡，讀取明天的簡報材料，手握手冊子逐漸滑落我的手，疲憊讓我昏昏欲睡。

And that's not even counting the flights to New York or L.A. or Chicago or Dallas for fundraisers. It was a life of not glamour but monotony, and the prospect of eighteen continuous months of it quickly wore down my spirit. I'd staked my claim in the presidential race, involved a big team of people, begged strangers for money, and propagated a vision I believed in. But I missed my wife. I missed my kids. I missed my bed, a consistent shower, sitting at a proper table for a proper meal. I missed not having to say the exact same thing the exact same way five or six or seven times a day.

这还不包括去纽约、洛杉矶、芝加哥或达拉斯参加筹款活动的航班。这是一种没有魅力的单调生活，连续十八个月的前景很快让我的精神崩溃。我在总统竞选中立下了自己的领地，组建了一个庞大的团队，请求陌生人捐款，传播我所信仰的愿景。但我想念我的妻子，我想念我的孩子，我想念我的床，一次一致的淋浴，坐在正式的餐桌前吃正式的餐点。我想念不必每天说五到七遍完全相同的话语。

Fortunately, along with Gibbs (who had the constitution, experience, and general orneriness to keep me focused while on the road), I had two other companions to help me push through my initial funk.

The first was Marvin Nicholson, a half Canadian with an easy charm and unflappable demeanor. In his mid-thirties and a towering six foot eight, Marvin had held a variety of jobs, from golf caddy to bartender at a strip club, before landing work as John Kerry's body man four years earlier. It's a strange role, the body man: a personal assistant and jack-of-all-trades responsible for making sure that the candidate has everything he or she needs to function, whether a favorite snack or a couple of Advil, an umbrella when it's wet or a scarf when it's cold, or the name of the county chairman who's striding your way for a handshake. Marvin operated with such skill and finesse, he'd become something of a cult figure in political circles, which had led us to hire him as our trip director, working with Alyssa and the advance team to coordinate travel, make sure I had the appropriate materials, and keep me at least close to on schedule.

幸运的是，我有吉布斯（他有坚定的意志、经验和一般的刚愎自用的性格，能在旅途中让我保持专注）、另外两个伙伴帮助我克服最初的烦恼。第一个是马文·尼科尔森，他是半个加拿大人，拥有轻松的魅力和沉着冷静的性格。马文三十多岁，高达六英尺八寸，在成为约翰·克里的贴身助手四年前，他曾从事过各种工作，从高尔夫球杆员到脱衣舞俱乐部的调酒师。他扮演的是一个奇怪的角色——贴身助手、万能手，负责确保候选人所需的一切东西都具备，无论是最喜欢的小吃还是一两颗阿司匹林，下雨时的伞或寒冷时的围巾，或者那个走向你去握手的县主席的姓名。马文以技巧和精湛的工作能力，成为政治圈中的一个“崇拜者”，这导致我们聘请他担任我们的旅行导演，与阿丽莎和先期工作团队合作，协调旅行事宜，确保我有适当的材料，并让我至少保持在时间表之内。

Then there was Reggie Love. Raised in North Carolina, the son of middle-class Black parents, six foot four and powerfully built, Reggie had starred in both basketball and football at Duke University before Pete Rouse hired him as an assistant in my Senate office. (An aside: People often express surprise at how tall I am, a bit over six foot one, something I attribute in part to years of being dwarfed by Reggie and Marvin in photographs.) Under Marvin's tutelage, twenty-five-year-old Reggie took over as body man, and though he had a rough go of it at first—somehow managing to forget my briefcase in Miami and my suit jacket in New Hampshire during the same week—his serious work ethic and goofy good humor quickly made him a favorite of everyone on the campaign.

然后有雷吉·洛夫。他在北卡罗来纳州长大，父母是中产阶级的黑人，身高六英尺四英寸，体格强壮，在杜克大学打篮球和橄榄球时表现优秀，后来皮特·劳斯聘请他担任我的参议院办公室助手。（旁白：人们经常对我的身高感到惊讶，我略高于六英尺一英寸，我认为这在一定程度上归因于多年来在照片中被雷吉和马文矮化）在马文的指导下，25岁的雷吉接管了我的跟班，虽然他起初度日艰难——竟然在同一周中忘记了我在迈阿密的公文包和在新罕布什尔州的西装外套——但他严肃的工作态度和幽默的幽默感很快使他成为竞选活动中每个人的最爱。

For the better part of two years, Gibbs, Marvin, and Reggie would be my caretakers, my anchors to normalcy, and a steady source of comic relief. We played cards and shot pool. We argued about sports and swapped music. (Reggie helped me update a hip-hop playlist that had stopped at Public Enemy.) Marvin and Reggie told me about their social lives on the road (complicated) and their adventures in various local stops after our work was done (tattoo parlors and hot tubs were sometimes featured). We teased Reggie about his youthful ignorance (once, when I mentioned Paul Newman, Reggie said, "That's the salad dressing guy, right?") and Gibbs about his appetites (at the Iowa State Fair, Gibbs would have trouble choosing between the deep-fried Twinkie and the deep-fried Snickers bar, until the woman behind the counter helpfully said, "Honey, why should you have to choose?").

在两年的大部分时间里，吉布斯、马文和雷吉是我的照料者、平衡点和稳定的喜剧来源。我们一起打牌、打桌球。我们争论体育，交换音乐。（雷吉帮助我更新了一份停留在公敌时期的嘻哈播放列表）。马文和雷吉告诉我关于他们漫长旅途中的社交生活（复杂），以及在工作结束后各种当地的冒险经历（文身店和热水浴缸有时出现）。我们嘲笑雷吉的青春无知（有一次，当我提到保罗·纽曼（Paul Newman）时，雷吉说，“那不是沙拉酱的那个人吗？”），嘲笑吉布斯的食欲（在爱荷华州州庆华年集市上，吉布斯很难在炸奶油蛋糕和炸土力架之间选择，直到柜台后面的女人友善地说：“亲爱的，你为什么不用选择？”）。

Anytime we could, we played basketball. Even the smallest town had a high school gym, and if there wasn't time for a proper game, Reggie and I would still roll up our sleeves and get in a round of H-O-R-S-E while waiting for me to go onstage. Like any true athlete, he remained fiercely competitive. I sometimes woke up the day after a game of one-on-one barely able to walk, though I was too proud to let my discomfort show. Once we played a group of New Hampshire firefighters from whom I was trying to secure an endorsement. They were standard weekend warriors, a bit younger than me but in worse shape. After the first three times Reggie stole the ball down the floor and went in for thunderous dunks, I called a time-out.

任何时候我们都打篮球。即使是最小的城镇也有一所高中体育馆，如果没有时间进行正式比赛，里奇和我仍然会卷起袖子打一局 H-O-R-S-E，同时等待我上台。像任何真正的运动员一样，他始终竞争激烈。有时我在一对一比赛后的第二天早上几乎无法行走，尽管我太自豪，不会让我的不适显露出来。有一次我们打了一组新罕布什尔州的消防员，我正试图获得他们的支持。他们是标准的周末战士，比我年轻但身体状况更差。在里奇连续三次抢断球，并飞身扣篮之后，我呼吁暂停。

“What are you doing?” I asked.

“What?”

“You understand that I'm trying to get their support, right?”

Reggie looked at me in disbelief. “You want us to lose to these stiffs?”

I thought for a second.

“Nah,” I said. “I wouldn't go that far. Just keep it close enough that they're not too pissed.”

Spending time with Reggie, Marvin, and Gibbs, I found respite from the pressures of the campaign, a small sphere where I wasn't a candidate or a symbol or a generational voice or even a boss, but rather just one of the guys. Which, as I slogged through those early months, felt more valuable than any pep talk. Gibbs did try to go the pep-talk route with me at one point as we were boarding another airplane at the end of another interminable day, after a particularly flat appearance. He told me that I needed to smile more, to remember that this was a great adventure and that voters loved a happy warrior.“你在做什么？”我问道。

“什么？”

“你明白我在试图获得他们的支持吧？”

雷吉感到难以置信地看着我。“你想让我们输给这些无聊的人？”

我想了一秒钟。

“算了吧，”我说。“只要保持足够接近，让他们不太生气就好了。”

和雷吉、马文和吉布斯在一起，我找到了避难所，远离竞选的压力，成为一个小小的领域，在那里我不是一个候选人、一个象征、一个代表新一代的声音，甚至不是一个老板，而只是小伙子们中的一个。在我在竞选的早期月份挣扎时，这感觉比任何鼓舞士气的话都更有价值。吉布斯曾试图在我们搭乘另一架飞机结束另一天漫长的日子后，给我打气。他告诉我需要更多地微笑，记住这是一段伟大的冒险，选民喜欢快乐的战士。

“Are you having any fun?” he asked.

“No,” I said.

“Anything we can do to make this more fun?”

“No.”

Sitting in the seat in front of us, Reggie overheard the conversation and turned back to look at me with a wide grin. “If it’s any consolation,” he said, “I’m having the time of my life.”

It was—although I didn’t tell him that at the time.

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ALL THE WHILE, I was learning a lot and quickly. I spent hours dutifully poring over the fat briefing books prepared by my staff, inhaling the latest studies on the value of early childhood education, new developments in battery technology that would make clean energy more accessible, and China’s manipulation of its currency to boost its exports.

“你玩得开心吗？”他问道。

“没有，”我说。

“有什么可以让这更好玩的事吗？”

“没有。”

坐在我们前面的座位上，雷吉听到了我们的conversation，并转过身来，露出了一个灿烂的笑容看着我。“如果你需要一些安慰，”他说，“我现在正开心得不得了。”

虽然当时我没有告诉他，但我确实很开心。

—

在此期间，我不断地学习并快速成长。我花了很多时间认真研读由我的工作人员准备的厚厚的简报书，吸收了关于幼儿教育的最新研究、电池技术的新发展以及中国操纵其货币以促进出口的信息。

Looking back, I realize I was doing what most of us tend to do when we’re uncertain or floundering: We reach for what feels familiar, what we think we’re good at. I knew policy; I knew how to consume and process information. It took a while to figure out that my problem wasn’t a lack of a ten-point plan. Rather, it was my general inability to boil issues down to their essence, to tell a story that helped explain an increasingly uncertain world to the American people and make them feel that I, as president, could help them navigate it.

回首往事，我意識到當我們感到不確定或手足無措時，我們大多會做出的舉動是去使用那些讓我們感到熟悉、自認擅長的方法。我懂政策；我知道如何消化和處理訊息。很長一段時間我才發現，我的問題並不是缺乏一個十點計畫。而是我的普遍不能將問題簡化到其精華，不能講述一個故事來幫助解釋一個日漸不確定的世界，並讓美國人感到我作為總統能夠協助他們適應。

My more seasoned opponents already understood this. I embarrassed myself early in their presence at a healthcare forum sponsored by the Service Employees International Union, held in Las Vegas on a Saturday evening late in March 2007. Plouffe had resisted my participation. In his view, such “cattle calls,” where the candidates appeared before this or that Democratic interest group, played to the strengths of insiders and took time away from direct voter contact. I disagreed. Healthcare was an issue I felt strongly about—not only because I’d heard many devastating personal stories while campaigning but because I’d never forget my mother in her waning days, fretting not just about her chances of survival but about whether her insurance would keep her solvent during treatment.

我的更有經驗的對手已經明白這點。我在2007年3月底的星期六晚上，出席由服務員工國際聯盟贊助的醫療論壇時，在他們面前出醜了。普洛夫一開始就反對我的參與。在他看來，這些“觀摩會”讓候選人出現在這個或那個民主黨利益集團面前，利用內部人脈關係，並且佔用了直接接觸選民的時間。我不同意。醫療保健是我非常關心的問題——不僅因為在競選期間我聽到了許多慘痛的個人故事，而且因為我永遠不會忘記我的母親在她晚年時的焦慮，不僅關心她的存活機會，還關心她的保險是否能在治療期間讓她經濟穩定。

As it turned out, I should have listened to Plouffe. My head was crammed with too many facts and too few answers. Before a large audience of health workers, I stumbled, mumbled, hemmed and hawed onstage. Under pointed questioning, I had to confess that I didn’t yet have a definitive plan for delivering affordable healthcare. You could hear crickets in the auditorium. The Associated Press ran a story critiquing my showing at the forum—one that would promptly get picked up by outlets across the country—under the painful headline IS OBAMA ALL STYLE AND LITTLE SUBSTANCE?

事實證明，我應該聽 Plouffe 的話。我的腦子裡裝滿了太多的事實，卻少了太多的答案。在一個大型醫療工作者的觀眾面前，我在舞台上緩慢地發言、結巴、語無倫次。在被點名質問時，我不得不坦白，我還沒有一個明確的計劃來提供負擔得起的醫療保健。你可以在禮堂裡聽到蟋蟀的聲音。美聯社發表了一篇批評我在論壇上表現的文章，這篇文章很快被全國各地的媒體引用，標題痛苦地提問：「奧巴馬只有風格，沒有實質嗎？」。

My performance stood in sharp contrast to those of John Edwards and Hillary Clinton, the two leading contenders. Edwards, the handsome and polished former vice presidential candidate, had left the Senate in 2004 to be John Kerry’s running mate, then made a show of starting a poverty center but really never stopped campaigning full-time for president. Though I didn’t know him well, I’d never been particularly impressed with Edwards: Despite the fact that he had working-class roots, his newly minted populism sounded synthetic and poll-tested to me, the political equivalent of one of those boy bands dreamed up by a studio marketing department. But in Las Vegas I was chastened as I watched him lay out a crisp proposal for universal coverage, displaying all the gifts that had made him a successful trial lawyer back in North Carolina.

我的表現與首要競爭者約翰·愛德華茲和希拉里·克林頓形成了鮮明對比。愛德華茲是一位英俊優雅的前副總統候選人，在2004年離開參議院成為約翰·克裡的競選夥伴，然後展現出開始設立一個貧困中心的姿態，但實際上從未停止全職競選總統。儘管我不太認識他，但我從來沒有對愛德華茲有什麼特別的印象：盡管他有著工人階級的根源，但他的新鮮民粹主義聽起來對我來說是合成的和經過民意調查試驗的，就像由一個工作室行銷部門夢想出來的那些男孩樂隊的

政治等效物一樣。但在拉斯維加斯，我看著他激情洋溢地提出普及覆蓋的清晰建議，展現了他在北卡羅來納州成功的試圖律師身上所擁有的所有才能和禮物，這讓我非常的驚訝。

Hillary was even better. Like many people, I'd spent the 1990s observing the Clintons from afar. I'd admired Bill's prodigious talent and intellectual firepower. If I wasn't always comfortable with the specifics of his so-called triangulations—signing welfare reform legislation with inadequate protections for those who couldn't find jobs, the tough-on-crime rhetoric that would contribute to an explosion in the federal prison population—I appreciated the skill with which he had steered progressive policy making and the Democratic Party back toward electability.

希拉里更出色。像许多人一样，我在1990年代远远地观察着克林顿夫妇。我钦佩比尔的卓越才华和智力能量。尽管我对他所谓的三角化细节并非总是感到舒适——签署对那些找不到工作的人保护不足的福利改革法案、对犯罪态度强硬会导致联邦监狱人口激增——但我欣赏他带领进步政策制定和民主党回归可选性的能力。

As for the former First Lady, I found her just as impressive, and more sympathetic. Maybe it was because in Hillary's story I saw traces of what my mother and grandmother had gone through: all of them smart, ambitious women who had chafed under the constraints of their times, having to navigate male egos and social expectations. If Hillary had become guarded, perhaps overly scripted—who could blame her, given the attacks she'd been subjected to? In the Senate, my favorable opinion of her had been largely confirmed. In all our interactions, she came across as hardworking, personable, and always impeccably prepared. She also had a good, hearty laugh that tended to lighten the mood of everyone around her.

關於前第一夫人，我認為她同樣令人印象深刻，更令人同情。也許是因為在希拉里的故事中我看到了我母親和祖母曾經經歷的痕跡：她們都是聰明、雄心勃勃的女性，在當時的限制下感到沉重，必須面對男性自大和社會期待。如果希拉里變得保守，可能過度受控制-考慮到她所遭受的攻擊，誰又能怪她呢？在參議院，我對她的好感大致得到了證實。在我們的所有互動中，她都表現得非常努力、健談且始終準備充分。她還有一個好聲音，總是能讓周圍的人心情愉悅。

That I'd decided to run despite Hillary's presence in the race had less to do with any assessment of her personal shortcomings and more to do with my feeling that she just couldn't escape the rancor, grudges, and hardened assumptions arising out of the Clinton White House years. Fair or not, I didn't see how she could close America's political divide, or change how Washington did business, or provide the country with the fresh start it needed. Yet watching her speak passionately and knowledgeably about healthcare onstage that evening at the SEIU forum and hearing the crowd cheer enthusiastically after she was done, I wondered if I'd miscalculated.

我决定参选，尽管希拉里已经参选，这决定并不是基于对她个人缺陷的评估，而是因为我感觉她无法摆脱由克林顿白宫年代带来的矛盾、怨恨和僵化想法。无论公平与否，我认为她不可能弥合美国的政治分歧、改变华盛顿的作为，或为国家提供所需的新起点。但是看着她在SEIU论坛上充满激情和知识地演讲医保政策，听到观众在她演讲结束后热烈欢呼，我开始怀疑是否我当初的判断错误。

That forum would hardly be the last time Hillary—or, for that matter, half the primary field—outperformed me, for it soon seemed as if we were gathered for a debate once every two or three weeks. I had never been particularly good in these formats myself: My long windups and preference for complicated answers worked against me, particularly onstage with seven savvy pros and a single timed minute to answer a question. During our first debate in April, the moderator called time at least twice before I was done speaking. Asked about how I'd handle multiple terrorist attacks, I discussed the need to coordinate federal help but neglected to mention the obvious imperative to go after the perpetrators. For the next several minutes, Hillary and the others took turns pointing out my oversight. Their tones were somber, but the gleam in their eyes said, Take that, rookie.

那场论坛，希拉里——或者说，一半的初选人选——真的打败了我。接下来的几周里，似乎每两到三周就有一次辩论，我的表现也并不出众。我的回答总是太长，而且喜欢复杂的答案，这在舞台上与七个老练的专家和一个被限定时间的一分钟回答问题的场合中不利于我。在四月份的第一次辩论中，主持人在我还没说完前就已经停止了两次。他们问我如何应对多个恐怖袭击，我只是简单地提到需要协调联邦援助，但并没有提到追捕恐怖分子的必要性，这漏掉了我的明显失误。接下来的几分钟里，希拉里和其他人轮流指出了我的疏忽。他们的语气沉郁，但眼中闪烁的光芒却说，“来吧，新秀，接受教训。”

Afterward, Axe was gentle in his postgame critique.

“Your problem,” he said, “is you keep trying to answer the question.”

“Isn't that the point?” I said.

“No, Barack,” Axe said, “that is not the point. The point is to get your message across. What are your values? What are your priorities? That's what people care about. Look, half the time the moderator is just using the question to try to trip you up. Your job is to avoid the trap they've set. Take whatever question they give you, give 'em a quick line to make it seem like you answered it...and then talk about what you want to talk about.”

之后，艾克斯在赛后批评中非常温和。

“你的问题是，你一直想回答问题，”他说，“那不是关键所在。”

“难道不是吗？”我问。

“不，巴拉克，”艾克斯说，“那不是关键所在。关键是传达你的信息。你的价值观是什么？你的优先事项是什么？这才是人们关心的。看，有一半的时间，主持人只是借助问题试图让你失误。你的工作就是避免他们设置的陷阱。无论他们问你什么问题，给出一个简短的回答，让它看起来好像你回答了它...然后谈论你想谈论的事情。”

“That's bullshit,” I said.

“Exactly,” he said.

I was frustrated with Axe and even more frustrated with myself. But I realized his insight was hard to deny after watching a replay of the debate. The most effective debate answers, it seemed, were designed not to illuminate but to evoke an emotion, or identify the enemy, or signal to a constituency that you, more than anyone else on that stage, were and would always be on their side. It was easy to dismiss the exercise as superficial. Then again, a president wasn't a lawyer or an accountant or a pilot, hired to carry out some narrow, specialized task. Mobilizing public opinion, shaping working coalitions—that was the job. Whether I liked it or not, people were moved by emotion, not facts. To elicit the best rather than the worst of those emotions, to buttress those better angels of our nature with reason and sound policy, to perform while still speaking the truth—that was the bar I needed to clear.

“這是胡說八道，”我說。

“正是如此，”他說。

我對於Axe感到沮喪，對自己更加沮喪。但我意識到，在重播辯論後，他的洞見不容忽視。最有效的辯論答案，似乎並不是為了闡明問題而設計的，而是為了引起情感、識別敵人或向一個選民群體發出信號，表明你比其他任何人都站在他們這邊。將這種行為視為膚淺是容易的。然而，一個總統不是律師、會計師或飛行員，被聘請執行一些狹窄而專門的任務。動員公眾輿論，塑造工作聯盟——這就是工作。無論我喜不喜歡，人們受情感影響，而不是事實。為了喚起最好的情感，用理性和明智的政策支持那些更好的人性天使，同時保持誠實——這就是我需要達到的標準。

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AS I WAS working to curb my screw-ups, Plouffe was running a seamless operation from our Chicago headquarters. I didn't see him often but was coming to realize that the two of us had much in common. We were both analytical and even-keeled, generally skeptical of convention and pretense. But whereas I could be absentminded, indifferent to small details, incapable of maintaining an orderly filing system, constantly misplacing memos, pens, and cell phones that had just been handed to me, Plouffe turned out to be a managerial genius.

當我努力減少我的失誤時，Plouffe從我們的芝加哥總部順利地運作。我很少見到他，但我開始意識到我們倆有許多共同之處。我們都很理性和冷靜，通常對傳統和虛假持懷疑態度。但是，雖然我可能有時會心不在焉，對小細節漠不關心，無法保持有序的檔案系統，經常把剛剛被交給我的備忘錄、筆和手機弄丟，而Plouffe卻是一位管理天才。

From the start, he focused unapologetically and unswervingly on winning Iowa. Even when cable pundits and some of our supporters were calling us idiots for being so single-minded, he wouldn't let anyone waver an inch from the strategy, certain it was our only path to victory. Plouffe imposed a martial discipline, giving everyone on our team—from Axe to our most junior organizer—a level of autonomy while also demanding accountability and a strict adherence to process. He capped salaries as a way of eliminating needless staff dissent. He pointedly directed resources away from bloated consulting contracts and media budgets in order to give our field organizers what they needed on the ground. Obsessive about data, he recruited a team of internet savants who designed a digital program that was light-years ahead of those not just of other campaigns but many private corporations as well.

從一開始，他毫不避諱、始終如一地專注於贏得愛荷華州。即使有電視評論員和一些支持者因為我們如此一心一意而稱我們為白癡，他也不讓任何人動搖策略，堅信這是我們取得勝利的唯一途徑。普洛夫施行了軍事紀律，讓我們團隊中的每一個人——從Axe到我們最年輕的組織者——都擁有一定的自主權，同時要求負責任和嚴格的遵循過程。他限制了薪水，以消除不必要的職員異議。他明確地將資源引向膨脹的諮詢合同和媒體預算之外，以便在現場給予我們的戰場組織者所需的資源。他對數據著迷，招募了一個互聯網達人團隊，設計出一個遠遠超越其他競選活動甚至是許多私營企業的數字計劃。

Add it all up, and in six months, from a standing start, Plouffe built a campaign operation strong enough to go toe-to-toe with the Clinton machine. It was a fact he quietly relished. This was another thing I came to realize about Plouffe: Beneath the low-key persona and deep convictions, he just plain liked the combat. Politics was his sport, and in his chosen endeavor he was as competitive as Reggie was in basketball. Later, I'd ask Axe if he'd anticipated just how good a campaign architect his then junior partner would turn out to be. Axe shook his head.

加起来算一下，从零开始的六个月里，普卢夫建立了一个竞选团队，足够强大，可以与克林顿机器一较高下。这是他悄悄欣喜的事实。这是我认识普卢夫的另一件事情：在低调的外表和深刻信念之下，他就是喜欢斗志昂扬。政治是他的运动，而在他选择的事业中，他像雷吉在篮球上一样竞争激烈。后来，我问“*Axe*”（普卢夫的助手）他是否预料到他的初级合作伙伴将成为多么好的竞选策划师。*Axe*摇了摇头。

“A fucking revelation,” he said.

In presidential politics, the best strategy means little if you don't have the resources to execute it, and this was the second thing we had going for us: money. Given that the Clintons had been cultivating a national donor base for nearly three decades, our working assumption had been that Hillary would have a tremendous fundraising advantage over us. But the hunger for change in America was proving to be stronger than even we had anticipated. Early on, our fundraising followed a traditional pattern: Big donors from big cities wrote and collected big checks. Penny Pritzker, a businesswoman and longtime friend from Chicago, served as our campaign's national finance chair, bringing both organizational acumen and a vast network of relationships to the effort. Julianna Smoot, our tough-talking and experienced finance director, built an expert team and had a gift for alternately sweet-talking, shaming, and sometimes scaring me into engaging in the endless hustle for dollars. She had a great smile, but the eyes of a killer.

“他說：‘一個操蛋的啟示。’在總統政治中，最好的策略如果你沒有執行它的資源就沒有太多用處，而這是我們擁有的第二件事情：錢。考慮到克林頓夫婦在全國建立了近三十年的捐款基礎，我們的工作假設一直是希拉里會在籌款方面具有巨大的優勢。但是，美國對變革的渴望正在顯示比我們預期的還要強烈。早期，我們的籌款遵循傳統模式：大城市的大型捐助者寫了大筆支票並收集起來。芝加哥的商人和長期朋友Penny Pritzker擔任我們競選的全國財務主席，為我們的努力帶來組織能力和廣泛的關係網絡。我們講究技巧的財務總監Julianna Smoot分別以甜言蜜語、慚愧或有時恐嚇着我們參與不斷奔波的籌款行動。她有一個偉大的微笑，但是殺手的眼神。”

I grew accustomed to the drill, partly out of necessity, but also because as time went on, our donors came to understand and even appreciate my terms. This was about building a better country, I'd tell them, not about egos or prestige. I would listen to their take on an issue, especially if they had some expertise, but I wouldn't shade my positions to satisfy them. If I had a spare minute, the thank-you notes I wrote and the birthday calls I made would be directed not to them but to our volunteers and young staff out in the field.

我因為必要，也因為時間的推移，習慣了這種做法，我們的捐贈者開始理解並欣賞我提出的條件。我告訴他們，這是為了建設一個更好的國家，而不是為了自我或聲望。如果他們對某個問題有專業知識，我會傾聽他們的看法，但我不會改變我的立場來迎合他們。如果我有空閒的時間，我寫感謝信和打生日電話的對象不是捐贈者，而是我們在外地的志願者和年輕的工作人員。

And if I won, they could count on me raising their taxes.

This attitude lost us a few donors but helped develop a culture among supporters that wasn't about perks or status. And anyway, with each successive month, the makeup of our donor base was shifting. Small donations—in ten- or twenty- or hundred-dollar increments—started pouring in, most coming through the internet, from college students who pledged their Starbucks budget for the duration of the campaign, or grandmas who'd taken up a sewing circle collection. All told during primary season, we would raise millions from small donors, allowing us to compete in every state for every vote. More than the money itself, the spirit behind the giving, the sense of ownership that the accompanying letters and email messages conveyed, infused the campaign with grassroots energy. This is not all up to you, these donations told us. We are here, on the ground, millions of us scattered across the country—and we believe. We are all in.

如果我当选，他们可以指望我增税。这种态度让我们失去了一些捐赠者，但却在支持者之间培养出一种不是因为特权或身份地位的文化。而且，随着时间的推移，我们的捐赠者基础的构成也在不断变化。数以万计的小额捐赠——以10元、20元或100元不等的金额涌入，其中大部分来自互联网，由承诺在竞选期间把他们的星巴克预算变成捐款的大学生，或是筹集钱款的老奶奶圈子。总体而言，在初选期间，我们将从小额捐赠者那里筹集数百万美元，这使得我们可以在每个州为每张选票而竞选。除了筹集的资金本身外，赠予物背后的精神，与伴随着信函和电子邮件传达的所有权威，注入了竞选活动的草根能量。这些捐赠告诉我们，这不是你一个人的事情。我们在这里，散布在全国各地，数以百万计——而我们信仰。我们都会奉献。

More than a strong operations strategy and effective grassroots fundraising, a third element kept both the campaign and our spirits afloat that first year: the work of our Iowa team and their indefatigable leader, Paul Tewes.

—

PAUL GREW UP in Mountain Lake, a farm town tucked into the southwest corner of Minnesota, a place where everyone knew and looked out for one another, where kids biked everywhere and nobody locked their doors, and where every student played every sport because in order to field a full team, none of the coaches could afford to cut anybody.除了强大的运营策略和有效的草根筹款之外，还有第三个因素在那第一年保持了我们的竞选和精神的高昂：就是我们的爱荷华州团队及他们不屈不挠的领袖保罗·蒂维斯所做的工作。

—

保罗在明尼苏达州西南角的山湖镇长大，那是一个人人皆知并互相照顾的农村小镇，孩子们骑车去到哪儿都方便，没有人锁门，每个学生都参加所有体育运动，因为为了有完整的队伍，教练们都不能削减任何人。

Mountain Lake was also a conservative place, which made the Tewes family stand out a little. Paul's mom instilled in him early an allegiance to the Democratic Party that was second only to the family's allegiance to the Lutheran faith. When he was six years old, he patiently explained to a classmate that he shouldn't support the Republicans "cause your family ain't rich." Four years later, he cried bitterly when Jimmy Carter lost to Ronald Reagan. Paul's father was proud enough of his son's passion for politics that he shared the episode with a friend, the town's high school civics teacher, who in turn—perhaps hoping that a ten-year-old's interest in public affairs might inspire sullen teenagers—relayed it to his class. For the next several days, older kids teased Paul mercilessly, scrunching up their faces like crybabies whenever they spotted him in the halls.

山上湖也是一个保守的地方，这让特韦斯家族显得有些突出。保罗的母亲早早地灌输给他对民主党的忠诚，这仅次于家族对路德教的忠诚。当他六岁时，他耐心地向一个同学解释说，他不应该支持共和党，“因为你的家庭不富裕”。四年后，当吉米·卡特输给罗纳德·里根时，他痛苦地哭了。保罗的父亲对他儿子对政治的热情感到自豪，他与一位朋友分享了这一情节，这位朋友是镇上的高中公民教师，他可能希望一个十岁孩子对公共事务的兴趣能激励沉闷的青少年，并将其传达给他的班级。接下来的几天里，年龄较大的孩子无情地欺负保罗，在走廊上看到他时就会皱起眉头像哭婴。

Paul was undeterred. In high school, he organized a dance to raise money for Democratic candidates. In college, he interned for the local state representative, and—in a feat that gave him particular pride—somehow managed to deliver one of Mountain Lake's two precincts to his favored candidate, Jesse Jackson, in the 1988 presidential primary.

By the time I met him in 2007, Paul had worked on just about every type of campaign imaginable: from mayoral races to congressional races. He'd served as Al Gore's Iowa state caucus director and as the director of field operations across the country for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He was thirty-eight by then but looked older, stocky and slightly balding, with a pale blond mustache and pale skin to match. There was nothing fancy about Paul Tewes; his demeanor could be gruff, and his clothes never seemed to match, especially in the winter, when, like a true Minnesotan, he'd sport all manner of flannel shirts, down jackets, and ski caps. He was the kind of guy more comfortable talking to farmers in a cornfield or drinking in a corner saloon than mingling with high-paid political consultants. But sitting with him, you quickly realized he knew his stuff. More than that: Beneath the tactical insights, detailed district voting histories, and political anecdotes, you might hear—if you listened carefully enough—the heart of the ten-year-old boy who cared enough, who believed enough, to cry over an election.

保羅毫不畏懼。在高中時，他組織了一場舞會，為民主黨候選人籌集資金。在大學裡，他擔任當地州議員的實習生，並成功地將Mountain Lake的兩個投票站之一，在1988年總統初選中贏得了他支持的候選人傑西·傑克遜的支持。

當我在2007年認識他時，保羅已參與了所有可能的競選活動：從市長選舉到國會選舉。他曾擔任阿爾·戈爾的愛荷華州黨團預選執行委員會主任，並擔任民主參議院競選委員會全國的現場操作主任。那時他已經38歲了，看起來比實際年齡更老，身材肥胖，略顯禿頂，有一撮淡金色的小胡子，皮膚也很蒼白。保羅·特韋斯身上沒有什麼花哨的東西；他的言談可以有些暴躁，他的衣服似乎從來都不搭配，特別是在冬天，就像真正的明尼蘇達州人一樣，他會穿着各式各樣的法蘭絨衬衫、羽絨服和滑雪帽子。他是那種更喜歡和農民談話或在角落酒吧喝酒的人，而不是和高薪政治顧問交際。但和他坐在一起，你很快就会意識到他知道自己在做什么。更重要的是：在策略性的洞察力、詳細的選區選舉歷史和政治趣聞之下，如果你足夠仔細地聽，你可能會聽到一個關心得够多、信仰得够堅定的10歲男孩的心聲涌上心头，他為選舉而哭泣。

Anyone who's ever run for president will likely tell you that there's nothing simple about winning Iowa. It's one of a number of U.S. states that hold a caucus to determine which candidates their delegates will support. As opposed to a traditional primary election in which citizens cast votes privately and largely at their convenience, a caucus is more of a throwback to town hall-style democracy, when voters showed up at an appointed hour, usually at a school gym or a library in their precinct, and debated the merits of each candidate in a neighborly manner for as long as it took to come up with a winner. Such participatory democracy had much to commend it, but it was time-consuming—a caucus could last three hours or more—and required participants to be well informed, willing to vote publicly, and committed enough to make an evening of it. Unsurprisingly caucuses tended to attract a small and static cross section of the Iowa electorate, made up of older voters, party functionaries, longtime partisans—those who hewed, in general, to the tried-and-true. This meant that Democratic caucus-goers were more likely to support a known quantity like Hillary Clinton than someone like me.

任何曾競選總統的人都會告訴你，在艾奧瓦州贏得選舉並不簡單。那是美國眾多州之一，舉辦投票會議來決定他們代表支持哪位候選人。不同于傳統的初選選舉，選民在私人場所投票，時間也相對自由，投票會議更像是回歸到城鎮民主的時代，選民們在指定時間出席一個城區的學校或圖書館，以友鄰的方式辯論每位候選人的價值，並且討論的時間可能長達三個小時或更久。此類參與型民主具有許多贊賞之處，但耗時較長，需要參與者詳細了解情況，公開投票並投入足夠的時間。不出所料，投票會議往往吸引艾奧瓦選民中的一部分穩定的老年選民、黨派人士和長期黨派分子，那些大多精于常規的選民。這意味著，民主黨的選民更有可能支持像希拉里·克林頓這樣的老面孔，而不是像我這樣不紅不綠的候選人。

From the start, Tewes impressed upon Plouffe, and Plouffe in turn impressed upon me, that if we wanted to win Iowa, we needed to run a different kind of campaign. We'd have to work harder and longer, face-to-face, to win over traditional caucus-goers. More important, we'd have to convince a whole lot of likely Obama supporters—young people, people of color, independents—to overcome the various hurdles and hang-ups and participate in the caucus for the very first time. To do it, Tewes insisted on opening offices right away, covering all ninety-nine Iowa counties; and for each office we'd hire a young staffer who, with little pay or day-to-day supervision, would be responsible for engineering their own local political movement.

一開始，提韋斯就向普魯夫傳遞了一個信息，而普魯夫又向我傳遞了這個信息：如果我們想贏得愛荷華州，就必須要運營一種不同的競選活動。我們需要以面對面的方法，花更多時間和精力去贏取傳統上會參加黨團座談會的人的支持。更重要的是，我們需要說服許多可能支持歐巴馬的人群——年輕人、有色人種、獨立選民——克服各種障礙和顧慮，第一次參加黨團座談會。為此，提韋斯堅持立即開設辦事處，覆蓋愛荷華州九十九個郡；而對於每個辦事處，我們都會聘用一位年輕工作人員，他們將負責創造本地的政治運動，並承擔薪資較低、日常監督較少的工作。

It was a big investment and an early gamble, but we gave Tewes the green light. He went to work, with an outstanding team of deputies who helped develop his plan: Mitch Stewart, Marygrace Galston, Anne Filipic, and Emily Parcell, all of them smart, disciplined, with experience on multiple campaigns—and under thirty-two years old.

I spent the most time with Emily, who was an Iowa native and had worked for former governor Tom Vilsack. Tewes figured she'd be especially helpful to me as I navigated local politics. She was twenty-six, one of the youngest in the group, with dark hair and sensible clothes, and diminutive enough to pass for a high school senior. I quickly discovered she knew just about every Democrat in the state and had no qualms about giving me very specific instructions at every stop, covering whom I should talk to and which issues the local community most cared about. This information was delivered in a deadpan monotone, along with a look that suggested a low tolerance for foolishness—a quality Emily may have inherited from her mom, who'd worked at the Motorola plant for three decades and still managed to put herself through college.

「這是一項巨大的投資和早期冒險，但我們向特沃斯發出了綠燈。他與一支出色的副手團隊一起著手制定計劃：米奇·斯圖爾特，瑪麗格雷絲·加爾斯頓，安妮·菲利皮克和艾米麗·帕塞爾，他們都聰明、有紀律，擁有多場戰役經驗，年齡都在32歲以下。我與艾米麗共度時間最長，她是艾奧瓦州人，曾為前州長湯姆·維爾薩克工作。特沃斯認為，在我駕馭地方政治時，她會特別有幫助。她26歲，是團隊中最年輕的之一，頭髮黑黑的，穿着樸素，個子矮小，還可以通過高中生。我很快就發現，她幾乎認識州內的所有民主黨人，對我每站的具體事項都毫不猶豫地給予了指導，涵蓋了應該與哪些人交談以及當地社區最關心哪些問題。這些信息帶着一個毫不妥協的板着臉及一種容忍愚蠢程度低的神情傳達給我——這種品質可能是艾米麗繼承自她的母親，她在摩托羅拉工作了三十年，仍然設法通過大學。」

During the long hours we spent traveling between events in a rented campaign van, I made it my mission to coax a smile out of Emily—jokes, wisecracks, puns, stray observations about the size of Reggie's head. But my charm and wit invariably crashed on the rocks of her steady, unblinking gaze, and I settled on trying to do exactly what she told me to do.

Mitch, Marygrace, and Anne would later describe the particulars of their work—which included collectively screening all the unorthodox ideas Tewes routinely pitched at meetings.

在我们租了一辆竞选货车的漫长旅行中，我的使命是把笑容从艾米丽脸上逼出来——讲笑话、插科打诨、双关语，甚至偶尔说说瑞吉的头有多大。但是我的魅力和机智总是被她稳定、不眨眼的目光击败，最后我只好听从她的吩咐。米奇、玛丽格雷斯和安妮后来会详细描述他们的工作，包括共同筛选提出的不同寻常的想法。

“He'd have ten a day,” Mitch would explain. “Nine were ridiculous, one would be genius.” Mitch was a gangly South Dakotan who'd worked in Iowa politics before but had never encountered someone as passionately eclectic as Tewes. “If he brought up the same idea to me three times,” he'd recall, “I figured there might be something there.”

Enlisting Norma Lyon, Iowa's “Butter Cow Lady,” who at the state fair each year sculpted a life-sized cow out of salted butter, to make a prerecorded call announcing her support for us, which we then blasted across the state—genius. (She later created a twenty-three-pound “butter bust” of my head—also likely a Tewes idea.)

“他每天会有十个想法，”米奇解释道。“九个都很荒谬，一个则是天才的。”米奇是来自南达科他州的长腿汉子，之前曾在爱荷华州从事政治工作，但从未遇到像特维斯这样充满激情的多才多艺者。“如果他向我提出同样的想法三次，”他回忆道，“我就认为其中可能有些价值。”

我们邀请了艾奥瓦州“黄油牛奶女士”诺玛·里昂，她每年在州集市上用盐腌黄油雕塑一头真人大小的奶牛，让她做一通预先录制的电话，宣布她支持我们，然后我们将这个消息在全州广播出去——真是个天才之举。（她后来还用黄油创作了一个23磅的“黄油半身像”，这也很可能是特维斯的想法。）

Insisting that we put up billboards along the highway, with rhyming phrases unfolding in sequence like the old 1960s Burma-Shave ads (TIME FOR CHANGE...LET'S SHIFT GEARS...VOTE 4 THE GUY...WITH BIG EARS...OBAMA 08)—not so genius.

Promising to shave his eyebrows if the staff reached the unreachable goal of collecting one hundred thousand supporter cards—not genius, until very late in the campaign, when the team actually hit the mark, at which point it became genius. (“Mitch shaved his too,” Marygrace would explain. “We have pictures. It was horrible.”)

堅持要在公路沿線豎立告示牌，像1960年代的Burma-Shave廣告一樣以韻律詩的形式相繼展開（是時候改變了...讓我們換檔...投票給有大耳朵的家伙...奧巴馬 08）- 這不是很聰明。

承諾如果團隊達到無法實現的目標——收集十萬張支持者卡片，他會剃掉自己的眉毛- 直到競選活動的後期，團隊實際完成了這一目標，這才被認為是聰明的。（“米奇也剃了，”瑪麗格雷斯解釋說。“我們有照片。它很可怕。”）

Tewes would set the tone for our Iowa operation—grassroots, no hierarchies, irreverent, and slightly manic. No one—including senior staff, donors, or dignitaries—was exempt from doing some door knocking. In the early weeks, he hung signs on every wall in every office with a motto he'd authored: RESPECT, EMPOWER, INCLUDE. If we were serious about a new kind of politics, he explained, then it started right there on the ground, with every organizer committed to listening to people, respecting what they had to say, and treating everybody—including our opponents and their supporters—the way we wanted to be treated. Lastly he stressed the importance of encouraging voters to get involved instead of just selling them a candidate like a box of laundry detergent.

特韋斯將為我們在愛荷華的運作指定調子：草根、沒有等級制度、不尊重順序、稍顯瘋狂。無論是高級員工、捐贈人還是貴賓都不能避免參加一些敲門行動。在早期的幾周裡，他在每個辦公室的每堵牆上貼上了一句他自己創作的格言：“尊重、鼓勵、包容”。如果我們認真對待一種新的政治，他解釋說，那就從地面上開始，每個組織者都致力於聆聽人們的聲音、尊重他們的意見，並對待每個人（包括我們的對手和他們的支持者）的方式，正是我們想被對待的方式。最後，他強調了鼓勵選民參與的重要性，而不僅僅是向他們出售候選人，就像出售一盒洗衣粉一樣。

Anyone who breached these values got scolded and sometimes pulled from the field. When, during our team's weekly conference call, a new organizer made a joke about why he'd joined the campaign, saying something about “hating pantsuits” (a reference to Hillary's favorite campaign attire), Tewes admonished him in a lengthy rant for all the other organizers to hear. “It's not what we stand for,” he said, “not even in private.”

The team took this to heart, particularly because Tewes practiced what he preached. Despite the occasional intemperate outburst, he never failed to show people how much they mattered. When Marygrace's uncle died, Tewes declared National Marygrace Day, and had everyone in the office wear pink. He also had me record a message announcing that for that one day, he would have to do everything Marygrace said. (Of course, Marygrace had to put up with three hundred days of Tewes and Mitch chewing tobacco in the office, so the ledger never fully balanced.)

任何侵犯这些价值观的人都会受到责骂，有时甚至会被赶出团队。在我们团队每周的电话会议上，一个新组织者开了一个关于为什么加入这场竞选的玩笑，说了一些关于“讨厌女士西装”的话（这是希拉里最喜欢的竞选装束的参考），特维斯向他及其他组织者发布了一份长篇训斥。“这不是我们的宗旨，即使在私下里也不行。”

团队深受此言所感动，尤其是因为特维斯言行一致。尽管偶尔会有过激的爆发，但他从未忘记告诉人们他们有多重要。当玛丽格雷斯的叔叔去世时，特维斯宣布全国玛丽格雷斯日，要求所有人在办公室穿粉色衣服。他还让我录制了一段信息，宣布那一天他必须听从玛丽格雷斯的一切命令。（当然，玛丽格雷斯也得忍受特维斯和米奇在办公室咀嚼烟草的日子，所以总帐从未完全平衡过。）

This kind of camaraderie permeated the Iowa operation. Not just at headquarters but, more important, among the close to two hundred field organizers we'd deployed across the state. All told, I would spend eighty-seven days in Iowa that year. I would sample each town's culinary specialty, shoot hoops with schoolkids on any court we could find, and experience every possible weather event, from funnel clouds to sideways sleet. Through it all, those young men and women, working endless hours for subsistence wages, were my able guides. Most were barely out of college. Many were on their first campaigns and far away from home. Some had grown up in Iowa or the rural Midwest, familiar with the attitudes and way of life of midsized towns like

Sioux City or Altoona. But that wasn't typical. Assemble our organizers in a room and you'd find Italians from Philly, Jews from Chicago, Blacks from New York, and Asians from California; children of poor immigrants and children of the rich suburbs; engineering majors, former Peace Corps volunteers, military veterans, and high school dropouts. On the surface, at least, there seemed no way to connect their wildly varied experiences to the meat-and-potatoes folks whose votes we desperately needed.

这种同仁之情渗透到了艾奥瓦的活动中心。不仅仅是总部，更重要的是我们在全州部署的近200名外勤组织者之间。总共，我在那一年里在艾奥瓦待了87天。我品尝了每个城镇的独特美食，在任何我们能找到的球场上和学生们打篮球，经历了从漏斗云到侧着下雪的各种天气。在所有这些经历中，那些年轻男女，为了微薄的工资而不停地工作，成为了我的得力向导。大多数人刚刚大学毕业，许多人是第一次参加竞选活动，离家远行。其中一些人在艾奥瓦州或中西部的乡村长大，熟悉像苏城或阿尔图纳这样的中等规模城镇的态度和生活方式。但这并不是典型的。将我们的组织者聚集在一起，您会发现来自费城的意大利人，来自芝加哥的犹太人，来自纽约的黑人和来自加利福尼亚州的亚洲人；贫穷移民家庭的孩子和富裕郊区的孩子；工程专业，前和平队志愿者，退伍军人和高中辍学生。至少在表面上，似乎没有办法将他们极为不同的经验与我们迫切需要的肉食者联系起来。

And yet they did connect. Arriving in town with a duffel bag or a small suitcase, living in the spare bedroom or basement of some early local supporter, they would spend months getting to know a place—visiting the local barbershop, setting up card tables in front of the grocery store, speaking at the Rotary Club. They helped coach Little League, assisted local charities, and called their moms for a banana pudding recipe so they wouldn't show up to the potluck empty-handed. They learned to listen to their local volunteers—most of whom were much older, with their own jobs, families, and concerns—and got good at recruiting new ones too. They worked each day to exhaustion and fought off bouts of loneliness and fear. Month by month, they won people's trust. They were no longer strangers.

然而，他们确实建立了联系。带着行李袋或小手提箱到镇上，住在一些早期的当地支持者的备用卧室或地下室里，花费数月时间了解一个地方——在理发店逛逛，摆放卡桌在杂货店前面，在扶轮社讲话。他们帮助教练小联盟，协助当地慈善机构，并打电话给他们的妈妈，以获取香蕉布丁食谱，这样他们就不会手空到聚餐会。他们学会了倾听当地的志愿者——他们中的大多数人都年事已高，有自己的工作、家庭和关注点——并且擅长招募新志愿者。他们每天工作到筋疲力尽，抵御孤独和恐惧的症状。逐月，他们赢得了人们的信任。他们不再是陌生人。

What a tonic these young kids in Iowa were! They filled me with optimism and gratitude and a sense of coming full circle. In them, I saw myself at twenty-five, arriving in Chicago, confused and idealistic. I remembered the precious bonds I'd made with families on the South Side, the mistakes and small victories, the community I found—similar to what our field organizers were now forging for themselves. Their experiences pointed me back to why I'd gone into government in the first place, toward the taproot idea that maybe politics could be less about power and positioning and more about community and connection.

这些爱荷华州的年轻孩子们真是一剂良药！他们让我充满了乐观和感激之情，并让我感到自己已经闭环了。在他们身上，我看到了当年25岁的自己，刚刚来到芝加哥的迷茫和理想主义。我记得我在南区与家庭建立的珍贵的联系，犯下的错误和小小的胜利，我找到的社区——与我们的现场组织者正在为自己创建的社区类似。他们的经历让我回到了我当初为什么走进政府的根本理念，即政治可能不再是关于权力和地位，而是更多地关乎社区和联系。

Our volunteers across Iowa might believe in me, I thought to myself. But they were working as hard as they were mainly because of those young organizers. Just as those kids may have signed up to work for the campaign because of something I'd said or done, but now they belonged to the volunteers. What drove them, what sustained them, independent of their candidate or any particular issue, were the friendships and relationships, the mutual loyalty and progress born of joint effort. That and their cantankerous boss back in Des Moines, the one who was promising to shave his eyebrows if they succeeded.

我想，我在爱荷华州的志愿者们可能相信我。但他们之所以这么努力工作，主要是因为那些年轻的组织者。就像那些孩子可能是因为我的某些话或行动而加入了竞选活动，但现在他们属于志愿者。独立于候选人或任何特定问题，驱使他们、支撑他们的是友谊和关系、共同努力所产生的相互忠诚和进步。还有他们在得梅因的那个喜欢争吵的老板，如果他们成功了，该老板承诺要刮掉自己的眉毛。

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BY JUNE, OUR campaign had turned a corner. Thanks to skyrocketing internet donations, our financial performance continued to far outstrip our projections, allowing us to go up early on Iowa TV. With school out for the summer, Michelle and the girls were able to join me more often on the road. Rumbling across Iowa in an RV, the sound of their chatter in the background as I made calls; seeing Reggie and Marvin taking on Malia and Sasha in marathon games of UNO; feeling the gentle weight of one daughter or another sleeping against me on an afternoon leg; and always the obligatory ice cream stops—all of it filled me with a joy that carried over into my public appearances.

到了六月，我们的竞选活动已经转了一个弯。由于网上捐款飙升，我们的财务表现继续远超预期，让我们能够在爱荷华州早早地上电视。由于暑假学校放假，米歇尔和女孩们也能够更频繁地加入我进行路途上的活动。开着露营车在爱荷华州颠簸，她们的闲聊声在我打电话时成为了背景音；看着雷吉和马尔文在UNO游戏中与玛莉亚和萨莎比拼，感受一位或另一位女儿在下午的路途中轻轻地依偎在我旁边，还有必经的冰激凌店——所有这些都让我感到无比快乐，这种快乐也传递到了我公开露面时的表现中。

The nature of those appearances changed as well. As the initial novelty of my candidacy wore off, I found myself speaking to more manageable crowds, a few hundred rather than thousands, which gave me the chance once again to meet people one-on-one and listen to their stories. Military spouses described the day-to-day struggles of running a household and fighting off the terror of possibly hearing bad news from the front. Farmers explained the pressures that led them to surrender their independence to big agribusiness concerns. Laid-off workers talked me through the myriad ways that existing

job-training programs had failed them. Small-business owners detailed the sacrifices they'd made to pay for their employees' health insurance, until just one employee fell sick and everyone's premiums became unaffordable, including their own.

這些現身的本質也改變了。隨著我的競選初期新鮮感消退，我發現自己與一些較可控的人群講話，僅有數百人而非數千人。這使我再次有機會與人們進行一對一的交談，聆聽他們的故事。軍人配偶描述了她們日常掙扎經營家務和擔心從前線聽到壞消息的恐懼。農民解釋了導致他們向大型農業企業屈服的壓力。失業工人向我講述現有的就業培訓計劃讓他們失望的種種方式。小企業主們詳細描述了他們為支付員工健康保險而作出的犧牲，直到有一個員工生病，每個人的保費都變得無法負擔，包括他們自己。

Informed by these stories, my stump speech became less abstract, less a matter of the head and more a matter of the heart. People heard their own lives reflected in these stories, learning that they were not alone in their hardship, and with that knowledge, more and more of them signed up to volunteer on my behalf. Campaigning on this more retail, human scale also offered the opportunity for chance encounters that made the campaign come alive. That's what happened when I visited Greenwood, South Carolina, one day in June. Though most of my time was spent in Iowa, I was also paying regular visits to other states like New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina, whose primaries and caucuses would follow in quick succession. The trip to Greenwood was the result of a rash promise I'd made to an influential legislator who'd offered to endorse me, but only if I visited her hometown. As it turned out, my visit was poorly timed, coming during an especially rough week, amid bad poll numbers, bad stories in the papers, bad moods, and bad sleep. It didn't help that Greenwood was more than an hour from the nearest major airport, we were driving through torrential rains, and when I finally arrived at the municipal building where the event was supposed to be held, I found only twenty people or so gathered inside—all of them as damp as I was from the storm.受到这些故事的启发，我的政治演说变得更加具体，不再只是头脑问题，更关乎感情。人们在这些故事中看到了自己的生活影子，了解到自己并不孤独，因此越来越多的人报名成为我的志愿者。在这种更加人性化的零售环节进行竞选，也给了我机会进行偶然的邂逅，使竞选活动变得更加生动。

这就是我在六月份去到南卡罗来纳州格林伍德市时的情况。虽然我大部分时间都待在爱荷华州，但我还是定期拜访其他州，如新罕布什尔州、内华达州和南卡罗来纳州，因为它们的初选和团体投票会很快到来。我去格林伍德市是因为有一位有影响力的立法者答应支持我，但前提是我必须去她的家乡看看。事实证明，我的访问时间非常不妙，正值一周低迷的时候，在糟糕的民意调查、报纸报道、心情和睡眠中度过。更糟糕的是，格林伍德距离最近的主要机场超过一个小时的车程，在倾盆大雨中开车，当我最终到达市政大楼时，发现里面只有二十多个人聚集在一起，而且所有人都和我一样被暴雨淋湿了。

A wasted day, I thought to myself, mentally ticking off all the other work I could have been doing. I was going through the motions, shaking hands, asking people what they did for a living, quietly trying to calculate how fast I could get out of there, when suddenly I heard a piercing voice shout out. "Fired up!"

My staff and I were startled, thinking maybe it was a heckler, but without missing a beat, the rest of the room responded in unison.

"Ready to go!"

Again, the same voice shouted, "Fired up!" And once again the group responded, "Ready to go!"

一個浪費的日子，我心裡想，心裡默默列出了其他工作我本可以做的事情。我只是在情況下進行，握手，問人們他們從事什麼行業，一點也不想呆在那裡，突然我聽到一個尖銳的聲音喊道。

"熱起來了!"

我和我的員工們被嚇了一跳，以為可能是一個喊冤的人，但其他人毫不停歇地回應道。

"準備好了！"

同樣的聲音再次喊道，“熱起來了！”而這個小組再一次回應說：“準備好了！”

Unsure of what was happening, I turned to look behind me, my eyes landing on the source of the commotion: a middle-aged Black woman, dressed like she had just come from church, with a colorful dress, a big hat, and an ear-to-ear grin that included a shiny gold tooth.

Her name was Edith Childs. In addition to serving on the Greenwood County Council and in the local NAACP chapter while also being a professional private eye, it turned out she was well known for this particular call-and-response. She started it at Greenwood's football games, Fourth of July parades, community meetings, or whenever the spirit happened to move her.不确定发生了什么事情，我转身看向后方，我的目光落在骚动的源头：中年黑人女性艾迪丝·奇尔兹，身穿像刚从教堂回来一样的彩色裙子，戴着一顶大帽子，脸上露出一丝微笑，还露出一颗亮晶晶的金牙。

她是格林伍德县议会和当地黑人平等权利组织成员之一，同时也是一名专业私家侦探，人们也因为她的这种特别的呼喊和应答而熟知。她在格林伍德的足球比赛、7月4日游行、社区会议或每当她想发出感召时都会开始这个应答。

For the next few minutes, Edith led the room in hollering "Fired up! Ready to go!" back and forth, again and again. I was confused at first, but figured it would be impolite of me not to join in. And pretty soon, I started to feel kinda fired up! I started to feel like I was ready to go! I noticed everybody at the meeting suddenly was smiling too, and after the chanting was done we settled down and talked for the next hour about the community and the country and what we could do to make it better. Even after I left Greenwood, for the rest of the day, every so often, I'd point to someone on my staff and ask, "You fired up?" Eventually it became a campaign rallying cry. And that, I suppose, was the part of politics that would always give me the most pleasure: the part that couldn't be diagrammed, that defied planning or analytics. The way in which, when it works, a campaign—and by extension a democracy—proved to be a chorus rather than a solo act.

接下來的幾分鐘，伊迪絲帶著房間一起叫喊“上火了！準備好了！”來回反復。一開始我很困惑，但我覺得如果不參與會顯得不禮貌。很快地，我也感覺到自己有點上火了！我感覺好像已準備好了！我注意到會議上的每個人突然都露出微笑。誦完口號後，我們安靜下來，接下來一小時我們話題都是圍繞著社區和國家，討論我們可以做些什麼來讓它更好。即使離開格林伍德，整天中偶爾我還是會指著我的員工，問：“你上火了嗎？”最終這變成了競選的口號。我想，

這就是政治中永遠能給我最大樂趣的部分：它是無法用圖表或分析來解釋的，它是違反規則或分析的。它是在工作時，用一種和聲而不是獨奏的方式來展現選舉----並延伸至民主所展現的方式。

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ANOTHER LESSON I learned from voters: They weren't interested in hearing me parrot conventional wisdom. During the first few months of campaigning, I'd worried at least subconsciously about what Washington opinion makers thought. In the interest of being deemed sufficiently "serious" or "presidential," I'd become stiff and self-conscious, undermining the very rationale that had led me to run in the first place. But by the summer, we went back to first principles and actively looked for opportunities to challenge the Washington playbook and tell hard truths. Before a teachers' union gathering, I argued not only for higher salaries and more flexibility in the classroom but also for greater accountability—that last bit eliciting a deafening silence and then a smattering of boos in the hall. At the Detroit Economic Club, I told auto executives that as president I would push hard for higher fuel economy standards, a position ardently opposed by the Big Three automakers. When a group called Iowans for Sensible Priorities, sponsored by Ben and Jerry of ice cream fame, gathered ten thousand signatures from people committing to caucus for a candidate who promised to cut the Pentagon's defense budget, I had to call either Ben or Jerry—I don't remember which—to say that although I agreed with the objective and very much wanted their support, I couldn't as president be hamstrung by any pledge I'd made when it came to our national security. (The group eventually opted to endorse John Edwards.)

另一个选民教给我的教训是：他们不想听我重复那些常见的智慧。在竞选的前几个月，我至少下意识地担心华盛顿的舆论引导者会有何看法。为了被认为足够“严肃”或“总统”，我变得僵硬和不自然，削弱了我最初参选的原因。但到了夏天，我们回到了基本原则，并积极寻找机会挑战华盛顿的玩法并说出艰难的真相。在一个教师工会集会上，我不仅为更高的薪水和更大的课堂灵活性辩护，而且还呼吁更强的问责制——这最后一点在大厅里引起了沉寂和一些嘘声。在底特律经济俱乐部，我告诉汽车公司高管，作为总统，我将努力推动更高的燃油经济性标准，这一立场受到三大汽车公司的热烈反对。当一个由冰激凌名人本（Ben）和杰里（Jerry）支持的名为“爱荷华人关注合理优先事项”的团体，收集了一万个签名，承诺为一个承诺削减五角大楼国防预算的候选人参加党团会议时，我必须打电话给本或杰里——我不记得哪个了——告诉他们，虽然我赞同这个目标，并很想得到他们的支持，但我不能因为国家安全问题而受到我所做承诺的束缚。（最终，该团体选择支持约翰·爱德华兹（John Edwards）。）

I was starting to look different from my Democratic rivals in more ways than the obvious one. During a debate in late July, I was shown images of Fidel Castro, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, North Korean leader Kim Jong Il, and a couple of other despots and asked if I'd be prepared to meet with any of them during my first year in office. Without hesitation, I said yes—I'd meet with any world leader if I thought it could advance U.S. interests. Well, you would have thought I had said the world was flat. When the debate was over, Clinton, Edwards, and a bunch of the other candidates pounced, accusing me of being naïve, insisting that a meeting with the American president was a privilege to be earned. The press corps in large part seemed to agree. Perhaps even a few months earlier I might have gotten wobbly, second-guessing my choice of words and issuing a clarifying statement afterward.我在很多方面開始與其他民主黨競爭對手獨樹一幟，不僅僅是表面上的不同。在七月底的一次辯論中，我被展示出菲德爾·卡斯特羅、伊朗總統馬哈茂德·艾哈邁迪尼傑、北韓領袖金正日和其他一些暴政者的圖像，問我是否準備好在上任的第一年會見他們中的任何一位。毫不猶豫地，我說是——如果我認為這能促進美國的利益，我會和任何世界領袖會面。

嗯，你會認為我說了世界是平的。當辯論結束時，克林頓、愛德華茲和其他一些候選人都反擊了我，指責我幼稚，堅稱與美國總統會晤是一種必須賺取的特權。大部分的新聞界似乎也同意這種觀點。也許只有幾個月前，我可能已經開始動搖，對我的措辭進行反思，並隨後發表澄清聲明。

But I had my legs beneath me now and was convinced I was right, particularly on the more general principle that America shouldn't be afraid to engage its adversaries or push for diplomatic solutions to conflict. As far as I was concerned, it was this disregard for diplomacy that had led Hillary and the rest—not to mention the mainstream press—to follow George W. Bush into war.

Another foreign policy argument arose just a few days later, when during a speech I mentioned that if I had Osama bin Laden in my sights within Pakistani territory, and the Pakistani government was unwilling or unable to capture or kill him, I would take the shot. This shouldn't have been particularly surprising to anyone; back in 2003, I had premised my opposition to the Iraq War partly on my belief that it would distract us from destroying al-Qaeda.

但現在我已經堅定不移，特別是在更重要的原則上：美國不應害怕與其對手進行交涉或推動通過外交途徑解決衝突。就我而言，正是對外交的忽視導致希拉里和其他人——更不用說主流媒體——跟隨喬治·W·布什發動了戰爭。

几天后，又出现了另一个外交政策上的争论。在一次演讲中，我提到如果我在巴基斯坦境内发现奥萨马·本·拉登，并且巴基斯坦政府无意或无力逮捕或杀死他，我会下令射杀。这对任何人来说都不应该是特别令人惊讶的；早在2003年，我就基于这样的信念反对伊拉克战争：这将让我们分散注意力，无法摧毁基地组织。

But such blunt talk ran counter to the Bush administration's public position; the U.S. government maintained the dual fiction that Pakistan was a reliable partner in the war against terrorism and that we never encroached on Pakistani territory in the pursuit of terrorists. My statement threw Washington into a bipartisan tizzy, with Joe Biden, the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Republican presidential candidate John McCain both expressing the view that I was not ready to be president.

In my mind, these episodes indicated the degree to which the Washington foreign policy establishment got things backward—taking military action without first testing diplomatic options, observing diplomatic niceties in the interest of maintaining the status quo precisely when action was called for. It also indicated the degree to which decision makers in Washington consistently failed to level with the American people. I would never fully convince the national pundits that I was right on these arguments, but a funny trend began to show up in the polls after each of these dustups—Democratic primary voters agreed with me.

但这种直言不讳与布什政府的公开立场背道而驰；美国政府一直保持着这样一种双重虚构，即巴基斯坦是反恐战争中可靠的伙伴，而我们从未侵犯巴基斯坦领土来追捕恐怖分子。我的声明激起了华盛顿的两党混乱，参议院外交关系委员会主席乔·拜登和共和党总统候选人约翰·麦凯恩都表示，我还没有准备好成为总统。

在我看来，这些事件表明华盛顿的外交政策机构把事情搞反了——没有先测试外交选项就采取军事行动，在维护现状的外交礼节方面正是需要采取行动时却束手无策。它还表明，华盛顿的决策者在一贯地没有向美国人民坦白。我永远无法完全说服全国名嘴，让他们认同我这些论点是正确的，但每次这些争端发生后，民主党初选选民都同意我的看法。

Having such substantive arguments felt liberating, a reminder of why I was running. They helped me regain my voice as a candidate. That confidence showed a few debates later, at an early-morning affair at Drake University in Iowa. The moderator, George Stephanopoulos of ABC, quickly gave Joe Biden the chance to explain why exactly I was not ready to be president. By the time I got an opportunity to respond, five minutes later, I'd had to listen to practically every other candidate onstage knock me around.

“Well, you know, to prepare for this debate, I rode in the bumper cars at the state fair,” I said, using a line Axe had come up with, referencing my well-publicized excursion with Malia and Sasha to the state fair earlier that week. The audience laughed, and for the next hour I happily jostled with my opponents, suggesting that any Democratic voter who was trying to figure out who represented a real change from the failed policies of George Bush need look no further than the respective positions of those of us onstage. For the first time since the debates had begun, I enjoyed myself, and the consensus among the pundits that morning was that I had won.擁有這樣具有實質性的論點感覺很解放，使我想起我為什麼參選。它們幫助我重新找回了作為候選人的聲音。那種信心在幾場辯論後表現出來，比如在愛荷華州德雷克大學早上舉行的一次活動中。ABC的喬治·斯蒂芬諾普洛斯主持了這次辯論，很快就給了喬·拜登一個機會解釋為什麼我還沒準備好成為總統。當我在五分鐘後有機會回應時，我不得不聽其他幾位參賽者幾乎擊倒我的聲音。

“你知道，為了準備這次辯論，我騎上了州集市的碰碰車，”我說，這是Axe想出來的一句話，提到了我上週和瑪麗亞、莎莎一起去州集市的公開活動。聽眾大笑起來，之後的一個小時裡，我和我的對手愉快地切磋，建議任何想找出誰代表了從小布什政策失敗中進行了真正改變的民主黨選民，只需要看看臺上我們的各自位置。自辯論開始以來，我第一次感到享受，那天早上評論家們的共識是我贏了。

It was a gratifying result, if for no other reason than not having to endure any dour looks from the team.

“You killed it!” Axe said, clapping me on the back.

“I guess we'll be pushing to have all the debates at eight in the morning!” Plouffe joked.

“That's not funny,” I said. (I was not, and am not, a morning person.)

We piled into the car and started driving to our next stop. Along the route, our supporters, several rows deep, could be heard shouting long after they had disappeared from sight.

“Fired up!”

這是一個令人滿意的結果，如果沒有其他原因的話，也至少不必忍受團隊任何沮喪的表情了。

“Axe說，“你做得很出色！”並拍了拍我的背。“我們應該推動所有辯論都在早上八點舉行！”Plouffe開玩笑說。

“這不好笑，”我說。（我並不是一個早起的人。）

我們擠進車子裡，開始開往下一個目的地。沿著路線，我們的支持者們，累積起來，即使消失在視線之外，也可以聽到他們的長時間呼喊。

“熱起來！”

“Ready to go!”

—

PART OF THE reason I'd received so much attention from the moderators during the Drake University debate was the release of an ABC poll showing me leading in Iowa for the first time, albeit by just 1 percent, over both Clinton and Edwards. The race was close, clearly (later polls would put me right back in third place), but there was no denying that our Iowa organization was having an impact, especially among younger voters. You could feel it in the crowds—in their size, their energy, and, most important, the number of supporter cards and volunteer sign-ups we were collecting at every stop. With less than six months to go before the caucus, our strength was only building.

“準備好了！”

—

德雷克大學辯論中，我得到這麼多主持人的關注部分原因是ABC的一次民調顯示我在愛荷華州首次領先，儘管只有1%，比克林頓和愛德華兩位候選人領先。比賽明顯是很緊張的（之後的民調將我重新送回第三名），但不可否認的是，我們在愛荷華的組織正在發揮影響力，特別是在年輕選民中。你可以在人群中感受到它——他們的規模、他們的能量，最重要的是，我們在每個站點收集的支持者卡和志願者報名人數。在距離決策僅剩不到六個月的時候，我們的實力只會越來越強。

Unfortunately none of our progress showed up in national polling. Our focus on Iowa and to a lesser extent New Hampshire meant we'd made minimal TV buys and appearances elsewhere, and by September we remained around twenty points behind Hillary. Plouffe did his best to educate the press as to why national polls were meaningless at this early stage, but to no avail. Increasingly I found myself fielding anxious phone calls from supporters around the country, many offering policy advice, advertising suggestions, complaints that we'd neglected this or that interest group, and general questions about our competence.

可惜的是，我们的进展没有在全国民调中体现出来。我们专注于艾奥瓦州和次要的新罕布什尔州，意味着我们在其他地方几乎没有购买电视广告或露面，到九月份我们仍落后希拉里约20个百分点。普洛夫竭力让媒体明白在这个早期阶段全国民调是没有意义的，但此事无济于事。我越来越发现自己需要处理来自全国各地的焦虑电话，有些人提供政策建议，有些人提供广告建议，还有一些人抱怨我们忽视了这个或那个利益集团，以及关于我们的能力的一般问题。

Two things finally flipped the narrative, the first one not of our making. At a late-October debate in Philadelphia, Hillary—whose performances until then had been nearly flawless—got tangled up, unwilling to provide a straight answer on the issue of whether undocumented workers should be allowed driver's licenses. Undoubtedly she'd been coached to hedge her response, since it was an issue that divided the Democratic base. Her efforts to straddle the fence only fed the already prevalent impression that she was a garden-variety Washington politician—sharpening the contrast we'd been hoping to make.

兩件事最終扭轉了情況，第一件事不是我們創造的。在十月底的費城辯論中，希拉蕊（Hillary）的表現直到那時幾乎無可挑剔，但她不願意就是否應該允許無證移民取得駕照進行直接回答而陷入了困境。毫無疑問，她受過指導以避免明確回答有分裂民主黨基礎的問題。她努力兩面投機，只加強了普遍印象，即她是一個典型的華盛頓政客，這加深了我們一直希望製造的對比。

And then there was what happened at the Iowa Jefferson-Jackson Dinner on November 10, which was of our making. Traditionally the JJ Dinner signaled the final sprint to caucus day and offered a kind of barometric reading of where the race stood, with each candidate delivering a ten-minute speech without notes before an arena of eight thousand potential caucus-goers as well as the national media. As such, it was a key test of both our message's appeal and our organizational prowess going into the final few weeks.

接著，11月10日在衣阿華州傑佛遜傑克遜晚宴上發生了一些由我們所製造的事情。傳統上，JJ晚宴標誌著積極競選的最後衝刺，為大約八千個可能會參加黨內預選的人以及全國媒體提供了一種評估選情的方法。因此，這是檢驗我們信息吸引力以及組織實力的重要測試，在最後幾周之前進行。

We put everything we had into a successful showing, lining up buses to bring in supporters from all ninety-nine counties across the state and dwarfing turnout from the other campaigns. John Legend gave a short predinner concert on our behalf for more than a thousand people, and when it was done, Michelle and I led the entire procession down the street to the arena where the dinner was being held, a pumped-up local high school drum and drill corps called the Isiserettes performing beside us, their happy racket giving us the air of a conquering army.

我们竭尽全力地展示自己，安排巴士从全州的九十九个县带来支持者，比其他竞选活动的参加人数更多。约翰·传奇为我们表演了一场短暂的晚餐前音乐会，有一千多人观看。当表演结束后，米歇尔和我引领整个队伍走向舞台所在的竞选大会场，乐队爵士鼓和军乐团的“伊西瑟雷特”在我们身旁演奏，喜悦的鼓声让我们看起来像是一支征服军团。

The speech itself won the day for us. To that point in my political career, I had always insisted on writing the bulk of any important speech myself, but campaigning nonstop as I was, there was no way I'd have time to write the JJ Dinner remarks on my own. I had to trust Favs, with guidance from Axe and Plouffe, to produce a draft that effectively summarized my case for the nomination.

And Favs delivered. In that critical moment of our campaign, with only modest input from me, this guy just a few years out of college had produced a great speech, one that did more than show the distinction between me and my rivals, between Democrats and Republicans. It outlined the challenges we faced as a nation, from war to climate change to the affordability of healthcare, and the need for new and clear leadership, noting that the party had historically been strongest with leaders who led “not by polls, but by principle...not by calculation, but by conviction.” It was true to the moment, true to my aspirations for getting into politics, and true, I hoped, to the aspirations of the country.

演讲本身为我们赢得了这一天。在我的政治生涯中，到那时为止，我一直坚持自己编写任何重要演讲的大部分内容，但由于一直在竞选，我没有时间独自写JJ晚宴一个演讲。我不得不相信Favs，在Axe和Plouffe的指导下，制作了一个有效地概括我获得提名的案例的起草稿。

而Favs交付了。在我们竞选的关键时刻，仅仅有我一点点的参与，这位刚几年毕业的小伙子就写出了一篇伟大的演讲，不仅显示了我和我的竞争对手之间的区别，也展示了民主党和共和党的区别。该演讲概述了我们作为一个国家面临的挑战，从战争到气候变化到医保的支付能力，以及需要新的和清晰的领导，指出党在历史上最强的领袖是通过原则而不是民意调查，是通过信念而不是计算来领导。它真实地呼应着当下，符合我进入政治的愿景，也符合我希望国家的愿景。

I memorized the speech over several late nights after we were done campaigning. And by the time I finished delivering it—as luck would have it, the last candidate to speak—I was as certain of its effect as I'd been after my address to the Democratic National Convention three and a half years earlier. Looking back, the night of the JJ Dinner was when I became convinced we would win Iowa—and by extension the nomination. Not necessarily because I was the most polished candidate, but because we had the right message for the time and had attracted young people with prodigious talent to throw themselves behind the cause. Tewes shared my assessment, telling Mitch, “I think we won Iowa tonight.” (Mitch, who had organized the entire evening and was generally a basket of nerves—he suffered from insomnia, shingles, and hair loss through much of the campaign—ran to the bathroom to throw up for at least the second time that day.) Emily was similarly bullish, although you couldn't tell. After I was finished, an ecstatic Valerie ran into Emily and asked what she thought.我在竞选结束后连续几个晚上背诵了演讲。当我完成演讲时——出乎意料地成为最后一个发言的候选人——我对它的效果非常肯定，就像三年前我在民主党全国大会上的演讲一样。回顾当晚的JJ晚宴，我确信我们将赢得艾奥瓦州——进而获得提名。不一定因为我是最出色的候选人，而是因为我们有适合当时的正确信息，吸引了年轻人投入到这个事业中。Tewes与我分享了我的评估，告诉米奇，“我们认为我们今晚赢了艾奥瓦州。”（米奇负责组织整个晚上，通常是一篮子神经——他在很多时候患有失眠症、带状疱疹和掉发），他跑进洗手间至少第二次呕吐当天的东西）。艾米丽也同样看好，尽管你看不出来。我结束演讲后，兴高采烈的瓦莱丽跑到艾米丽跟前问她的想法。

“It was great,” Emily said.

“You don’t look very excited.”

“This is my excited face.”

—

THE CLINTON CAMPAIGN apparently felt the shifting tide. Up to that point, Hillary and her team had largely avoided engaging our campaign directly, content to stay above the fray and nurse their sizable lead in national polls. But over the next several weeks, they changed tack, deciding to go after us hard. It was mostly standard-issue stuff, raising questions about my lack of experience and ability to take on Republicans in Washington. Unfortunately for them, though, the two lines of attack that attracted the most attention backfired badly.

“这太好了，”艾米莉说。

“你看起来不是很兴奋。”

“这是我的兴奋表情。”

—

克林顿竞选团队显然感受到了局势的变化。在那之前，希拉里和她的团队大多避免直接与我们的竞选展开对抗，满足于在全国民调中保持领先地位。但在接下来的数周里，他们改变了策略，决定大力攻击我们。这主要是一些标准的问题，质疑我缺乏经验和能力应对华盛顿的共和党。然而，对他们来说最吸引眼球的两条攻击线路却招致了严重反噬。

The first grew out of a standard line in my stump speech, in which I said I was running for president not because it was owed to me or because I’d wanted to be president all my life, but because the times called for something new. Well, the Clinton camp issued a memo citing a press clip in which one of my teachers in Indonesia claimed that I had written an essay in kindergarten about wanting to be president—proof, it seemed, that my professed idealism was merely a disguise for a ruthless ambition.

When I heard about this, I laughed. As I told Michelle, the idea that anyone outside my family remembered anything I said or did almost forty years earlier was a bit far-fetched. Not to mention the difficulty of squaring my apparent youthful plan for world domination with middling high school grades and drug consumption, an obscure stint as a community organizer, and associations with all kinds of politically inconvenient characters.第一个想法是从我的竞选演说中标准的一句话中产生的，我说我竞选总统不是因为应该由我担任，也不是因为我一生想成为总统，而是因为时代需要新的东西。不过，克林顿阵营发了一份备忘录，引用了一篇关于我在幼儿园写想成为总统的文章的新闻剪报，似乎证明了我的自我理想主义只是冷酷野心的掩饰。

当我听到这件事时，我笑了。正如我告诉米歇尔的那样，任何人能够回忆起我四十年前说或做过的事情都是有些牵强的。更不用说将我表面上的年轻统治世界计划与普通的高中成绩、药物消费、小有名气的社区组织者身份以及与种种政治上不方便的人物的联系相一致的困难了。

Of course, over the next decade we’d discover that absurdity, incoherence, or a lack of factual support didn’t prevent various crackpot theories about me—peddled by political opponents, conservative news outlets, critical biographers, and the like—from gaining real traction. But in December 2007, at least, the Clinton team’s opposition research into what I called “my kindergarten files” was viewed as a sign of panic and widely panned.

Less amusing was an interview in which Billy Shaheen, the co-chair of Clinton’s campaign in New Hampshire, suggested to a reporter that my self-disclosed prior drug use would prove fatal in a matchup against the Republican nominee. I didn’t consider the general question of my youthful indiscretions out of bounds, but Shaheen went a bit further, implying that perhaps I had dealt drugs as well. The interview set off a furor, and Shaheen quickly resigned from his post.

當然，接下來的十年中，我們發現荒謬、不一致或缺乏事實依據並沒有阻礙野蠻理論——由政治對手、保守新聞媒體、批評性傳記作者等散佈——從獲得真正的推波助瀾。但至少在2007年12月，克林頓團隊對我所謂的“幼稚園檔案”的反對研究被認為是恐慌的表現，廣受批評。

不太有趣的是一次采访中，比利·沙欣（Billy Shaheen），克林顿在新罕布什尔州的竞选联合主席，向记者暗示我自我公开的过去曾使用毒品，这将在与共和党提名人的竞争中致命。我并不认为关于我年轻时的过失是不当的问题，但沙欣甚至暗示我可能也贩毒。这个采访引发了轩然大波，沙欣迅速辞职。

All this happened just ahead of our final debate in Iowa. That morning, both Hillary and I were in Washington for a Senate vote. When my team and I got to the airport for the flight to Des Moines, Hillary’s chartered plane turned out to be parked right next to ours. Before takeoff, Huma Abedin, Hillary’s aide, found Reggie and let him know that the senator was hoping to speak to me. I met Hillary on the tarmac, Reggie and Huma hovering a few paces away. Hillary apologized for Shaheen. I thanked her and then suggested we both do a better job of reining in our surrogates. At this, Hillary got agitated, her voice sharpening as she claimed that my team was routinely engaging in unfair attacks, distortions, and underhanded tactics. My efforts at lowering the temperature were unsuccessful, and the conversation ended abruptly, with her still visibly angry as she boarded her plane.

所有这些发生在爱荷华州的最后一场辩论之前。那天早上，希拉里和我都在华盛顿参加参议院投票。当我和我的团队到达机场，准备飞往得梅因时，发现希拉里包租的飞机停在我们旁边。起飞前，希拉里的助理胡玛·阿贝丁找到了雷吉，并让他知道参议员希望与我交谈。我在停机坪上见到了希拉里，雷吉和胡玛在几步之外徘徊。

希拉里为沙欣的事情道歉。我感谢她，然后建议我们都更好地控制我们的代理人。听到这个建议后，希拉里变得激动起来，声音也变得尖锐起来，声称我的团队经常进行不公正的攻击、扭曲和卑鄙的手段。我的降温努力没有成功，对话就这样突然结束了，她上了飞机时仍然显然很生气。

On the flight to Des Moines, I tried to appreciate the frustrations Hillary must have been feeling. A woman of enormous intelligence, she had toiled, sacrificed, endured public attacks and humiliations, all in service of her husband’s career—while also raising a wonderful daughter. Out of the White House, she had carved a new political identity, positioning herself with skill and tenacity to become the prohibitive favorite to win the presidency. As a

candidate, she was performing almost flawlessly, checking every box, winning most debates, raising scads of money. And now, to find herself suddenly in a close contest with a man fourteen years younger, who hadn't had to pay the same dues, who didn't carry the same battle scars, and who seemed to be getting every break and every benefit of the doubt? Honestly, who wouldn't be aggravated?

在前往得梅因的航班上，我试图理解希拉里内心的挫折感。她是一位极其聪明的女性，为了丈夫的事业，她付出了很多努力、牺牲和承受公开攻击和羞辱，同时还要抚养一个出色的女儿。她离开白宫后创造了一种新的政治身份，技巧和坚韧地定位自己成为当选总统的绝对热门人物。作为一名候选人，她表现几乎毫无缺陷，完成了所有任务，赢得了大多数辩论，筹集了大量资金。现在，她竟然发现自己突然陷入了与比自己年轻14岁的男人的激烈竞争中，他们没有承担同样的义务，没有遭受同样的战斗伤疤，似乎每次都会获得每一点疑虑的好处？老实说，谁不会感到恼火呢？

Moreover, Hillary wasn't entirely wrong about my team's willingness to give as good as it got. Compared to other modern presidential campaigns, we really were different, consistently emphasizing a positive message, highlighting what I stood for rather than what I was against. I policed our tone from top to bottom. More than once, I killed TV spots I felt were unfair or too harsh. Still, we sometimes fell short of our high-minded rhetoric. In fact, the angriest I ever got during the campaign involved a leaked memo drafted by our research team back in June, criticizing Hillary's tacit support of outsourcing jobs to India and with the snarky title "Hillary Clinton (D-Punjab)." My team insisted the memo was never meant for public consumption, but I didn't care—its shoddy argument and nativist tone had me ripshit for days.

此外，希拉里并不完全错在我们团队愿意以同样好的方式回击。与其他现代总统竞选活动相比，我们确实与众不同，始终强调积极的信息，突出我所代表的价值观，而非反对谁。我全面监督我们的口吻。我曾多次废止那些我认为不公平或太过严厉的电视广告。然而，我们有时还是不能达到我们高尚的口号。事实上，我在竞选期间最生气的一件事情跟我们研究小组在六月份起草的一份备忘录有关，批评希拉里对印度的外包支持，且带有带嘲讽性的标题“希拉里·克林顿（民主党-旁遮普）”。我的团队坚称备忘录从未意味着要公开发表，但我不在乎——它的糟糕的论点和民族主义色彩让我生气了好几天。

In the end, I don't think it was any specific action on our part that caused the dustup with Hillary on the tarmac. Rather, it was the general fact of my challenge, the intensifying heat of our rivalry. There were six other candidates still in the race, but the polls were beginning to clarify where we were headed, with Hillary and me battling each other until the end. It was a dynamic we'd live with, day and night, weekends and holidays, for many months to come, our teams flanking us like miniature armies, each staffer fully indoctrinated into the fight. It was part of the brutal nature of modern politics, I was discovering, the difficulty of competing in a game where there were no clearly defined rules, a game in which your opponents are not merely trying to put a ball through a basket or push it across your goal line, but are instead trying to convince the broad public—at least implicitly, more often explicitly—that in matters of judgment, intelligence, values, and character, they are more worthy than you.

最終，我不認為我們採取的任何具體行動引起了與希拉里在停機坪上的爭吵。相反，是我的挑戰這一事實，我們之間的競爭日益升溫。當時還有其他六位候選人參與競選，但民調開始澄清我們將要走向何方，我和希拉里將會一直競爭到最後。這是一種我們將要活在其中的動態，日夜、週末和假期，我們的團隊像小型軍隊一樣分列在我們的兩側，每一位工作人員都完全信仰這場戰鬥。我正在發現，這是現代政治殘酷本質的一部分，這種競爭的困難在於沒有明確的規則，在這場遊戲中，你的對手不僅僅是試圖將球通過籃子或將其推過你的球門，而是試圖隱含或更經常地明示地讓廣大公眾相信，在判斷、智慧、價值觀和品格方面，他們比你更有價值。

You may tell yourself it's not personal, but that's not how it feels. Not to you and certainly not to your family, your staff, or your supporters, who count up every slight and every insult, real or perceived. The longer the campaign goes on, the tighter the contest, the higher the stakes, the easier it is to justify hardball tactics. Until those basic human responses that normally govern our daily lives—honesty, empathy, courtesy, patience, goodwill—feel like weakness when extended to the other side.

I can't say all this was on my mind by the time I walked into the debate the evening after the tarmac incident. Mostly I read Hillary's irritation as a sign that we were pulling ahead, that the momentum was truly ours. During the debate, the moderator asked why, if I was so insistent on the need for change in America's approach to foreign policy, did I have so many former Clinton administration officials advising me. "I want to hear that," Hillary said into the microphone.

你可能告诉自己这并不是个人的，但实际感受却并非如此。对于你自己以及家人、工作人员和支持者而言，每一点轻蔑和侮辱都会被统计和记恨，无论是真实的还是主观的。竞选越漫长，比赛越激烈，风险越高，越容易合理化采取强硬手段。直到那些本应支配我们日常生活的基本人类反应——诚实、移情、礼貌、耐心和善意——在面对对立方时感觉像是软弱无力。

我在机场跑道事件后步入辩论会场时，并没有这些想法。我更多地将希拉里的恼怒视为我们正在领先、势头正在真正发生变化的迹象。在辩论中，主持人问我，如果我如此坚持需要改变美国的对外政策，为什么有这么多前克林顿政府官员为我提供咨询。“我想听一下，”希拉里把话筒对准了。

I paused, letting the chuckles die down.

"Well, Hillary, I'm looking forward to you advising me as well."

It was a good night for the team.

—  
WITH A MONTH left before the caucuses, a Des Moines Register poll now showed me with a three-point lead over Hillary. The sprint was full-on, with candidates from both parties dashing around the state in the final weeks, trying to win over any uncommitted voter, to find and motivate hidden pockets of people who might not otherwise turn out on the appointed night. The Clinton campaign had started handing out free snow shovels to supporters in case the weather got bad, and in a move that would later be criticized as outlandishly expensive, Hillary embarked on a blitzkrieg tour, visiting sixteen

Iowa counties in a chartered helicopter (which her campaign dubbed “the Hill-O-Copter”). John Edwards, meanwhile, was attempting to cover similar terrain in a bus.

我停了一下，让笑声消散。

“希拉里，我也期待你给我提出建议。”

这是团队的一个愉快的夜晚。

离预选还有一个月，Des Moines Register 的一项民意调查显示我领先希拉里三个百分点。候选人们都在最后几周里在整个州区奔波，试图争取到任何未表态的选民，找到并激励那些可能在指定的晚上不会去投票的人。希拉里的竞选团队开始向支持者发放免费的铲雪工具以防天气恶劣，而希拉里则进行了一次大规模的巡回演讲，乘坐专属直升飞机访问了爱荷华州的16个县，（她的竞选团队将这架飞机称为“希拉里直升机”）。同时，约翰·爱德华兹正在试图在巴士上覆盖类似的地理范围。

We had a few high-profile moments of our own, including a series of rallies with Oprah Winfrey, who'd become a friend and supporter, and was as wise, funny, and gracious on the trail as she was in person, attracting nearly thirty thousand people between two rallies in Iowa, another eighty-five hundred in New Hampshire, and almost thirty thousand in South Carolina. These gatherings were electric, pulling in the kind of new voters we most needed. (Many on my staff, it must be said, were starstruck around Oprah, with the predictable exception of Emily; the only famous person she ever expressed an interest in meeting was Tim Russert.)

我们自己也有一些备受关注的时刻，其中包括与奥普拉·温弗瑞(Oprah Winfrey)举办的一系列集会，她已成为我们的朋友和支持者，在路途上和私下一样聪明、风趣和亲切，吸引了近三万人参加爱荷华州的两次集会，另外还有八千五百人参加了新罕布什尔州的聚会，南卡罗来纳州也有近三万人参加。这些集会非常兴奋，吸引了我们最需要的新选民。(必须说，我的许多员工在奥普拉面前都十分迷惑，唯独艾米丽是可预测的例外；她唯一对其中一个名人表达出兴趣的是蒂姆·拉塞特(Tim Russert)。)

In the end, though, it wasn't the polls, or the size of the rallies, or the celebrities who flew in that I remember most. Instead, it was how, in those last days, the whole campaign took on the feeling of family. Michelle's openness and candor had proven to be an asset; she was a natural on the stump. The Iowa team came to call her “the Closer,” because of how many people signed up once they'd heard her speak. Our siblings and closest friends all came to Iowa, Craig from Chicago and Maya from Hawaii and Auma from Kenya; the Nesbitts, the Whitakers, Valerie, and all their kids, not to mention Michelle's passel of aunts, uncles, and cousins. My childhood friends from Hawaii, buddies from my organizing days, law school classmates, former state senate colleagues, and many of our donors came, arriving in groups like big traveling reunions, often without me even knowing they were there. Nobody asked for any special attention; instead, they just reported to field offices where the kid in charge would hand them a map and a list of supporters to contact so they could then celebrate the week between Christmas and New Year's with a clipboard in hand, knocking on doors in the face-numbing cold.

最终，我最深刻的记忆并不是民调的结果、集会的规模或是都飞来支持的名人。反而是最后那些日子，整个竞选活动都像是一种家庭的感觉。米歇尔的坦诚和直率被证明是一种优势；她在竞选中表现得非常自然。爱荷华团队称她“终结者”，因为她发表讲话后，很多人就签了名。我们的兄弟姐妹和最亲密的朋友都来到了爱荷华州，克雷格从芝加哥来，玛雅从夏威夷来，奥马从肯尼亚来；纳斯比特(Nesbitts)、惠特克(Whitakers)、瓦莱丽(Valerie)和他们的孩子，还有米歇尔的一群叔伯和表兄妹。我的夏威夷童年朋友、组织时代的同伴、法学院同学、前州议院同僚和我们的许多捐赠者都来了，像大型旅行团一样抵达，常常甚至不让我知道他们在那里。没有人要求任何特别的关注；相反，他们只是到野外办公室报到，年轻人会把地图和支持者名单交给他们，然后他们会拿着剪贴板，在面部麻木寒冷的情况下敲门庆祝圣诞和新年之间的那一周。

It was more than just blood relatives or people we'd known for years. The people of Iowa whom I'd spent so much time with felt like family too. There were local party leaders like attorney general Tom Miller and treasurer Mike Fitzgerald, who had taken a flier on me when few would give me a shot. There were volunteers like Gary Lamb, a progressive farmer from Tama County who helped us with rural outreach; Leo Peck, who at eighty-two had knocked on more doors than just about anybody; Marie Ortiz, an African American nurse married to a Hispanic man in a mostly white town, who came into the office to make calls three or four times a week, sometimes cooking dinner for our organizer there because she thought he was too skinny.这些人不仅是我的亲戚或认识多年的人，爱荷华州的人民也让我感觉像是家人。当时州内的政党领袖，比如检察长汤姆·米勒和财务主管迈克·菲茨杰拉德在别人都对我不抱希望的时候，曾经给了我机会。还有志愿者加里·兰姆，他是塔玛县的一位进步农夫，帮助我们进行农村宣传；还有已经82岁的莱奥·佩克，他已经敲了比任何人都多的门；还有玛丽·奥尔蒂兹，她是一名非裔美国籍护士，嫁给了一个西班牙裔男子，在一个大多数人是白人的小镇，每周都会来到办公室拨打电话，有时还会为我们的组织者做饭，因为他太瘦了。

Family.

And then, of course, there were the field organizers. As busy as they were, we decided to have them invite their parents to the JJ Dinner, and the next day we hosted a reception for them, just so that Michelle and I could say thank you to each of them, and to their parents for having produced such amazing sons and daughters.

To this day, there's nothing I wouldn't do for those kids.

On the big night, Plouffe and Valerie decided to join me, Reggie, and Marvin on a surprise visit to a high school in Ankeny, a suburb of Des Moines, where several precincts would be holding their caucuses. It was January 3, just after six p.m., less than an hour before the caucuses were scheduled to begin, and yet the place was already packed. People streamed toward the main building from every direction, a noisy festival of humanity. No age, race, class, or body type appeared unrepresented. There was even one ancient-looking character dressed as Gandalf from The Lord of the Rings, complete with a long white cloak, a pluming white beard, and a sturdy wooden staff on top of which he'd somehow managed to mount a small video monitor, looping a clip of my JJ Dinner speech.

家庭。

當然還有工作人員。儘管他們很忙，我們決定讓他們邀請他們的父母參加JJ晚宴，第二天我們為他們的父母舉辦了招待會，這樣米歇爾和我就可以向他們每個人表示謝意，並對他們的父母表示感謝，因為他們生了這樣了不起的兒子和女兒。

直到今天，我都會為這些孩子做任何事情。

在重要的晚上，普洛夫和瓦萊麗決定和我的工作人員一起驚喜造訪了Ankeny的一所高中，那裡有幾個地區在舉行他們的投票。這是1月3日，晚上6點過後，比預定的投票時間早不到一個小時，但地方已經擠滿了人。人們從各個方向湧向主樓，是一個嘈雜的人類節日。沒有任何年齡、種族、階級或體型被排除在外。甚至還有一個看起來古老的人物，穿著Gandalf的長袍，長長的白色胡子，頂著一根堅固的木杖，上面裝著一個小型視頻監視器，循環播放著我的JJ晚宴演講的片段。

We had no press with us then, and I took my time wandering through the crowd, shaking hands and thanking those who planned to support me, asking those who were caucusing for another candidate to please at least make me their second choice. A few had last-minute questions about my stance on ethanol or what I intended to do about human trafficking. Over and over again, people rushed up to tell me that they'd never caucused before—some had never even bothered to vote—and that our campaign had inspired them to get involved for the very first time.

當時我們沒有帶媒體，我花了些時間穿梭在人群中，握手感謝那些打算支持我的人，請求那些支持其他候選人的人至少將我作為他們的第二選擇。有一些人在最後關頭問我對乙醇的立場或者我打算如何處理人口販運問題。一遍又一遍，人們湧上來告訴我，他們之前從未支持過任何候選人——甚至有些人從未去投票——而我們的競選活動激勵他們初次參與。

“I didn't know I counted before,” one woman said.

On the ride back to Des Moines, we were mostly quiet, processing the miracle of what we had just witnessed. I looked out the window at the passing strip malls and houses and streetlights, all fuzzy behind the frosty glass, and felt a kind of peace. We were hours, still, from knowing what would happen. The results, when they came in, showed us winning Iowa decisively, carrying just about every demographic group, our victory propelled by unprecedented turnout, including tens of thousands of people who'd participated for the first time. I knew none of this yet, but pulling away from Ankeny about fifteen minutes before the caucuses began, I knew we had accomplished, if even for just a moment, something real and noble.

有一位女士說：“我不知道自己算數”。

在回到得梅因的路上，我們大多都沉默着，體驗着我們剛剛目睹的奇迹。我透過玻璃望着路過的購物中心、房屋、路燈，它們在霜玻璃後都顯得有些模糊，內心感到一種平靜。我們現在還需要數小時的時間才能知道結果。當結果公布後，我們以壓倒性的優勢在愛荷華州取得勝利，幾乎包攬了所有人口群體，我們的勝利源自空前的投票率，包括了數以萬計的首次參與者。儘管當時我還不知道這一切，但在咖啡館即將開始的十五分鐘前，我知道我們完成了一些真正的、高尚的事情，即便只是短暫地。

Right there, in that high school in the middle of the country on a cold winter night, I had witnessed the community I had so long sought, the America I imagined, made manifest. I thought of my mom then, and how happy she would have been to see it, and how proud she would have been, and I missed her terribly, and Plouffe and Valerie pretended not to notice as I wiped away my tears.

就在那個偏遠鄉鎮的高中，一個寒冷的冬夜，我見證了我一直渴望的社區，我想像中的美國得以實現。那時我想起了我的媽媽，她會有多麼高興，有多麼驕傲，我非常想念她，而普魯夫和瓦萊麗裝作沒看到，當我擦拭眼淚。

## CHAPTER 6

OUR EIGHT-POINT MARGIN OF VICTORY in Iowa made news across the country. The media used words like “stunning” and “seismic” to describe it, noting that the results were especially devastating for Hillary, who finished third. Both Chris Dodd and Joe Biden promptly dropped out of the race. Elected officials who'd stayed cautiously on the sidelines were now calling, ready to endorse. Pundits declared me the new Democratic front-runner, suggesting that the high level of voter engagement in Iowa signaled a broader appetite for change in America.

## 第六章

我們在愛荷華州八分之一的勝利率成為全國新聞。媒體使用“驚人”和“震撼”的詞語來描述它，指出結果對希拉里來說尤其具有毀滅性，她排名第三。克里斯·多德和喬·拜登立即退出了競選。曾經謹慎地站在一旁的選舉官員現在打電話過來，準備背書。評論家宣布我是新的民主黨領跑者，暗示在愛荷華州高水平的選民參與率表明美國對改變有更廣泛的渴望。

Having spent the previous year as David, I was suddenly cast as Goliath—and as happy as I was about our victory, the new role felt awkward. For a year, my team and I had avoided getting too high or too low, ignoring both the initial hype surrounding my candidacy and the subsequent reports of its imminent demise. With only five days between Iowa and the New Hampshire primary, it took everything we had to tamp down expectations. Axe considered the gushing stories and TV images of me before adoring crowds (“Obama the icon,” he complained) especially unhelpful in a state like New Hampshire, where the electorate—many of them independents who liked to decide at the last minute between voting in the Democratic or Republican primary—had a reputation for being contrarian.在过去一年里扮演了大衛的角色，我突然被選為歌利亞——雖然我對我們的勝利感到高興，但新的角色讓我感到尷尬。一年來，我的團隊和我避免了過度的高興或悲傷，忽視了初選的炒作和隨後即將失敗的報道。在艾奇（Axe）眼中，我在愛慕者的掌聲中（“奧巴馬這位偶像”，他抱怨道），在新罕布什爾州這樣的地方尤其沒有幫助，那里的選民——許多是喜歡在民主黨或共和黨初選之間在最後一刻做出決定的獨立人士——有著倔強的名聲。在愛荷華州和新罕布什爾州初選之間只有五天，我們盡力控制期望值。

Still, it was hard not to feel like we were in the driver's seat. Our organizers in New Hampshire were just as tenacious and our volunteers just as spirited as those in Iowa; our rallies drew enthusiastic crowds, with lines to get in that would wind through parking lots and stretch around the block. Then, in the span of forty-eight hours, the contest took a couple of unexpected turns.

The first happened during the lone debate before the primary when, midway through, the moderator asked Hillary how she felt when people said she was not "likable."

然而，仍然很难不觉得我们掌握了主动权。我们在新罕布什尔州的组织者和志愿者像爱荷华州的一样顽强，我们的集会吸引了热情高涨的人群，排队入场的队伍会绕过停车场并延伸到街区。然后，在48个小时内，比赛出现了一些意外转折。第一个发生在初选前唯一的辩论中，主持人在中途询问希拉里，当人们说她不“讨人喜欢”时，她是什么感觉。

Now, this was the type of question that drove me nuts on several levels. It was trivial. It was unanswerable—what's a person supposed to say to something like that? And it was indicative of a double standard that Hillary specifically and women politicians in general had to put up with, in which they were expected to be "nice" in ways that were never deemed relevant to their male counterparts.

Despite the fact that Hillary was handling the question just fine ("Well, that hurts my feelings," she said, laughing, "but I'll try to go on"), I decided to interject.這是種問題讓我想擾了好幾個層面。它太瑣碎了。它無法回答——對這樣的問題人該怎麼回答？而且這也反映了希拉里和女性政治家們不得不承受的“双重标准”，他們被期望在某些方面表現“友好”，而這些方面對於男性政治家們卻不具有相同的重要性。

雖然希拉里對這個問題的處理方式很好（她笑著說，“哦，那傷了我的感情，但我會嘗試繼續下去的”），但我還是決定插嘴了。

"You're likable enough, Hillary," I said, deadpan.

I assumed the audience understood my intentions—to make an overture to my opponent while indicating scorn for the question. But whether because of bad delivery, clumsy phrasing, or spin by the Clinton communications team, a story line emerged—that I had been patronizing toward Hillary, dismissive, even, yet another boorish male putting down his female rival.

In other words, the opposite of what I had meant.

Nobody on our team got too exercised about my remark, understanding that any attempt to clarify it would only fuel the fire. But no sooner had the story begun to die down than the media exploded yet again, this time over how Hillary was being perceived following a meeting she'd had with a group of undecided voters in New Hampshire, most of them women. Fielding an empathetic question about how she was managing the stresses of the race, Hillary had momentarily choked up, describing how personally and passionately invested she was—how she didn't want to see the country move backward and how she'd devoted her life to public service "against some pretty difficult odds."

我面无表情地说：“希拉里，你足够讨人喜欢。”我认为观众能理解我的意图-向我的竞争对手表示友好，同时表达对问题的蔑视。但是，由于发言不佳，措辞笨拙或者希拉里部队的宣传，一条故事线浮现出来，即我对希拉里不屑一顾，甚至是一个又一个粗鲁的男人打击他的女性对手。换句话说，与我原来的意思相反。我们的团队没有太在意我的话，因为他们明白任何澄清都只会火上浇油。但是，就在故事开始平息的时候，媒体再次爆发，这一次关注于面对一群未决议的新罕布什尔选民（其中大多数是女性）后希拉里的形象问题。在面对有同情心的问题时，她曾短暂地哽咽，描述了自己的个人和热情的投入-自己不想看到国家倒退，自愿对公共服务“克服了一些相当困难的障碍”。

It was a rare and genuine show of emotion on Hillary's part, one that ran counter to her steely, controlled image, enough so that it made headlines and sent the cable news pundits into orbit. Some interpreted the moment as compelling and authentic, a new point of human connection between Hillary and the public. Others deemed it either a manufactured bit of emotion or a sign of weakness that threatened to damage her candidacy. Running beneath it all, of course, was the fact that Hillary quite possibly could become the nation's first female president and—just as mine did with race—her candidacy surfaced all sorts of stereotypes about gender and how we expected our leaders to look and behave.這是希拉蕊真情流露的罕見瞬間，與她堅定、自控的形象相反，足以引起媒體的關注和討論。一些人將這一時刻視為引人入勝和真實的表現，希拉蕊與公眾間建立了新的人性聯繫。而另一些人則認為這是情感的虛假表現或弱點的體現，可能會損害她的競選地位。當然，這一切都基於希拉蕊極有可能成為美國第一位女性總統的事實，而她的競選活動則引發了各種關於性別和我們對領導者的期望有關的刻板印象。

The frenzy around whether Hillary was trending up or down continued right into primary day in New Hampshire. My team took comfort in the fact that we had a big cushion: Polls showed us with a ten-point lead. So when the midday rally we'd scheduled at a local college drew a sparse crowd, my speech interrupted by a fainting student and what seemed like an interminable response time by the medics, I didn't take it as a bad omen.

It wasn't until that evening, after the polls had closed, that I knew we had a problem. As Michelle and I were in our hotel room getting ready for what we expected to be a victory celebration, I heard a knock and opened the door to find Plouffe, Axe, and Gibbs standing sheepishly in the hall, looking like teenagers who had just crashed their dad's car into a tree.

在新罕布什尔州初选当天，是否支持希拉里的狂热讨论一直持续着。我的团队对此感到安慰，因为民调显示我们领先了十个百分点。因此，当我们在当地一所大学安排的中午集会吸引了很少的人群，我的演讲被一个晕倒的学生打断，医护人员似乎反应时间很慢，我并没有把它视为不祥之兆。

直到晚上，在投票结束后，我才意识到我们有一个问题。当米歇尔和我正准备庆祝胜利时，我听到敲门声，打开房门，看到普卢夫、阿克斯和吉布斯羞怯地站在走廊里，看起来像刚将他们父亲的车撞到树上的青少年一样。

"We're going to lose," Plouffe said.

They began offering various theories on what had gone wrong. It was possible that independents who supported us over Hillary had decided to vote en masse in the Republican primary to help John McCain, figuring that we had our race well in hand. Undecided women may have swung sharply in Hillary's

direction during the campaign's final days. Or maybe it was the fact that when the Clinton team attacked us on TV and in campaign mailings, we hadn't done enough to highlight their negative tactics, allowing the punches to land.

"我们要失败了，"普卢夫说。他们开始提出各种理论，解释事情出了什么错。可能是支持我们而非支持希拉里的中立选民决定在共和党初选中大规模投票支持约翰·麦凯恩，他们认为我们已经牢牢掌控了选举。在竞选的最后几天，还没有做出决定的女性可能已经急转直下，向希拉里方面倾斜。或者可能是因为当克林顿团队在电视和竞选邮件中攻击我们时，我们没有足够突出他们的负面手段，导致攻击命中了目标。"

The theories all sounded plausible. But for the moment, the whys didn't matter.

"Looks like winning this thing's going to take a while," I said with a rueful smile. "Right now, let's figure out how to cauterize the wound." No hangdog looks, I told them; our body language had to communicate to everyone—the press, donors, and most of all our supporters—that setbacks were par for the course. I reached out to our distraught New Hampshire team to tell them how proud I was of their efforts. Then there was the matter of what to say to the seventeen hundred or so people who had gathered in a Nashua school gym in anticipation of victory. Fortunately I had already worked with Favs earlier in the week to tone down any triumphalist tones in the speech, asking him instead to emphasize the hard work that lay ahead. I now got him on the phone to instruct that—other than a tip of the hat to Hillary—we barely change the text.

这些理论听起来都很有道理。但现在，为什么不重要了。

"看来要赢得这件事可能需要一段时间，"我带着愁容的微笑说道，"现在，让我们想想如何止血。"

不要表现得灰心丧气，我告诉他们；我们的肢体语言必须向每个人——媒体、捐赠者，尤其是我们的支持者——传达挫折是常态。我联系我们失落的新罕布什尔团队，告诉他们我为他们的努力感到骄傲。接下来，还有1700左右的人聚集在纳舒亚一所学校体育馆，期待着胜利。幸运的是，我已经在本周早些时候与Favs共同合作，调整演讲中的任何得胜主义语调，要求他强调接下来的艰苦努力。现在我打电话给他，指示他——除了向希拉里致敬之外，我们几乎不改变原来的文本。

The speech I gave to our supporters that evening would end up being one of the most important of our campaign, not just as a rallying cry for the disheartened, but as a useful reminder of what we believed. "We know the battle ahead will be long," I said, "but always remember that no matter what obstacles stand in our way, nothing can stand in the way of the power of millions of voices calling for change." I said that we lived in a country whose history was all but built on hope, by people—pioneers, abolitionists, suffragists, immigrants, civil rights workers—who'd been undeterred by seemingly impossible odds.

我在那个晚上向我们的支持者发表的演讲最终成为我们竞选中最重要的之一，不仅仅是为了鼓舞灰心丧气的人，更是为了提醒我们的信仰。我说："我们知道前方的战斗将会漫长，但请时刻记住，无论遇到什么障碍，数百万呼吁改变的声音都不会受到任何阻挡。"我说，我们生活在一个历史几乎全是建立在希望之上的国家，这个希望是由那些不被看似不可能的困难所击垮的人们——拓荒者、废奴主义者、妇女参政权者、移民和民权工作者——所建立的。

"When we've been told we're not ready," I said, "or that we shouldn't try, or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes we can." The crowd began to chant the phrase like a drumbeat, and for perhaps the first time since Axe had suggested it as a slogan for my Senate campaign, I fully believed the power of those three words.

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THE NEWS COVERAGE following our loss in New Hampshire was predictably tough, the overall message being that order had been restored and Hillary was back on top. But a funny thing happened inside our campaign. Devastated as they were by the loss, our staff grew more unified and also more determined. Instead of a drop-off in volunteers, our offices reported a surge of walk-ins across the country. Our online contributions—particularly from new small-dollar donors—spiked. John Kerry, who'd previously been noncommittal, came out with an enthusiastic endorsement for me. This was followed by announcements of support from Governor Janet Napolitano of Arizona, Senator Claire McCaskill of Missouri, and Governor Kathleen Sebelius of Kansas, all hailing from states that leaned Republican and helping to send a message that despite the setback, we were strong and moving forward, our hopes intact.

當我們被告知我們還沒準備好，或者不應嘗試，或者我們做不到時，幾代美國人都會用一個簡單的信條回應：是的，我們可以。人群開始像鼓聲一樣反復高呼這個口號，也許從Axe建議我參選參議員時起，我第一次完全相信這三個字的力量。

在我們在新罕布什爾州失敗後，新聞報導預料地苛刻，整體信息是秩序已經恢復，希拉里又回到了頂峰。但在我們的競選活動中，一件有趣的事情發生了。盡管他們受到了失敗的打擊，我們的工作人員變得更加團結，也更有決心。志願者沒有減少，我們的辦事處報告說，全國範圍內出現了更多的自發性參與。我們的在線捐款，特別是來自新的小額捐助者，也急遽上升。約翰·克里（John Kerry）此前曾是不表態的，現在他熱情地支持我。此後，亞利桑那州州長珍妮特·納波利塔諾（Janet Napolitano）、密蘇里州參議員克萊爾·麥凱斯基（Claire McCaskill）和堪薩斯州州長凱瑟琳·塞貝利烏斯（Kathleen Sebelius）相繼宣布支持我，她們都來自共和黨壟斷的州份，幫助傳達了一個信息：儘管遭遇挫折，我們依然強大，並且繼續前進，希望依然存在。

All this was gratifying, and it confirmed my instinct that losing New Hampshire wasn't the disaster commentators thought it might be. If Iowa had shown me to be a real contender, and not simply a novelty act, the rush to anoint me had been artificial and premature. In that sense, the good people of New Hampshire had done me a favor by slowing down the process. Running for president is supposed to be hard, I told a group of supporters the next day, because being president is hard. Delivering change is hard. We were going to have to earn this thing, and that meant getting back to work.

所有這些都令人滿意，它證實了我的直覺，失去新罕布什爾州不是評論員認為的災難。如果愛荷華州將我顯示為真正的競爭者，而不僅僅是新奇的表演，那麼措手不及地加冕我是人為的和過早的。在這方面，新罕布什爾州的好人們因減慢進程對我進行了一個恩惠。競選總統應該是困難的，我告訴一群支持者，因為成為總統是困難的。實現改變是困難的。我們將不得不贏得這個東西，這意味著重新開始工作。

And that's what we did. Nevada's caucus came on January 19, just a week and a half after New Hampshire, and we weren't surprised when we lost the raw vote to Hillary; polls there had shown us to be well behind her throughout the year. But in presidential primaries, what matters is not so much the number of individual votes you get but rather how many pledged convention delegates you win, with delegates apportioned based on a series of arcane rules unique to each state. Thanks to our organization's strength in rural Nevada, where we'd campaigned hard (Elko, a town that looked like a western movie set, complete with tumbleweeds and a saloon, was one of my all-time favorite stops), our more even distribution of votes across the state resulted in us winning thirteen delegates to Hillary's twelve. Improbably enough, we were able to emerge from Nevada claiming a draw and entered the next phase of the campaign—the South Carolina primary and the behemoth, twenty-two-state Super Tuesday—with at least a fighting chance.

那就是我们做的事。内华达党团会议于1月19日举行，仅仅在新罕布什尔州之后一周半，我们输给希拉里的票数并不让人意外；调查显示，在整整一年时间里，我们在那里的劣势一直很明显。但是，在总统初选中，重要的不是你获得的个人选票数量，而是你赢得的承诺代表人数。这些代表人数根据每个州独特的一系列复杂规则分配。由于我们在内华达农村地区的组织实力雄厚，我们在那里进行了艰苦的竞选（埃尔科是我最喜欢的站点之一，那里看起来像是一个西部电影集，里面有飞絮和酒馆），我们在整个州范围内的选票分布更加平均，结果我们赢得了13个代表，而希拉里只赢得了12个代表。难以置信，我们竟能在内华达站稳脚跟，并进入了下一阶段的竞选——南卡罗来纳州初选和庞大的22个州的超级星期二，至少有了一线希望。

My senior team would later say it was my optimism that carried them through the loss in New Hampshire. I don't know if that's actually the case, since my staff and supporters operated with admirable resilience and consistency throughout the campaign, independent of anything I did. At most, I had simply returned the favor, given all that others had done to drag me across the Iowa finish line. What is probably true is that New Hampshire showed my team and supporters a quality I had learned about myself, something that proved useful not just during the course of the campaign but for the eight years that followed: I often felt steadiest when things were going to hell. Iowa may have convinced me and my team that I could end up being president. But it was the New Hampshire loss that made us confident I'd be up to the job.

我的高级团队后来会说是我的乐观主义帮助他们度过了新罕布什尔州的失败。我不知道这是否属实，因为我团队和支持者在整个竞选活动中都表现出了令人钦佩的韧性和一致性，这与我所做的任何事情都是独立的。最多，我只是回报了他人为帮助我穿越爱荷华的终点线所做的一切。可能真实的是，新罕布什尔州向我的团队和支持者展示了一种我自己所学到的品质，这种品质不仅在竞选活动期间有用，而且在随后的八年中也被证明是有用的：当人情况变得糟糕时，我常常感到比较稳定。爱荷华也许让我和我的团队相信我有可能成为总统。但是，新罕布什尔州的失败使我们确信我有能力胜任这项工作。

I've often been asked about this personality trait—my ability to maintain composure in the middle of crisis. Sometimes I'll say that it's just a matter of temperament, or a consequence of being raised in Hawaii, since it's hard to get stressed when it's eighty degrees and sunny and you're five minutes from the beach. If I'm talking to a group of young people, I'll describe how over time I've trained myself to take the long view, about how important it is to stay focused on your goals rather than getting hung up on the daily ups and downs.

我经常被问到这一人格特质——在危机中保持镇静的能力。有时我会说，这只是个性的问题，或者是在夏威夷长大的结果，因为当温度达到八十度，阳光明媚，离海滩只有五分钟路程时，很难感到压力。如果我在和一群年轻人交谈，我会描述我是如何经过时间的训练来看到长远，关注目标的重要性，而不是陷于日常的高低起伏之中。

There's truth in all of this. But there's another factor at play. In tough spots, I tend to channel my grandmother.

She was eighty-five years old then, the last survivor of the trio who raised me. Her health was declining; cancer had spread through a body already ravaged by osteoporosis and a lifetime of bad habits. But her mind was still sharp, and because she was no longer able to fly and I'd missed our annual Christmas trip to Hawaii due to the demands of the campaign, I had taken to calling her every few weeks just to check in.

所有这些都是真实的。但还有一个因素在起作用。在困境中，我倾向于与奶奶联系。

她当时已经85岁了，是那个抚养我长大的三人组的最后一位幸存者。她的健康状况正在恶化；癌症已经蔓延到了一个被骨质疏松症和一生不良习惯摧残的身体上。但她的头脑还是很清晰的，由于她不能再飞行，并且由于竞选活动的要求，我错过了我们每年的圣诞节夏威夷之旅，我开始每隔几周打电话给她，只是为了询问她的近况。

I placed such a call after New Hampshire. As usual, the conversation didn't last long; Toot considered long-distance calls an extravagance. She shared news from the Islands, and I told her about her great-granddaughters and their latest mischief. My sister Maya, who lived in Hawaii, reported that Toot watched every twist and turn of the campaign on cable TV, but she never brought it up with me. In the wake of my loss, she had just one piece of advice. "You need to eat something, Bar. You look too skinny."

This was characteristic of Madelyn Payne Dunham, born in Peru, Kansas, in 1922. She was a child of the Depression, the daughter of a schoolteacher and a bookkeeper at a small oil refinery, themselves the children of farmers and homesteaders. These were sensible people who worked hard, went to church, paid their bills, and remained suspicious of bombast, public displays of emotion, or foolishness of any sort.在新罕布什尔州之后，我打了这样一个电话。通话时间像往常一样不长；图特认为长途电话是奢侈的。她与我分享了来自群岛的消息，而我则告诉她她的曾孙女们和她们最新的恶作剧。我在夏威夷生活的妹妹玛雅报告说，图特在有线电视上观看了竞选活动的每一个扭曲和转折，但她从未与我谈起过。在我失去之后，她只给了我一个建议。

“你需要吃点东西，Bar。你看起来太瘦了。”

这是玛德琳·佩恩·邓纳姆(Madelyn Payne Dunham)的特点，她出生于1922年的美国堪萨斯州。她是大萧条时期的孩子，她的父母是一位小型炼油厂的教师和记账员，他们本身是农民和移民的孩子。这些是明智的人，他们努力工作，去教堂，支付账单，并保持对浮夸，公开展示情感或任何愚蠢行为持怀疑态度。

In her youth, my grandmother had pushed against these small-town constraints, most notably by marrying my grandfather Stanley Armour Dunham, who was prone to all the questionable qualities mentioned above. Together they'd had their fair share of adventures, during the war and after, but by the time I was born, all that remained of Toot's rebellious streak was her smoking, drinking, and taste for lurid thrillers. At the Bank of Hawaii, Toot had managed to rise from an entry-level clerical position to become one of its first female vice presidents, and by all accounts she'd been excellent at her job. For twenty-five years, there would be no fuss, no mistakes, and no complaints, even when she saw younger men that she'd trained promoted ahead of her.

在她年轻的时候，我的祖母曾经反抗这些小城镇的限制，尤其是嫁给了我祖父斯坦利·阿默·邓恩，他具有上面提到的所有可疑品质。他们一起经历了战争和战后的很多冒险，但在我出生时，图特的叛逆性格只剩下她抽烟、喝酒和对色情小说的喜爱。在夏威夷银行，图特成功地从一名初级文员晋升为其中的首批女性副总裁，并且所有的记录表明她的工作非常出色。在这二十五年中，没有任何麻烦，没有任何错误，也没有任何抱怨，即使她看到训练过的年轻男性超越了她的位置。

After Toot retired, I sometimes ran into people back in Hawaii who told stories of how she'd helped them—a man insisting he'd have lost his company without her intervention, or a woman recalling how Toot waived an arcane bank policy requiring an estranged husband's signature to secure a loan for the real estate agency she was starting. If you asked Toot about any of these things, though, she'd maintain that she'd started working at the bank not because of any particular passion for finance or wish to help others, but because our family needed the money, and that's what had been available to her.

托特退休后，我有时在夏威夷见到一些人，他们讲述她如何帮助他们的故事——有个人坚称如果没有她的干预，他会失去公司，还有一个女人回忆起托特是如何免除银行的一项复杂政策，使她得以获得贷款，开始她的房地产代理。但如果你问托特关于这些事情的任何一个，她都会坚称自己开始在银行工作并非因为对金融有特别的热情或愿意帮助他人，而是因为我们家需要钱，而这是她能得到的。

“Sometimes,” she told me, “you just do what needs to be done.”

It wasn't until I was a teenager that I understood just how far my grandmother's life had strayed from the path she'd once imagined; how much of herself she had sacrificed, first for her husband, then for her daughter, then for her grandchildren. It struck me as quietly tragic, how cramped her world seemed. And yet even then it wasn't lost on me that it was because of Toot's willingness to carry the load in front of her—waking before sunup every day to stuff herself into a business suit and heels and take the bus to her downtown office, working all day on escrow documents before coming home too tired to do much else—that she and Gramps were able to retire comfortably, travel, and maintain their independence. The stability she provided allowed my mother to pursue a career she enjoyed, despite its sporadic pay and overseas postings, and was why Maya and I had been able to go to a private school and fancy colleges.

“有时候，”她告诉我，“你只需做必须做的事情。”

直到我成为十几岁的少年，我才明白我的祖母的生活有多远离她曾经想象的道路；她为丈夫、女儿和孙子牺牲了多少。她的世界让我感到悲伤，仿佛太狭窄了。

但即使那时我也明白，正是因为Toot愿意承担前方的重担，每天在太阳升起之前起床，穿上商务套装和高跟鞋，乘公交车去市中心的办公室工作整整一天处理房屋抵押文件，然后回家太累，无法做什么其他事情，才使她和Gramps能够舒适地退休、旅行和保持独立。她提供的稳定让我的母亲能够从事自己喜欢的职业，尽管收入不稳定且经常出国作业；也是为什么Maya和我能够上私立学校和高档大学。

Toot showed me how to balance a checkbook and resist buying stuff I didn't need. She was the reason why, even in my most revolutionary moments as a young man, I could admire a well-run business and read the financial pages, and why I felt compelled to disregard overly broad claims about the need to tear things up and remake society from whole cloth. She taught me the value of working hard and doing your best even when the work was unpleasant, and about fulfilling your responsibilities even when doing so was inconvenient. She taught me to marry passion with reason, to not get overly excited when life was going well, and to not get too down when it went badly.

Toot教我如何平衡支票簿，抵制我不需要的东西。她是我年轻时代最激进的时刻，我能欣赏良好经营业务和阅读金融新闻的原因，也是我感到不得不忽略过于宽泛的要求的原因，需要彻底摧毁一切并重新制定社会。她教会我努力工作和尽力而为，即使工作不愉快，也要履行自己的责任，即使这样做很不方便。她教会我将激情与理性相结合，不要在生活好时过度兴奋，在生活不好时也不要沮丧。

All this was instilled in me by an elderly, plainspoken white lady from Kansas. It was her perspective that often came to mind when I was campaigning, and her worldview that I sensed in many of the voters I encountered, whether in rural Iowa or in a Black neighborhood in Chicago, that same quiet pride in sacrifices made for children and grandchildren, the same lack of pretension, the same modesty of expectations.

And because Toot possessed both the remarkable strengths and stubborn limitations of her upbringing—because she loved me fiercely and would literally do anything to help me, and yet never fully shed the cautious conservatism that had made her quietly agonize the first time my mother brought my father, a Black man, home for dinner—she also taught me the tangled, multifaceted truth of race relations in our country.

所有这些都是由一位来自堪萨斯州的老白人女士灌输给我的。在我竞选期间，她的观点经常浮现在我的脑海中，而我在农村艾奥瓦州或芝加哥黑人社区遇到的选民中，我感到了她的世界观，那种为孩子和孙子孙女做出的牺牲所带来的安静自豪感，那种没有做作的谦逊，那种期望的适度。由于Toot拥有她的成长经历所带来的显着优点和固执的限制，因为她狂热地爱着我，会为我做任何事情，但仍然没有完全摆脱那种谨慎保守的态度，第一次我的母亲带我父亲，一位黑人男子回家吃晚餐时，她也使我明白了我们国家种族关系错综复杂的真相。

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“THERE IS NOT a Black America and a white America and a Latino America and an Asian America. There's the United States of America.”

It was probably the line most remembered from my 2004 convention speech. I'd intended it more as a statement of aspiration than a description of reality,

but it was an aspiration I believed in and a reality I strove for. The idea that our common humanity mattered more than our differences was stitched into my DNA. It also described what I felt was a practical view of politics: In a democracy, you needed a majority to make big change, and in America that meant building coalitions across racial and ethnic lines.

“没有黑人美国，也没有白人美国、拉丁美洲人美国或亚洲美国，只有美利坚合众国。”这是我在2004年党代会上发表的演讲中最受人记忆的一句话。我本意只是表达我对未来社会的期望，而非描述现实情况。但是，这是我所坚信的未来发展和奋斗的方向。共同的人性比我们的差异更重要，这一观念也已经深入我的血液之中。这也是我一直持有的实际政治观点：在一个民主社会中，需要一个多数派来创造重要变革，而在美国，这意味着要跨越种族和民族的藩篱，建立联盟。

Certainly that had been true for me in Iowa, where African Americans constituted less than 3 percent of the population. Day to day, our campaign didn't consider this an obstacle, just a fact of life. Our organizers encountered pockets of racial animosity, at times voiced openly even by potential supporters ("Yeah, I'm thinking about voting for the nigger" was heard more than once). Every so often, though, the hostility went beyond a rude remark or a slammed door. One of our most beloved supporters had woken up the day before Christmas to find her yard strewn with torn-up OBAMA signs, her house vandalized and spray-painted with racial epithets. Obtuseness, rather than meanness, was more common, with our volunteers fielding the kinds of remarks that are familiar to any Black person who's spent time in a largely white setting, a variation on the theme of "I don't think of him as being Black, really....I mean, he's so intelligent."

在爱荷华州 (Iowa) 这对我是确实的，那里非裔美国人不到人口的3%。日复一日，我们的竞选活动并不认为这是一个障碍，只是生活中的一个事实。我们的组织者经常遇到种族敌意的团体，有时甚至会被潜在支持者公开表达（“是啊，我正在考虑投票给这个黑鬼”这类话不止听到一次）。但不时的敌意已经超出了粗鲁的言辞或关上门而已。我们最受爱戴的支持者之一，在圣诞节前的那一天，发现她的院子里散满了被撕破的奥巴马标志，她的房子被涂鸦和纹的种族歧视语言。钝度而非恶意更为普遍，我们的志愿者受到了那种在主要由白人组成的环境中遇到的黑人熟悉的形式的评论，是一种与“我不认为他是一个黑人，真的……我的意思是，他很聪明。”主题相关的变体。

For the most part, though, I found white voters across Iowa to be much like those I had courted just a few years earlier in downstate Illinois—friendly, thoughtful, and open to my candidacy, concerned less about my skin color or even my Muslim-sounding name than they were about my youth and lack of experience, my plans to create jobs or end the war in Iraq.

As far as my political advisors were concerned, our job was to keep it that way. It wasn't that we ducked racial issues. Our website made my position clear on hot-button topics like immigration reform and civil rights. If asked in a town hall, I wouldn't hesitate to explain the realities of racial profiling or job discrimination to a rural, all-white audience. Inside the campaign, Plouffe and Axe listened to the concerns of Black and Latino team members, whether someone wanted to tweak a television ad ("Can we include at least one Black face other than Barack's?" Valerie gently asked at one point) or was reminding us to work harder to recruit more senior staff of color. (On this score, at least, the world of experienced, high-level political operatives wasn't so different from that of other professions, in that young people of color consistently had less access to mentors and networks—and couldn't afford to accept the unpaid internships that might put them on the fast track to run national campaigns. This was one thing I was determined to help change.) But Plouffe, Axe, and Gibbs made no apologies for de-emphasizing any topic that might be labeled a racial grievance, or split the electorate along racial lines, or do anything that would box me in as "the Black candidate." To them, the immediate formula for racial progress was simple—we needed to win. And this meant gaining support not just from liberal white college kids but also from voters for whom the image of me in the White House involved a big psychological leap.在大多数情况下，我发现爱荷华州的白人选民与我几年前在伊利诺伊州南部争取的那些人不太相同——友好、考虑周到，对我的候选资格非常开放，对我的肤色甚至我的听起来像是穆斯林的名字并不在意，更关心我的年轻和缺乏经验以及我创造就业或结束伊拉克战争的计划。对于我政治顾问来说，我们的工作就是保持这种情况。并不是说我们回避种族问题。我们的网站明确表明了我的立场，涉及到热门话题例如移民改革和民权问题。如果在小镇上受到询问，我不会犹豫向全是白人的乡村听众解释种族歧视或工作歧视的现实。在竞选内部，Plouffe 和 Axe 倾听了黑人和拉丁裔团队成员的关切，无论是针对电视广告的微调（“我们能在巴拉克 (Barack) 之外至少加入一张黑人的面孔吗？”Valerie 在某个时刻温柔地问道）还是提醒我们更加努力地招募更多有色人种的高级工作人员。（至少在这方面，有经验、高层次的政治业者的世界和其他行业不太相同，即有色青年一直缺乏导师和网络资源——并且无法承担不能让他们在全国范围内运营的无薪实习。这是我决心要改变的一件事情。）但是Plouffe、Axe 和 Gibbs 没有为将被视为种族仇恨的任何话题、在种族线上分裂选民或任何可以无限框定我为“黑人候选人”的事情而道歉。对他们来说，实现种族进步的立即公式很简单——我们需要赢得选票。这意味着不仅需要争取自由派白人大学生的支持，还包括对于我在白宫的形象需要进行重大心理飞跃的选民。

"Trust me," Gibbs would wisecrack, "whatever else they know about you, people have noticed that you don't look like the first forty-two presidents." Meanwhile, I'd felt no shortage of love from African Americans since my election to the U.S. Senate. Local NAACP chapters got in touch, wanting to give me awards. My photo regularly showed up in the pages of Ebony and Jet. Every Black woman of a certain age told me I reminded her of her son. And the love for Michelle was at a whole other level. With her professional credentials, sister-friend demeanor, and no-nonsense devotion to motherhood, she seemed to distill what so many Black families worked toward and hoped for their children.

“相信我，”吉布斯会说，“无论他们还知道你的什么，人们都注意到你不像前42位总统。”

与此同时，自从我当选为美国参议员以来，我并没有感到非裔美国人对我的爱有所不足。当地的NAACP分会联系我，希望授予我奖项。我的照片经常出现在Ebony和Jet的页面上。每个一定年龄的黑人女性都告诉我，我让她想起了她的儿子。对于米歇尔的爱则达到了一个完全不同的水平。凭借她的专业资质、姐妹般的态度和对母亲角色的无私奉献，她似乎凝练了许多黑人家庭为他们的孩子所追求和希望的东西。

Despite all this, Black attitudes toward my candidacy were complicated—driven in no small part by fear. Nothing in Black people's experience told them that it might be possible for one of their own to win a major party nomination, much less the presidency of the United States. In the minds of many, what

Michelle and I had accomplished was already something of a miracle. To aspire beyond that seemed foolish, a flight too close to the sun. "I'm telling you, man," Marty Nesbitt said to me shortly after I announced my candidacy, "my mother worries about you the same way she used to worry about me." A successful entrepreneur, a former high school football star with the good looks of a young Jackie Robinson, married to a brilliant doctor and with five wonderful kids, Marty seemed the embodiment of the American Dream. He'd been raised by a single mom who worked as a nurse in Columbus, Ohio; it was only as a result of a special program designed to get more young people of color into prep schools and on to college that Marty had climbed the ladder out of his neighborhood, a place where most Black men could hope for little more than a lifetime on the assembly line. But when after college he decided to leave a stable job at General Motors for a riskier venture into real estate investments, his mother had fretted, afraid he might lose everything by reaching too far.

儘管如此，黑人對我的候選人身份的態度很複雜，很大程度上是由於恐懼所驅動。黑人沒有任何經驗表明他們的其中之一可以贏得主要政黨提名，更不用說成為美國總統了。在許多人的心目中，米歇爾和我所取得的成就已經是一種奇蹟。超越這一點似乎是愚蠢的，飛得太靠近太陽了。

"我告訴你，男孩，"我宣布成為候選人不久後，馬蒂·內斯比特對我說，"我的母親對你的擔憂就像她以前對我一樣。"作為一位成功的企業家，一位前高中足球明星，擁有年輕的傑基·羅賓遜(Jackie Robinson)的好長相，與一位優秀的醫生結婚，並有五個美好的孩子，馬蒂似乎是美國夢的具體化。他是由一位在俄亥俄州哥倫布擔任護士的單親母親撫養大的；只有通過一個特殊的計劃，旨在讓更多有色人種的年輕人進入預科學校並上大學，馬蒂才攀上了人生的巔峰，而在他的社區，大部分黑人男性只能期望在流水線上打終身工。但是當他大學畢業後決定離開通用汽車穩定的工作，投資於更冒險的房地產投資時，他的母親擔心他可能因過度追求而失去一切。

"She thought I was crazy to give up that kind of security," Marty told me. "So imagine how my mom and her friends are feeling about you right now. Not just running for president, but actually believing you can be president!"

This mindset wasn't restricted to the working class. Valerie's mother—whose family had epitomized the Black professional elite of the forties and fifties—was the wife of a doctor and one of the guiding lights in the early childhood education movement. But she expressed the same skepticism toward my campaign at the start.

"瑪蒂告訴我：「她曾經認為我瘋了，放棄那種工作穩定性。所以想像一下，現在我媽和她的朋友們對你的感覺。你不僅要競選總統，還相信自己能當選！」這樣的想法並不僅限於工人階級。瓦萊麗的母親來自一個四、五十年代代表黑人專業精英的家庭，她的丈夫是醫生，是早期兒童教育運動的引領者之一。但在活動開始時，她對我的競選也表達出同樣的懷疑。"

"She wants to protect you," Valerie said.

"From what?" I asked.

"From disappointment," she said, leaving unspoken her mother's more specific fear that I might get myself killed.

We heard it again and again, especially during the first months of the campaign—a protective pessimism, a sense in the Black community that Hillary was a safer choice. With national figures like Jesse Jackson, Jr. (and a more grudging Jesse Sr.), behind us, we were able to get a good number of early endorsements from African American leaders, especially from younger ones. But many more chose to wait and see how I fared, and other Black politicians, businesspeople, and pastors—whether out of genuine loyalty toward the Clintons or an eagerness to back the prohibitive favorite—came out for Hillary before I'd even had a chance to make my case.

"她想保護你。"瓦萊麗說。

"保護我免受什麼？"我問道。

"免受失望。"她说，默默地留下她母親更為具體的擔憂，即我可能會置自己於險境。

我們聽到這樣的话语越來越頻繁，特別是在競選的前幾個月——一種保守的樂觀主義感覺，在黑人社區，人們認為希拉里是一個更安全的選擇。在國家人物如杰西·杰克遜 (Jesse Jackson) 和更加不情願的杰西·杰克遜長輩 (Jesse Sr.) 的支持下，我們得到了許多年輕的非洲裔美國領袖的早期背書。但是，還有很多人選擇等待並看看我表現如何，其他黑人政界人士、商界人士和牧師們，無論是出於真正的忠誠心還是為了支持勢不可擋的希拉里，甚至在我還沒有機會表達自己的立場之前就站在了希拉里這一邊。

"The country's not ready yet," one congressman told me, "and the Clintons have a long memory."

Meanwhile, there were activists and intellectuals who supported me but viewed my campaign in purely symbolic terms, akin to earlier races mounted by Shirley Chisholm, Jesse Jackson, and Al Sharpton, a useful if transitory platform from which to raise a prophetic voice against racial injustice.

Unconvinced that victory was possible, they expected me to take the most uncompromising positions on everything from affirmative action to reparations and were continually on alert for any hints that I might be spending too much time and energy courting middle-of-the-road, less progressive white folks.

"這個國家還沒准备好，"一位國會議員告訴我，"而克林頓家族有着悠久的記憶。"

与此同时，有些活動人士和知識分子支持我，但他們僅將我的競選視為象徵性的，類似於早期由雪莉·奇斯露姆、杰西·杰克遜和阿爾·沙普頓發起的競選活動，這是一個有用的，但短暫的平臺，可以從中發出對種族不平等的預言性聲音。他們並不相信我能夠勝利，期望我在一切事項上採取最不妥協的立場，從平權行動到賠償，一直保持警惕，以免我將過多時間和精力用於爭取非常規、不太進步的白人選民。

"Don't be one of those so-called leaders who take the Black vote for granted," a supporter told me. I was sensitive to the criticism, for it wasn't entirely wrong. A lot of Democratic politicians did take Black voters for granted—at least since 1968, when Richard Nixon had determined that a politics of white racial resentment was the surest path to Republican victory, and thereby left Black voters with nowhere else to go. It was not only white Democrats who made this calculation. There wasn't a Black elected official who relied on white votes to stay in office who wasn't aware of what Axe, Plouffe, and Gibbs

were at least implicitly warning against—that too much focus on civil rights, police misconduct, or other issues considered specific to Black people risked triggering suspicion, if not a backlash, from the broader electorate. You might decide to speak up anyway, as a matter of conscience, but you understood there'd be a price—that Blacks could practice the standard special-interest politics of farmers, gun enthusiasts, or other ethnic groups only at their own peril.

“不要成为那些所谓的领袖，把黑人选票视为理所当然的人”，一位支持者告诉我。我对这种批评很敏感，因为它并不完全错误。许多民主党政治家确实将黑人选民视为理所当然——至少从1968年起，当时理查德·尼克松决定以白人种族怨恨为政治策略，认为这是赢得共和党胜利的最可靠途径，从而让黑人选民无处可去。不仅是白人民主党人做出了这个决定。任何一个依靠白人选票维持职位的黑人当选官员，都能意识到Axe, Plouffe and Gibbs所警告的——过于关注民权、警方不当行为或其他被认为是针对黑人的问题，都有可能引起更广泛选民的怀疑，甚至引发反弹。你可能会决定出于良心而发声，但你明白这将付出代价——黑人只能以自己的危险冒险练习农民、枪迷或其他族裔群体的标准特殊利益政治。

Of course, that was part of the reason I was running, wasn't it—to help us break free of such constraints? To reimagine what was possible? I wanted to be neither a supplicant, always on the periphery of power and seeking favor from liberal benefactors, nor a permanent protester, full of righteous anger as we waited for white America to expiate its guilt. Both paths were well trodden; both, at some fundamental level, were born of despair.

No, the point was to win. I wanted to prove to Blacks, to whites—to Americans of all colors—that we could transcend the old logic, that we could rally a working majority around a progressive agenda, that we could place issues like inequality or lack of educational opportunity at the very center of the national debate and then actually deliver the goods.

當然，這也是我競選的一個原因，不是嗎——要幫助我們擺脫這些限制？重新想象有可能性的事情？我既不想成為乞求者，總是在權力邊緣，尋求自由主義贊助者的支持，也不想成為永遠的抗議者，充滿正義的憤怒，等待白人美國去贖罪。這兩條路都被踩過了；這兩條路，在某種根本上，都出於絕望。

不，關鍵是要贏。我想向黑人、白人——向所有種族的美國人證明，我們可以超越舊世界的邏輯，我們可以團結進步力量，我們可以將像不平等或缺乏教育機會等議題置於全國辯論的核心，然後真正提供解決方案。

I knew that in order to accomplish that, I needed to use language that spoke to all Americans and propose policies that touched everyone—a topflight education for every child, quality healthcare for every American. I needed to embrace white people as allies rather than impediments to change, and to couch the African American struggle in terms of a broader struggle for a fair, just, and generous society.

I understood the risks. I heard the muted criticisms that came my way from not just rivals but friends. How an emphasis on universal programs often meant benefits were less directly targeted to those most in need. How appealing to common interests discounted the continuing effects of discrimination and allowed whites to avoid taking the full measure of the legacy of slavery, Jim Crow, and their own racial attitudes. How this left Black people with a psychic burden, expected as they were to constantly swallow legitimate anger and frustration in the name of some far-off ideal.

我知道為實現這一目標，我需要使用能夠觸及所有美國人的語言，提出觸及每個人的政策 - 為每個孩子提供頂級教育，為每個美國人提供優質醫療保健。我需要把白人視為盟友而不是改革的障礙，並以更廣泛的公正、正義和慷慨社會為目標，來表達非裔美國人的鬥爭。

我知道風險所在。我聽到了悄無聲音的批評，不僅來自競爭對手，還來自朋友。普及計劃的強調有時意味著福利沒有直接針對最需要的人。只強調共同利益忽視了歧視的持續影響，並讓白人避免全面衡量奴隸制、種族隔離和自己的種族態度的影響。這使黑人承擔了心理負擔，他們被期望不斷地在某個遙遠的理想中吞下合理的憤怒和挫敗感。

It was a lot to ask of Black folks, requiring a mixture of optimism and strategic patience. As I tried to lead voters and my own campaign through this uncharted territory, I was constantly reminded that this wasn't an abstract exercise. I was bound to specific communities of flesh and blood, filled with men and women who had their own imperatives and their own personal histories—including a pastor who seemed to embody all the contradictory impulses I was attempting to corral.

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I FIRST MET Reverend Jeremiah A. Wright, Jr., during my organizing days. His church, Trinity United Church of Christ, was one of the largest in Chicago. The son of a Baptist minister and a school administrator from Philadelphia, he had grown up steeped in Black church tradition while also attending the most prestigious—and largely white—schools in the city. Rather than go straight into the ministry, he left college to join the Marines and then the U.S. Navy, training as a cardiopulmonary technician and serving as part of the medical team caring for Lyndon Johnson after his 1966 surgery. In 1967, he enrolled at Howard University and, like many Blacks during those turbulent years, soaked up the forceful rhetoric of Black Power, an interest in all things African, and leftist critiques of the American social order. By the time he graduated from seminary, he'd also absorbed the Black liberation theology of James Cone—a view of Christianity that asserted the centrality of the Black experience, not because of any inherent racial superiority but because, Cone claimed, God sees the world through the eyes of those most oppressed.这对黑人来说是个艰巨的要求，需要乐观和战略耐心的结合。当我试图领导选民和我自己的竞选活动走过这片未知领域时，我不断地被提醒，这不是一个抽象的锻炼。我与具体社区的肉体和血脉联系在一起，这些社区充满了有着自身要求和个人历史的男人和女人，包括一个牧师，他似乎具有我试图收拢的所有矛盾冲动的体现。

我第一次遇见杰里米亚·A·赖特牧师是在我的组织日子中。他的教堂，天主教基督统一教会，是芝加哥最大的教堂之一。他是一位来自费城的浸信会牧师和一位学校行政人员的儿子，在成长过程中深受黑人教堂传统的影响，同时也在市内上了大多数声望较高的、主要为白人的学校。他没有直接进入牧师事业，而是离开大学加入了海军陆战队，然后是美国海军，在那里接受心肺技术培训并成为医疗团队的一员，为林登·约翰逊在1966年手术后的照顾提供帮助。1967年，他进入霍华德大学，在那个动荡年代的许多黑人一样，吸收了黑人权力的力量强大的措辞、对所有非洲事物的兴趣和对美国社会秩序的左翼批评。当他从神学院毕业时，他还吸取了詹姆斯·科恩的黑人解放神学——这一基督教观点认为，不是因为任何固有的种族优越性，而是因为上帝透过最受压迫的人们的眼睛看世界。

That Reverend Wright came to pastor in an overwhelmingly white denomination gives some indication of his practical side; not only did the United Church of Christ value serious scholarship—something he emphasized every Sunday—but it had the money and infrastructure to help him build his congregation. What was once a staid church with fewer than one hundred members grew to six thousand during his tenure, a rollicking, bustling place containing the multitudes that make up Black Chicago: bankers and former gang members, kente robes and Brooks Brothers suits, a choir that could rock classic gospel and the “Hallelujah Chorus” in a single service. His sermons were full of pop references, slang, humor, and genuine religious insight that not only prompted cheers and shouts from his members but burnished his reputation as one of the best preachers in the country.萊文德·賴特來到一個壓倒性的白人教派擔任牧師表明了他的實際一面。不仅是協和教会重视认真学术研究——这正是他每周日所强调的——而且该教会拥有金钱和基础设施来帮助他建立自己的教众。这个曾经是一个只有不到一百名会员的沉闷教会在他的任期内增长到了六千人，成为一个充满生气、热闹的地方，包容了黑人芝加哥的各个群体：银行家和前黑帮成员、肯特绸袍和布鲁克斯兄弟西装、一支能演绎经典福音和《哈利路亚大合唱》的合唱团等。他的布道充满了流行文化的参考、俚语、幽默和真正的宗教洞察力，不仅引起了会员的欢呼和喊叫，而且磨练了他作为全国最好的传教士之一的声誉。

There were times when I found Reverend Wright's sermons a little over the top. In the middle of a scholarly explication of the Book of Matthew or Luke, he might insert a scathing critique of America's drug war, American militarism, capitalist greed, or the intractability of American racism, rants that were usually grounded in fact but bereft of context. Often, they sounded dated, as if he were channeling a college teach-in from 1968 rather than leading a prosperous congregation that included police commanders, celebrities, wealthy businesspeople, and the Chicago school superintendent. And every so often, what he said was just wrong, edging close to the conspiracy theories one heard on late-night public-access stations or in the barbershop down the street. It was as if this erudite, middle-aged, light-skinned Black man were straining for street cred, trying to “keep it real.” Or maybe he just recognized—both within his congregation and within himself—the periodic need to let loose, to release pent-up anger from a lifetime of struggle in the face of chronic racism, reason and logic be damned.

有時候我會覺得萊佛望（Reverend Wright）牧師的講道有點過火。在他用學術方式講解馬太福音或路加福音時，他可能會插入一些關於美國的毒品戰爭、美國的軍事主義、資本主義的貪婪，或者美國種族歧視的棘手問題的激烈批評。這些批評通常具有事實根據，但卻缺乏文化背景。有時這些批評聽起來有點過時，好像他是在重現1968年的一次大學教育，而不是在帶領一個包括警察指揮官、名人、富有的商人和芝加哥學校教育主管在內的興旺族群。不時地，他講的話是完全錯誤的，接近於深夜公共渠道節目或街角理髮店中聽到的陰謀論。好像這位學問淵博、中年以及膚色輕黑的黑人牧師在力求炫耀威信，試圖讓自己“真實”。或者他只是意識到——在他的教會和他自己内心深處——時不時需要散發一下，發泄一下一生承受種族歧視之苦所積蓄的憤怒，而理性和邏輯一起被丟到一旁。

All this I knew. And yet for me, especially when I was a young man still sorting out my beliefs and my place inside Chicago's Black community, the good in Reverend Wright more than outweighed his flaws, just as my admiration for the congregation and its ministries outweighed my broader skepticism toward organized religion. Michelle and I eventually joined Trinity as members, though we proved to be spotty churchgoers. Like me, Michelle hadn't been raised in a particularly religious household, and what started as once-a-month attendance became less frequent over time. When we did go, though, it was meaningful, and as my political career took off, I made a point of inviting Reverend Wright to do an invocation or a benediction at key events.

這一切我都知道。然而，尤其是當我還是年輕人時，正在整理我的信仰和在芝加哥黑人社區中的地位時，賴特牧師的好遠遠超過了他的缺陷，就像對教會會眾及其事工的欣賞超過了我對組織宗教的廣泛懷疑一樣。最終，米歇爾和我成為了三一教堂的成員，雖然我們在教堂裡的出席率並不穩定。和我一樣，米歇爾沒有在一個特別宗教的家庭長大，最初每月出席逐漸變得不那麼頻繁。然而，當我們去上教堂時，這是有意義的，隨著我的政治生涯的發展，我始終邀請賴特牧師在關鍵事件中進行祈禱或祝福。

This had been the plan for the day I announced my candidacy. Reverend Wright was to lead the assembled crowd in a prayer before I appeared onstage. On my way down to Springfield a day ahead of the event, though, I had received an urgent call from Axe, asking if I'd seen a Rolling Stone article that had just been published about my candidacy. Evidently the reporter had sat in on a recent service at Trinity, absorbing a fiery sermon from Reverend Wright and quoting it in his story.

“He's quoted saying...hold on, let me read this: ‘We believe in white supremacy and black inferiority and believe it more than we believe in God.’”

這是我宣布參選的當天的計劃。萊特牧師將在我上台之前帶領人群祈禱。然而，在活動的前一天我前往斯普林菲爾德的路上，我接到了Axe的緊急電話，詢問我是否已經看到《滾石》雜誌發佈的一篇有關我的競選的文章。顯然，記者曾經參加Trinity的一次崇拜，聽取了萊特牧師的激情布道，並在他的報導中引用了此話。

“他引用了說：……，我們相信白人至上和黑人劣勢，我們對此比相信上帝更加堅信。”

“Seriously?”

“I think it's fair to say that if he gives the invocation tomorrow, he'll be the lead story...at least on Fox News.”

The article itself offered a generally fair view of Jeremiah Wright and Trinity's ministry, and I wasn't surprised that my pastor would point out the gap between America's professed Christian ideals and its brutal racial history. Still, the language he'd used was more incendiary than anything I'd heard before, and although a part of me was frustrated with the constant need to soften for white folks' benefit the blunt truths about race in this country, as a matter of practical politics I knew Axe was right.

“真的嗎？”

我想可以公正地说，如果他明天做开场词，他会成为主要新闻...至少在福克斯新闻中。

文章本身对耶利米·怀特和三一事工提供了一般公正的看法，我并不惊讶我的牧师会指出美国所声称的基督教理想与其残酷的种族历史之间的差距。然而，他

使用的语言比我之前听到的任何东西都更加具有煽动性，尽管我有一部分人对不断为了白人而软化这个国家的关于种族的直白真相感到沮丧，但作为实际政治问题，我知道阿克斯是正确的。

That afternoon, I called Reverend Wright and asked if he'd be willing to skip the public invocation and instead offer Michelle and me a private prayer before my speech. I could tell he was hurt, but ultimately—and to my team's great relief—he went along with the new plan.

For me the episode churned up all the doubts I still had about running for the highest office in the land. It was one thing to have integrated my own life—to learn over time how to move seamlessly between Black and white circles, to serve as translator and bridge among family, friends, acquaintances, and colleagues, making connections across an ever-expanding orbit, until I felt I could finally know the world of my grandparents and the world of a Reverend Wright as a single, unified whole. But to explain those connections to millions of strangers? To imagine that a presidential campaign, with all its noise and distortions and simplifications, could somehow cut through hurt and fear and suspicion that had been four hundred years in the making? The reality of American race relations was too complicated to reduce to a sound bite. Hell, I myself was too complicated, the contours of my life too messy and unfamiliar to the average American, for me to honestly expect I could pull this thing off.那个下午，我打电话给莱文德·赖特牧师，询问他是否愿意跳过公开祷告，而是在我的演讲之前为米歇尔和我进行一次私人祈祷。我能感觉到他受到了伤害，但最终——给我的团队带来了极大的宽慰——他同意了新计划。对我来说，这一集给我带来了对竞选美国最高职位的所有怀疑。整合自己的生活是一回事——随着时间的推移，学会在黑人和白人圈子之间流畅地移动，作为家人、朋友、熟人和同事之间的翻译和桥梁，在不断扩大的轨道上建立联系，直到我终于感觉可以把祖父母的世界和莱文德·赖特牧师的世界作为一个统一的整体来理解。但是要向数百万陌生人解释这些联系呢？想象一个总统竞选活动，带来所有的噪音、失真和简化，能够切入四百年历史积累的伤害、恐惧和猜疑？美国种族关系的现实过于复杂了，无法简单地用一个声音描述。曾经生活的轮廓对于普通美国人来说也太复杂了，对于我而言，我不能真正地期望我能把这件事情做好。

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MAYBE IF THE Rolling Stone article had come out earlier, foreshadowing problems to come, I would have decided not to run. It's hard to say. I do know that—in a bit of irony, or perhaps providence—it was another pastor and close friend of Reverend Wright's, Dr. Otis Moss, Jr., who helped me push through my doubts.

Otis Moss was a veteran of the civil rights movement, a close friend and associate of Dr. King's, the pastor of one of the largest churches in Cleveland, Ohio, and a former advisor to President Jimmy Carter. I didn't know him well, but after the article was published he called me one evening to offer support. He had gotten wind of the difficulties with Jeremiah, he said, and heard those voices within the Black community arguing that I wasn't ready, or I was too radical, or too mainstream, or not quite Black enough. He expected the path would only get harder but urged me not to get discouraged.

也许如果《滚石》杂志的文章早些发表，预示着即将出现的问题，我可能会决定不参选。很难说。但我知道，在某种讽刺或者是恩赐的巧合中，是另一位牧师和奥巴马的密友，奥蒂斯·莫斯，帮我克服了疑虑。

莫斯是民权运动的老兵，马丁·路德·金的亲密朋友和同事，俄亥俄州克利夫兰市最大教堂的牧师，曾任吉米·卡特总统的顾问。我不是很了解他，但在文章发表后的一个晚上，他打来电话给我，表示支持。他听到了有关耶利米亚的困难和黑人社区中的议论声，争辩说我还未准备好，或者太激进，或者太主流，或者不够黑。他预计道路只会越来越艰难，但他敦促我不要失去勇气。

"Every generation is limited by what it knows," Dr. Moss told me. "Those of us who were part of the movement, giants like Martin, lieutenants and foot soldiers like me...we are the Moses generation. We marched, we sat in, we went to jail, sometimes in defiance of our elders, but we were in fact building on what they had done. We got us out of Egypt, you could say. But we could only travel so far."

"You, Barack, are part of the Joshua generation. You and others like you are responsible for the next leg of the journey. Folks like me can offer the wisdom of our experience. Perhaps you can learn from some of our mistakes. But ultimately it will be up to you, with God's help, to build on what we've done, and lead our people and this country out of the wilderness."

"每一代都被它自己所知道的限制。"Moss博士告诉我，"我们这些参与运动的人，像马丁这样的巨人，还有像我这样的中尉和士兵……我们是摩西一代。我们游行，我们坐在那里，我们上过狱，有时是不顾我们的长辈的反对，但实际上我们是在建立在他们所做的事情的基础上。你可以说我们把我们带出了埃及。但我们只能走得这么远。"

"你，巴拉克，是约书亚一代的一部分。你和像你这样的其他人负责完成下一阶段的旅程。像我这样的人可以提供我们的经验之慧。也许你可以从我们的一些错误中学习。但最终，凭借上帝的帮助，你将建立在我们已经完成的基础上，并领导我们的人民和这个国家走出荒野。"

It's hard to overstate how these words fortified me, coming as they did almost a year before our Iowa victory; what it meant to have someone so intimately linked to the source of my earliest inspiration say that what I was trying to do was worth it, that it wasn't just an exercise in vanity or ambition but rather a part of an unbroken chain of progress. More practically, it was thanks to the willingness of Dr. Moss and other former colleagues of Dr. King's—like Reverend C. T. Vivian of Atlanta and Reverend Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—to lay their proverbial hands on me, vouching for me as an extension of their historic work, that more Black leaders didn't swing early into Hillary's camp.

這些話對我來說意義重大，幾乎是我們在愛荷華州獲勝一年之前。它意味著，與我最早開始的啟示之源有著密切聯繫的人說，我正在嘗試做的事情是值得的，這不僅僅是虛榮或野心的運動，而是進步不斷的鏈條的一部分。更實際地說，正是由於Moss博士和其他前任King博士的同事（如亞特蘭大的C. T. Vivian牧師和南部基督教領袖會議的Joseph Lowery牧師）願意向我伸出 proverbial 手段，作為他們歷史性工作的延伸，這才沒有更多的黑人領袖早期倒向希拉里的陣營。

Nowhere was this more evident than in March 2007, when I attended the march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, that Congressman John Lewis hosted each year. I'd long wanted to make the pilgrimage to the site of Bloody Sunday, which in 1965 became a crucible of the battle for civil rights, when Americans fully realized what was at stake. But my visit promised to be complicated. The Clintons would be there, I was told; and before participants gathered to cross the bridge, Hillary and I were scheduled to speak simultaneously at dueling church services.

這一點最明顯體現在2007年三月份，當我出席了在阿拉巴馬州塞爾瑪的愛德蒙德·佩特斯橋上舉行的每年由國會議員約翰·路易斯主持的遊行活動。我一直想朝聖暴力星期日的地點，這是1965年為爭取民權而成為熔爐的地方，當時美國人充分意識到事業的重要性。但是，我參觀的事情變得復雜了。據說希拉裏和克林頓將會在那裡，而在參加者聚集穿越橋梁之前，希拉里和我被安排同時在教堂舉行競爭的崇拜活動。

Not only that, but our host, John Lewis, had indicated that he was inclined to endorse Hillary. John had become a good friend—he'd taken great pride in my election to the Senate, rightly seeing it as part of his legacy—and I knew he was tortured by the decision. As I listened to him explain his reasoning over the phone, how long he had known the Clintons, how Bill's administration had supported many of his legislative priorities, I chose not to press him too hard. I could imagine the pressure this kind and gentle man was under, and I also recognized that, at a time when I was asking white voters to judge me on the merits, a raw appeal to racial solidarity would feel like hypocrisy.

不仅如此，我们的主持人约翰·刘易斯还表示他倾向于支持希拉里。约翰已经成为了一位好朋友 - 他非常自豪于我当选参议员，正确地看待它是他遗产的一部分 - 而且我知道他对这个决定感到痛苦。当我听他通过电话解释他的理由时，他认识克林顿已经有多久，克林顿政府如何支持他的许多立法优先事项时，我选择不施加过多的压力。我可以想象这位善良和温柔的人所承受的压力，我也认识到，在我要求白人选民根据事实评判我的时候，一个粗糙的种族团结呼吁会感觉像虚伪。

The Selma commemoration could have turned into an uncomfortable political spectacle, but when I arrived, I immediately felt at ease. Perhaps it was being in a place that had played such a large role in my imagination and the trajectory of my life. Perhaps it was the response of ordinary people who'd gathered to mark the occasion, shaking my hand or giving me a hug, some sporting Hillary buttons but saying they were glad I was there. But mostly it was the fact that a group of respected elders had my back. When I entered the historic Brown Chapel AME Church for the service, I learned that Reverend Lowery had asked to say a few words before I was introduced. He was well into his eighties by then but had lost none of his wit and charisma.

塞爾瑪紀念活動可能會變成一場尷尬的政治場面，但當我到達時，我立刻感到輕鬆自在。也許是因為我身處在一個曾在我的想像和人生軌跡中扮演如此重要角色的地方。也許是因為普通人的反應，他們聚集在一起慶祝這個場合，握著我的手或擁抱我，有些人戴著希拉里的徽章，但說他們很高興我在這裡。但最重要的是，一群受到尊敬的長者支持著我。當我進入歷史悠久的布朗教堂AME教會參加儀式時，我得知洛維牧師想在介紹我之前說幾句話。他當時已經80多歲了，但是他沒有失去他的機智和魅力。

"Let me tell you," he began, "some crazy things are happening out there. People say certain things ain't happening, but who can tell? Who can tell?"  
"Preach now, Reverend," someone shouted from the audience.

"You know, recently I went to the doctor and he said my cholesterol was a little high. But then he explained to me that there's two kinds of cholesterol. There's the bad cholesterol, and then there's the good cholesterol. Having good cholesterol—that's all right. And that got me thinking how there's a lot of things like that. I mean, when we started the movement, a lot of folks thought we were crazy. Ain't that right, C.T.?" Reverend Lowery nodded in the direction of Reverend Vivian, who was sitting onstage. "That there's another crazy Negro...and he'll tell you that everybody in the movement was a little crazy..."

"讓我告訴你，"他開始說，"有些瘋狂的事情正在發生。有些人說某些事情沒有發生，但是誰能說得準呢？誰能說得準呢？"

"現在講道吧，牧師，"有人從觀眾席上喊道。

"你知道，最近我去看醫生，他說我的膽固醇有點高。但然後他向我解釋，膽固醇有兩種，有好的膽固醇和壞的膽固醇。有好的膽固醇，那就沒問題了。這讓我想到了還有很多類似的事情。我的意思是，當我們開始運動的時候，很多人都覺得我們瘋了。對吧，C.T.？"洛厄里牧師向坐在舞台上的維維恩牧師點了點頭。"那個瘋狂的黑人會告訴你，運動中的每個人都有些瘋狂..."

The crowd laughed heartily.

"But like cholesterol," he continued, "there's good crazy and bad crazy, see? Harriet Tubman with the Underground Railroad, she was as crazy as she could be! And Paul, when he preached to Agrippa, Agrippa said, 'Paul, you crazy'...but it was a good crazy."

The crowd began to clap and cheer as Reverend Lowery brought it home.

"And I say to you today that we need more folks in this country who are a good crazy....You can't tell what will happen when you get folks with some good crazy...going to the polls to vote!"

人群熱烈大笑。

"但就像膽固醇一樣，有好的瘋狂和壞的瘋狂，明白了嗎？哈里特·塔布曼用地下鐵路，展現的是她所有的瘋狂！保羅在向亞基帕傳道時，亞基帕說，'保羅，你瘋了'...但那是一種好的瘋狂。"

當洛維牧師說完這句話時，人群開始鼓掌歡呼。

"今天我告訴你們，我們需要更多的人在這個國家有一種好的瘋狂...當這些人帶著一種好的瘋狂投票時，你無法預測會發生什麼！"

The churchgoers rose to their feet, and the pastors sitting next to me onstage chortled and clapped me on the back; and by the time I got up to speak, taking the words Dr. Moss had offered me as a point of departure—about the legacy of the Moses generation and how it had made my life possible, about the responsibility of the Joshua generation to take the next steps required for justice in this nation and around the world, not just for Black people but for all those who had been dispossessed—the church was in full revival mode.

教会的教友们都起立了，坐在我旁边的牧师们哈哈大笑着拍打我的背；当我站起来讲话时，以莫斯博士所提供的话为出发点 - 谈论了摩西时代的遗产，以及它如何使我的生活变得可能，谈论了约书亚时代的责任，为了正义在这个国家和世界上迈出下一步，这不仅是为了黑人，而是为了那些被剥夺了的所有人 - 教会已经进入了全面复兴的状态。

Outside, after the service was done, I saw another colleague of Dr. King's, Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, a legendary and fearless freedom fighter who had survived the Klan bombing his house and a white mob beating him with clubs, chains, and brass knuckles, and stabbing his wife as they attempted to enroll their two daughters in a previously all-white Birmingham school. He had recently been treated for a brain tumor, leaving him frail, but he motioned me over to his wheelchair to talk, and as the marchers gathered, I offered to push him across the bridge.

在服務結束後，我在外面看到了另一位金博士的同事，名叫弗雷德·沙托斯沃斯牧師，他是一位傳奇的勇敢的自由鬥士，曾經在他家被克蘭組織轟炸和被一群白人用棍子、鏈條和指節虎鉗打，並在審判他們的女兒前往以前全都是白人的伯明翰學校時刺傷了他的妻子。他最近接受了腦腫瘤治療，讓他變得虛弱，但他向我示意，要我推他的輪椅來交談，在遊行者聚集時，我提出為他推過橋。

“I'd like that just fine,” Reverend Shuttlesworth said.

And so we went, the morning sky a glorious blue, crossing the bridge over a muddy brown river, voices rising sporadically in song and prayer. With each step, I imagined how these now elderly men and women must have felt forty-some years earlier, their young hearts beating furiously as they faced down a phalanx of armed men on horseback. I was reminded of just how slight my burdens were in comparison. The fact that they were still engaged in the fight and, despite setbacks and sorrow, hadn't succumbed to bitterness showed me that I had no cause to be tired. I felt renewed in my conviction that I was where I was supposed to be and doing what needed to be done, that Reverend Lowery might be right in saying there was some kind of “good crazy” in the air.

“修道士沙特尔斯沃思说：“那就好了。”于是我们走了，早晨的天空是一片灿烂的蓝色，穿过一条泥色的棕色河流上的桥梁，声音时而高唱祷告。每迈出一步，我都能想象这些年迈的男女们40多年前是如何感受到他们的年轻心脏猛烈跳动，面对一群有马的武装人员。相比之下，我的负担是那么微不足道。他们仍然在战斗中，尽管遭遇挫折和悲伤，但没有沉溺于痛苦，这让我知道我没有理由感到疲倦。我坚信自己在应该在的位置，做着需要做的事情，洛维教士的说法可能是对的，现在有一种“好疯狂”的氛围。”

TEN MONTHS LATER, as the campaign shifted to South Carolina during the second and third weeks of January, I knew that our faith would again be tested. We badly needed a win. On paper, the state looked good for us: African Americans made up a large percentage of Democratic primary voters, and we had a great mix of veteran politicians and young activists, both white and Black, in our corner. But polls showed our support among white voters lagging, and we didn't know whether African American voters would turn out in the numbers we needed. Our hope was to move toward Super Tuesday with a win that didn't break down strictly along racial lines. But if the Iowa effort had displayed the possibilities of a more idealistic kind of politics, the campaign in South Carolina ended up being decidedly different. It became a brawl, an exercise in old-style politics, set against a landscape heavy with memories of a bitter, bloody racial history.

十个月后，随着竞选活动转向一月第二、第三周的南卡罗来纳，我知道我们的信仰会再次受到考验。我们迫切需要一场胜利。从数据上看，这个州对我们非常有利：非裔美国人是民主党初选选民的最大一部分，我们在支持我们的老政治家和年轻活动家中有很好的混合，无论是白人还是黑人。但是民调显示我们在白人选民中的支持率落后，而我们不知道非裔美国入选民是否会以我们需要的数量出现。我们希望通过一场不以种族为纬度的胜利迈向超级星期二。但如果爱荷华州的努力展示出一种更理想主义的政治可能性，南卡罗来纳的竞选活动最终变得截然不同。它变成了一场斗殴，一种老式政治的练习，而这种政治场域沉重地带有痛苦、血淋淋的种族历史记忆。

Some of this was the result of the tight race, rising anxieties, and what seemed to be a sense within the Clinton camp that a negative campaign worked to their advantage. Their attacks, on the air and through surrogates, had taken on a sharper tone. With voters from around the country increasingly paying attention, all of us were aware of the stakes. Our one debate that week turned into an absolute slugfest between me and Hillary, with John Edwards (whose campaign was on its last legs and who would soon drop out) rendered a spectator as Hillary and I went after each other like gladiators in the ring.

其中一些是竞争异常激烈、不安情绪上升以及克林顿阵营内部似乎认为负面竞选对他们有利的结果。他们在电视和代理人的攻击中升级了语调。由于来自全国各地的选民越来越关注，我们都意识到赌注的高。我们那周的唯一一场辩论变成了我和希拉里的绝对肉搏战，约翰·爱德华兹（他的竞选活动已接近尾声，很快就会退出竞选）作为观众，而希拉里和我就像角斗士在擂台上相互攻击。

Afterward, Hillary left the state to campaign elsewhere, but the intensity hardly let up, the campaigning on their side now left to a feisty, energized, and omnipresent William Jefferson Clinton.

I sympathized with the position Bill was in: Not only was his wife under constant scrutiny and attack, but my promise to change Washington and transcend partisan gridlock must have felt like a challenge to his own legacy. No doubt I'd reinforced that perception when, in a Nevada interview, I said that while I admired Bill Clinton, I didn't think he'd transformed politics the way Ronald Reagan had in the 1980s, when he'd managed to reframe the

American people's relationship to government on behalf of conservative principles. After all the obstructionism and sheer venom that Clinton had had to contend with throughout his presidency, I could hardly fault him for wanting to knock a cocky young newcomer down a peg or two.

后来，希拉里离开了这个州去其他地方竞选，但强度几乎没有减少，现在他们那边的竞选活动被一个充满活力、精力充沛、无所不在的威廉·杰斐逊·克林顿带领着。我同情比尔的处境：他的妻子不仅在不断受到审查和攻击，而且我改变华盛顿并跨越党派僵局的承诺一定让他感到自己的政治遗产受到了挑战。毫无疑问，我在内华达州的一次采访中加强了这种看法，当时我说，虽然我很佩服比尔·克林顿，但我认为他没有像罗纳德·里根那样在1980年代改变政治，当时他成功地代表保守派原则重新构架了美国人民与政府的关系。考虑到克林顿在总统任期内的所有阻挡和恶毒攻击，我几乎无法怪他想把一个自以为是的年轻新人打压一下。

Clinton clearly relished being back in the arena. A larger-than-life figure, he traveled across the state offering astute observations and emanating folksy charm. His attacks on me were for the most part well within bounds, the same points I'd have made if I'd been in his shoes—that I lacked experience and that if I did manage to win the presidency, Republicans in Congress would have me for lunch.

Beyond that, though, lay the politics of race, something that Clinton had navigated deftly in the past but proved trickier against a credible Black candidate. When he'd suggested ahead of the New Hampshire primary that some of my positions on the Iraq War were a "fairy tale," there were Black folks who heard it as a suggestion that the notion of me as president was a fairy tale, which led Congressman Jim Clyburn, the majority whip—South Carolina's most powerful Black official and someone who until then had maintained a careful neutrality—to publicly rebuke him. When Clinton told white audiences that Hillary "gets you" in ways that her opponents did not, Gibbs—himself a son of the South—heard echoes of Republican strategist Lee Atwater and dog-whistle politics and had no qualms about deploying some of our supporters to say so.

克林顿明显很享受回到竞选舞台的感觉。作为一个超越现实的人物，他穿越全州提供精明的观察和憨厚的魅力。他对我的攻击在大多数情况下还是道德可行的，跟我自己的想法差不多——即我缺乏经验，而如果我真的当选总统，国会的共和党人会把我抛弃。但他所涉及的种族政治问题超出了这个范畴，克林顿曾经能够娴熟地驾驭这个问题，但在面对一个可信的黑人候选人时就有点棘手了。当他在新罕布什尔州初选前暗示我的一些对伊拉克战争的立场是“童话”时，有些黑人却把它解读为他在嘲笑我当总统只是一个“童话”般的想法，这让众议员吉姆·克莱伯恩公开谴责了他。当克林顿告诉白人听众希拉里“懂你”的程度超过了她的竞争对手时，吉布斯——一个南方的儿子——听到了共和党策略家李·阿特沃特和口哨政治的回声，并且没有任何犹豫地动员我们的支持者。

Looking back, I don't know that any of this was fair; Bill Clinton certainly didn't think so. But it was hard in South Carolina to distinguish what was true from what was felt. All across the state, I was met with great warmth and hospitality from Blacks and whites alike. In cities like Charleston, I experienced the much-touted New South—cosmopolitan, diverse, and bustling with commerce. Moreover, as someone who had made Chicago his home, I hardly needed reminding that racial division wasn't unique to the South.

回首往事，我不知道这一切是否公平；比尔·克林顿肯定不这么认为。但在南卡罗来纳州，很难分清真实的情况和感觉上的不同。在全州，无论是黑人还是白人，我都受到了极大的热情和款待。在像查尔斯顿这样的城市，我体验到了备受赞誉的新南方——国际化、多元化、商业活力十足。此外，作为一个将芝加哥视为家的人，我几乎不需要提醒自己种族分裂并不是南方特有的。

Still, as I traveled through South Carolina making my case for the presidency, racial attitudes seemed less coded, blunter—sometimes not hidden at all. How was I to interpret the well-dressed white woman in a diner I visited, grimly unwilling to shake my hand? How was I to understand the motives of those hoisting signs outside one of our campaign events, sporting the Confederate flag and NRA slogans, yelling about states' rights and telling me to go home?

It wasn't just shouted words or Confederate statues that evoked the legacy of slavery and segregation. At the suggestion of Congressman Clyburn, I visited J. V. Martin Junior High School, a largely Black public school in the rural town of Dillon in the northeastern section of the state. Part of the building had been constructed in 1896, just thirty years after the Civil War, and if repairs had been made over the decades, you couldn't tell. Crumbling walls. Busted plumbing. Cracked windows. Dank, unlit halls. A coal furnace in the basement still used to heat the building. Leaving the school, I alternated between feeling downcast and freshly motivated: What message had generations of boys and girls received as they arrived at this school each day except for the certainty that, to those in power, they did not matter; that whatever was meant by the American Dream, it wasn't meant for them?然而，當我在南卡羅來納州游歷，為競選總統做準備時，種族態度似乎變得更加直白，有時甚至毫不掩飾。當我訪問一家餐館時，那位穿著得體的白人女士不願意和我握手，我該如何解釋呢？那些在我們競選活動場外揮舞著南軍旗和美國國家步槍協會標語、高呼州權和讓我回家的人，我應該如何理解他們的動機？

而與奴隸制和種族隔離有關的影響並不僅僅體現在高喊的口號或南軍雕像上。根據克萊伯恩議員的建議，我參觀了位於東北部小鎮迪隆的馬丁初中，這是一所主要由黑人學生組成的公立學校。該建築的一部分建於1896年，即南北戰爭結束僅30年後。如果多年來有進行過修復，那麼您也無法發現差異。牆壁破裂、管道損壞、窗戶破碎、潮濕、昏暗的走廊，屋裡有一個煤爐仍在使用以取暖。離開這所學校後，我感到沮喪和重新振作：進入這所學校的每一天，一代又一代的男孩和女孩都收到了什麼樣的信息，除了對執政者，他們是毫無感受性的？美國夢指的是什麼，它不是為他們而設的。

Moments like this helped me see the wearying effects of long-term disenfranchisement, the jaded filter through which many Black South Carolinians absorbed our campaign. I began to understand the true nature of my adversary. I wasn't running against Hillary Clinton or John Edwards or even the Republicans. I was running against the implacable weight of the past; the inertia, fatalism, and fear it produced.

Black ministers and power brokers who were accustomed to getting payments to turn out voters complained about our emphasis on recruiting grassroots volunteers instead. For them, politics was less about principles and more a simple business proposition, the way things had always been done. While campaigning, Michelle—whose great-great-grandfather had been born into slavery on a South Carolina rice plantation—would hear well-meaning Black women suggesting that losing an election might be better than losing a husband, the implication being that if I was elected, I was sure to be shot.

這樣的時刻幫助我看到了長期被剝奪權利所帶來的疲憊效應，也讓我了解了許多南卡羅來納州黑人所接受的麻木濾鏡。我開始明白我的對手的真正本質。我不是在對抗希拉里·克林頓、約翰·愛德華茲或甚至共和黨。我在對抗過去不可動搖的重量，以及其產生的慣性、宿命和恐懼。

習慣收取選民投票民意的黑人牧師和權力經紀人抱怨我們強調招募基層志願者。對他們來說，政治不是關於原則，而是簡單的商業計劃，就像一直以來做的那樣。在競選期間，誰的曾曾祖父在南卡羅來納州一個稻米種植園裡出生成為奴隸的米歇爾，會聽到無辜的黑人婦女說，輸掉選舉可能比失去丈夫更好，暗示如果我當選了，肯定會被槍殺。

Hope and change were a luxury, folks seemed to be telling us, exotic imports that would wilt in the heat.

—  
ON JANUARY 25, the eve of the primary, NBC released a poll that showed my support among white South Carolinians had fallen to a paltry 10 percent. The news set the pundits spinning. It was to be expected, they intoned; even high African American turnout couldn't make up for deep-seated white resistance to any Black candidate, much less one named Barack Hussein Obama.

Axelrod, always in catastrophe mode, relayed this to me while scrolling through his BlackBerry. He added, unhelpfully, that if we lost South Carolina, our campaign would likely be over. Even more unhelpfully, he went on to say that even if we eked out a win, the paucity of white support would lead both the press and the Clintons to discount the victory and reasonably question my viability in a general election.希望和改變似乎是一種奢侈品，人們告訴我們，這種異國進口在熱烈的氛圍中會枯萎。

1月25日，初選前夕，NBC公佈的民意調查顯示，我在南卡羅萊納州的白人支持率僅為10%。這個消息讓評論員狂熱地討論。他們說，這是預料之中的；即使非裔美國人的投票率很高，也無法彌補深深的白人反對任何黑人候選人，更不用說一個名叫巴拉克·侯賽因·奧巴馬的黑人候選人了。

阿克塞爾羅德總是在災難模式下，當他滾動他的黑莓手機時，將這個消息傳達給我。更糟糕的是，他說，即使我們勉強贏得勝利，白人支持的稀缺也會使新聞界和克林頓夫婦不予重視勝利，並合理地質疑我在大選中的生存能力。

Our entire team was on pins and needles on primary day, aware of all that was on the line. But when evening finally arrived and the returns started rolling in, the results exceeded our most optimistic projections. We beat Hillary by a two-to-one margin, with nearly 80 percent of a massive Black turnout and 24 percent of the white vote. We even won by ten points among white voters under forty. Given the gauntlet we'd run and the hits we'd taken since Iowa, we were jubilant.

As I walked onstage in an auditorium in Columbia to give our victory speech, I could feel the pulse of stomping feet and clapping hands. Several thousand people had packed themselves into the venue, though under the glare of television lights, I could see only the first few rows—college students mostly, white and Black in equal measure, some with their arms interlocked or draped over one another's shoulders, their faces beaming with joy and purpose.初選當天，我們整個團隊都非常緊張，都知道一切都是風險。但當晚上終於到來，開始公佈結果時，結果勝過了我們最樂觀的預測。我們以兩倍的優勢擊敗了希拉里，有近80%的黑人投票率和24%的白人投票率。我們甚至贏得了40歲以下的白人選民的10分之一。考慮到我們自愛荷華州初選以來經歷的考驗和衝擊，我們非常高興。當我走上哥倫比亞的禮堂舞台發表勝利演說時，我能感覺到踩踏和鼓掌的脈動。幾千人擠滿了場地，盡管在電視燈光的照耀下，我只能看到前幾排——大多是大學生，白人和黑人平均，一些人手臂交錯或搭在彼此的肩膀上，他們的臉上充滿了喜悅和目的感。

“Race doesn't matter!” people were chanting. “Race doesn't matter! Race doesn't matter!”

I spotted some of our young organizers and volunteers mixed in with the crowd. Once again, they'd come through, despite the naysayers. They deserved a victory lap, I thought to myself, a moment of pure elation. Which is why, even as I quieted the crowd and dove into my speech, I didn't have the heart to correct those well-meaning chanters—to remind them that in the year 2008, with the Confederate flag and all it stood for still hanging in front of a state capitol just a few blocks away, race still mattered plenty, as much as they might want to believe otherwise.

人們高呼：“種族不重要！種族不重要！種族不重要！”我發現了一些年輕的組織者和志願者混在人群中。儘管有人唱衰他們，他們仍然堅定地來了。我想，他們應該得到一次勝利的慶祝，一刻純粹的歡欣。因此，即使我平息了人群，開始演講，我也沒有心情來約束那些好心的高呼者——提醒他們在2008年，在只有幾個街區外的州議會前掛著的南軍旗及其代表的一切仍然使種族問題非常的重要，盡管他們可能希望相反。

## CHAPTER 7

WITH SOUTH CAROLINA BEHIND US, things once again seemed to start breaking our way. In a New York Times op-ed on January 27, Caroline Kennedy announced her support for me, generously suggesting that our campaign had made her understand, for the first time, the inspiration young Americans had once drawn from her father. Her uncle, Ted Kennedy, followed suit the next day, joining me for an appearance before several thousand students at American University. Teddy was absolutely electric, summoning all the old Camelot magic, batting down the argument of inexperience once used against his brother and now directed toward me. Axe would call it a symbolic passing of the torch, and I could see what it meant to him. It was as if, in our campaign, Teddy recognized a familiar chord, and was reaching back to a time before his brothers' assassinations, Vietnam, white backlash, riots, Watergate, plant closings, Altamont, and AIDS, back to when liberalism brimmed with optimism and a can-do spirit—the same spirit that had shaped my mother's sensibilities as a young woman, and that she had funneled into me.

## 第七章

擺脫南卡羅來納州之後，情況似乎再次向我們靠攏。1月27日，《紐約時報》發表的一篇專欄文章中，卡羅琳·肯尼迪宣布支持我，慷慨地表示我們的競選活動讓她第一次理解了年輕美國人曾從她父親身上汲取的靈感。她的叔叔泰德·肯尼迪緊隨其後，與我一同出現在美利堅大學幾千名學生面前。泰迪非常興奮，展露出所有老式的魅力，否定了曾經用于攻擊他的兄弟，現在又轉向我的“缺乏經驗”的論點。艾克斯稱這是象徵性的火炬傳遞，而我明白他的意思。就像在

我们的竞选活动中，泰迪认识到了一个熟悉的音符，并回归到了在他兄弟被暗杀、越南、白人反击、骚乱、水门事件、工厂关闭、阿尔塔蒙特和艾滋病之前的时代，回到自由主义充满乐观和可以实现的精神的时代——同样的精神塑造了我母亲年轻时的感性思维，并将其引导到我身上。

The Kennedy endorsement added poetry to our campaign and helped set us up for Super Tuesday, on February 5, when more than half the nation's delegates would be determined in a single day. We'd always known that Super Tuesday would present an enormous challenge; even with our wins in Iowa and South Carolina, Hillary remained far better known, and the face-to-face retail campaigning we'd done in the early states was simply not possible in bigger, more densely populated places like California and New York.

What we did have, though, was a grassroots infantry that expanded by the day. With the help of our veteran delegate expert, Jeff Berman, and our tenacious field director, Jon Carson, Plouffe developed a strategy that we would execute with the same single-minded focus that we'd applied to Iowa. Rather than trying to win the big primary states and spend heavily on TV ads there just to mitigate our losses, we instead focused my time and our field efforts on the caucus states—many of them small, rural, and overwhelmingly white—where the enthusiasm of our supporters could produce relatively large turnouts and lopsided victories, which would translate to big delegate hauls.

甘迺迪的支持为我们的竞选活动增添了诗意，帮助我们为2月5日的超级星期二做好准备，在那天，全国超过一半的代表将在单日确定。我们一直知道超级星期二将面临巨大的挑战；即使我们在爱荷华州和南卡罗来纳州获胜，希拉里仍然更为知名，在早期州进行的面对面销售活动无法在像加利福尼亚和纽约这样的更大、更密集人口的地方进行。

但我们拥有的是一个日益扩大的基层步兵。在我们的资深代表专家杰夫·伯曼（Jeff Berman）和我们坚持不懈的现场指导Jon Carson的帮助下，普卢夫制定了一项策略，我们将执行与我们在爱荷华州所使用的同样的专注。我们不是试图赢得大型初选州并在那里花费大量的电视广告以减轻我们的损失，而是将我的时间和我们的现场努力集中在那些支持者热情高涨的小的农村和压倒性白人居多的州，这些州的高投票率和压倒性胜利将转化为大量代表得到。

Idaho was a case in point. It hadn't made sense for us to send paid staff to such a tiny, solidly Republican state, but a determined band of volunteers called Idahoans for Obama had organized themselves. They'd spent the past year using social media tools like MySpace and Meetup to build a community, getting to know my positions on issues, creating personal fundraising pages, planning events, and strategically canvassing the state. When, a few days before Super Tuesday, Plouffe told me that I was scheduled to campaign in Boise instead of putting in an extra day in California—where we were rapidly making up ground—I confess that I had my doubts. But a Boise State arena filled with fourteen thousand cheering Idahoans quickly cured me of any skepticism. We ended up winning Idaho by such a large margin that we gained more delegates there than Hillary got from winning New Jersey, a state with more than five times the population.

爱达荷州就是一个例子。我们没有必要派遣有薪职员到这个坚定的共和党小州，但一支坚定的志愿者团队叫作“为奥巴马而战的爱达荷人”已经组织起来了。他们在过去的一年里使用MySpace和Meetup等社交媒体工具建立社区，了解我的立场，创建个人筹款页面，计划活动，并有策略地走访全州。超级星期二前几天，普卢夫告诉我我要在博伊西竞选而不是在加利福尼亚多留一天，我们在那里正在迅速赶上，我承认我有点怀疑。但一座容纳了14,000个欢呼的爱达荷人的博伊西州体育馆很快就消除了我对任何怀疑的疑虑。我们最终在爱达荷州赢得了如此大的优势，以至于我们在那里获得的代表人数比希拉里在人口是它五倍以上的新泽西州赚到的还要多。

This became the pattern. Thirteen of the twenty-two Super Tuesday contests went our way; and while Hillary won New York and California by a few percentage points each, overall we netted thirteen more delegates than she did. It was a remarkable achievement, a testament to the skill and resourcefulness of Plouffe, our field staff, and most of all our volunteers. And given the questions that both pundits and the Clinton campaign continued to raise about my potential appeal in a general election, I took extra satisfaction in having run the table across the so-called red part of the country.

這成為了一個模式。22號超級星期二的比賽中，其中13場比賽被我們贏了；雖然希拉里在紐約和加利福尼亞州各贏了幾個百分點，但整體來說，我們獲得了比她多13個代表。這是一個非凡的成就，是Plouffe、我們的外勤工作人員以及最重要的我們的志願者們熟練和足智多謀的證明。考慮到評論家和克林頓競選團隊繼續對我在大選中的可能吸引力提出疑問，我更滿意在所謂的紅色部分的國家中取得了全勝。

What struck me as well was the growing role that technology played in our victories. The extraordinary youth of my team allowed us to embrace and refine the digital networks that Howard Dean's campaign had set in motion four years earlier. Our status as upstarts forced us to trust, again and again, the energy and creativity of our internet-savvy volunteers. Millions of small donors were helping to fuel our operation, emailed links helped to spread our campaign messaging in ways that Big Media couldn't, and new communities were forming among people who'd previously been isolated from one another. Coming out of Super Tuesday, I was inspired, imagining that I was glimpsing the future, a resurgence of bottom-up participation that could make our democracy work again.

那些令我印象深刻的是科技在我们胜利中扮演的日益重要的角色。我团队的超凡年轻使我们能够拥抱并完善霍华德·迪恩竞选团队四年前所开启的数字网络。作为新来者强迫我们一次次地信任互联网精通的志愿者的能量和创造力。数百万小额捐款者在帮助我们推动运作，通过电子邮件链接将我们的竞选信息传播到大媒体无法触及的地方，并且新的社群正在形成，这些人之前是相互孤立的。在超级星期二之后，我感到无比振奋，想象着我眼前展现出的未来，一种从底部开始参与的复兴，可以让我们的民主再次运转。

What I couldn't fully appreciate yet was just how malleable this technology would prove to be; how quickly it would be absorbed by commercial interests and wielded by entrenched powers; how readily it could be used not to unify people but to distract or divide them; and how one day many of the same tools that had put me in the White House would be deployed in opposition to everything I stood for.

Such insights would come later. After Super Tuesday, we went on an absolute tear, winning eleven straight primaries and caucuses over the course of two weeks, by an average margin of 36 percent. It was a heady stretch, almost surreal, although the staff and I did our best not to get too far ahead of

ourselves—“Remember New Hampshire!” was a common refrain—understanding that the battle would remain pitched, aware that there were still plenty of people out there who wanted to see us fail.

我当时还没有充分意识到这种技术将会变得多么易于改变；它将如何被商业利益所吸收并被根深蒂固的权力所运用；它将会多么容易地被用来分散人们而不是统一他们；以及有一天，许多曾经帮助我进入白宫的工具将被用来反对我所支持的一切。这些认识后来才到来。在超级星期二之后，我们连胜11个州的初选与党团会议，共计两周时间，平均胜利率为36%。这是一个令人兴奋、几乎超现实的阶段，尽管我和员工们尽力不过度激动——“记得新罕布什尔州！”成为了一种常见的说法——我们明白这场战争仍将继续，还有许多人希望看到我们失败。

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IN THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, the sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois describes the “double consciousness” of Black Americans at the dawn of the twentieth century. Despite having been born and raised on American soil, shaped by this nation’s institutions and infused with its creed, despite the fact that their toiling hands and beating hearts contributed so much to the country’s economy and culture—despite all this, Du Bois writes, Black Americans remain the perpetual “Other,” always on the outside looking in, ever feeling their “two-ness,” defined not by what they are but by what they can never be.

在《黑人之魂》中，社会学家W.E.B.杜波依斯描述了20世纪初黑人美国人所面临的“双重意识”。尽管出生并在美国土地上长大，在这个国家的机构和信条塑造下，并且他们辛勤的双手和跳动的心脏为该国的经济和文化做出了巨大贡献——尽管如此，杜波依斯写道，黑人美国人始终是永恒的“他者”，总是在外面看着，永远感受到他们的“两重性”，不是被定义为他们是什么，而是被定义为他们永远无法成为什么。

As a young man, I had learned a lot from Du Bois’s writing. But whether because of my unique parentage and upbringing or because of the times in which I had come of age, this notion of “double consciousness” was not something I felt personally. I had wrestled with the meaning of my mixed-race status and the fact of racial discrimination. Yet at no point had I ever questioned—or had others question—my fundamental “American-ness.” Of course, I had never run for president before.

Even before I formally announced, Gibbs and our communications team had beaten back various rumors that bubbled up on conservative talk radio or fly-by-night websites before migrating to the Drudge Report and Fox News. There were reports that I had been schooled in an Indonesian madrassa, which gained enough traction that a CNN correspondent actually traveled to my old elementary school in Jakarta, where he found a bunch of kids wearing Western-style uniforms and listening to New Kids on the Block on their iPods. There were claims that I wasn’t an American citizen (helpfully illustrated by a picture of me wearing an African outfit at my Kenyan half brother’s wedding). As the campaign progressed, more lurid falsehoods were circulated. These had nothing to do with my nationality but everything to do with a “foreignness” of a more familiar, homegrown, dark-hued variety: that I had dealt drugs, that I had worked as a gay prostitute, that I had Marxist ties and had fathered multiple children out of wedlock.年轻时，我从杜波依斯（Du Bois）的写作中学到了很多，但无论是因为我的特殊血统和成长背景还是因为我成年的年代，这种“双重意识”的概念对我来说并不是什么个人感受。我曾经为自己的混血身份和种族歧视的事实而奋斗过。然而，我从未怀疑过或者被其他人怀疑过我根本的“美国籍”。

当然，在我正式宣布竞选之前，吉布斯和我们的沟通团队已经打压了各种在保守电台或飞来飞去的网站上冒出的谣言，随后传到了德鲁奇报告和福克斯新闻上。有报道称我曾在印度尼西亚的一所伊斯兰学校受过教育，这种谣言得到了足够的支持，以至于CNN的记者实际上前往我在雅加达的旧小学，那里有一群穿着西式制服、听iPod上新科孩子。还有人声称我不是美国公民（并配上我穿着非洲衣服出席我的肯尼亚同父异母兄弟的婚礼的照片）。随着竞选的进行，更多的虚假谣言被传播开来，这些与我的国籍无关，但与一种更熟悉、本土、深色的“异国风情”有关：我曾贩毒、当过同性恋妓女、有马克思主义联系并且在未婚生育了多个孩子。

It was hard to take any of this stuff seriously, and initially at least, not many people did—in 2008, the internet was still too slow, too spotty, and too removed from mainstream news operations to directly penetrate the minds of voters. But there were indirect, more genteel ways to question my affinities. Following the terror attacks of 9/11, for example, I had taken to wearing an American flag lapel pin, feeling that it was one small way to express national solidarity in the face of enormous tragedy. Then, as the debate about Bush’s war on terrorism and the Iraq invasion wore on—as I watched John Kerry get swift-boated and heard those who opposed the Iraq War have their patriotism questioned by the likes of Karl Rove, as I saw my colleagues wearing flag pins in the Senate blithely vote for budget cuts to funding for veterans’ programs—I quietly set my own pin aside. It was less an act of protest and more a reminder to myself that the substance of patriotism mattered far more than the symbol. Nobody seemed to notice, especially since most of my fellow senators—including former navy POW John McCain—regularly sported flag-pin-less lapels.這一切都很难被認真對待，起初至少是這樣，不多人在2008年將網路視為直接影響選民思維的媒介，因為網路速度太慢、連線不穩、與主流新聞網站脫節。然而，仍有間接而溫和的方式來質疑我的傾向。例如，在911恐怖襲擊事件之後，我開始佩戴美國國旗胸針，覺得這是在巨大的悲劇面前表達國家團結的一小步。接著，當有關布希反恐戰爭和伊拉克入侵的辯論持續，當我看到約翰·克里被縮短競選期限、聽到那些反對伊拉克戰爭的人被像卡爾·羅夫這樣的人質疑他們的愛國主義時，當我看到我的同事們在不理會退伍軍人福利預算削減的情況下輕鬆地在參議院投票，我靜悄悄地放下了我的國旗胸針。這不是一種抗議，而是提醒自己愛國主義的實質要比符號重要得多。沒有人注意到，尤其是由於我大部分的同僚參議員（包括前海軍士兵約翰·麥凱恩）經常不佩戴國旗胸針。

So when back in October a local reporter in Iowa had asked me why I wasn’t wearing a flag pin, I told the truth, saying that I didn’t think the presence or absence of a token you could buy in a dime store measured one’s love of country. Soon enough, conservative talking heads were hammering on the purported meaning of my bare lapel. Obama hates the flag, Obama disrespects our troops. Months later, they were still making an issue of it, which began to piss me off. Just why was it, I wanted to ask, that only my pin habits, and not those of any previous presidential candidates, had suddenly attracted so much attention? Not surprisingly, Gibbs discouraged me from any public venting.所以，回到去年十月份，當一位來自愛荷華州的記者問我為什麼不戴國旗徽章時，我講了實話，說我不認為一個可以在便利商店購買的標記可以衡量一個人對國家的愛。很快，保守派談話節目開始強調我空落落的胸章的意義。奧巴馬不喜歡國旗，奧巴馬不尊重我們的軍隊。數月後，他們仍在強調此事，這開始讓我惱火了。我想問的是，為什麼只有我的胸章習慣，而不是任何以前的總統候選人的胸章習慣，突然引起如此多的關注？毫不意外，吉布斯阻止了我發表任何公開發洩意見。

“Why give them the satisfaction?” he counseled. “You’re winning.”

Fair enough. I was less easily persuaded, though, when I saw the same sort of innuendo directed toward my wife.

Since Iowa, Michelle had continued to light up the campaign trail. With the girls in school, we limited her appearances to tight races and her travel mostly to weekends, but wherever she went, she was funny and engaging, insightful and blunt. She talked about raising kids and trying to balance the demands of work and family. She described the values she’d been raised with—her father never missing a day of work despite his MS, her mother’s deep attention to her education, the family never having had much money but always having plenty of love. It was Norman Rockwell, *Leave It to Beaver* stuff. My in-laws fully embodied the tastes and aspirations we tend to claim as uniquely American, and I didn’t know anyone more mainstream than Michelle, whose favorite meal was a burger and fries, who liked to watch reruns of *The Andy Griffith Show*, and who relished any chance to pass a Saturday afternoon shopping at the mall.“為什麼要讓他們滿足？”他勸道，“你們贏了。”

好吧。但是，當我看到同樣的暗示指向我的妻子時，我不那麼容易被說服。

自從愛荷華州之後，米歇爾繼續在競選路上發揮著作用。孩子們上學後，我們將她的出現限制在激烈的比賽和週末的旅行上，但無論她走到哪裡，她都是風趣和引人入勝的，有見地和直言不諱的。她談論如何撫養孩子，如何平衡工作和家庭的需求。她描述了她所受到的價值觀-她的父親雖然患有多發性硬化症，但從未缺勤過工作，她母親對她的教育非常關注，家庭從未有多少錢，但總是有充足的愛。這是諾曼·洛克威爾，讓·比弗式的東西。我的岳父母完全具備我們認為是獨特的美國品味和追求，我不知道有誰比米歇爾更加主流，她最喜歡的餐點是漢堡和薯條，喜歡看《安迪·格里菲斯秀》的重播，並喜歡逛商場這種週六下午的機會。

And yet, at least according to some commentators, Michelle was...different, not First Lady material. She seemed “angry,” they said. One Fox News segment described her as “Obama’s Baby Mama.” It wasn’t just conservative media either. New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd wrote a column suggesting that when Michelle painted a teasing portrait of me in her speeches as a hapless dad who let bread go stale in the kitchen and left dirty laundry lying around (reliably getting an appreciative laugh from her audience), she wasn’t humanizing me but rather “emasculating” me, hurting my chances at being elected.然而，至少根據一些評論家的說法，米歇爾……不同，不是第一夫人材料。他們說她看起來“憤怒”。一位福克斯新聞節目稱她為“奧巴馬的嬰兒媽媽”。這不仅仅是保守派媒體。《紐約時報》专栏作家莫林·道德撰寫了一篇专栏文章，暗示米歇爾在她的講話中描述我是一個讓麵包變干並讓骯髒的衣服散落四處的笨拙父親（她的聽眾總是會欣賞地笑），她並沒有讓我變得更人性化，而是在“閹割”我，損害了我當選的機會。

This sort of commentary was infrequent, and some on our staff considered it on par with the usual nastiness of campaigns. But that’s not how Michelle experienced it. She understood that alongside the straitjacket that political wives were supposed to stay in (the adoring and compliant helpmeet, charming but not too opinionated; the same straitjacket that Hillary had once rejected, a choice she continued to pay dearly for), there was an extra set of stereotypes applied to Black women, familiar tropes that Black girls steadily absorbed like toxins from the day they first saw a blond Barbie doll or poured Aunt Jemima syrup on their pancakes. That they didn’t meet the prescribed standards of femininity, that their butts were too big and their hair too nappy, that they were too loud or hot-tempered or cutting toward their men—that they were not just “emasculating” but masculine.

這樣的評論並不常見，我們的一些工作人員認為這與競選活動通常的惡劣言語差不多。但米歇爾沒有這樣想。她理解到，政治夫人應該處於的束縛（崇拜和順從的助手，迷人但不要太有意見；這是希拉里曾經拒絕的束縛，而她持續為此付出代價），對於黑人女性來說，還有額外的刻板印象，熟悉的典型讓黑人女孩從第一次看到金髮芭比娃娃或在自己的煎餅上加上 Aunt Jemima 糖漿開始就蓄積如毒素般的心理。

她們不符合女性的標準，她們的臀部太大，她們的頭髮太毛躁，她們太吵鬧、脾氣太熱烈、對男人太刻薄，她們不只是「削弱男性氣概」，而是像男人一樣。

Michelle had managed this psychic burden all her life, largely by being meticulous about her appearance, maintaining control of herself and her environment, and preparing assiduously for everything, even as she refused to be cowed into becoming someone she wasn’t. That she had emerged whole, with so much grace and dignity, just as so many Black women had succeeded in the face of so many negative messages, was amazing. Of course, it was the nature of presidential campaigns that control would occasionally slip. For Michelle, it happened right before the Wisconsin primary, when, during the course of a speech in which she described being awed by how many people were energized by our campaign, she said, “For the first time in my adult lifetime, I’m really proud of my country...because I think people are hungry for change.”米雪爾一生都在管理這個心理負擔，主要是通過仔細打理自己的形象，控制自己和周圍的環境，以及認真準備一切來實現的，即使她拒絕變成她不是的人。像許多黑人女性在面對如此多的負面信息時一樣，她以如此優雅和尊嚴的方式整個人都出來了，這真是驚人的。

当然，总统竞选的本质是有时会失去控制。对于米雪爾来说，这发生在威斯康星州初选之前，当她在演讲中描述自己对我们的竞选活动如此多的人充满了活力时，她说：“在我成年后的第一次，我真的为我的国家感到自豪……因为我认为人们渴望变革。”

It was a textbook gaffe—a few ad-libbed words that could then be diced, clipped, and weaponized by the conservative media—a garbled version of what she’d said many times before in her speeches about being proud of the direction our country was headed in, the promising surge in political participation. My team and I largely deserved the blame; we’d put Michelle on the road without the speechwriting, prep sessions, and briefers that I had at all times, the infrastructure that kept me organized and on point. It was like sending a civilian into live fire without a flak jacket.那是一次教科書式的失誤—她隨口講了幾句話，被保守媒體切割、剪輯、武器化，形成錯亂版的她曾在演講中多次提及的自豪國家進步方向和政治參與的蓬勃發展。這次失誤主要是我和我的團隊的錯，我們沒有為米歇爾提供演講撰寫、準備會議和簡報員以及我個人時刻保持有組織和專注的基礎設施。這就像是讓一個平民穿越火線而沒有戰鬥防彈衣。

No matter. Reporters pounced, speculating as to how much Michelle’s comments might hurt the campaign, and how much it revealed about the Obamas’ true feelings. I understood this to be part of a larger and uglier agenda out there, a slowly accruing, deliberately negative portrait of us built from stereotypes, stoked by fear, and meant to feed a general nervousness about the idea of a Black person making the country’s most important decisions

with his Black family in the White House. But I was less concerned about what all this meant for the campaign than I was pained by seeing how much it hurt Michelle; how it caused my strong, intelligent, and beautiful wife to doubt herself. Following the misstep in Wisconsin, she reminded me that she'd never had a desire to be in the spotlight and said that if her presence on the campaign trail hurt more than it helped, she would just as soon stay home. I assured her that the campaign would provide her better support, insisting that she was a far more compelling figure to voters than I would ever be. But nothing I said seemed to make her feel better.

无论如何，记者们猛烈攻击，猜测米歇尔的评论会对竞选造成多大伤害，并揭示奥巴马的真实感受有多少。我理解这是更大、更丑陋的议程的一部分，这是一种从刻板印象中积累、在恐惧中加热、旨在为大家提供一个关于黑人家庭在白宫里做出国家最重要决策的普遍不安的漫画。但我更担心的不是这对竞选的影响，而是看到这有多么伤害米歇尔；看到这让我自己坚强、聪明、美丽的妻子开始怀疑自己。在威斯康星州的错误之后，她提醒我她从未想过成为聚光灯下的人，她说如果她的存在在竞选路上帮倒忙多于有益，她宁愿呆在家里。我向她保证，竞选将为她提供更好的支持，并坚称她对选民而言比我更具吸引力。但我说的一切似乎都没有让她感觉好一点。

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THROUGHOUT ALL THESE emotional ups and downs, our campaign continued to grow. By the time we entered Super Tuesday, the scale of our organization had mushroomed, a modest start-up transformed into a more secure and better-funded operation. The hotel rooms we stayed in were a bit roomier, our travel smoother. After starting out flying commercial, we'd later gone through our share of misadventures on cut-rate charter flights. One pilot landed us in the wrong city not once but twice. Another tried to jump-start the plane's battery with an extension cord plugged into a standard socket in the airport lounge. (I was grateful when the experiment failed, though it meant we then waited two hours for a battery to be trucked in from a neighboring town on a flatbed.) With a bigger budget, we were now able to lease our own plane, complete with a flight attendant, meals, and seats that actually reclined.

在这些情感的风起云涌中，我们的竞选活动依然在发展壮大。到了超级星期二，我们组织的规模已经急剧扩大，一开始只是个小型创业公司变成了更加安全和资金充足的机构。我们住的酒店房间更宽敞，旅程更加平稳。起初我们是坐商业航班出发，后来也经历了自助式包机旅行的坎坷。一名飞行员竟然两次把我们送错城市。另一位飞行员试图用电线插座从机场休息室来的标准插座给飞机的电池充电（我很庆幸这个实验失败了，因为这意味着我们还要等两个小时才能拖一辆卡车从邻近的城镇把电池运过来）。有了更大的预算，我们现在能够租用自己的飞机，带有空乘人员、膳食以及实际可倾斜的座椅。

But new growth brought with it rules, protocols, process, and hierarchy. Our staff had grown to more than a thousand people nationwide, and while those on our senior team did their best to maintain the campaign's scrappy, informal culture, gone were the days when I could claim to know the majority of the people who worked for me. In the absence of such familiarity, fewer and fewer of the people I met in the course of a day addressed me as "Barack." I was "sir" now, or "Senator." When I entered the room, staff would often get up out of their seats to move elsewhere, assuming that I didn't want to be disturbed. If I insisted they stick around, they would smile shyly and speak only in a low murmur.

但是随着新的增长，出现了规则、协议、流程和等级制度。我们的员工已经遍布全国，超过一千人，尽管我们的高级团队尽力保持着运动的散漫、非正式的文化，但是我再也不能声称认识为我工作的大多数人。在这种不熟悉的情况下，我遇见的人越来越少地称呼我为“巴拉克”。现在，他们称呼我为“先生”或“参议员”。当我进入房间时，员工们通常会起身离开，认为我不想被打扰。如果我坚持要他们留在原地，他们会害羞地微笑，只低声细语。

It made me feel old, and increasingly lonely.

In an odd way, so did the crowds at our rallies. They had swelled to fifteen, twenty, or even thirty thousand strong at a stop, people wearing the red, white, and blue Obama campaign logo on shirts and hats and overalls, waiting for hours to get into whatever arena we'd found. Our team developed something of a pregame ritual. Reggie, Marvin, Gibbs, and I would jump out of the car at a service entrance or loading dock, then follow our advance team through corridors and back ways. Usually I'd meet with local organizers; take pictures with a hundred or so key volunteers and supporters, full of hugs, kisses, and small requests; and sign books, magazines, baseballs, birth announcements, military commissions, and just about anything else. Then there'd be an interview with a reporter or two; a quick lunch in a holding room that had been prestocked with bottled iced tea, trail mix, protein bars, and any other item that I had ever mentioned wanting, no matter how incidentally, in quantities adequate for a survivalist's bomb shelter; followed by a bathroom break, with either Marvin or Reggie handing me a gel to put on my forehead and nose so my skin wouldn't shine on television, though one of our videographers insisted it was a carcinogen.這讓我感覺很老，越來越孤獨。有趣的是，我們集會上的人群也是這樣。在某個站點，人們戴著紅白藍色的奧巴馬競選標誌的襯衫、帽子和工作褲，等待數小時才能進入場館，人數從15萬到20萬甚至30萬。我們的團隊發展出一種前賽的儀式。雷吉、馬文、吉布斯和我會從一個服務入口或裝卸區跳出車，然後跟隨我們的預先指導隊通過走廊和背路。通常我會與當地組織者會面；與一百多名關鍵志願者和支持者合影，擁抱、親吻和一些小請求；簽名書、雜誌、棒球、出生公告、軍事委託和任何其他東西。然後會有一兩個記者的採訪；在一個預先裝滿瓶裝冰茶、小徑混合物、蛋白質棒和我曾經提到需要的任何東西的保留室裡吃個快餐，不論我曾經提過多麼偶然，足夠一個生存主義者的炸彈避難所；接著是上廁所，馬文或雷吉遞給我一個凝膠，放在額頭和鼻子上，這樣我的皮膚不會在電視上發光，盡管我們的其中一位攝影師堅持說它是致癌物質。

I'd hear the buzz of the crowd growing louder as I walked under the stands or bleachers to the staging area. There'd be a cue to the sound engineer for the announcement ("the Voice of God," I learned it was called), I'd listen quietly backstage as a local person introduced me, and then would come the words "the next president of the United States," a deafening roar, the sound of U2's "City of Blinding Lights," and, after a quick fist bump or a "Go get 'em, boss," a walk through the curtain and onto the stage.

當我走在看台下或者看臺下的地方到達舞台區域時，我會聽到觀眾的嗡嗡聲變得越來越響。此時會有一個提示音給音效工程師，這被稱為“上帝的聲音”（我學到的）。我會在台後靜靜地聽著當地的人介紹我，然後就會聽到“下一任美國總統”的話語，接著是震耳欲聾的歡呼聲，U2樂隊的《City of Blinding Lights》的音樂，最後是一個快速的拳頭碰撞或者一聲“加油，老大”，然後走過簾幕走上舞台。

I did this two or three times a day, traveling from city to city, state to state. And though the novelty wore off quickly, the sheer energy of those rallies never stopped filling me with wonder. “Like a rock concert” is how reporters described it, and in terms of noise at least, that was accurate. But that wasn’t how it felt while I was onstage. I wasn’t offering the crowd a solo performance so much as trying to be a reflector, reminding Americans—through the stories they’d told me—of all that they truly cherished, and the formidable power that, joined together, they possessed.

我每天要两三次完成这个，穿越城市和州。虽然新鲜感很快就消失了，但这些集会的强烈活力仍然让我感到惊奇。报道者将其描述为“摇滚音乐会”，至少在噪音方面是准确的。但当我在舞台上时，我不是在进行独奏表演，而是试图成为一面反射器，通过他们告诉我的故事，提醒美国人民珍爱的一切和他们共同拥有的巨大力量。

Once my speech was over and I walked off the stage to shake hands along the rope line, I often found people screaming, pushing, and grabbing. Some would cry or touch my face, and despite my best efforts to discourage it, young parents would pass howling babies across rows of strangers for me to hold. The excitement was fun and at times deeply touching, but it was also a little unnerving. At some basic level people were no longer seeing me, I realized, with all my quirks and shortcomings. Instead, they had taken possession of my likeness and made it a vessel for a million different dreams. I knew a time would come when I would disappoint them, falling short of the image that my campaign and I had helped to construct.

我演讲结束后走下舞台，沿着绳线握手时，常常会有人尖叫、推搡和抓住我。有些人会哭或摸我的脸，尽管我尽力阻止，年轻的父母们也会抱着哭闹的婴儿，把它们从一排陌生人手中递过来让我抱。这种兴奋有时很有趣，也很让人感动，但有点不寒而栗。我意识到，基本上人们已经不再看到我身上所有的怪癖和缺点，而把我的肖像作为百万个不同梦想的容器。我知道有一天我会让他们失望，无法达到我和我的竞选团队建立的形象。

I realized, too, that if supporters could mold bits and pieces of me into an outsized symbol of hope, then the vague fears of detractors could just as readily congeal into hate. And it was in response to this disturbing truth that I’d seen my life change the most.

I had been assigned Secret Service protection in May 2007, just a few months after my campaign began—given the code name “Renegade” and a round-the-clock security detail. This wasn’t the norm. Unless you were a sitting vice president (or, in the case of Hillary, a former First Lady), candidates typically weren’t assigned coverage until they’d all but secured the nomination. The reason my case was handled differently, the reason Harry Reid and Bennie Thompson, chair of the House Homeland Security Committee, had publicly insisted the Service move early, was straightforward: The number of threats directed my way exceeded anything the Secret Service had ever seen before.

我也意识到，如果支持者能够将我的一点一滴塑造成寓意深远的希望象征，那么反对者模糊的恐惧也同样可能凝聚成仇恨。正是针对这个令人不安的真相，我看到自己的生活发生了最大的改变。

2007年5月，就在我的竞选活动开始几个月后，我被安排了特勤局的保护，被赋予了代号“叛逆者”和全天候的安保。这不是常态。除非你是现任副总统（或者，在希拉里的情况下，是前一任第一夫人），通常只有在几乎已经获得提名之后，候选人才会被指派安保。我的案子之所以处理不同，哈里·里德和国会内务委员会主席本尼·汤普森公开要求特勤局提前行动的原因很简单：针对我的威胁数量超过了特勤局以往所见过的任何情况。

The head of my personal detail, Jeff Gilbert, was an impressive guy. African American, bespectacled, with an open, friendly manner, he could have passed for an executive at a Fortune 100 company. In our first meeting, he emphasized his desire to make the transition as seamless as possible, understanding that as a candidate, I had to freely interact with the public.

Jeff proved true to his word: At no point did the Service ever prevent us from pulling off an event, and the agents did what they could to downplay their presence (using bales of hay rather than metal bike racks, for example, to create a barrier in front of an outdoor stage). The shift leaders, most in their forties, were professional and courteous, with dry senses of humor. Often, we’d sit in the back of the plane or on a bus ride and rib one another about our respective sports teams or talk about our kids. Jeff’s son was a star offensive lineman at Florida, and we all began monitoring his prospects in the NFL draft. Meanwhile, Reggie and Marvin hit it off with the younger agents, going to the same watering holes after campaign business was done.我个人的安保团队负责人杰夫·吉尔伯特是一个令人印象深刻的人。非裔美国人，戴着眼镜，开放友好，他可以过得去一家财富100强公司的高管。在我们的第一次会议中，他强调了他希望尽可能顺利地进行过渡，理解作为候选人，我必须自由与公众互动的愿望。

杰夫证明了自己的话是真的：服务从未阻止我们举办活动，特工们尽力淡化他们的存在（例如使用草堆而不是金属自行车架，在户外舞台前创建一个屏障）。大多数值班领导都是四十多岁的专业人士，有幽默的干燥感。经常，我们会坐在飞机的后面或公共汽车上，互相嘲笑彼此的体育队或谈论我们的孩子。杰夫的儿子是佛罗里达州的明星进攻线，我们都开始关注他在NFL选秀中的前景。与此同时，雷吉和马文与年轻的特工打成一片，在完成竞选业务后去同一家水洞。

Still, to suddenly have armed men and women hovering around me wherever I went, posted outside every room I occupied, was a shock to my system. My view of the outside world started to shift, obscured by the veil of security. I no longer walked through the front entrance of a building when a back stairwell was available. If I worked out in a hotel gym, agents first covered the windows with cloth to prevent a potential shooter from getting a sight line. Bulletproof barriers were placed inside any room I slept in, including our bedroom at home in Chicago. And I no longer had the option of driving myself anywhere, not even around the block.

然而，突然间到处都有武装男女环绕着我，他们在我居住的每个房间门口设立哨岗，这让我感到震惊。安全帷幕掩盖了我对外部世界的看法，我不再走进一个建筑物的前门，如果有后门可用的话。如果我在旅馆健身房锻炼，特工们会先用布料覆盖窗户，以防潜在射手能够瞄准。在任何我睡觉的房间里都会放置防弹屏障，包括我们芝加哥家中的卧室。我再也没有自己开车的选择，甚至不能在街区周围开车。

As we moved closer to the nomination, my world shrank even further. More agents were added. My movements became more restricted. Spontaneity vanished entirely from my life. It was no longer possible, or at least not easy, for me to walk through a grocery store or have a casual chat with a stranger

on the sidewalk.

“It's like a circus cage,” I complained to Marvin one day, “and I'm the dancing bear.”

There were times when I went stir-crazy, so fed up with the highly scheduled regimen of town halls, interviews, photo ops, and fundraising that I would up and take off, suddenly desperate to search for a good taco or to follow the sounds of some nearby outdoor concert, sending the agents scrambling to catch up, whispering “Renegade on the move” into their wrist mics.隨著我們接近提名，我的世界進一步縮小。更多的特工被加入其中。我的行動變得更加受限。我的生活完全失去了 spontaneity. 我再也無法輕易地走進雜貨店或與陌生人在人行道上隨便聊天了。

“就像是一個馬戲團的籠子，”我有一天向馬文抱怨，“而我就是跳舞的熊。”

有時我會感到無聊，厭倦了高度安排的城鎮廳、採訪、照片拍攝和籌款活動，我就會突然離開，急於尋找美味的 taco 或跟隨附近的戶外音樂會的聲音，讓特工們匆忙跟上，悄悄地在腕式麥克風中說著“叛逆者在行動”。

“The bear is loose!” Reggie and Marvin would shout a little gleefully during such episodes.

But by the winter of 2008, these impromptu outings occurred less and less often. I knew that unpredictability made my detail's job harder and increased the risk to the agents. And anyway, the tacos didn't taste as good as I'd imagined when I was surrounded by a circle of anxious agents, not to mention the crowds and reporters that quickly assembled the moment I was recognized. When I had downtime, I found myself spending it more often in my room —reading, playing cards, quietly watching a ball game on TV.

这些情景发生时，雷吉和马文会有点愉快地喊道：“熊出没了！”但到了2008年冬天，这种即兴出游事件越来越少了。我知道这种不可预测性使得我的保镖工作更加困难，增加了特工们的风险。而且，当我被一圈焦虑的特工包围时，那些塔可饼并没有我想象中的好吃，更别提随即拥挤的人群和记者了。当我有空闲时间时，我会更多地待在自己的房间里——看书、打牌，或安静地看着电视上的球赛。

To the relief of his keepers, the bear became accustomed to captivity.

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BY THE END of February, we had built what looked like an insurmountable lead over Hillary in pledged delegates. It was around this time that Plouffe, always cautious in his assessments, called from Chicago to tell me what at some level I already knew.

“I think it's safe to say that if we play our cards right these next few weeks, you will be the Democratic nominee for president of the United States.”

After we hung up, I sat alone, trying to take the measure of my emotions. There was pride, I suppose, the jolt of satisfaction a mountain climber must feel looking back at the jagged ground that's been covered below. Mostly, though, I felt a certain stillness, without elation or relief, sobered by the thought that the responsibilities of governance were no longer a distant possibility. Axe, Plouffe, and I found ourselves wrangling more frequently about our campaign platform, with me insisting that all our proposals withstand scrutiny—less because of the need to defend them during the election season (experience had cured me of the notion that anyone else paid close attention to my plans for tax reform or environmental regulation) than because I might have to actually implement them.

看到熊能夠習慣囚禁，維持者們松了一口氣。

到2月底，我們在承諾代表選票方面已經領先希拉里一大步。大約在這時，一向謹慎評估的普勞夫從芝加哥打來電話告訴我，我已經成為美國總統的民主黨候選人，“如果我們在未來幾週中表現得好，這句話是安全的。”

我們掛電話後，我獨自坐著，嘗試衡量自己的情緒。我想，其中有驕傲，一種登山者望著下方已經穿越的崎嶇地形，感到滿足的激動感。但主要的是，我感到某種寂靜，沒有歡欣或寬慰，我意識到承擔治理責任不再是一種遙不可及的可能性。我、艾克斯和普勞夫越來越經常地爭論我們的競選平台，我堅持所有提議都經得起檢驗，不是因為選舉期間需要為它們辯護（我的經驗已經讓我相信，其他任何人對我的稅制改革或環境監管計劃都付不起多少注意），只是因為我可能必須實施它們。

Such projections into the future might have occupied even more of my time had it not been for the fact that, despite the math showing I was going to be the nominee, Hillary simply would not give up.

Anyone else would have. She was running out of money. Her campaign was in turmoil, with staff recriminations spilling out into the press. The only remaining chance Hillary had to win the nomination depended on convincing superdelegates—the several hundred Democratic elected officials and party insiders who were given a vote at the convention and could cast it any way they wanted—to choose her when the party convened in August. It was a slender reed to hang on: While Hillary had started with a big early lead in superdelegates (who tended to announce which way they would vote long before the convention), more and more had committed to us as the primary season dragged on.

如果希拉里不一直固執己見，我可能会更多地投入到未来的预测中。数学计算表明我将成为总统候选人，但希拉里就是不肯放弃。其他人可能早就放弃了。她的竞选活动资金不足，竞选团队陷入混乱，而且内部争吵不断地爆发到媒体上。希拉里赢得提名的最后机会就取决于说服超级代表——数百名民主党选出的官员和党内权威在八月的全国代表大会上投票支持她。这是纤弱的一根稻草：虽然希拉里一开始在超级代表中领先（他们往往会提前宣布投票意向），但随着初选进程的不断拖延，越来越多的超级代表已经承诺将投票给我们。

And yet she soldiered on, embracing her underdog status. Her voice took on a greater urgency, especially when discussing working-class concerns, offering her willingness to campaign to the bitter end as proof that she'd fight just as hard for American families. With upcoming primaries in Texas and Ohio (states populated by older white and Hispanic voters who tended to lean her way), to be followed seven weeks later by Pennsylvania (a state where she also enjoyed a healthy lead), Hillary assured anyone who'd listen that she planned to take our contest all the way to the convention floor.

然而，她依然英勇前行，接受自己是劣势者的地位。在谈论工薪阶层问题时，她的声音显得更加紧急，她表示自己愿意一直奋战到最后，为美国家庭战斗的决心得到了证明。随着德克萨斯州和俄亥俄州即将到来的初选（这些州有老年白人和西班牙裔选民，倾向于支持她），七周后，还有宾夕法尼亚州（她在这个州也领先）的初选，希拉里向任何愿意听的人保证，她计划将竞选进行到党代表大会。

“She’s like a fucking vampire,” Plouffe groused. “You can’t kill her off.”

Her tenacity was admirable, but my sympathies extended only so far. Senator John McCain would soon wrap up the Republican nomination, and another two or three months of bitter Democratic primary contests would give him a big head start on laying the groundwork for November’s general election. It also meant that after almost eighteen months of nonstop campaigning, nobody on my team would get a meaningful break, which was unfortunate because all of us were running on fumes.

“她就像是一只该死的吸血鬼，”普卢夫抱怨道。“你根本杀不死她。”她的韧性令人钦佩，但我的同情心也有限。约翰·麦凯恩参议员很快就会获得共和党提名，另外两三个月的激烈民主党初选将为他在11月的大选中打下良好基础。这也意味着，在将近18个月的不间断竞选之后，我的团队中没有人能够得到有意义的休息，这很不幸，因为我们所有人都已经精疲力尽了。

That probably explains how we came to make the one big tactical error of our campaign.

Rather than set realistic expectations and effectively concede Ohio so that we could focus on Texas, we decided to go for the knockout punch and try to win both. We spent massively in each state. For a week, I shuttled back and forth, from Dallas to Cleveland to Houston to Toledo, my voice raw, my eyes bloodshot—hardly looking like a herald of hope.

Our efforts had a modest effect on the polls, but they lent credence to the Clinton campaign’s claim that a victory for her in Texas and Ohio could fundamentally reset the race. Meanwhile, the political press, seeing these primaries as perhaps my final test before securing the nomination and eager to sustain a drama that had proven to be a cable news ratings bonanza, gave more prominent coverage to Hillary’s attacks on me, including an ad she ran contending that I wasn’t ready to handle the “three a.m. phone call” involving a crisis. When all was said and done, we lost Ohio (decisively) and Texas (just barely).

这可能解释了我们在竞选中犯下的一个巨大战术错误。我们没有设定实际预期，并在事实上放弃了俄亥俄州，以便把重心放在得克萨斯州。相反，我们决定一鼓作气，努力赢得两个州。我们在每个州都投入了大量资金。一周内，我来回奔波于达拉斯，克利夫兰，休斯顿和托莱多之间，我嗓子变哑，眼睛充血，看起来几乎不像一个希望的使者。

我们的努力在民意调查中仅产生了一点点效果，但它们证实了克林顿竞选团队声称她在得克萨斯州和俄亥俄州胜利会从根本上重置竞选。与此同时，政治媒体将这些初选视为我赢得提名前的最后一关考验，并渴望维持首播的好评，更显著地报道了希拉里针对我的攻击，包括她的一个广告，声称我没有能力处理涉及危机的“凌晨三点电话”。最终，我们在俄亥俄州（明确地）和得克萨斯州（仅仅）输了。

On the flight from San Antonio back to Chicago after the primary, my team’s mood was grim. Michelle barely said a word. When Plouffe attempted to lighten things by announcing that we’d won Vermont, it barely elicited a shrug. When someone else offered up the theory that we had all died and entered purgatory, where we were destined to debate Hillary for all eternity, no one laughed. It felt too close to the truth.

Hillary’s victories didn’t change the delegate count in a meaningful way, but they put enough wind in her campaign’s sails to guarantee at least two more months of bitter primaries. The results also gave her camp fresh ammunition for an argument that seemed to be gaining traction with reporters—that I couldn’t connect with white working-class voters, that Latinos were lukewarm at best about me, and that in an election of this importance, these weaknesses could make me a very risky Democratic nominee.在从圣安东尼奥飞回芝加哥的航班上，在初选后，我的团队情绪低落。米歇尔几乎什么也没说。当普洛夫试图通过宣布我们赢得了佛蒙特州来让气氛变得轻松一些时，他的举动几乎没有得到任何反应。当其他人提出我们已经死了并进入了炼狱，我们注定要与希拉里永远辩论时，没有人笑了。这感觉太接近真相了。

希拉里的胜利没有在代表票中产生实质性的变化，但它们为她的竞选活动注入了足够的动力，以确保至少再进行两个月的激烈初选。这些结果还为她的阵营提供了新的论据，这个论点似乎在记者中越来越受欢迎——我无法与自人工薪阶层选民建立联系，拉丁裔选择我的热情最好也仅仅是冷淡的，而在这场竞选中，这些弱点可能使我成为一个非常冒险的民主党提名人选。

Just one week later, I found myself wondering if they were right.

—

IT HAD BEEN more than a year since I’d given much thought to my pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright. But on March 13, we woke up to discover that ABC News had compiled a series of short clips culled from several years of his sermons, skillfully packaged to fit a two-minute segment on Good Morning America. There was Reverend Wright calling America “USA of KKK.” There was Reverend Wright saying, “Not God bless America. God damn America.” There was Reverend Wright, in living color, explaining how the tragedy of 9/11 might in part be explained by our record of military interventions and wanton violence overseas, a matter of “America’s chickens...coming home to roost.” The video offered no context or history; in fact, it could not have portrayed Black radicalism more vividly, or provided a more surgical tool to offend Middle America. It was like a Roger Ailes fever dream.

仅仅一周后，我发现自己开始怀疑他们是否正确。——

距离我上次想到我的牧师杰里米亚·怀特已经一年多了。但是在3月13日，我们醒来发现ABC新闻已经汇编了几年来他的讲道的短片，巧妙地打包成一段两分钟的《早安美国》节目。那里有怀特牧师称美国为“kkk的美国”。有怀特牧师说“不是上帝保佑美国，而是诅咒美国”。有怀特牧师以生动的色彩阐述9/11的悲剧可能在一定程度上可以通过我们在海外的军事干预和肆意的暴力行为的记录来解释，这是“美国的鸡回来了，落脚在家。”该视频没有上下文或历史，事实上，它没有更生动地描绘黑色激进主义，或提供更手术的工具来冒犯美国中产阶级。它就像罗杰·艾尔斯（Roger Ailes）的噩梦一样。

Within hours of its initial broadcast, the video was running everywhere. Inside my campaign, it felt as if a torpedo had blown through our hull. I issued a statement, forcefully denouncing the sentiments expressed in the video, while also emphasizing all the good work that Reverend Wright and Trinity did in Chicago. The next day, I appeared at an already scheduled meeting with the editorial boards of two newspapers and then did a round of network TV interviews, each time offering a condemnation of the views expressed in the video clips. But no sound bite could offset the harm. The image of Reverend Wright kept rolling across TV screens, the cable chatter continued nonstop, and even Plouffe admitted we might not survive this.

视频播出仅几小时后，就在各处传播开来。在我的竞选团队内部，感觉就像是一枚鱼雷击穿了船体。我发表了一份声明，强烈谴责视频中表达的情绪，同时也强调了赖特牧师和三一教堂在芝加哥所做的出色工作。第二天，我参加了两家报纸的编辑委员会预定会议，并接受了电视台的采访，每次都谴责视频剪辑中表达的观点。但是没有任何措辞可以抵消这种伤害。赖特牧师的形象继续在电视屏幕上滚动，有线电视频道不停地讨论，连普卢夫（竞选班子高层）也承认我们也许无法在这个事件中幸存下来。

Later, Axe and Plouffe would fault themselves for not having had our researchers obtain the videos a year earlier, after the Rolling Stone article hit, which would have given us more time to do damage control. But I knew the blame lay squarely on my shoulders. I may not have been in church for any of the sermons in question or heard Reverend Wright use such explosive language. But I knew all too well the occasional spasms of anger within the Black community—my community—that Reverend Wright was channeling. I did know how differently Black and white folks still viewed issues of race in America, regardless of how much else they had in common. For me to believe that I could bridge those worlds had been pure hubris, the same hubris that had led me to assume that I could dip in and out of a complex institution like Trinity, headed by a complex man like Reverend Wright, and select, as if off a menu, only those things that I liked. Maybe I could do that as a private citizen, but not as a public figure running for president.

后来，艾克斯和普卢夫会责怪自己没有在滚石杂志发表文章之后的一年让我们的研究员获取视频，这将给我们更多的时间来做损害控制。但我知道责任完全在我的肩膀上。我可能没有参加一个有争议的布道或听到赖特牧师使用如此爆炸性的语言。但我对于黑人社区内偶然的愤怒爆发非常熟悉，这是我自己的社区。我确实知道黑人和白人在美国种族问题上的看法有多么不同，无论他们在其它方面有多少共同点。我相信我可以桥接这些世界的自信是纯粹的傲慢，这也是导致我认为我可以随意关注并选择喜欢的复杂机构，如赖特牧师主持的三一教堂的原因，就像从菜单中选择一样。也许作为一个私人公民我可以做到，但作为一个竞选总统的公众人物我就做不到了。

Anyway, it was too late now. And while there are moments in politics, as in life, when avoidance, if not retreat, is the better part of valor, there are other times when the only option is to steel yourself and go for broke.

“I need to make a speech,” I told Plouffe. “On race. The only way to deal with this is to go big and put Reverend Wright in some kind of context. And I need to do it in the next few days.”

The team was skeptical. We’d booked the next three days solid with events, without any real time to spend on what could end up being the most consequential speech of the campaign. But we had no choice. On a Saturday night, after a day of stumping in Indiana, I went home to Chicago and spent an hour on the phone with Favs, dictating the argument I’d formed in my mind. I wanted to describe how Reverend Wright and Trinity were representative of America’s racial legacy, how institutions and individuals who embodied the values of faith and work, family and community, education and upward mobility, might still harbor bitterness toward—and feel betrayed by—a country they loved.

无论如何，现在已经为时已晚。在政治和生活中，虽然有时候避而不谈，甚至撤退是勇气的最佳表现，但在其他时候，唯一的选择是振作起来，全力以赴。“我需要做一次演讲，”我告诉普洛夫。“关于种族问题。应对这个问题的唯一方法就是大张旗鼓地将赖特牧师放在某种背景之下。我需要在接下来的几天内做出来。”

团队有所保留。我们已经安排了未来三天的活动，没有任何真正的时间来为可能成为竞选活动中最重要的演讲做准备。但我们别无选择。一个星期六晚上，在印第安纳州路演一天后，我回到了芝加哥，花了一个小时在电话里与 Favs 进行了沟通，口述了我在脑海中形成的论点。我想描述赖特牧师和 Trinity 如何代表着美国的种族遗产，如何那些体现信仰、工作、家庭、社区、教育和向上流动价值观的机构和个人仍然可能对他们热爱的国家怀有苦涩之情，并感到被背叛。

But I had to do more than that. I had to explain the other side, why white Americans might resist, or even resent, claims of injustice from Blacks—unhappy with any presumption that all whites were racist, or that their own fears and day-to-day struggles were less valid.

Unless we could recognize one another’s reality, I’d argue, we would never solve the problems America faced. And to hint at what such a recognition might mean, I would include a story that I had told in my first book but had never spoken about in a political speech—the pain and confusion I had experienced as a teenager, when Toot expressed her fear of a panhandler at a bus stop—not only because he had been aggressive but because he was Black. It hadn’t made me love her any less, for my grandmother was a part of me, just as, in a more indirect way, Reverend Wright was a part of me.

但是我必须做得更多。我不得不解释另一方面，为什么白人美国人可能会抵制，甚至对黑人的不公之处感到反感—对所有白人都是种族主义者的假定或自己的恐懼和日常掙扎不如黑人的假定不滿。

我會主張，除非我們能夠認識彼此的現實，否則我們永遠無法解決美國面臨的問題。為了暗示這種認識可能意味著什麼，我會包括一個故事，這個故事我在第一本書中講過，但從未在政治演講中提到過—我年少時所經歷的痛苦和困惑，當Toot表達她在公共汽車站看到一個乞丐時的恐懼-不僅因為他是具有挑釁性的但是因為他是黑人。這並沒有使我對她的愛減少，因為我的祖母是我一部分，同樣地，以一種更間接的方式，萊文·萊特是我一部分。

Just as they were both a part of the American family.

As I wrapped up the call with Favs, I remembered the one time Toot and Reverend Wright had met. It had been at my wedding, where Reverend Wright hugged my mother and grandmother and told them what a wonderful job they’d done raising me, how proud they should be. Toot had smiled in a way I rarely saw her smile, whispering to my mother how the pastor seemed quite charming—although she got a bit uncomfortable later, when during the

ceremony Reverend Wright described the conjugal obligations of the newlyweds in terms far more vivid than anything Toot had ever heard in the Methodist church of her childhood.正如他们都是美国家庭的一部分。

当我结束了与Favs的电话后，我记得Toot和Wright牧师曾经见过一次面。那是在我的婚礼上，Wright牧师拥抱了我的母亲和祖母，并告诉她们他们抚养我所做的出色工作，他们应该感到骄傲。Toot微笑着，这是我很少见到她微笑的方式，轻声对我母亲说牧师看起来相当迷人——尽管后来在仪式中，当Wright牧师用比Toot童年时在卫理公会教堂听到的任何东西更为生动的词语描述新婚夫妇的婚姻义务时，她有些不舒服。

Favs wrote the first draft, and for the next two nights, I stayed up late, editing and rewriting, finishing finally at three a.m. on the day I was to deliver it. In the holding room at Philadelphia's National Constitution Center, Marty, Valerie, and Eric Whitaker, as well as Axe, Plouffe, and Gibbs, joined me and Michelle to wish me luck.

“How you feel?” Marty asked.

“Good,” I said, and it was true. “I figure if it works, we get through this. If it doesn’t, we probably lose. But either way, I’ll be saying what I believe.”

Favs 寫了第一稿，接下來的兩個晚上，我熬夜編輯和重寫，最後在交稿當天凌晨三點完成。在費城國家憲法中心的等候室裡，Marty、Valerie、Eric Whitaker，以及Axe、Plouffe和Gibbs加入了我和Michelle，祝我好運。

“你感覺怎麼樣？”Marty問。

“好，”我說，這是真的。“我想如果它管用，我們可以通過這一關。如果不管用，我們可能會失敗。但無論如何，我會說出我相信的話。”

It worked. The networks carried the speech live, and within twenty-four hours, more than one million people had watched it on the internet—a record at the time. Reviews from pundits and editorial writers around the country were strong, and the effect on those in the hall—including Marty, who was photographed with a fat tear running down his cheek—indicated I had touched a chord.

But the most important review came that evening, when I placed a call to my grandmother in Hawaii.

“That was a very nice speech, Bar,” she told me. “I know it wasn’t easy.”它奏效了。网络直播了我的演讲，24小时内，超过一百万人在互联网上观看了它——当时创下了纪录。来自全国各地的评论家和编辑的评论都非常好，而现场的人——包括瑪蒂，他的脸上流下了一滴浓浓的眼泪，表明我触动了他们的心弦。

但是最重要的评价是那晚我给住在夏威夷的祖母打电话时得到的。

“那是一篇非常好的演讲，巴尔，”她告诉我。“我知道那不容易。”

“Thanks, Toot.”

“You know I’m proud of you, don’t you?”

“I know,” I said. And it was only after I hung up that I allowed myself to cry.

—

THE SPEECH STANCHED the bleeding, but the Reverend Wright situation had taken a toll, particularly in Pennsylvania, where Democratic voters skewed older and more conservative. What kept us from an outright free fall was the hard work of our volunteers, an influx of money from small donors that helped us run ads for four weeks, and the willingness of some key state officials to vouch for me with their white working-class base. Chief among them was Bob Casey, the affable Irish Catholic son of the state’s former governor and one of my colleagues in the U.S. Senate. There wasn’t much upside for him—Hillary had broad support and was likely to win the state—and he hadn’t announced his endorsement when the Reverend Wright video hit the news. And yet, when I called Bob before my speech and offered to free him from his commitment to endorse me in light of the changed circumstances, he insisted on going forward.

“谢谢，图特。”

“你知道我为你感到骄傲，对吧？”

“知道的，”我说道。只有在我挂断电话后，我才允许自己哭泣。

— —

演讲止住了滑坡的局面，但赖特牧师事件对我们造成了伤害，尤其是在宾夕法尼亚州，那里的民主党选民趋向老年化和保守化。使我们没有跌入彻头彻尾的自由落体状态的是我们的志愿者的努力，小捐赠者的资金流入帮助我们播放广告四周，以及一些关键州官员愿意向他们的白人工薪阶层保证我。其中最重要的是鲍勃·凯西，这个州前任州长的可爱的爱尔兰天主教儿子，也是我在参议院的同事之一。对他来说，没有太多的上升空间——希拉里拥有广泛的支持，很可能赢得这个州——而当赖特牧师的视频出现在新闻中时，他还没有宣布他的支持。然而，当我在演讲前给鲍勃打电话，提出在情况改变的情况下释放他的支持，他坚持要继续前行。

“The Wright stuff’s not great,” he said in a bit of world-class understatement. “But I still feel like you’re the right guy.”

Bob then backed up his endorsement with decency and courage, campaigning by my side for more than a week, up and down Pennsylvania. Slowly, our poll numbers began ticking back up. Although we knew a victory was not in the cards, we figured a three- or four-point loss remained within reach. And then, on cue, I made my biggest mistake of the campaign.

We’d flown to San Francisco for a big-dollar fundraiser, the kind of event that I generally dreaded, taking place in a fancy house and involving a long photo line, shiitake mushroom hors d’oeuvres, and wealthy donors, most of them terrific and generous one-on-one but collectively fitting every stereotype of the latte-drinking, Prius-driving West Coast liberal. We were running late into the evening when, during the obligatory question-and-answer session, someone asked me to explain why I thought so many working-class voters in Pennsylvania continued to vote against their interests and elect Republicans.

“萊特的東西不是很好，”他輕描淡寫地說道。“但我仍然覺得你是對的人選。”

然後，鮑伯以一種體面和勇氣支持我，與我一起競選了一個多星期，走遍賓夕法尼亞。慢慢地，我們的民意調查數字開始回升。雖然我們知道勝利不在卡片中，但我們認為三到四個百分點的落敗是可以達成的目標。

然後，按計劃，我犯了選戰中最大的一個錯。

我們飛到舊金山參加了一個大筆款的籌款活動，這是我通常懼怕的那種活動。活動在一座豪華的房子裡進行，包括長長的照片排隊、香菇前菜和富裕的捐贈人，他們中的大多數人一對一都很棒和慷慨，但在集體意義上，他們符合所有拿拿醇的刻板印象和駕駛普魯斯的西岸自由派。

當晚已經很晚了，我們還在進行必要的問答環節，這時有人問我為什麼那麼多賓夕法尼亞的工人階級選民繼續投票支持共和黨反對自己的利益。

I'd been asked a form of this question a thousand times. Normally I had no problem describing the mix of economic anxiety, frustration with a seemingly unresponsive federal government, and legitimate differences on social issues like abortion that pushed voters into the Republican column. But whether because I was mentally and physically worn-out, or because I was just impatient, that's not how my answer came across.

"You go into some of these small towns in Pennsylvania," I said, "and, like a lot of small towns in the Midwest, the jobs have been gone now for twenty-five years and nothing's replaced them. And they fell through the Clinton administration and the Bush administration, and each successive administration has said that somehow these communities are going to regenerate and they have not."

我已被問過這個問題的各種形式幾千次了。通常來說，我沒有問題描述經濟憂慮、對似乎不負責任的聯邦政府感到失望以及墮胎等社會問題上的合理差異將選民推向共和黨的原因混合。但是，不管是精神和身體疲憊還是因為我很不耐煩，我的回答都不是這樣的。

"你去賓夕法尼亞州的某些小镇，"我说，"像中西部的许多小镇一样，工作已经消失了二十五年了，没有什么取代它们。它们经历了克林顿政府和布什政府，每一届政府都说这些社区会重振雄风，但它们没有。"

So far so good. Except I then added, "So it's not surprising then that they get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy toward people who aren't like them, or anti-immigrant sentiment, or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations."

I can provide the exact quote here, because in the audience that night was a freelance writer who was recording me. To her mind, my answer risked reinforcing negative stereotypes some Californians already had about working-class white voters and was therefore worth blogging about on Huffington Post. (It's a decision I respect, by the way, though I wish she had talked to me about it before writing the story. This is what separates even the most liberal writers from their conservative counterparts—the willingness to flay politicians on their own side.)

到目前為止還不錯。只是接着我说，“因此他们變得憤怒也就不足為奇了，他們依附於槍支、宗教、對不同於他們的人的憎恨、反移民情緒或反貿易情緒，作為解釋他們的挫折的一種方式。”我可以提供精確的引用，因為在那天晚上的聽眾中，有一位自由撰稿人正在錄音。在她看來，我的回答可能會強化一些加利福尼亞工人階級白人選民已經存在的負面刻板印象，因此值得在赫芬頓郵報上發表博客文章。（順便說一句，這是我尊重的決定，儘管我希望她在寫這篇文章之前和我談談。這就是最自由的作家和他們保守派同行之間的區別——願意在自己陣營內部抨擊政治家的意愿。）

Even today, I want to take that sentence back and make a few simple edits. "So it's not surprising then that they get frustrated," I would say in my revised version, "and they look to the traditions and way of life that have been constants in their lives, whether it's their faith, or hunting, or blue-collar work, or more traditional notions of family and community. And when Republicans tell them we Democrats despise these things—or when we give these folks reason to believe that we do—then the best policies in the world don't matter to them."

即使是今天，我仍想收回那句話並作出一些簡單的修改。在我的修改版本中，我會說：“所以，他們感到沮喪並不奇怪，他們尋求生活中一直存在的傳統和方式，無論是他們的信仰、狩獵、藍領工作，還是更傳統的家庭和社區觀念。當共和黨告訴他們我們民主黨人鄙視這些東西時，或者我們給這些人理由相信我們這樣做時，那麼即使是世界上最好的政策對他們來說也沒有意義。”

That's what I believed. It's why I'd gotten votes from rural white voters in downstate Illinois and Iowa—because they sensed, even when we didn't agree on an issue like abortion or immigration, that I fundamentally respected and cared about them. In many ways they were more familiar to me than the people I spoke to that night in San Francisco.

And so I still brood about this string of poorly chosen words. Not because it subjected us to a whole new round of bludgeoning at the hands of the press and the Clinton campaign—although that was no fun—but because the words ended up having such a long afterlife. The phrases "bitter" and "cling to guns or religion" were easily remembered, like a hook in a pop song, and would be cited deep into my presidency as evidence that I failed to understand or reach out to working-class white people, even when the positions I took and policies I championed consistently indicated the contrary.那是我所相信的。這也是為什麼我在伊利諾伊州南部的鄉村和愛荷華州吸引了農村白人選民的原因——因為他們感覺到，即使我們在墮胎或移民等議題上意見不同，我始終基本上尊重並關心他們。在許多方面，他們比我那晚在舊金山講話的人更為熟悉。

因此，我仍在憂慮這一系列不當的言論。不是因為它讓我們再次遭受新一輪媒體和克林頓競選團隊的攻擊——儘管那並不好受——而是因為這些話語最終產生了如此漫長的後效。“痛苦”和“緊抱槍支或宗教”這些短語容易被記住，就像一首流行歌曲中的掛鈎一樣，即使在我擔任總統期間它們也會被引用，作為我未能理解或接觸到工人階級白人的證據，即使我所持的立場和支持的政策一直表明相反。

Maybe I'm overstating the consequences of that night. Maybe things were bound to play out as they did, and what nags at me is the simple fact that I screwed up and don't like being misunderstood. And maybe I'm bothered by the care and delicacy with which one must state the obvious: that it's possible to understand and sympathize with the frustrations of white voters without denying the ease with which, throughout American history, politicians have redirected white frustration about their economic or social circumstances toward Black and brown people.

也许我夸大了那个晚上的后果。也许事情注定会按照它们的方式发展，并且令我苦恼的是我犯了错误，不喜欢被误解。也许我对必须以关怀和细致的方式说出显而易见的事实感到困扰：在美国历史上，政治家们很容易将白人的经济或社会处境的挫折转向黑人和棕色人种，但这并不意味着我们不可能理解和同情白人选民的挫败感。

One thing's for certain. The fallout from my gaffe that night provided my San Francisco questioner a better answer than any verbal response I might have given.

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WE LIMPED THROUGH the remainder of the Pennsylvania campaign. There was the final debate in Philadelphia, a brutal affair consisting almost entirely of questions about flag pins, Wright, and “bitter.” Campaigning across the state, an invigorated Hillary touted her newfound appreciation for gun rights—Annie Oakley, I called her. We lost by nine points.有一件事是肯定的。那天晚上我失言引起的后果，给了我在旧金山的提问者比我可能给出的任何口头回答都更好的答案。

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我们在宾夕法尼亚州的竞选中挣扎前进。在费城的最后一场辩论中，几乎所有问题都集中在国旗别针、赖特和“有些人感到苦涩”上。在全州展开竞选的过程中，精神焕发的希拉里宣传她对枪支权利的新发现——我称她为安妮·奥克利。我们输了九个百分点。

As had been true of the Ohio and Texas primaries, the results had little impact on our delegate lead. But there was no denying we'd taken a serious hit. Political insiders speculated that if the results of the next two big contests (Indiana, where Hillary had a solid lead, and North Carolina, where we were heavily favored) showed any further erosion in our support, superdelegates might start running scared, giving Hillary a realistic chance of wresting away the nomination.

Such talk grew appreciably louder several days later, when Jeremiah Wright decided to make a round of public appearances.

正如俄亥俄和德克萨斯州初选一样，选举结果对我们的代表团领先优势几乎没有影响。但不可否认的是，我们遭受了严重的打击。政治内部人士猜测，如果接下来的两个重要竞选（印第安纳州，希拉里有牢固的领先地位，以及北卡罗莱纳州，我们更受青睐）显示出我们的支持再次减弱，超级代表们可能会开始变得胆怯，给希拉里一个实际夺取提名的机会。几天后，耶利米·赖特决定进行一系列公开露面，这样的话题变得越来越响亮。

I had spoken to him only once after the video came out, to let him know how strongly I objected to what he'd said, but also to say that I wanted to shield him and the church from any further fallout. I don't remember the details, just that the call was painful and brief, his questions full of hurt. Had any of these so-called reporters bothered to listen to the full sermons? he asked me. How could they selectively edit a lifetime of work down to two minutes? Listening to this proud man defend himself, I could only imagine his bewilderment. He'd been a sought-after speaker at America's leading universities and seminaries, a pillar of his community, a luminary within not just Black churches but many white ones as well. And then, in what felt like an instant, he'd become a national object of fear and derision.

视频发布后，我只与他通了一次话，让他知道我强烈反对他所说的话，但也说我要保护他和教堂免受进一步的影响。我不记得细节，只记得那通电话很痛苦、很短暂，他的问题充满了伤痛。这些所谓的记者有没有费心去听完整的布道？他问我。他们怎么能够将一生的工作选择性地剪辑成两分钟？听着这位骄傲的人为自己辩护，我只能想象他的困惑。他曾是美国顶尖大学和神学院寻找的演讲者，他的社区中的支柱，不仅在黑人教堂中，还在许多白人教堂中也是一位杰出的人。然后，在一瞬间，他成为了全国性的恐惧和嘲笑的对象。

I felt genuine remorse, knowing this was all because of his association with me. He was collateral damage in a struggle he'd played no part in choosing. And yet I had no meaningful way to salve his wounds, and when I made the practical—if transparently self-interested—suggestion that he lie low for a time and let things blow over, I knew he felt it as just one more affront.

When it was announced that Reverend Wright would be giving an interview on Bill Moyers's show and then a keynote address at a Detroit NAACP dinner and then an appearance before the National Press Club in Washington, all just ahead of the Indiana and North Carolina primaries in early May, I fully expected the worst. As it turned out, the first two appearances were notable mainly for their restraint, with the reverend coming across as more theologian and preacher than provocateur.

我感到真正的懊悔，因为我知道这一切都是因为他和我有关。他成为了一场他没有参与选择的斗争的牺牲品。然而，我没有任何有意义的方法来缓解他的伤痛。当我提出实际而自私的建议，让他低调一段时间，让一切平息时，我知道他会感到更加冒犯。当宣布赖特牧师将在比尔·莫耶斯的节目上接受采访，然后在底特律的NAACP晚宴上发表主旨演讲，之后在五月初的印第安纳和北卡罗来纳初选之前在华盛顿国家新闻俱乐部露面时，我完全预料到了最坏的情况。结果，前两个露面活动主要以克制为主，牧师表现得更像一位神学家和传教士，而不是煽动者。

Then, at the National Press Club, the dam broke. Strafed by questions from the political press and flustered by their unwillingness to consider his answers, Reverend Wright unleashed a rant for the ages, gesticulating as if he were at a tent revival, eyes glistening with righteous fury. He pronounced America racist at its core. He suggested that the U.S. government was behind the AIDS epidemic. He praised Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. The attacks on him were all racially motivated, and my denunciation of his earlier statements he dismissed as just “what politicians do” in order to get elected.

接着，在全国新闻俱乐部，情况失控。在政治记者的问题轮番轰炸和对他的回答不满意的情况下，赖特先生发表了一场历史级别的激烈言辞，手势大力，犹如在帐篷聚会上一般，眼睛闪烁着义愤之火。他宣称美国本质上是种族主义的。他暗示美国政府是艾滋病流行的幕后推手。他赞扬了黑人民族主义领袖路易斯·法拉康。对他的攻击都是出于种族动机，而我对他早期言论的谴责，他一笔带过，称其只是“政客们”会为了赢得选举而这么做。

Or, as Marty would later put it, “he went full ghetto on their ass.”

I missed the live broadcast, but watching the replay, I knew what I had to do. The following afternoon, I found myself sitting on a bench in a high school

locker room in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, with Gibbs, staring at walls painted industrial green, the stale smell of football uniforms wafting about, waiting to deliver the press statement in which I would permanently sever my relationship with someone who had played a small but significant part in making me the man that I was; someone whose words had once served as a tagline for the speech that put me on the national stage; someone who, for all his now inexcusable blind spots, had never shown me anything but kindness and support.

或者，正如马蒂后来所说，“他完全成了一个贫民区的角色。”

我错过了现场直播，但在观看重播时，我知道我该怎么做。第二天下午，我发现自己坐在北卡罗来纳州温斯顿-塞勒姆市一所高中更衣室的长椅上，与吉布斯一起凝视着工业绿色涂漆的墙壁，足球制服的陈旧气味弥漫着周围，等待发表新闻声明，永久地断绝与一个曾经在塑造我成为我现在的人中起到了重要作用的人的关系；一个曾经的话语为我在国家舞台上演讲的标语；一个虽然现在有不可原谅的盲点，但从来没有向我展示过除了善良和支持以外的任何东西的人。

“You okay?” Gibbs asked me.

“Yep.”

“I know this can’t be easy.”

I nodded, touched by Gibbs’s concern. It wasn’t the norm for the two of us to acknowledge the pressure we were under; Gibbs was a warrior first, a prankster second, and on the road we usually opted for easy banter and profanity-laced humor. But perhaps because he’d grown up in Alabama, he understood better than most the complications of race, religion, and family, and how good and bad, love and hate, might be hopelessly tangled in the same heart.

“你还好吗？”吉布斯问我。

“没问题。”

“我知道这不容易。”

我点了点头，受到吉布斯的关切感动。我们通常不会承认我们面临的压力；吉布斯首先是一名战士，其次才是个恶作剧精灵，在路上我们通常会选择轻松的言谈、含有脏话的幽默。但也许因为他在阿拉巴马长大，他比大多数人更了解种族、宗教和家庭之间的复杂关系，以及好与坏、爱与恨可能在同一个心中无法区分。

“You know, I’m not sure Hillary’s wrong,” I told him.

“About what?”

“About me being damaged goods. I think about it sometimes, how this isn’t supposed to be about my own ambition. It’s supposed to be about making the country better,” I said. “If the American people can’t get past this Wright thing, and I stagger my way into the nomination, only to lose the general, what good have I done?”

Gibbs put a hand on my shoulder. “You’re not going to lose,” he said. “People are looking for something real, and they’ve seen it in you. Let’s just get this shit behind us once and for all, so we can get back to reminding them why you should be president.”

“你知道，我不确定希拉里说错了什么，”我告诉他。

“关于什么？”

“关于我是有缺陷的货物。有时我也在想，这不应该是关于我自己的野心，而应该是让这个国家变得更好，”我说。“如果美国人无法超越这个怀特问题，我勉强获得提名，最终失去总统选举，我做了什么好事？”

吉布斯把手放在我的肩膀上。“你不会失败的，”他说。“人们正在寻找真实的东西，他们在你身上看到了它。让我们一劳永逸地解决这些问题，让我们回到提醒他们为什么你应该成为总统的道路上。”

My brief statement, in which I unequivocally denounced and separated myself from Reverend Wright, served its purpose. If it didn’t fully allay voter concerns, it at least convinced reporters I had nothing further to say on the matter. Back on the campaign trail, we refocused our attention on healthcare, jobs, the war in Iraq, unsure of exactly how things would all play out.

Then we got some help from an unexpected quarter.

Throughout the spring of 2008, gas prices had been skyrocketing, mostly the result of various supply disruptions. Nothing got voters in a bad mood like high gas prices, and eager to get out ahead of the issue, John McCain had proposed a temporary suspension of the federal gas tax. Hillary immediately endorsed the idea, and the team asked me what I wanted to do.

我的簡短聲明，明確公開地譴責並與賴特牧師切割，已經發揮了作用。即使沒有完全緩解選民的擔憂，它也至少讓記者相信我沒有進一步發言。回到競選路上，我們把注意力重新集中在醫療保健、就業和伊拉克戰爭上，不確定事情會如何發展。

然後，我們從一個出人意料的地方得到了幫助。

整個2008年春季，汽油價格一直在飆升，主要是由於各種供應中斷所致。沒有什麼比高油價更能讓選民心情煩躁的了，為了搶先應對這個問題，約翰·麥凱恩提出了暫時停止聯邦汽油稅。希拉里立即支持這個想法，團隊問我想怎麼做。

I told them I was against it. While it had some superficial appeal, I knew it would drain an already depleted federal highway fund, leading to fewer infrastructure projects and jobs. Based on my experience as an Illinois state senator, where I’d once voted for a similar proposal, I was sure that consumers wouldn’t see much benefit. In fact, gas station owners were just as likely to keep prices high and boost their own profits as they were to pass the three-cents-a-gallon savings on to motorists.

Somewhat to my surprise, Plouffe and Axe agreed. In fact, Axe suggested that we highlight my opposition as more proof that I was willing to be straight

with voters. The next day, I stood outside a gas station and made my argument before a gaggle of reporters, contrasting what I considered a serious, long-term energy policy with the typical Washington solution that both McCain and Hillary were proposing. It was a bit of political posturing, I said, designed to give the impression of action without actually solving the problem. Then, when both Hillary and McCain tried to paint me as out of touch and unconcerned with what a few hundred dollars might mean to America's working families, we doubled down, shooting a TV ad on the issue and running it nonstop throughout Indiana and North Carolina.

我告诉他们我反对此事。尽管这表面上有吸引力，但我知道它会耗尽已经枯竭的联邦公路基金，导致更少的基础设施项目和工作机会。根据我作为伊利诺伊州参议员的经验，在那里我曾经投票支持类似的提议，我确信消费者看不到太多好处。事实上，加油站的业主同样有可能保持高价格并增加自己的利润，而不是将每加仑三美分的节省传递给汽车驾驶者。

有些出乎我的意料，普卢夫和阿克斯都同意。事实上，阿克斯建议我们强调我的反对意见，更证明我愿意对选民直言不讳。第二天，我站在加油站外，面对一群记者，以我认为的严肃、长远的能源政策作为对比，谈论我所反对的经典华盛顿解决方案，这是麦肯和希拉里都提倡的。这是一种政治姿态，我说，设计成给人们一种行动的印象，而不是解决问题。然后，当希拉里和麦肯都试图把我描绘成不关心几百美元对美国工薪家庭意味着什么的人时，我们进行了加倍努力，制作了一则关于这个问题的电视广告，并在印第安纳州和北卡罗莱纳州无休止地播放。

It was one of our prouder moments, taking a tough position without the benefit of polls and in the face of pundits who thought we were crazy. We began seeing signs in the polling data that voters were buying our argument, though none of us at this point—not even Plouffe—fully trusted data anymore. Like a patient awaiting the results of a biopsy, the campaign lived with the possibility of a bad outcome.

The night before the primaries, we held an evening rally in Indianapolis featuring a performance by Stevie Wonder. After my stump speech, Valerie, Marty, Eric, and I parked ourselves in a small room, enjoying the music, some beer, and a cold chicken dinner.

這是我們其中之一的驕傲時刻，沒有民調的支持，面對著那些認為我們瘋狂的評論員，我們持堅定的立場。在民調數據中我們開始看到選民買單的跡象，但此時甚至連普洛夫(Plouffe)也不再完全信任數據。就像等待活檢結果的病人一樣，這次競選承受著失敗的可能性。

初選前一晚，我們在印第安納波利斯舉行了一場晚間集會，由史提夫·懷恩德(Stevie Wonder)表演。在我的演說後，瓦萊麗(Valerie)、馬蒂(Marty)、埃里克(Eric)和我就坐在一個小房間裡，享受著音樂，喝著啤酒，吃著冷雞晚餐。

We were in a reflective mood, reminiscing about the joys of Iowa, the heartbreak of New Hampshire, volunteers we'd met and new friends we'd made. Eventually someone brought up Reverend Wright's appearance at the National Press Club, and Marty and Eric began taking turns acting out some of the more excruciating lines. Whether it was a sign of exhaustion, or anxious anticipation of the next day's voting, or maybe just us recognizing the absurdity of our circumstances—four longtime friends, African Americans from the South Side of Chicago, eating chicken and listening to Stevie Wonder while waiting to see if one of us would become the Democratic nominee for president of the United States—we all started to laugh and couldn't stop, the kind of deep, tear-inducing, falling-out-of-your-chair laughter that's a kissing cousin to despair.

我们在反思的情绪中，回忆起爱荷华州的乐趣，新罕布什尔州的心碎，我们遇见的志愿者和新朋友。最后有人提到莱文德牧师在国家新闻俱乐部的演讲，马蒂和埃里克开始轮流模仿其中一些更加痛苦的台词。无论是疲惫的体现，还是对接下来投票日的焦虑，或者只是我们认识到自己处境的荒谬 - 四位来自芝加哥南区的老朋友，在吃鸡和听着史蒂维·汪达的同时等待着看看我们中是否有人将成为美国民主党总统候选人，我们都开始笑了起来，不停地笑，这种深入骨髓的笑，让你落泪，摔倒在椅子上，是绝望的亲吻表兄弟。

Then Axe walked in, wearing his most forlorn look.

“What's the matter?” I said, still laughing and trying to catch my breath.

Axe shook his head. “I just got our overnight numbers...had us down twelve in Indiana. I just don't think we're going to make it.”

For a moment, everyone grew quiet. Then I said, “Axe, I love you, but you're a downer. Either grab a drink and sit down with us or get the fuck out of here.”

Axe shrugged and left the room, taking his worries with him. I looked around at my friends and raised my beer in a toast.然后，Axe走进来，戴着最悲伤的表情。

“怎么了？”我说，仍然笑着，试图喘过气来。

Axe摇了摇头。“我刚刚拿到我们的过夜数字.....在印第安纳州，我们落后了十二分。我们认为我们做不到了。”

一时间，每个人都变得安静。然后我说，“Axe，我爱你，但你总是很消极。要么拿杯饮料坐下来和我们在一起，要么滚蛋。”

Axe耸了耸肩，离开了房间，带着他的烦恼离开了。我环顾了一下我的朋友们，举起啤酒敬了一杯。

“To the audacity of hope,” I said. Clinking our bottles, we started to laugh as hard as before.

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TWENTY-FOUR HOURS LATER, in a Raleigh hotel room, Gibbs read me the election results. We'd won North Carolina by fourteen points. More surprisingly, we had pulled out an effective tie in Indiana, losing by just a few thousand votes. There would be six more contests before the official end of the Democratic primary season, and a few weeks would pass before Hillary's belated but gracious concession speech and endorsement, but the results that night told us that the race was basically over.

“我说：“对于希望的胆识。”我们碰杯，像之前一样大笑起来。

—

二十四小时后，在罗利的一家旅馆房间里，吉布斯向我宣布选举结果。我们在北卡罗来纳州赢得了十四个百分点的胜利。更令人惊讶的是，我们在印第安纳州实现了有效的平局，只输了几千票。在民主党初选季节正式结束之前还有六场比赛，而希拉里的授意演讲和支持几周后才会到来，但那个晚上的结果告诉我们，比赛基本上已经结束了。”

I would be the Democratic nominee for president of the United States.

In my speech that night, I began the pivot to the general election, knowing there wasn't a minute to waste, telling our audience that I was confident that Democrats would unite to prevent John McCain from continuing the legacy of George W. Bush. I spent some time talking to Axe about potential running mates and then phoned Toot to tell her the news. (“It really is something, Bar,” she said.) Well past midnight, I called Plouffe back at our Chicago headquarters, and the two of us went over what we needed to do to get ready for the convention, less than three months away.

我将成为美国总统民主党提名人。在那个晚上的讲话中，我开始转向总统大选，知道没有时间浪费，告诉我们的观众，我相信民主党人将团结起来阻止约翰·麦凯恩继续乔治·W·布什的遗产。我花了一些时间与Axe讨论潜在的竞选伙伴，然后打电话给Toot告诉她这个消息。（“这真的很了不起，Bar，”她说。）过了午夜，我打电话给我们芝加哥总部的Plouffe，我们一起回顾了为准备大会所需的工作，距离大会不到三个月了。

Lying in bed later, unable to sleep, I took a silent inventory. I thought about Michelle, who had put up with my absences, held down the home front, and overridden her reticence about politics to become effective and fearless on the stump. I thought about my daughters, as lively and cuddly and engaging as ever, even when I didn't see them for a week. I thought about the skill and focus of Axe and Plouffe and the rest of my senior team, how they never gave any indication of doing what they did for money or power, and how in the face of unrelenting pressure they'd proven loyal not just to me and to one another but to the idea of making America better. I thought about friends like Valerie, Marty, and Eric, who'd shared my joys and eased my burdens along every step, asking nothing in return. And I thought about the young organizers and volunteers who'd braved bad weather, skeptical voters, and their candidate's missteps without wavering.

躺在床上，无法入睡，我默默地进行了一次盘点。我想起了米歇尔，她容忍了我的忙碌，守护家园，即使对政治有所保留，也勇敢地登台演讲。我想起了我的女儿们，她们一如既往地活泼可爱，引人入胜，即使我一个星期没有见到她们。我想起了艾克斯、普洛夫和我的高级团队，他们的技巧和专注，从来没有表现出为赚钱或权力而做事情的迹象，在无情的压力面前，他们不仅忠诚于我和互相之间，也忠于让美国变得更好的理念。我想起了像瓦莱丽、马蒂和埃里克这样的朋友，他们分享了我的喜悦，减轻了我的负担，不求任何回报。我还想起了年轻的组织者和志愿者，他们冒着恶劣天气、怀疑的选民和候选人的失误，毫不动摇地前行。

I had asked something hard of the American people—to place their faith in a young and untested newcomer; not just a Black man, but someone whose very name evoked a life story that seemed unfamiliar. Repeatedly I'd given them cause not to support me. There'd been uneven debate performances, unconventional positions, clumsy gaffes, and a pastor who'd cursed the United States of America. And I'd faced an opponent who'd proven both her readiness and her mettle.

Despite all that, they'd given me a chance. Through the noise and chatter of the political circus, they'd heard my call for something different. Even if I hadn't always been at my best, they'd divined what was best in me: the voice insisting that for all our differences, we remained bound as one people, and that, together, men and women of goodwill could find a way to a better future.

我曾向美国人民提出了一个艰难的要求——对一个年轻且未经考验的新来者寄予信任；不仅因为他是一个黑人，还因为他的名字引发了一个似乎陌生的生命故事。我曾多次给他们理由不支持我。有过不平衡的辩论表现，不寻常的立场，笨拙的失言，以及一个咒骂美国的牧师。而我的对手已经证明了她的准备和实力。

尽管如此，他们还是给了我一个机会。在政治马戏团的噪音和喧闹中，他们听到了我对某种不同的呼唤。即使我并不总是处于最佳状态，他们也发现了我最优秀的一面：那个不断坚持我们虽不同，但仍然作为一个人民团结在一起的声音，以及那个声音坚信，好意的男女能够共同找到通向更美好未来的道路。

I promised myself I would not let them down.

我答应我自己不会让他们失望。

## CHAPTER 8

ENTERING THE SUMMER OF 2008, our campaign's first order of business was unifying the Democratic Party. The prolonged and bruising primary had left hard feelings between Hillary's staff and mine, and some of her more ardent boosters threatened to withhold their support unless I put her on the ticket.

But despite speculation in the press of a possibly irreparable breach, our first post-primary meeting, held in early June at the Washington home of our colleague Senator Dianne Feinstein, proved to be courteous and businesslike, if not without tension. At the outset, Hillary felt obliged to get a few things off her chest, mainly having to do with what she considered unfair attacks by my campaign. As the winner, I felt obliged to keep my own complaints to myself. But it didn't take long to clear the air. The bottom line, she said, was that she wanted to be a team player—for the good of the Democratic Party, and for the good of the country.

## 第八章

进入2008年夏季，我们的竞选活动首要任务是统一民主党。漫长而残酷的初选使希拉里的工作人员和我的之间存有怨气，她的一些狂热支持者威胁说除非我让她成为我的竞选搭档，否则不支持我。

但是，尽管媒体猜测可能存在不可挽救的矛盾，我们在初选后的第一个会议于6月初在我们的同事黛安妮·范斯坦的华盛顿家中举行，礼貌并且商事如常，尽

管紧张。一开始，希拉里觉得有必要说出几件心事，主要是关于我的竞选团队所谓的不公正攻击。作为胜者，我认为有必要将自己的抱怨保留。但是很快就化解了矛盾。她说，最重要的是，为了民主党和国家的利益，她希望成为团队的一份子。

It may have helped that she sensed my sincere admiration. Although I would ultimately decide that having her as a running mate posed too many complications (including the awkwardness of a former president roaming the West Wing without a clear portfolio), I was already considering a different role for her in an Obama administration. How Hillary felt about me, I couldn't say. But if she harbored any doubts about my readiness for the job ahead, she kept them to herself. From our first public appearance together a few weeks later, in a small New Hampshire town called Unity (corny, but effective), until the very end of the campaign, both she and Bill did everything we asked of them with energy and a smile.

她可能感受到了我真诚的钦佩，这或许有助于此事。尽管我最终决定不让她担任我的竞选伙伴，因为这将引起太多的麻烦（包括前总统在白宫四处漫游而没有明确的职责），但我已经考虑让她在奥巴马政府中担任不同的角色。我不知道希拉里对我有何看法。但如果她对我是否准备好履行这项工作有任何疑虑，她没有透露出来。从我们后来几个星期后第一次公开露面的时候，在一个名为 Unity 的新罕布什尔州小镇上，直到竞选活动的最后一天，她和比尔都用精力与微笑完成了我们交给他们的每件事情。

With Hillary on board, the team and I got busy designing our broader electoral strategy. Like the primaries and caucuses, a presidential general election resembles a big math puzzle. Which combination of states do you need to win to get the requisite 270 electoral votes? For at least twenty years, nominees of both parties had come up with the same answer, assuming that the majority of states were inalterably Republican or Democratic, and therefore concentrating all their time and money on a handful of big battleground states like Ohio, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

有了希拉里的加入，我和团队开始忙于设计更广泛的选举策略。像初选和党团会议一样，总统大选就像是一个大数学难题。你需要赢得哪些州的组合来获得所需的 270 个选举人票？自二十年前起，两党的提名人都得出了同样的答案，认为大多数州势不可挡地属于共和党或民主党，因此将所有时间和金钱集中在俄亥俄州、佛罗里达州、宾夕法尼亚州和密歇根州这几个大型争夺战州上。

Plouffe had a different idea. One happy by-product of our interminable primary was that we'd campaigned in every nook and corner of the country. We had battle-tested volunteers in a number of states Democrats had historically ignored. Why not use that advantage to compete in traditionally Republican-leaning territory? Based on the data, Plouffe was convinced we could win western states like Colorado and Nevada. With a big boost in turnout among minority and younger voters, he believed we even had a chance in North Carolina, a state that hadn't gone Democratic in a presidential election since Jimmy Carter in 1976, and Virginia, which hadn't gone Democratic since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Broadening the electoral map would give us multiple paths to victory, Plouffe argued, and would also help down-ballot Democratic candidates. At a minimum, it would force John McCain and the Republican Party to spend resources shoring up their vulnerable flanks.

普卢夫有不同的想法。我们漫长的初选带来的一个愉快的副产品就是我们在国家的每一个角落进行了竞选。我们在一些历史上被民主党忽略的州拥有经过实战验证的志愿者。为什么不利用这个优势来竞争传统上倾向于共和党的地区呢？根据数据，普卢夫确信我们可以赢得像科罗拉多和内华达这样的西部州。通过在少数族裔和年轻选民中产生大量投票率增长，他认为我们甚至有机会赢得北卡罗来纳州，这个州自从 1976 年由吉米·卡特以来一直没有选民把选票投给民主党，以及维吉尼亚州，这个州自从林登·约翰逊在 1964 年以来就没有给民主党。普卢夫认为，扩大选举地图会给我们多条获胜之路，并且还会帮助下届民主党候选人。至少，它会迫使约翰·麦凯恩和共和党花费资源来加强他们的易受攻击的阵地。

Among the various Republicans who had competed for the presidential nomination, I had always considered John McCain to be most worthy of the prize. I had admired him from afar before I got to Washington—not only for his service as a navy pilot and the unimaginable courage he'd shown during five and a half harrowing years as a POW, but because of the contrarian sensibility and willingness to buck Republican Party orthodoxy on issues like immigration and climate change that he'd shown in his 2000 presidential campaign. While we were never close in the Senate, I often found him insightful and self-deprecating, quick to puncture pretension and hypocrisy on both sides of the aisle.

在众多争取总统提名的共和党人中，我一直認為約翰·麥凱恩是最值得得獎的人。在我到達華盛頓之前，我就一直從遠處欣賞他——不僅因為他作為海軍飛行員的服務，以及在五年半的艱苦戰俘生活中展現的難以想象的勇氣，還因為在他2000年的總統競選活動中所展現的異議派感性和對如移民和氣候變化等問題上願意迎戰共和黨正統派的意願。雖然在參議院中我們並不親近，但我常常發現他有見解和自嘲，並且很快就能破除兩派在假裝與虛偽方面存在的偏見和虛偽之處。

McCain did enjoy being something of a press corps darling (“my constituency,” he once called them), never passing up a chance to be on the Sunday morning news shows, and among his colleagues he had a well-earned reputation for volatility—quick to explode over small disagreements, his pallid face reddening, his reedy voice rising at the first sign of a perceived slight. But he wasn't an ideologue. He respected not only the customs of the Senate but also the institutions of our government and our democracy. I never saw him display the race-tinged nativism that regularly infected other Republican politicians, and on more than one occasion, I'd seen him display real political courage.

麥凱恩享受著成為記者團的寵兒（他曾稱他們為“我的選民”），從不錯過在主流新聞節目中露面的機會。在同事中，他有一個著名的反應過度的聲譽——有小的分歧，他就會怒火中燒，臉色蒼白，瘦弱的聲音在第一個被認為受到輕蔑的跡象時就會怒氣沖天。但他不是一個教條主義者。他不僅尊重參議院的習俗，也尊重我們政府和民主制度的制度。我從未見過他展示過種族主義的色彩，這常常感染其他共和黨政治家，而在多個場合上，我看到他展示了真正的政治勇氣。

Once, as the two of us stood in the well of the Senate waiting for a vote, John had confided to me that he couldn't stand a lot of the “crazies” in his own party. I knew this was part of his shtick—privately playing to Democrats' sensibilities while voting with his caucus about 90 percent of the time. But the

disdain he expressed for the far-right wing of his party wasn't an act. And in an increasingly polarized climate, the political equivalent of a holy war, McCain's modest heresies, his unwillingness to profess the true faith, carried a real cost. The "crazies" in his party mistrusted him, they considered him a RINO—Republican in Name Only—and he was regularly attacked by the Rush Limbaugh crowd.

曾经，当我们俩在参议院并等待投票时，约翰向我吐露了他无法忍受他自己党派中的“疯子”的感受。我知道这是他的一部分戏码——私下里迎合民主党人的情感，而投票时与他的党派一起的比例大约是90%。但他表达出的对党派极右翼的鄙夷不是一种行为。在一个越来越极端的气候下，政治上的神圣战争，McCain的温和异端者，他不愿信奉真理之教而付出了真正的代价。他党派中的“疯子”不信任他，他们认为他是一个仅仅名义上的共和党人，他经常受到拉什·林鲍（Rush Limbaugh）的群众攻击。

Unfortunately for McCain, it was precisely these voices of the hard Right that were exciting the core GOP voters most likely to vote in presidential primaries, rather than the business-friendly, strong-on-defense, socially moderate Republicans McCain appealed to and was most comfortable with. And as the Republican primary wore on, and McCain sought to win over some of the very people he professed to despise—as he abandoned any pretense of fiscal rectitude in favor of even bigger tax cuts than the Bush tax cuts he'd once voted against, and hedged his position on climate change to accommodate fossil fuel interests—I sensed a change taking place in him. He seemed pained, uncertain—the once jaunty, irreverent warrior transformed into a cranky Washington insider, lassoed to an incumbent president with an approval rating around 30 percent and a hugely unpopular war.

不幸的是，正是这些强硬右派的声音激发了最有可能在总统初选中投票的核心共和党选民，而不是对商业友好、强硬防御、社会温和的共和党人，麦凯恩所吸引的并且最舒适的群体。随着共和党初选的进行，麦凯恩试图赢得一些他声称鄙视的人的支持—在放弃任何财政正直的伪装，转而支持比他曾经反对的布什税减税更大的减税措施，以及保守他在气候变化问题上的立场以迎合化石燃料利益的同时，我感到他正在发生变化。他似乎痛苦，不确定—曾经欢快、不恭的战士变成了一个牢牢绑在一个总统身上，该总统的支持率约为30%，而且处在深受反对派的战争之中的怨妇式华盛顿内部人。

I wasn't sure I could beat the 2000 version of John McCain. But I was increasingly confident that I could beat the McCain of 2008.

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THAT'S NOT TO say I thought the race would be easy. In a contest against an American hero, the election wouldn't be decided on issues alone. Indeed, we suspected that the central question was likely to be whether a majority of voters could get comfortable with the idea of a young, inexperienced African American senator—one who hadn't previously served in the military or even an executive office—filling the role of commander in chief.我不确定我能赢过2000年的约翰·麦凯恩。但我越来越有信心能赢得2008年的麦凯恩。这并不是说我认为这场竞选会很容易。在与美国英雄的竞争中，选举不仅仅是通过问题解决的。确实，我们怀疑中心问题很可能是是否有足够多的选民能够适应一个年轻、没有经验的非洲裔美国参议员——一个连军队或行政职务都没有担任过的参谋长的角色。

I knew that if I was to earn Americans' trust on this front, I needed to speak from the most informed position possible, especially about the nation's role in Iraq and Afghanistan. Which is why, just a few weeks after I'd wrapped up the nomination, we decided I would embark on nine days of foreign travel. The proposed schedule was brutal: In addition to a brief stop in Kuwait and three days on the ground in Afghanistan and Iraq, I would meet with the leaders of Israel, Jordan, the United Kingdom, and France, and deliver a major foreign policy address in Berlin. If we pulled the trip off, we'd not only dispel concerns voters might have about my ability to operate effectively on the world stage but also highlight—at a time when voters were deeply troubled by the strained alliances of the Bush years—just what a new era of American leadership might look like.

我知道如果我希望赢得美国人在这方面的信任，我需要从最了解的立场中讲话，特别是有关国家在伊拉克和阿富汗的角色。这就是为什么在获得提名后的几周内，我们决定我将进行为期九天的海外旅行。提议的行程非常紧张：除了在科威特短暂停留和在阿富汗和伊拉克地面上停留三天外，我还将会见以色列、约旦、英国和法国的领导人，并在柏林发表重要的外交政策演讲。如果我们完成这次旅行，我们不仅可以消除选民对我在世界舞台上有效运作的能力的担忧，而且还可以在选民因布什时代的紧张联盟感到深深不安的时候突显一个新时代的美国领导所看起来的模样。

Of course, with the political press sure to flyspeck my every move, there was a good chance something might go wrong. Even a single blunder might reinforce the notion that I wasn't ready for prime time and tank our campaign. My team figured it was worth the risk.

"Walking a tightrope without a net," Plouffe said. "That's when we're at our best."

I pointed out that it was me and not "we" perilously up in the air. Nevertheless, I left Washington in good spirits, eager to travel overseas after a year and a half with my nose to the campaign grindstone.

當然，政治媒體注定要細看我每一個動向，很可能會發生錯誤。即使一個小小的失誤也可能強化這樣的觀點：我沒有準備好，會毀了我們的競選活動。我的團隊認為冒這個風險是值得的。

"在沒有安全網的緊繩繩索上行走，"普勞夫說。"這就是我們表現最好的時候。"

我指出那是我，而不是"我們"危險地置身其中。儘管如此，我以良好的精神離開華盛頓，渴望在一年半的競選努力後出國旅行。

Joining me on the Afghanistan and Iraq legs of the trip were two of my favorite colleagues, both of whom were seasoned in foreign policy: Chuck Hagel, the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Jack Reed, who sat on the Armed Services Committee. In personality, the two men couldn't have been more different. Jack, a liberal Democrat from Rhode Island, was slightly built, studious, and understated. A proud West Point graduate, he had been one of the few senators to vote against authorizing the Iraq War. Chuck, a conservative Republican from Nebraska, was broad-shouldered, expansive, and full of good humor. A Vietnam veteran with two Purple Hearts, he had voted for the Iraq War. What the two shared was an abiding reverence for the U.S. military and a belief in the prudent use of American power. After almost six years, their views on Iraq had converged, and they were now two of the war's most incisive and credible critics. Their bipartisan presence on the trip helped deflect any criticism that it was a campaign

stunt; and Chuck's willingness not only to travel with me but also to publicly praise aspects of my foreign policy, just four months before the election, was a bold and generous gesture.這趟旅程的阿富汗和伊拉克部分有兩位外交政策經驗豐富、我最喜愛的同事陪同，分別是參議院外交關係委員會的高階委員查克·黑格爾和軍事委員會議員傑克·里德。這兩位人的個性截然不同，傑克是羅德島州的自由民主黨人，外型纖瘦、學識深厚、低調謙遜；他是西點軍校的自豪畢業生，曾是少數投票反對授權伊拉克戰爭的參議員之一。查克則是來自內布拉斯加州的保守派共和黨人，外貌魁梧、性格開朗、幽默風趣，是有兩枚紫心勳章的越戰老兵，曾經投票支持伊拉克戰爭。不過，兩人的共同之處是對美國軍隊的崇高敬意以及節制運用美國力量的信念。經過近六年的時間，他們對伊拉克的看法逐漸趨同，現在都成為這場戰爭最敏銳、最可信的批評者之一。他們跨黨派的出現，有助於避免此行被批評為競選噱頭；而查克不僅願意與我同行，還公開讚揚我外交政策的某些方面，這是一個大膽而慷慨的姿態，發生在選舉前僅僅四個月。

On a Saturday in mid-July, we landed at Bagram Air Base, a six-square-mile installation north of Kabul, set against the jagged peaks of the Hindu Kush, that served as the largest U.S. military base in Afghanistan. The news wasn't good: The collapse of Iraq into sectarian violence, and the Bush administration's decision to reinforce our presence with a sustained troop surge, had siphoned military and intelligence capabilities out of Afghanistan (by 2008, we had five times as many troops in Iraq as we had there). The shift in focus had allowed the Taliban—the Sunni Islamic insurgents we'd been fighting since 2001—to go on the offensive, and that summer the monthly U.S. casualties in Afghanistan would exceed those in Iraq.

在七月中旬的一个星期六，我们降落在巴格拉姆空军基地，这是位于喀布尔北部的一个面积为六平方英里、背靠印度库什山脉的美军最大基地，背景不佳：伊拉克陷入教派暴力的崩溃，以及布什政府决定增强我们在那里的军事存在，导致军事和情报能力流失了（到2008年，我们在伊拉克的军队数量是在那里的五倍）。这种转移关注点使逊尼派伊斯兰叛乱分子- taliban得以进攻，那个夏天美军在阿富汗的月损失超过了伊拉克。

As usual, our military was doing all it could to make a tough situation work. The newly assigned commander of coalition forces, General Dave McKiernan, arranged for his team to brief us on the steps they were taking to push back against Taliban strongholds. The following day, dining in the mess hall at the U.S. coalition headquarters in Kabul, we listened as a group of soldiers spoke of their mission with enthusiasm and pride. Hearing these earnest young men and women, most of them just a few years out of high school, talk about building roads, training Afghan soldiers, and setting up schools, only to see their work periodically interrupted or undone because they were understaffed or under-resourced, was both humbling and frustrating, and I vowed that, given the chance, I would get them more help.

照慣例，我們的軍隊正在盡力使艱難的情況得以應對。新任命的聯軍指揮官戴夫·麥基爾南將軍安排了他的團隊向我們匯報他們正在採取的行動，以打擊塔利班的據點。第二天，在喀布爾的美國聯軍總部的食堂用餐時，我們聆聽了一群士兵熱情而自豪地談論他們的任務。聽到這些認真的年輕男女，他們中的大多數剛剛從高中畢業，談論修建道路、訓練阿富汗士兵和建立學校的工作，卻不時因人手不足或資源短缺而被暫停或取消，讓人既感到謙卑又沮喪。我發誓，如果有機會，我會給予他們更多幫助。

That night we slept at the heavily fortified U.S. embassy, and in the morning we drove to the imposing nineteenth-century palace where President Hamid Karzai lived. In the 1970s, Kabul had been not so different from the capitals of other developing countries, ragged around the edges but peaceful and growing, full of elegant hotels, rock music, and college students intent on modernizing their country. Karzai and his ministers were products of that era, but many had fled to Europe or the United States either during the Soviet invasion that began in 1979 or when the Taliban took over in the mid-1990s. After its assault on Kabul, the United States had brought Karzai and his advisors back and installed them in power—functional expatriates we hoped would serve as the Afghan face of a new, nonmilitant order. With their impeccable English and stylish dress, they fit the part, and as our delegation dined on a banquet of traditional Afghan fare, they did their best to persuade us that a modern, tolerant, and self-sufficient Afghanistan was within reach so long as American troops and cash continued to flow.

那晚，我们在布满重兵的美国大使馆里过夜，第二天我们驱车前往宏伟的十九世纪宫殿，那是哈米德·卡尔扎伊总统的住所。在20世纪70年代，喀布尔与其他发展中国家的首都并无二殊，周围有些许破败，但和平而繁荣，到处都是优雅的酒店、摇滚音乐以及努力现代化自己国家的大学生。卡尔扎伊和他的部长们都是那个时代的产物，但许多人在1979年苏联入侵或上世纪90年代塔利班掌权时逃到了欧洲或美国。在美国军队攻打喀布尔后，他们被带回来，并被安置到了权力之中，成为我们希望作为一个新的、非军事秩序下的阿富汗代表的功能性侨民。他们的英语无可挑剔，穿着时尚，完美地扮演下这个角色。在我们的代表团用餐时，他们尽力说服我们，只要美国的军队和现金不断流入，一个现代化、宽容和自给自足的阿富汗就在触手可得。

I might have believed Karzai's words were it not for reports of rampant corruption and mismanagement within his government. Much of the Afghan countryside was beyond the control of Kabul, and Karzai rarely ventured out, reliant not just on U.S. forces but on a patchwork of alliances with local warlords to maintain what power he possessed. I thought about his seeming isolation later that day as a pair of Black Hawk helicopters flew us over mountainous terrain on our way to a U.S. forward operating base (FOB) near Helmand on Afghanistan's southern plateau. The small villages of mud and wood that we saw from the air blended seamlessly into the dun-colored rock formations, with barely a paved road or an electrical line in sight. I tried to imagine what the people below thought of the Americans in their midst, or their own president in his sumptuous palace, or even the idea of a nation-state called Afghanistan. Not much, I suspected. They were just trying to survive, buffeted by forces as constant and unpredictable as the winds. And I wondered what it might take—beyond the courage and skill of our troops, despite the best-laid plans of analysts in Washington—to reconcile American ideas of what Afghanistan should be with a landscape that for hundreds of years had proven impervious to change.

如果不是关于他政府内部腐败和管理失当的广泛报道，我可能会相信卡尔扎伊的话。许多阿富汗农村地区都超出了喀布尔的控制范围，而卡尔扎伊很少外出，不仅依赖美军力量，还依靠与当地军阀的各种联盟来维持他所拥有的权力。那天晚些时候，当一对黑鹰直升机在我们前往阿富汗南部高原赫尔曼德附近的美国前线作战基地 (FOB) 时，我想到了他似乎的孤立。从空中看到的泥木村庄与黄褐色的岩石形成了无缝的融合，几乎看不到铺设的道路或电线。我试图想象下方的人们对周围的美国人，或者他们自己的总统的看法，或者阿富汗这个国家的概念。我猜他们想的不多。他们只是想活下去，被像风一样不断变

化而又不可预测的力量摧残着。我不禁想知道，除了我们士兵的勇气和技巧，还有华盛顿分析师们精心制定的计划，究竟能够做些什么，才能够让美国人对阿富汗应该变成什么样子的想法与几百年来一直不受变化影响的景观相符。

Such thoughts stayed with me as we left Afghanistan and headed to Iraq, spending a night in Kuwait along the way. Trends had improved since my last visit to Iraq: a surge in U.S. troops, the internationally certified election of Shiite prime minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, and a brokered agreement with Sunni tribal leaders in the western province of Anbar had reversed some of the sectarian carnage unleashed by the original U.S. invasion and subsequent bungling by men like Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Bremer. John McCain interpreted the recent successes to mean we were winning the fight and would continue to do so long as we stayed the course and—in what had become a common nostrum among Republicans—“listened to our commanders on the ground.”

當我們離開阿富汗前往伊拉克時，這些想法一直伴隨著我們並在途中在科威特過夜。自從我上次拜訪伊拉克以來，趨勢有所改善；美國軍隊的激增，什葉派總理努里·卡邁勒·馬利基的國際認證當選和與西部省份安巴爾省的遜尼派部族領袖達成的協議，扭轉了由最初的美國入侵和隨後的唐納德·倫斯菲爾德和保羅·布雷默等人的搞砸所引發的一些教派屠殺。約翰·麥凱恩解讀最近的成功意味著我們正在贏得這場戰鬥，只要我們堅定信心，並且（這在共和黨人中已成為一種常見的保證）“聆聽在地面上的指揮官”的建議，就可以繼續前進。

I drew a different conclusion. After five years of heavy U.S. involvement, with Saddam Hussein gone, no evidence of WMDs, and a democratically elected government installed, I believed phased withdrawal was in order: one that would build in the time needed to stand up Iraqi security forces and root out the last vestiges of al-Qaeda in Iraq; guarantee ongoing military, intelligence, and financial support; and begin bringing our troops home so that we could hand Iraq back to its people.

As in Afghanistan, we had a chance to mingle with troops and visit an FOB in Anbar, before meeting with Prime Minister Maliki. He was a dour figure, vaguely Nixonian with his long face, heavy five-o’clock shadow, and indirect gaze. He had cause to be stressed, for his new job was both difficult and dangerous. He was trying to balance the demands of the domestic Shiite power blocs that had elected him and the Sunni population that had dominated the country under Saddam; he also had to manage countervailing pressures from his U.S. benefactors and Iranian neighbors. Indeed, Maliki’s ties to Iran, where he had lived in exile for many years, as well as his uneasy alliances with certain Shiite militias, made him anathema to Saudi Arabia and other U.S. allies in the Persian Gulf region, underscoring just how much the U.S. invasion had strengthened Iran’s strategic position there.

我得出了不同的結論。在美國大力介入五年後，薩達姆·海珊被推翻，沒有大量殺傷性武器的證據，並且民主政府已經建立，我相信有序撤軍是必要的：這需要時間建立伊拉克安全部隊，根除伊拉克基地組織的最後殘餘勢力；保證持續的軍事、情報和財政支援；開始撤回我們的士兵，以便我們可以將伊拉克交還給其人民。

就像在阿富汗，我們有機會與部隊混合並訪問安巴爾的FOB，然後再與總理馬利基見面。他是一個沉悶的人物，長臉，厚厚的五點鐘陰影和不直接的目光使他有點尼克松風格。他有壓力是因為他的新工作既困難又危險。他試圖平衡當選他的國內什葉派勢力的要求和在薩達姆統治下占主導地位的遜尼派人口；他還必須應對他的美國贊助者和伊朗鄰居相抵觸的壓力。事實上，馬利基與伊朗的關係以及他與某些什葉派民兵的不安定聯盟，使他成為沙特阿拉伯和波斯灣地區其他美國盟友的大忌，彰顯了美國入侵對伊朗在該地區的戰略地位的加強。

Whether anyone in the Bush White House had discussed such a predictable consequence before ordering U.S. troops into Iraq was uncertain. But the administration sure wasn’t happy about it now. My conversations with several high-ranking generals and diplomats made clear that the White House’s interest in maintaining a sizable troop presence in Iraq was about more than a simple desire to ensure stability and reduce violence. It was also about preventing Iran from taking further advantage of the mess we’d made.

在下令美國军队进入伊拉克之前，布什白宫是否有人讨论过这种可以预见的后果尚不确定。但是，政府现在确实不高兴。我与几位高级将军和外交官的交谈表明，白宫对维护在伊拉克的大量部队存在感兴趣，不仅仅是想要确保稳定和减少暴力的简单愿望。它还意在阻止伊朗进一步利用我们制造的混乱。

Given that the issue was dominating the foreign policy debate both in Congress and in the campaign, I asked Maliki through the interpreter whether he thought Iraq was ready for a withdrawal of U.S. troops. We were all surprised by his unequivocal response: Though he expressed deep appreciation for the efforts of U.S. and British forces and hoped that America would continue to help pay for the training and maintenance of Iraqi forces, he agreed with me that we set a time frame for a U.S. withdrawal.

It was unclear what was behind Maliki’s decision to push an accelerated timetable for U.S. withdrawal. Simple nationalism? Pro-Iranian sympathies? A move to consolidate his power? But as far as the political debate in the United States was concerned, Maliki’s position had big implications. It was one thing for the White House or John McCain to dismiss my calls for a timetable for withdrawal as weak and irresponsible, a version of “cut and run.” It was quite another to dismiss the same idea coming from Iraq’s newly elected leader.

考虑到这个问题在国会和竞选中主导了外交政策的辩论，我通过翻译问马利基是否认为伊拉克已经准备好撤出美军。他毫不含糊地回答了我们，尽管他非常感激美国和英国军队的努力，并希望美国继续帮助支付伊拉克军队的训练和维护费用，但他同意我的观点，我们应该设定一个撤军时间表。

不清楚是什么促使马利基决定推动美国撤军的加速时间表。是简单的民族主义吗？亲伊朗的同情？还是巩固他自己权力的举动？但就美国的政治辩论而言，马利基的立场具有重大意义。白宫或约翰·麦凯恩否认我的撤军时间表呼吁是软弱和不负责任的，一种“退缩和逃跑”的版本，这是一回事。但是，如果同样的想法来自伊拉克新当选的领导人，那么就完全不同了。

Of course, at the time, Maliki still didn’t really call the shots in his country. The commander of coalition forces in Iraq, General David Petraeus, did—and it was my conversation with him that foreshadowed some of the central foreign policy debates I’d have for much of my presidency.

Trim and fit, with a PhD in international relations and economics from Princeton and an orderly, analytical mind, Petraeus was considered the brains behind our improved position in Iraq and the individual to whom the White House had essentially contracted out its strategy. We took a helicopter together from the Baghdad airport to the heavily fortified Green Zone, talking all the way, and although the substance of our conversation wouldn't appear in any press write-ups, as far as my campaign team was concerned that was just fine. It was the photographs they cared about—images of me seated next to a four-star general aboard a Black Hawk helicopter, wearing a headset and aviator glasses. Apparently it proved a youthful, vigorous contrast to an unfortunate depiction of my Republican opponent that happened to surface on the very same day: McCain riding shotgun on a golf cart with former president George H. W. Bush, the two of them resembling a couple of pastel-sweatered grandpas on their way to a country club picnic.

當然，在那時，馬利基在其國內仍未真正掌權。伊拉克聯軍指揮官大衛·彼得雷斯將軍(david Petraeus) 控制了局面——我的與他的談話預示了我在大部分總統任期中將面臨的一些核心外交政策辯論。

彼得雷斯外表疾步輕盈，有普林斯頓大學國際關係和經濟學的博士學位，思維有序、分析力強，被認為是我們在伊拉克取得進展的智囊和白宮基本上承包戰略的人。我們一起從巴格達機場搭乘直升機前往重兵防衛的綠區，一路交談，盡管我們的談話內容不會出現在任何新聞報導中，但對我的競選團隊來說，這絕對不是問題。他們關心的是照片——照片上的我坐在一位四星上將旁邊，在黑鷹直升機上戴著耳機和飛行員太陽眼鏡。顯然，這給人一種年輕、精力充沛的對比，與恰好在同一天出現的對我共和黨競爭對手不幸的描繪形成了對比：麥肯(McCain)與前總統喬治·H·W·布什(George H. W. Bush) 乘坐高爾夫球車來來回回，他們看起來像是一對穿著淡色毛衣的祖父在去鄉村俱樂部野餐。

Meanwhile, sitting together in his spacious office at coalition headquarters, Petraeus and I discussed everything from the need for more Arabic-language specialists in the military to the vital role development projects would play in delegitimizing militias and terrorist organizations and bolstering the new government. Bush deserved credit, I thought, for having selected this particular general to right what had been a sinking ship. If we had unlimited time and resources—if America's long-term national security interests absolutely depended on creating a functioning and democratic state allied to the United States in Iraq—then Petraeus's approach had as good a chance as any of achieving the goal.

在聯合總部的寬敞辦公室里，與寶迪烏斯坐在一起，我們討論了從軍隊中需要更多的阿拉伯語專家到發展項目如何在削弱民兵和恐怖組織，支持新政府方面發揮重要作用的所有問題。我認為布什值得贊揚，因為他選了這個將軍來拯救一個正在下沉的船。如果我們有無限的時間和資源——如果美國的長期國家安全利益絕對依賴於在伊拉克創建一個與美國結盟的運轉良好的民主國家——那麼寶迪烏斯的方法和任何一個實現目標的方法一樣有希望成功。

But we did not have unlimited time or resources. When you boiled it down, that's what the argument over withdrawal was all about. How much did we continue to give, and when would it be enough? As far as I was concerned, we were approaching that line; our national security required a stable Iraq, but not a showcase for American nation-building. Petraeus, on the other hand, believed that without a more sustained U.S. investment, whatever gains we'd made were still easily reversed.

I asked how long it would take for them to feel permanent. Two years? Five? Ten?

但我們沒有無限的時間或資源。就廢除爭端而言，這就是問題所在。我們繼續提供多少，什麼時候才足夠？就我而言，我們正在接近那條線；我們的國家安全需要一個穩定的伊拉克，但不需要美國國家建設的展示。另一方面，彼得雷烏斯認為，如果沒有更持續的美國投資，我們所取得的任何收穫都很容易被逆轉。我問了一下需要多長時間才能感到永久。兩年？五？十？

He couldn't say. But announcing a fixed timetable for withdrawal, he believed, would only give the enemy the chance to wait us out.

But wouldn't that always be true?

He conceded the point.

And what about surveys indicating that a strong majority of Iraqis, both Shiite and Sunni, had wearied of the occupation and wanted us out sooner rather than later?

That was a problem we would have to manage, he said.

The conversation was cordial, and I couldn't blame Petraeus for wanting to finish the mission. If I were in your shoes, I told him, I'd want the same thing. But a president's job required looking at a bigger picture, I said, just as he himself had to consider trade-offs and constraints that officers under his command did not. As a nation, how should we weigh an additional two or three years in Iraq at a cost of nearly \$10 billion a month against the need to dismantle Osama bin Laden and core al-Qaeda operations in northwestern Pakistan? Or against the schools and roads not built back home? Or the erosion of readiness should another crisis arise? Or the human toll exacted on our troops and their families?

他無法直接回答。但他相信，公佈固定的撤軍時間表只會讓敵人等著，於是反對這種作法。但這不是一直都是真的嗎？他承認了這點。那麼關於調查顯示，大多數的伊拉克人，包括什葉派和遜尼派都已經厭倦了佔領，希望我們盡快撤軍呢？他說，這是我們需要處理的問題。對話友好，我不能怪責佩特雷斯想完成任務。如果我身在他的位置，我會希望做到同樣的事情。但作為總統，我告訴他，需要考慮更大的畫面，就像他自己也必須考慮到指揮下的軍官不需要考慮到的權衡和限制。作為一個國家，我們該如何權衡在伊拉克再加上兩三年的代價，每月近100億美元的花費，以及在巴基斯坦西北部拆除奧薩瑪·賓·拉登和基地組織的核心行動之間的關係？或者這些錢可以用來建設在國內沒有修建的學校和道路？或者應對另一場危機而瀕臨崩潰？或者我們的軍隊和家庭所承受的人的損失？

General Petraeus nodded politely and said he looked forward to seeing me after the election. As our delegation took its leave that day, I doubted I'd persuaded him of the wisdom of my position any more than he had persuaded me.

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WAS I PREPARED to be a world leader? Did I have the diplomatic skills, the knowledge and stamina, the authority to command? The balance of the trip

was designed to answer such questions, an elaborate audition on the international stage. There were bilateral meetings with King Abdullah in Jordan, Gordon Brown in England, Nicolas Sarkozy in France. I met with Angela Merkel in Germany, where I also spoke to an audience of two hundred thousand people gathered in front of Berlin's historic Victory Column, declaring that just as an earlier generation had torn down the wall that once divided Europe, it was now our job to tear down other, less visible walls: between rich and poor, between races and tribes, between natives and immigrants, between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Over a couple of marathon days in Israel and the West Bank, I met separately with Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas, and did my best to understand not only the logic but also the emotions behind an ancient and seemingly intractable conflict. In the town of Sderot, I listened as parents described the terror of rocket shells launched from nearby Gaza landing just a few yards from their children's bedrooms. In Ramallah, I heard Palestinians speak of the daily humiliations endured at Israeli security checkpoints.

博士彼得雷乌斯将军礼貌地点头，说他期待选举结束后再见我。当我们的代表团那天离开时，我怀疑我并没有比他说服他我的立场更明智，他也没有说服我。

我准备好成为一个世界领袖了吗？我有外交技巧、知识和耐力，有命令的权威吗？这趟旅行的重点就是要回答这些问题，展示我的才华。我在约旦见了国王阿卜杜拉，英国的戈登·布朗，法国的尼古拉·萨科齐进行一对一的会谈。我在德国见了安格拉·默克尔，也在柏林历史悠久的胜利柱前面聚集了200,000人的观众中谈话，宣布就像早期的一代人推翻了曾经分裂欧洲的墙壁，现在我们的工作是拆除其他看不见的墙壁：贫富之间、种族和部落之间、本地人和移民之间、基督徒、穆斯林和犹太人之间。在以色列和约旦河西岸的两个超长日子里，我分别见了以色列总理埃胡德·奥尔默特和巴勒斯坦总统马哈茂德·阿巴斯，并尽我所能理解这一古老而又似乎棘手的冲突的逻辑和情感。在斯德洛特镇，我听取了父母们描述了从附近的加沙发射的火箭弹着陆仅数码离他们孩子卧室的恐怖。在拉马拉，我听到了巴勒斯坦人描述他们在以色列安全检查站遭受的日常屈辱。

According to Gibbs, the U.S. press thought I'd passed the "looking presidential" test with flying colors. But for me, the trip went beyond mere optics. Even more than back home, I felt the immensity of the challenges that awaited me if I won, the grace I'd need to do the job.

These thoughts were on my mind the morning of July 24, when I arrived at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, built two thousand years ago to protect the sacred Temple Mount and viewed as a gateway to divinity and a place where God accepted the prayers of all who visit. For centuries, pilgrims from around the world had made a custom of committing their prayers to paper and stuffing them into the cracks of the wall, so before coming that morning, I'd written my own prayer on a piece of hotel stationery.根据吉布斯的说法，美国媒体认为我在“具备总统样貌”方面表现得相当成功。但对于我而言，此次旅行的意义不仅仅在于品牌形象。比起国内，我更感到如果当选，将面临的挑战有多么庞大，我需要何种优雅来胜任这份工作。

这些想法在我于7月24日早晨抵达耶路撒冷的西墙时盘旋心头。西墙建于两千年前，旨在保护神圣的圣殿山，被视为通往神性的大门，以及接纳所有前来朝拜者祈祷的地方。数个世纪以来，来自世界各地的朝圣者将自己的祈祷写在纸上，塞进墙缝里，成为一种习俗。因此，这天早上之前，我已在酒店信纸上写下了自己的祈祷。

In the gray light of dawn, surrounded by my Israeli hosts, aides, Secret Service agents, and the clatter of media cameras, I bowed my head before the wall as a bearded rabbi read a psalm calling for peace in the holy city of Jerusalem. As was the custom, I laid a hand on the soft limestone, stilling myself in silent contemplation, and then wadded up my piece of paper and pushed it deep into a crevice in the wall.

"Lord," I had written, "protect my family and me. Forgive me my sins, and help me guard against pride and despair. Give me the wisdom to do what is right and just. And make me an instrument of your will."

在黎明灰色的光线下，我与我的以色列接待人员、助手、秘密服务特工和快门声中的媒体摄影机包围着我，在拉比朗诵祈祷圣诗，呼籲耶路撒冷聖城實現和平。依照惯例，我将手放在柔软的石灰岩上，静默冥想，然后把写有祈求的纸张揉成一团，深深地推到石缝中。

「主啊，」我写道，「保护我和我的家人。宽恕我的罪过，帮助我坚守不驕不躁。赐我做正直的智慧，成为你意志的工具。」

I had assumed those words were between me and God. But the next day they showed up in an Israeli newspaper before achieving eternal life on the internet. Apparently a bystander dug my scrap of paper out of the wall after we left—a reminder of the price that came with stepping onto the world stage. The line between my private and public lives was dissolving; each thought and gesture was now a matter of global interest.

Get used to it, I told myself. It's part of the deal.

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RETURNING FROM MY overseas trip, I felt like an astronaut or an explorer just back from an arduous expedition, charged with adrenaline and vaguely disoriented by ordinary life. With only a month to go before the Democratic National Convention, I decided to try to normalize things a little by taking my family to Hawaii for a week. I told Plouffe the matter wasn't up for debate. After campaigning for seventeen months, I needed to recharge, and so did Michelle. Also, Toot's health was deteriorating rapidly, and while we couldn't know exactly how long my grandmother might have, I didn't intend to repeat the mistake I had made with my mother.我原本以為那些話只是我和上帝之間的事情。但第二天，它們出現在以色列報紙上，在永恆的網絡傳開了。顯然有個旁觀者在我們離開後從牆上取出了我的一張紙條，這是關於走上世界舞臺所付出的代價的提醒。我個人和公共生活之間的界限正在消失；每一個思想和姿態現在都是全球關注的問題。

我告訴自己要習慣這種狀況，這是協議的一部分。

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從海外旅行歸來，我覺得自己像是一個宇航員或一個探險家，完成了一個艱苦的考驗，充滿著腎上腺素，對普通生活感到模糊不清。在民主黨全國大會前只有一個月的時間，我決定帶家人去夏威夷一個星期，試圖讓一切正常化。我告訴普洛夫這不是可辯論的問題。在為選舉奔波了十七個月後，我需要充電，米歇爾也需要。此外，圖特(TOOT)的健康正在迅速惡化，雖然我們不能確定我奶奶還能活多久，我不想再犯我對母親犯的錯誤。

Most of all, I wanted some time with my daughters. As far as I could tell, the campaign hadn't affected our bonds. Malia was as chatty and inquisitive with me as ever, Sasha as buoyant and affectionate. When I was on the road, I talked to them by phone every night, about school, their friends, or the latest SpongeBob episode; when I was home, I read to them, challenged them to board games, and occasionally snuck out with them for ice cream. Still, I could see from week to week how fast they were growing, how their limbs always seemed an inch or two longer than I remembered, their conversations at dinner more sophisticated. These changes served as a measure of all that I had missed, the fact that I hadn't been there to nurse them when they were sick, or hug them when they were scared, or laugh at the jokes they told. As much as I believed in the importance of what I was doing, I knew I wouldn't ever get that time back, and often found myself questioning the wisdom of the trade.

最重要的是，我想与女儿们共度时间。据我观察，竞选活动没有影响我们之间的纽带。玛丽亚依旧和以往一样健谈和好奇，萨莎依旧充满活力和感情。当我在外面时，每晚都会和她们通电话，谈论学校、朋友或最新的海绵宝宝剧集；当我在家时，我会给她们读书、挑战棋牌游戏，偶尔也会带她们出去吃冰淇淋。

然而，我可以看出她们一周一周的变化有多快，她们的四肢似乎总比我记忆中长了一两英寸，晚餐时的谈话也更加成熟。这些改变是我错过的一切的衡量标准，因为我没有在她们生病时照顾她们，也没有在她们害怕时拥抱她们，更没有笑她们讲的笑话。尽管我深信自己所做的工作的重要性，但我知道我不会再回到那段时光，并经常质疑这种权衡的智慧。

I was right to feel guilty. It's hard to overstate the burden I placed on my family during those two years I ran for president—how much I relied on Michelle's fortitude and parenting skills, and how much I depended on my daughters' preternatural good cheer and maturity. Earlier that summer, Michelle had agreed to bring the girls and join me as I campaigned in Butte, Montana, on the Fourth of July, which also happened to be Malia's tenth birthday. My sister Maya and her family decided to come as well. We had our share of fun that day, visiting a mining museum and squirting one another with water guns, but much of my time was still devoted to vote getting. The girls trudged dutifully beside me as I shook hands along the town's parade route. They stood in the heat watching me speak at an afternoon rally. In the evening, after the fireworks I'd promised were canceled due to thunderstorms, we held an impromptu birthday party in a windowless conference room on the lower level of the local Holiday Inn. Our advance staff had done its best to liven up the place with a few balloons. There was pizza and salad and a cake from the local supermarket. Still, as I watched Malia blow out the candles and make her wish for the year ahead, I wondered whether she was disappointed, whether she might later look back on this day as proof of her father's misplaced priorities.

我感到内疚是正确的。在我参选总统的那两年里，我给我的家庭带来了沉重的负担，我非常依赖米歇尔的坚忍和育儿技巧，还有我女儿异乎寻常的快乐和成熟。那个夏天早些时候，米歇尔同意带上女儿一起陪我去蒙大拿州的比尤特市竞选总统，并恰好是玛利亚的十岁生日。我的妹妹玛雅和她的家人也来了。那一天我们过得很快乐，参观了一个采矿博物馆，用水枪互相喷水，但是我大部分时间还是花在拉选票上。女儿们职责地跟在我身边，陪我在镇上的游行路线上握手。她们在炎热的天气中看着我在下午的集会上演讲。晚上，由于雷暴，我承诺的烟火被取消，我们在当地假日酒店地下一层的一个没有窗户的会议室里举办了一个即兴的生日派对。我们的先期工作人员尽其所能用几个气球装点了一下场地。有比萨和沙拉，还有当地超市的蛋糕。然而，当我看着玛利亚吹熄蜡烛，许下她生日的愿望时，我想知道她是否失望了，她是否将来会把这一天视为她父亲错位优先的证明。

Just then, Kristen Jarvis, one of Michelle's young aides, pulled out an iPod and hooked it up to a portable speaker. Malia and Sasha grabbed my hands to pull me out of my chair. Pretty soon everyone was dancing to Beyoncé and the Jonas Brothers, Sasha gyrating, Malia shaking her short curls, Michelle and Maya letting loose as I showed off my best dad moves. After about half an hour, all of us happily out of breath, Malia came over and sat on my lap. "Daddy," she said, "this is the best birthday ever."

I kissed the top of her head and held her tight, not letting her see my eyes get misty.

恰好此时，米歇尔的年轻助手之一克里斯汀·贾维斯拿出了一台iPod并连接了一个便携式扬声器。玛莉亚和莎莎拉着我的手让我离开椅子。很快每个人都跟着Beyoncé和Jonas Brothers一起跳舞，莎莎扭动着，玛莉亚摇着她短发，米歇尔和玛雅尽情释放，我则炫耀我的最佳舞姿。大约半个小时后，我们都高高兴兴地喘着气，玛莉亚过来坐在我腿上。

"爸爸，"她说，"这是我有过的最好的生日。"

我亲了亲她的头，紧紧地抱着她，不让她看到我含着泪的眼睛。

Those were my daughters. That's what I'd given up by being away so much. That's why the days we stole in Hawaii that August were worth it, even if we lost some ground against McCain in the polls. Splashing in the ocean with the girls, letting them bury me in sand without having to tell them I had to get on a conference call or leave for the airport—it was worth it. Watching the sun go down over the Pacific with my arms wrapped around Michelle, just listening to the wind and rustling palms—worth it.

Seeing Toot hunched over on her living room couch, barely able to raise her head but still smiling with quiet satisfaction as her great-granddaughters laughed and played on the floor, and then feeling her mottled, blue-veined hand squeeze mine for perhaps the last time.

那些是我的女儿。我因为经常外出而放弃了它们。那就是为什么我们在八月份窃取的夏威夷日子是值得的，尽管我们在民调中对麦凯恩输了一些地方。和女孩们在海里嬉戏，让她们把我埋在沙子里，而不用告诉她们我得参加电话会议或离开去机场 - 这是值得的。和米歇尔拥抱在太平洋日落时，只是听风和风吹树叶的声音 - 值得。看到托特弯腰坐在客厅沙发上，头几乎抬不起来，但仍然微笑着，看着她的曾孙女在地板上笑闹玩耍，然后感觉她的斑驳的青筋暴起的手紧握着我的手，可能是最后一次。

A precious sacrament.

I COULDN'T LEAVE the campaign entirely behind while I was in Hawaii. There were updates from the team, thank-you calls to supporters, a preliminary outline of my convention speech that I drafted and sent to Favs. And there was the single most consequential decision I had to make now that I was the nominee.

Who would be my running mate?

I had narrowed it down to Governor Tim Kaine of Virginia and Senate colleague Joe Biden of Delaware. At the time, I was much closer to Tim, who had been the first prominent elected official outside of Illinois to endorse me for president and had worked hard as one of our top campaign surrogates. Our friendship came easily; we were roughly the same age, had similar midwestern roots, similar temperaments, and even similar résumés. (Tim had worked on a mission in Honduras while a student at Harvard Law School and had practiced civil rights law before going into politics.)

我在夏威夷期間也無法完全離開競選活動。我的團隊不斷提供最新資訊、感謝支持者的來電，以及我起草並發送給Favs的大會演講初步大綱。現在我是提名人，最重要的決定是誰將成為我的競選夥伴。

我已經將輪候參選人縮小到維吉尼亞州州長蒂姆·凱恩和特拉華州參議員喬·拜登。那時候，我與蒂姆的關係更加緊密。他是伊利諾伊州之外第一位重要的當選官員，支持我競選總統，並作為我們頂級競選代表之一勤奮工作。我們很容易成為朋友；我們年齡相仿、中西部根源相似，性格甚至履歷相同。（蒂姆在哈佛法學院上學時曾在洪都拉斯進行任務，後來從事民權法律工作然後進入政治界。）

As for Joe, we couldn't have been more different, at least on paper. He was nineteen years my senior. I was running as the Washington outsider; Joe had spent thirty-five years in the Senate, including stints as chairman of the Judiciary Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee. In contrast to my peripatetic upbringing, Joe had deep roots in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and took pride in his working-class Irish heritage. (It was only later, after we were elected, that we discovered our respective Irish forebears, both boot makers, had left Ireland for America just five weeks apart.) And if I was seen as temperamentally cool and collected, measured in how I used my words, Joe was all warmth, a man without inhibitions, happy to share whatever popped into his head. It was an endearing trait, for he genuinely enjoyed people. You could see it as he worked a room, his handsome face always cast in a dazzling smile (and just inches from whomever he was talking to), asking a person where they were from, telling them a story about how much he loved their hometown ("Best calzone I ever tasted") or how they must know so-and-so ("An absolutely great guy, salt of the earth"), flattering their children ("Anyone ever tell you you're gorgeous?") or their mother ("You can't be a day over forty!"), and then on to the next person, and the next, until he'd touched every soul in the room with a flurry of handshakes, hugs, kisses, backslaps, compliments, and one-liners.至于乔，我们在很多方面都截然不同，至少从表面上看是这样的。他比我年长19岁。我是身在华盛顿的来自外省的局外人，而乔则在参议院工作了35年，曾任司法委员会和外交关系委员会主席。与我的流浪式成长相比，乔在宾夕法尼亚州斯克兰顿深深扎根，并为他的工人阶级爱尔兰血统感到自豪。（后来，我们在当选之后才发现，我们的爱尔兰祖先都是制鞋工人，两个人仅相差了五周就离开了爱尔兰来到美国。）如果说我被认为是性情冷静、言辞严谨的人，那么乔则是非常热情的，一个没有限制的人，乐意分享任何想到的话。这是一种让人感动的品质，因为他真正地喜欢人。当他在房间里工作时，你可以看到他的俊秀面孔总是带着灿烂的微笑（离他谈话的人只有几英寸远），问一个人他来自哪里，告诉他一个有关他们家乡的故事（“这是我品尝过的最好的卡尔佐尼”），或者跟他们说一些他认识的人（“一个真正伟大的家伙，实在太好了”），恭维他们的孩子（“有人告诉你你很漂亮吗？”）或者他们的母亲（“你不可能超过四十岁！”），然后转到下一个人，接着下一个人，直到他用一系列握手、拥抱、亲吻、拍肩膀、赞美和一句话逗趣感染着房间里的每一个人。

Joe's enthusiasm had its downside. In a town filled with people who liked to hear themselves talk, he had no peer. If a speech was scheduled for fifteen minutes, Joe went for at least a half hour. If it was scheduled for a half hour, there was no telling how long he might talk. His soliloquies during committee hearings were legendary. His lack of a filter periodically got him in trouble, as when during the primaries, he had pronounced me "articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy," a phrase surely meant as a compliment, but interpreted by some as suggesting that such characteristics in a Black man were noteworthy.

乔的热情有其不利之处。在一个充满自我吹嘘的人的小镇上，他毫无对手。如果一次演讲安排了15分钟，乔至少会讲半个小时。如果计划是半小时，没人能猜到他会讲多久。他在委员会听证会上的独白非常出名。他没有过滤器，有时会惹上麻烦，比如在初选时，他称赞我“发音清晰、聪明、整洁、外形英俊”，这句话肯定是指赞美的，但被一些人解释为表明这些特点在黑人身上很值得注意。

As I came to know Joe, though, I found his occasional gaffes to be trivial compared to his strengths. On domestic issues, he was smart, practical, and did his homework. His experience in foreign policy was broad and deep. During his relatively short-lived run in the primaries, he had impressed me with his skill and discipline as a debater and his comfort on a national stage.

Most of all, Joe had heart. He'd overcome a bad stutter as a child (which probably explained his vigorous attachment to words) and two brain aneurysms in middle age. In politics, he'd known early success and suffered embarrassing defeats. And he had endured unimaginable tragedy: In 1972, just weeks after Joe was elected to the Senate, his wife and baby daughter had been killed—and his two young sons, Beau and Hunter, injured—in a car accident. In the wake of this loss, his colleagues and siblings had to talk him out of quitting the Senate, but he'd arranged his schedule to make a daily hour-and-a-half Amtrak commute between Delaware and Washington to care for his boys, a practice he'd continue for the next three decades.

我认识乔之后，发现他偶尔的失误相比他的优点微不足道。在国内事务上，他是聪明、实际并且认真备课。他对外交政策有着广泛而深刻的经验。在初选过程中，他的辩论技巧和全国演讲的自信给我留下了深刻的印象。

最重要的是，乔有一颗爱心。他克服了儿时的口吃（这可能解释了他对词语的热爱），中年时经历了两次脑动脉瘤。在政治上，他早期曾经历过成功和尴尬的失败。他经历了难以想象的悲剧：在1972年，就在乔当选参议员几周后，他的妻子和小女儿遇车祸身亡，他的两个年幼的儿子Beau和Hunter受伤。在这场悲剧发生后，他的同事和兄弟姐妹们曾经试图说服他离开参议院，但他安排了日常一个半小时的通勤时间，在特拉华州和华盛顿之间往返，照顾他的儿子。这一做法持续了三十年。

That Joe had survived such heartbreak was a credit to his second wife, Jill, a lovely and understated teacher whom he'd met three years after the accident, and who had raised Joe's sons as her own. Anytime you saw the Bidens together, it was immediately obvious just how much his family sustained Joe—how much pride and joy he took in Beau, then Delaware's attorney general and a rising star in state politics; in Hunter, a lawyer in D.C.; in Ashley, a social worker in Wilmington; and in their beautiful grandkids.

乔的生存是归功于他的第二任妻子吉尔，她是一位可爱而低调的教师，他们在事故三年后相遇，并将乔的儿子抚养成自己的孩子。每当你看到拜登一家人在一起时，就能立刻看出乔的家庭对他的支持有多么重要，他多么为博伊感到骄傲和喜悦，博伊则是特拉华州的检察长和政治明星；亨特是华盛顿特区的一名律师；阿什利是威尔明顿的一名社会工作者；他们的美丽的孙子孙女也是如此。

Family had sustained Joe, but so, too, had a buoyancy of character. Tragedy and setbacks may have scarred him, I would learn, but they hadn't made him bitter or cynical.

It was on the basis of those impressions that I had asked Joe to undergo the initial vetting process and meet me while I was campaigning in Minnesota. He was resistant at first—like most senators, Joe had a healthy ego and disliked the idea of playing second fiddle. Our meeting began with him explaining all the reasons why the job of vice president might be a step down for him (along with an explanation of why he'd be the best choice). I assured him that I was looking not for a ceremonial stand-in but for a partner.家庭支撑著喬，但他也擁有堅韌的性格。我後來了解到，雖然悲劇和挫折曾經傷害過他，但他並沒有變得痛苦或憤世嫉俗。

正是基於這些印象，我在競選期間要求喬接受初級審查並與我見面。起初，他很抗拒 - 像大多數參議員一樣，喬有一個強烈的自尊心，不喜歡充當陪襯的角色。我們的會面一開始，他解釋了為什麼擔任副總統可能會讓他退步（以及為什麼他會是最佳選擇）。我向他保證，我不是在尋找一個儀式的替身，而是在尋找一個合作夥伴。

"If you pick me," Joe said, "I want to be able to give you my best judgment and frank advice. You'll be the president, and I'll defend whatever you decide. But I want to be the last guy in the room on every major decision."

I told him that was a commitment I could make.

Both Axe and Plouffe thought the world of Tim Kaine, and like me, they knew he'd fit seamlessly into an Obama administration. But also like me, they wondered whether putting two relatively young, inexperienced, and liberal civil rights attorneys on a ticket might be more hope and change than the voters could handle.

“如果你选择我，”乔说，“我希望能够给你我的最佳判断和坦率的建议。你将成为总统，我将支持你做出的任何决定。但我想成为每个重要决策中的最后一个人。”

我告诉他这是我可以做出的承诺。

Axe和Plouffe都对蒂姆·凯恩非常赞赏，就像我一样，他们知道他会完美地融入奥巴马政府。但和我一样，他们也想知道将两个相对年轻、经验不足且自由主义的民权律师放在一张选票上是否超出了选民的期望。

Joe carried his own risks. We figured his lack of discipline in front of a microphone might result in unnecessary controversies. His style was old-school, he liked the limelight, and he wasn't always self-aware. I sensed that he could get prickly if he thought he wasn't given his due—a quality that might flare up when dealing with a much younger boss.

And yet I found the contrast between us compelling. I liked the fact that Joe would be more than ready to serve as president if something happened to me—and that it might reassure those who still worried I was too young. His foreign policy experience would be valuable during a time when we were embroiled in two wars; so would his relationships in Congress and his potential to reach voters still wary of electing an African American president. What mattered most, though, was what my gut told me—that Joe was decent, honest, and loyal. I believed that he cared about ordinary people, and that when things got tough, I could trust him.

喬自己承擔風險。我們認為他在麥克風前缺乏紀律可能導致不必要的爭議。他的風格是舊派的，喜歡聚光燈，而且不總是自覺。我感覺到他如果覺得自己沒有得到應有的尊重，他可能會變得咄咄逼人—這是一種在面對比自己年輕的老闆時可能會爆發的品質。

儘管如此，我發現我和他的差異很迷人。我喜歡喬會非常乐意作為總統，如果有事情發生我需要退位，這可能會使那些仍然擔心我太年輕的人感到放心。在我們陷入兩場戰爭的時候，他的外交經驗將是有價值的；他在國會的關係以及他接觸那些仍然不敢選出非洲裔美國總統的選民的潛力，也是如此。然而最重要的是，我的直覺告訴我—喬是誠實、正直和忠誠的人。我相信他關心普通人，在事情變得艱難時，我可以信任他。

I wouldn't be disappointed.

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HOW THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention in Denver got put together is largely a mystery to me. I was consulted on the order of the program over the four nights it would take place, the themes that would be developed, the speakers scheduled. I was shown biographical videos for approval and asked for a list of family and friends who would need accommodations. Plouffe checked in to see if I was game to hold the convention's final night not in a traditional indoor arena, but at Mile High Stadium, home of the Denver Broncos. With a capacity of close to eighty thousand, it could accommodate the tens of thousands of volunteers from across the country who'd been the foundation of our campaign. It also had no roof, which meant we'd be exposed to the elements.

我不会失望。

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民主党全国代表大会在丹佛是如何组织起来的，对我而言基本是个谜。他们征求了我对四个晚上的节目次序、要展开的主题、演讲人安排的意见，向我展示了一些传记影片并征求了我对家人和朋友需要的住宿名单。普洛夫检查了一下我是否同意不在传统室内竞技场，而是在丹佛野马队的主场，即可容纳将近八万人的迈耳高球场上举办大会最后一晚。这个场地能容纳全国各地的数以万计的志愿者，他们的支持是我们竞选活动的基础。不过它也没有屋顶，这就意味着我们可能会暴露在天气的影响下。

“What if it rains?” I asked.

“We pulled one hundred years’ worth of weather reports for Denver on August 28 at eight p.m.,” Plouffe said. “It’s only rained once.”

“What if this year’s the second time? Do we have a backup plan?”

“Once we lock in the stadium,” Plouffe said, “there’s no going back.” He gave me a slightly maniacal grin. “Remember, we’re always at our best without a net. Why stop now?”

Why indeed.

Michelle and the girls traveled to Denver a couple of days ahead of me while I campaigned in a few states, so by the time I arrived, the festivities were in full swing. Satellite trucks and press tents surrounded the arena like an army laying siege; street vendors hawked T-shirts, hats, tote bags, and jewelry adorned with our rising sun logo or my jug-eared visage. Tourists and paparazzi clicked away at the politicians and occasional celebrity wandering the arena.“萬一下雨了怎麼辦？”我問道。

“我們收集了丹佛市八月二十八日晚上八點的一百年天氣報告，只下過一次雨。”普魯夫說道。

“萬一今年是第二次呢？我們有後備計劃嗎？”

“一旦鎖定了體育場，就不能再回頭了。”普魯夫微笑著說道，“記住，我們總是在沒有保障的情況下表現最好。為什麼現在停下？”

的確是如此。

米歇爾和女兒們幾天前就前往丹佛了，而我則在幾個州進行競選活動，所以當我到達時，慶典已經全面展開了。衛星卡車和新聞營帳像一支包圍著競技場的軍隊一樣，街頭小販兜售著印有上升太陽標誌或我長耳朵形象的T恤、帽子、手提袋和珠寶。遊客和狗仔隊不停地拍攝政治家和偶爾現身的名人。

Unlike the 2000 convention, when I’d been the kid pressing his face against the candy store window, or the 2004 convention, when my keynote had placed me at the center of the spectacle, I now found myself both the starring attraction and on the periphery, trapped in a hotel suite or looking out the window of my Secret Service vehicle, arriving in Denver only on the second-to-last night of the convention. It was a matter of security, I was told, as well as deliberate stagecraft—if I remained out of sight, anticipation would only build. But it made me feel restless and oddly removed, as if I were merely an expensive prop to be taken out of the box under special conditions.与2000年会议不同，当时我是那个贴着糖果店的玻璃窗口的孩子，或者2004年的会议，当时我的主题演讲使我成为了焦点中心，而如今我发现自己既是主角又处于边缘，在酒店套房中被困或者从我的特勤车辆的窗户望出去，在丹佛只在会议的倒数第二个晚上抵达。据说这是出于安全原因，以及为了精心策划的舞台效果——如果我保持不出现，期待只会增长。但这使我感到不安和奇怪地分离，好像我只是一个昂贵的道具，在特殊条件下拿出来使用。

Certain moments from that week do stand out in my mind. I remember Malia and Sasha and three of Joe’s granddaughters rolling around on a pile of air mattresses in our hotel suite, all of them giggling, lost in their secret games and wholly indifferent to the hoopla below. I remember Hillary stepping up to the microphone representing the New York delegates and formally making the motion to vote me in as the Democratic nominee, a powerful gesture of unity. And I remember sitting in the living room of a very sweet family of supporters in Missouri, making small talk and munching on snacks before Michelle appeared on the television screen, luminescent in an aquamarine dress, to deliver the convention’s opening night address.

那一周的某些时刻在我的脑海中格外醒目。我记得玛丽亚、萨沙和乔的三个孙女们在我们的酒店套房里玩耍，团在一堆充气床垫上咯咯笑着，陶醉于他们的秘密游戏中，完全不理会下方的喧嚣。我记得希拉里走上代表纽约代表团的讲台，正式提出投票我为民主党提名人，这是一个强有力的团结姿态。我还记得坐在密苏里州一个非常甜美的支持者家中的客厅里，闲聊并吃着点心，之后米歇尔在电视荧屏中出现，穿着一件蓝绿色的晚礼服，发表了大会的开幕演讲，光彩照人。

I had deliberately avoided reading Michelle’s speech beforehand, not wanting to meddle in the process or add to the pressure. Having seen her on the campaign trail, I had no doubt she’d be good. But listening to Michelle tell her story that night—seeing her talk about her mom and dad, the sacrifices they’d made and the values they’d passed on; hearing her trace her unlikely journey and describe her hope for our daughters; having this woman who had shouldered so much vouch for the fact that I’d always been true to my family and to my convictions; seeing the convention hall audience, the network anchors, and the people sitting next to me transfixed—well, I couldn’t have been prouder.

我故意避免事先閱讀米歇爾的演講，不想干涉過程或增加壓力。我在競選活動中看過她，毫不懷疑她會表現出色。但當晚聽米歇爾講述自己的故事-看到她談論母親和父親，他們所做的犧牲和他們所傳遞的價值觀;聽到她追溯她不太可能的旅程，並描述對我們的女兒的希望;這個承擔了如此多的女人為事實作證：我一直忠於我的家庭和信念;看到會議廳的觀眾，網絡主播和坐在我旁邊的人神情出神-嗯，我感到非常自豪。

Contrary to what some commentators said at the time, my wife didn’t “find” her voice that night. A national audience finally had a chance to hear that voice unfiltered.

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FORTY-EIGHT HOURS LATER, I found myself holed up with Favs and Axe in a hotel room, fine-tuning the acceptance speech I’d deliver the following evening. It had been tough to write. We felt the moment called for more prose than poetry, with a hard-hitting critique of Republican policies and an account of specific steps I intended to take as president—all without being too long, too dry, or too partisan. It had required countless revisions and I had little time to practice. As I stood behind a mock podium delivering my lines, the atmosphere was more workmanlike than inspired.

跟当时一些评论员所说的相反，我妻子并不是在那个晚上“找到”了她的声音。全国观众终于有机会听到她本来的声音了。

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四十八小时后，我发现自己和Favs和Axe同处一间酒店房间里，细调我要在第二天晚上发表的获奖感言。写起来很困难。我们觉得这个时刻需要更多的散文而不是诗歌，包括对共和党政策的深刻批评以及我作为总统所打算采取的具体步骤，但又不能太长、太枯燥或过于党派。这需要无数次修改，而我练习的时间很少。当我站在模拟的讲台后面说我的话时，氛围比较平淡，而不是鼓舞人心。

Only once did the full meaning of my nomination hit me. By coincidence, the last night of the convention fell on the forty-fifth anniversary of the March on Washington and Dr. King's historic "I Have a Dream" speech. We had decided not to draw too much attention to that fact, figuring that it was a poor idea to invite comparisons to one of the greatest speeches in American history. But I did pay tribute to the miracle of that young preacher from Georgia in the closing bars of my speech, quoting something he'd said to the people who'd gathered on the National Mall that day in 1963: "We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back."

只有一次，我的提名的全部含义才真正被我所理解。巧合的是，大会的最后一晚正是“华盛顿游行”四十五周年和金博士历史性的“我有一个梦想”演讲。我们已决定不将重点放在这一事实上，因为我们认为这是一个很糟糕的想法，会引起与美国历史上最伟大的演讲之一的比较。但我在演讲的结尾处向那位来自佐治亚的年轻传教士的奇迹致敬，引用了他在1963年那天向聚集在国家广场的人们所说的话：“我们不能独自前行。而当我们前行时，我们必须保证我们会一直前进。我们不能退缩。”

"We cannot walk alone." I hadn't remembered these particular lines from Dr. King's speech. But as I read them aloud during practice, I found myself thinking about all the older Black volunteers I'd met in our offices around the country, the way they'd clutch my hands and tell me they never thought they'd see the day when a Black man would have a real chance to be president.

I thought about the seniors who wrote to me to explain how they had woken up early and been first in line to vote during the primaries, even though they were sick or disabled. "我們不能獨自走。" 我沒有記得這些來自金博士演講的特定詞句。但當我在練習時朗讀這些話語時，我想起了我在全國各地的辦公室所遇見的所有年長的黑人志願者，他們緊緊握住我的手告訴我，他們從未想到會看到黑人有機會當選總統的一天。我想到了那些寫信給我解釋他們在初選期間早起並排隊投票的老年人，即使他們生病了或殘疾了。

I thought about the doormen, janitors, secretaries, clerks, dishwashers, and drivers I encountered anytime I passed through hotels, conference centers, or office buildings—how they'd wave or give me a thumbs-up or shyly accept a handshake, Black men and women of a certain age who, like Michelle's parents, had quietly done what was necessary to feed their families and send their kids to school, and now recognized in me some of the fruits of their labor.

I thought of all the people who had sat in jail or joined the March on Washington forty, fifty years ago, and wondered how they would feel when I walked out onto that stage in Denver—how much they had seen their country transformed, and how far things still were from what they had hoped.

我想到门卫、清洁工、秘书、书记、洗碗工和司机，每当我经过酒店、会议中心或办公楼时，他们会向我挥手、竖起大拇指或害羞地握手。他们都是某个年龄段的黑人男女，像米歇尔的父母一样，默默地为养家糊口和送孩子上学而努力，现在在我身上看到了他们劳动的成果。

我想到所有曾经坐过牢或加入过40或50年前的“华盛顿大游行”，并想知道当我走上丹佛的舞台时，他们会有何感想——看到自己的国家发生了多大的变化，但离他们原本的希望还有多远。

"You know what...give me a second," I said, my voice catching in my throat, my eyes starting to brim. I went to the bathroom to splash some water on my face. When I returned a few minutes later, Favs, Axe, and the teleprompter operator were all quiet, unsure of what to do.

"Sorry about that," I said. "Let's try it again from the top."

I had no trouble getting through the speech the second time around; the only interruption came about halfway through my oration, when we heard a knock on the door and found a hotel server with a Caesar salad standing in the hall ("What can I say?" Axe said with a sheepish grin. "I was starving"). And by the following evening, as I walked out onto the broad, blue-carpeted stage under a clear and open sky to address a stadium full of people and millions more across the country, all that I felt was calm. "你知道什麼...給我一點時間，" 我說，聲音卡住了，眼睛開始湧出淚水。我走進浴室濺點水在臉上。幾分鐘後我回來了，Favs、Axe和電視提示器操作員都靜靜地，不知道該怎麼做。

"對不起，" 我說，"讓我們從頭再來。"

第二次發表演講時，我沒有遇到任何麻煩；唯一的干擾是在我演講過半時，我們聽到有人敲門，發現酒店服務員站在走廊上拿著一個凱撒沙拉("我該怎麼說呢？" Axe帶著羞澀的笑容說，"我很餓！")。而到了隔天晚上，當我走上寬闊的藍色地毯舞臺，在天空清晰而開放的下面，面對著滿滿的人群和全國數百萬觀眾時，我只感覺到平靜。

**The night was warm, the roar from the crowd infectious, the flash from thousands of cameras mirroring the stars overhead. When I was finished speaking, Michelle and the girls and then Joe and Jill Biden joined me to wave through a flurry of confetti, and across the stadium we could see people laughing and hugging, waving flags to the beat of a song by country artists Brooks & Dunn that had**

become a staple on the campaign trail: “Only in America.”

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**HISTORICALLY, A PRESIDENTIAL candidate enjoys a healthy “bounce” in the polls after a successful convention. By all accounts, ours had been close to flawless. Our pollsters reported that after Denver, my lead over John McCain had indeed widened to at least five points.**那个晚上温暖宜人，人群的欢呼声让人感到有感染力，数千个照相机的闪光反射出头顶的繁星。当我演讲结束时，米歇尔和女儿们、约瑟夫和吉尔·拜登加入我一起在纸屑飘飞的狂欢中挥手致意，我们可以看到体育场对面的人们在欢笑、相拥，挥舞着旗帜，跟着乡村音乐组合布鲁克斯和邓恩的歌曲《只有在美国》跳舞。

从历史上看，总统候选人在成功的全国代表大会后通常会在民意调查中获得健康的“反弹”。根据所有报道，在我们的代表大会上，一切都接近完美。我们的民意调查员报告说，丹佛代表大会后，我在对约翰·麦凯恩的领先优势至少扩大了五个百分点。

It lasted about a week.

John McCain’s campaign had been flailing. Despite the fact that he’d wrapped up the Republican nomination three months before I secured mine, he hadn’t achieved much in the way of momentum. Swing voters remained unpersuaded by his proposal for further tax cuts on top of those Bush had already passed. In the new, more polarized climate, McCain himself appeared hesitant to even mention issues like immigration reform and climate change, which had previously burnished his reputation as a maverick inside his party. In fairness, he’d been dealt a bad hand. The Iraq War remained as unpopular as ever. The economy, already in recession, was rapidly worsening, and so were Bush’s approval numbers. In an election likely to hinge on the promise of change, McCain looked and sounded like more of the same.它持续了约一周。

约翰·麦凯恩的竞选活动一直处于失控状态。虽然他在我获得提名三个月前赢得了共和党提名，但他没有取得多少势头。摇摆选民仍未被他提出的除了布什已经通过的税收减免之外的更多减税建议说服。在新的、更具极化性的氛围中，麦凯恩本人似乎不愿提及像移民改革和气候变化这样的问题，这些问题以前曾让他在党内被誉为“叛逆”角色。公正地说，他碰到了个倒霉的情况。伊拉克战争仍然像以前一样不受欢迎。经济已经陷入衰退，而且布什的批准率也在迅速恶化。在一个可能决定转变承诺的选举中，麦凯恩看起来和听起来像是一样的。

McCain and his team must have known they needed to do something dramatic. And I have to give them credit—they sure did deliver. The day after our convention ended, Michelle and I, along with Jill and Joe Biden, were on the campaign plane waiting to take off for a few days of events in Pennsylvania when Axe rushed up to tell us that word had leaked of McCain’s running mate. Joe looked at the name on Axe’s BlackBerry and then turned to me. “Who the hell is Sarah Palin?” he said.

For the next two weeks, the national press corps would obsess over that question, giving McCain’s campaign a much-needed shot of adrenaline and effectively knocking our campaign off the airwaves. After adding Palin to the ticket, McCain raked in millions of dollars in fresh donations in a single weekend. His poll numbers leapt up, essentially putting us in a dead heat.麥凱恩及其團隊肯定知道他們需要採取一些戲劇性的舉動。我必須承認，他們確實做到了。我們的大會結束的第二天，米歇爾和我、以及吉爾和喬·拜登等人，正準備登上競選飛機前往賓夕凡尼亞州進行幾天的活動，當亞克斯趕來告訴我們麥凱恩的競選搭檔的消息時，喬看著亞克斯的黑莓上的名字，然後轉身對我說：“莎拉·佩林到底是誰？”接下來的兩周，全國新聞界將會沉迷於這個問題，為麥凱恩的競選注入急需的刺激，並有效地撤下了我們的廣告。在將佩林添加到競選名單之後，麥凱恩在一個週末獲得了數百萬美元的新捐款。他的民意調查數字飛躍，基本上使我們處於一個僵局。

Sarah Palin—the forty-four-year-old governor of Alaska and an unknown when it came to national politics—was, above all, a potent disrupter. Not only was she young and a woman, a potential groundbreaker in her own right, but she also had a story you couldn’t make up: She’d been a small-town basketball player and pageant queen who’d bounced among five colleges before graduating with a journalism degree. She’d worked for a while as a sportscaster before getting elected mayor of Wasilla, Alaska, and then taking on the state’s entrenched Republican establishment and beating the incumbent governor in 2006. She’d married her high school sweetheart, had five kids (including a teenage son about to be deployed to Iraq and a baby with Down syndrome), professed a conservative Christian faith, and enjoyed hunting moose and elk during her spare time.

莎拉·佩林，現年44歲的阿拉斯加州州長，在國家政治方面不為人知，但她是一個強而有力的破壞者。她不僅年輕且是一位女性，可以成為開創者，而且她還有一個令人無法想像的故事：她曾是一名小鎮籃球運動員和選美皇后，在五所大學之間轉換學習，並以新聞學位畢業。她曾擔任過一段時間的體育新聞主播，然後當選了阿拉斯加州Wasilla市市長，然後打破了該州根深蒂固的共和黨體系，在2006年擊敗了現任州長。她與高中甜心結婚，有五個孩子（包括一名即將被派往伊拉克的十幾歲的兒子和一個患有唐氏綜合症的嬰兒），信奉保守基督教信仰，在業餘時間喜歡打獵麋鹿和麋。

Hers was a biography tailor-made for working-class white voters who hated Washington and harbored the not entirely unjustified suspicion that big-city elites—whether in business, politics, or the media—looked down on their way of life. If the New York Times editorial board or NPR listeners questioned her qualifications, Palin didn’t care. She offered their criticism as proof of her authenticity, understanding (far earlier than many of her critics) that the old gatekeepers were losing relevance, that the walls of what was considered acceptable in a candidate for national office had been breached, and that Fox News, talk radio, and the budding power of social media could provide her with all the platforms she needed to reach her intended audience.

她的传记专门为工薪阶层白人选民量身定制，这些选民憎恶华盛顿，并怀有不完全没有根据的猜疑，即大城市的精英——无论是商界、政治还是媒体——看不起他们的生活方式。如果纽约时报的社论委员会或NPR的听众质疑她的资格，帕林毫不在意。她把批评视为她真实性的证明，理解（比她的许多批评者早得多）旧的守门人正在失去影响力，考虑到什么被认为是一位国家领导人候选人的合理标准已经被打破，还有福克斯新闻、脱口秀和社交媒体的新兴力量可以为她提供所有需要达到目标观众的平台。

It helped, too, that Palin was a born performer. Her forty-five-minute speech at the Republican National Convention in early September was a masterpiece of folksy populism and well-aimed zingers. (“In small towns, we don’t quite know what to make of a candidate who lavishes praise on working people when they’re listening, and then talks about how bitterly they cling to their religion and guns when those people aren’t listening.” Ouch.) The delegates were ecstatic. Touring with Palin after the convention, McCain spoke to crowds three or four times larger than what he normally saw on his own. And while the Republican faithful cheered politely during his speeches, it became clear that it was his “hockey mom” running mate they were really there to see. She was new, different, one of them.

同时，帕林天生是一个出色的表演者，这也有所帮助。在9月初的共和党全国大会上，她的45分钟演讲是民粹主义和精准嘲讽的杰作。（“在小镇上，当候选人赞扬工薪阶层时，我们不知道该怎么办，当这些人不在听时，又谈论他们如何紧紧抓住他们的宗教信仰和枪支。”疼痛。）代表们欣喜若狂。在大会后与帕林一起巡回演出，麦凯恩面对的人群比他通常看到的多三到四倍。尽管共和党信徒在他的讲话中礼貌地欢呼，但很清楚，是他的“冰球妈妈”竞选伙伴真正吸引了他们。她是新的，与众不同，就是他们其中一个人。

A “real American”—and fantastically proud of it.

In a different time and a different place—say, a swing-state Senate or gubernatorial race—the sheer energy Palin generated within the Republican base might have had me worried. But from the day McCain chose her and through the heights of Palin-mania, I felt certain the decision would not serve him well. For all of Palin’s performative gifts, a vice president’s most important qualification was the ability, if necessary, to assume the presidency. Given John’s age and history of melanoma, this wasn’t an idle concern. And what became abundantly clear as soon as Sarah Palin stepped into the spotlight was that on just about every subject relevant to governing the country she had absolutely no idea what the hell she was talking about. The financial system. The Supreme Court. The Russian invasion of Georgia. It didn’t matter what the topic was or what form the question took—the Alaskan governor appeared lost, stringing words together like a kid trying to bluff her way through a test for which she had failed to study.

這是一個「真正的美國人」，非常自豪地擁有這個身份。

在不同的時代和場合——例如搖擺州參議院或州長選舉中，佩林在共和黨基礎群眾中產生的強烈能量可能會使我感到擔心。但自從麥凱恩選擇她起，直到佩林狂熱的高峰期，我就確信這個決定不會對他有任何好處。儘管佩林有著表演天才般的天賦，但一個副總統最重要的資格是必要時能夠擔任總統職務。考慮到約翰的年齡和黑色素瘤的病史，這可不是一個無關緊要的問題。而隨著莎拉·佩林步入聚光燈下，顯而易見的是，在與治理國家有關的幾乎所有問題上，她對這些問題根本不知道自己在說些什麼。金融體系、最高法院、俄羅斯入侵格魯吉亞等任何話題都一樣——這位阿拉斯加州長顯得迷失了，像是一個試圖在沒有準備的情況下混過考試的孩子，講出來的話毫無意義。

Palin’s nomination was troubling on a deeper level. I noticed from the start that her incoherence didn’t matter to the vast majority of Republicans; in fact, anytime she crumbled under questioning by a journalist, they seemed to view it as proof of a liberal conspiracy. I was even more surprised to witness prominent conservatives—including those who’d spent a year dismissing me as inexperienced, and who’d spent decades decrying affirmative action, the erosion of intellectual standards, and the debasement of Western culture at the hands of multiculturalists—suddenly shilling for Palin, tying themselves into knots as they sought to convince the public that in a vice presidential candidate, the need for basic knowledge of foreign policy or the functions of the federal government was actually overrated. Sarah Palin, like Reagan, had “good instincts,” they said, and once installed, she’d grow into the job.

帕林的提名在更深層次上令人不安。我注意到从一开始她的语无伦次对绝大多数共和党人并不重要；事实上，每当她在被记者质疑时崩溃，他们似乎将其视为自由派阴谋的证明。我更惊讶的是目睹显著的保守派人物，包括那些曾花费一年批评我经验不足，数十年来反对平权行动、知识水准下降以及西方文化被多元文化主义者贬低，现在突然为帕林站台，费尽周折地试图说服公众，在副总统候选人中，对外交政策或联邦政府职能的基本了解实际上被高估了。他们说，像里根一样，萨拉·佩林有着“良好的直觉”，一旦上任，她会充分胜任。

It was, of course, a sign of things to come, a larger, darker reality in which partisan affiliation and political expedience would threaten to blot out everything—your previous positions; your stated principles; even what your own senses, your eyes and ears, told you to be true.

當然，那是未來事物的徵兆，更為龐大、更為黑暗的現實將威脅到各種事物——你曾持有的立場、你所強調的原則，甚至是你自己的感官，你的眼睛和耳朵所認為真實的一切。

## CHAPTER 9

IN 1993, MICHELLE AND I purchased our first home, in a Hyde Park condominium complex called East View Park. It was a lovely location, across from Promontory Point and Lake Michigan, with dogwood trees in the ample courtyard that bloomed a bright pink every spring. The three-bedroom apartment, laid out like a railcar from front to back, wasn’t large, but it had hardwood floors and decent light, and a proper dining room with walnut cabinets. Compared to the second floor of my mother-in-law’s house, where we’d been living to save money, it felt absolutely lavish, and we furnished it as our budget allowed, with a combination of Crate & Barrel couches, Ace Hardware lamps, and yard-sale tables.

## 第9章

1993年，米歇尔和我购买了我们的第一套房子，位于海德公园的一个公寓大楼里，名为East View Park。它的位置非常美丽，对面是普罗蒙托里

(Promontory Point) 和密歇根湖，庭院里有开着鲜艳粉色花的山茶树。这套三居室公寓是从前到后呈铁路车厢状布局，虽不算大，但有硬木地板和良好的采光，还有一个配备核桃木柜的正式餐厅。与我们为了节约开支而住的岳母家的二楼相比，它感觉非常奢华，我们按照预算配备了一些家具，包括Crate & Barrel的沙发，Ace Hardware的灯和二手货桌子。

Next to the kitchen, there was a small study where I worked in the evenings. Michelle called it “the Hole” because of the way it was always filled with stacks of books, magazines, newspapers, legal briefs I was writing, and exams I was grading. Every month or so, prompted by my inability to find something I needed, I’d clean the Hole in an hour-long frenzy, and I would feel very proud of myself for the three days or so it would take for the books and papers and other clutter to spring back like weeds. The Hole was also the only room in the apartment where I smoked, although once the girls were born, I took my foul habit outside to the slightly rickety back porch, where I’d sometimes interrupt families of raccoons foraging through our trash cans.

廚房旁邊有一個小書房，我會在晚上在那裡工作。米雪稱它為“洞”，因為它總是滿是書籍、雜誌、報紙、我正在寫的法律文件和我正在評分的考試。大概每個月，因為我找不到需要的東西，我會在一個小時的瘋狂清理中清理洞，然後我會為需要三天左右的時間覺得自豪，這些書和文件和其他雜物就像雜草一樣重新生長。洞還是公寓中唯一可以吸煙的房間，然而一旦女孩出生，我就把我的惡習帶到了略微搖搖欲墜的後院，那裡有時我會又遇到狸貓家族在我們的垃圾桶中覓食。

Kids reshaped our home in all sorts of ways. Foam childproofing pads appeared on the table corners. The dining room slowly became less about dining and more a repository for the playpens and brightly colored mats and toys that I found myself stepping on at least once a day. But instead of feeling cramped, the apartment’s modest size only amplified the joy and noise of our young family: splashy bath times and squeal-filled birthday parties and the sound of Motown or salsa coming from a boom box on the mantel as I spun the girls around in my arms. And while we noticed friends our age buying bigger houses in more well-off neighborhoods, the only time the idea of us moving came up was the summer when either one mouse or two (we couldn’t be sure) repeatedly scampered down the long hallway. I would fix the problem with repairs to a kitchen floorboard, but only after—with remarkable foolishness and a wiseass grin on my face—I had disputed the notion that two mice really qualified as an “infestation,” and Michelle in response had threatened to leave with the girls.

孩子们以各种方式改变了我们的家。桌角上出现了泡沫儿童防护垫。餐厅变得越来越少是用于用餐，更多的是放置婴儿床和色彩鲜艳的垫子和玩具，我每天都不得不踢到这些东西。但是，公寓的不起眼大小却只增强了我们年轻家庭的喜悦和嘈杂声：充满水花的洗澡时间、充满尖叫声的生日派对以及我抱着女儿转圈时壁炉架上的摇滚乐或萨尔萨舞曲的声音。虽然我们注意到同龄的朋友在更富裕的社区购买更大的房子，但我们只考虑搬家的时候是夏季，当时一只老鼠或两只（我们不确定）反复奔跑在长长的走廊上。我会通过修理厨房地板解决问题，但只有在我脸上闹腾着发傻的表情、争辩两只老鼠是否真的算得上“滋生”，米歇尔威胁要带着女孩们离开时，我才会这样做。

We paid \$277,500 for the condo, with 40 percent down (thanks to some help from Toot) and a thirty-year fixed mortgage. On paper, our income should have comfortably supported our monthly payments. But as Malia and Sasha got older, the costs of childcare, school fees, and summer camps kept rising, while the principal on our college and law school loans never seemed to decrease. Money was perpetually tight; our credit card balances grew; we had little in the way of savings. So when Marty suggested we consider refinancing our mortgage to take advantage of lower interest rates, I made a call the next day to a neighborhood mortgage broker.

我们付了277,500美元购买了公寓，首付款40%（感谢Toot的帮助）和30年固定抵押贷款。在文件上，我们的收入应该轻松支持我们的每月付款。但随着Malia和Sasha变得越来越大，托儿费，学费和夏令营的费用不断上涨，而我们大学和法学院贷款的本金似乎从未减少。资金一直很紧张；我们的信用卡余额增加；我们几乎没有储蓄。因此，当马蒂建议我们考虑再融资抵押贷款以利用更低的利率时，我第二天就给附近的抵押贷款经纪人打了个电话。

The broker, an energetic young man with a buzz cut, confirmed that he could save us a hundred bucks or so a month by refinancing. But with home prices going through the roof, he asked if we had considered also using a portion of our equity to get some cash out of the transaction. It was routine, he said, just a matter of working with his appraiser. I was skeptical at first, hearing Toot’s sensible voice ringing in my ears, but when I ran the numbers and considered what we’d save by paying off our credit card debt, the broker’s logic was hard to dispute. With neither the appraiser nor the broker ever bothering to inspect our house, with me providing only three months of pay stubs and a handful of bank statements, I signed a few papers and walked out of the broker’s office with a \$40,000 check and the vague feeling that I’d just gotten away with something.

這位仲介是一位充滿活力的年輕男子，留著刺青頭髮。他肯定可以通過再融資每個月為我們節省約100美元的費用。但他問我們是否考慮利用我們的資產中的一部分來獲取一些現金，隨著房價飆升，這是很常見的。他說，這只是與他的估價師合作的問題。起初我很懷疑，聽到Toot明智的聲音在我耳邊響起。但當我算了一下數字，並考慮到我們通過償還信用卡債務所能節省的費用時，仲介的邏輯很難爭辯。既沒有估價師也沒有經紀人檢查我們的房子，我只提供了三個月的薪水單和一小撮銀行對帳單，我簽了幾份文件，拿著一張4萬美元支票走出了經紀人的辦公室，心裡隱約有一種偷了一些什麼的感覺。

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THAT’S HOW IT was in the early 2000s, a real estate gold rush. In Chicago, new developments seemed to pop up overnight. With home prices climbing at an unprecedented pace, with interest rates low and some lenders requiring just 10 or 5 percent—or even no money—down for a purchase, why pass up the extra bedroom, the granite countertops, and the finished basement that magazines and television shows insisted were standard measures of a middle-class life? It was a great investment, a sure thing—and once purchased, that same home could serve as your personal ATM, covering the right window treatments, that long-desired Cancún vacation, or making up for the fact that you didn’t get a raise last year. Eager to get in on the action, friends, cabdrivers, and schoolteachers told me they’d started flipping houses, everyone suddenly fluent in the language of balloon payments, adjustable-

rate mortgages, and the Case-Shiller Index. If I cautioned them gently—real estate can be unpredictable, you don't want to get in too deep—they'd assure me they had talked to their cousin or uncle who had made a killing, in a tone of mild amusement that implied I didn't know the score.

这就是21世纪初的情景，房地产热潮。在芝加哥，一夜之间就会涌现出新的开发项目。由于房价以前所未有的速度攀升，加上利率低而且有些贷款机构只要求10%或5%——甚至没有首付款也行——为了得到一个额外的卧室，花岗岩台面和装修完善的地下室，这些被杂志和电视节目视为中产阶级生活的标准，你又怎么会错过呢？这是个绝佳的投资，赚钱的保障——一旦购买下来，同一个家也可以成为你的个人自动取款机，满足你的窗帘需求，安排你一直想去坎昆的度假，或者弥补去年没有加薪的遗憾。渴望加入行列的朋友、出租车司机和教师告诉我，他们开始翻新房屋，每个人突然间都能流利地说出气球支付、可调利率贷款和 Case-Shiller 指数的术语。如果我向他们轻轻警告——房地产市场是不可预测的，你不应该深陷其中——他们会保证自己已经和某个表弟或叔叔商量过了，语气带着轻微的取笑，彷彿在暗示我不知道其中门道。

After I was elected to the U.S. Senate, we sold our East View Park condo at a price high enough to cover our mortgage and home equity loan and make a small profit. But I noticed, driving home one night, that my mortgage broker's storefront was now empty, with a big FOR SALE OR LEASE sign in the window. All those new condos in River North and the South Loop appeared unoccupied, even with developers offering buyers deeper and deeper discounts. A former staffer who'd left government to get her real estate license asked if I knew of any job openings—the new gig wasn't panning out as she'd hoped.

我当选美国参议员后，我们把东景公园的公寓以一个足够高的价格出售，以支付我们的抵押贷款和家庭资本贷款并赚取少量利润。但是，有一天晚上在开车回家的路上，我注意到我的抵押经纪人的店铺现在是空的，窗户上挂着一个“待售或出租”的大牌子。那些位于河北和南环的新公寓看起来没有人住，开发商们为买家提供越来越深入的折扣。一名曾经离开政府获取房地产执照的前员工问我是否知道任何工作机会——新的工作不像她希望的那样发展。

I was neither surprised nor alarmed by any of this, figuring it was just the cyclical ebb and flow of the market. But back in D.C., I happened to mention the softening Chicago real estate market to a friend of mine, George Haywood, while we were eating sandwiches in a park near the Capitol. George had dropped out of Harvard Law to play professional blackjack, parlayed his skill with numbers and tolerance for risk into a job as a Wall Street bond trader, and had ultimately made a mint on personal investments. Being ahead of the curve was his business.

我对此既不感到惊讶，也不感到惊慌，认为这只是市场周期性的起落。但回到华盛顿特区，我在国会山附近的一个公园里吃三明治时，无意中提到芝加哥房地产市场的疲软。我的朋友乔治·海伍德（George Haywood）曾经从哈佛法学院退学，打职业二十一点，凭借他的数字技巧和风险承受能力在华尔街成为一名债券交易员，并最终通过个人投资赚了一大笔钱。领先于曲线是他的事业。

“This is just the start,” he told me.

“What do you mean?”

“I mean the entire housing market,” George said. “The entire financial system. It's all a house of cards waiting to topple.”

As we sat in the afternoon sun, he gave me a quick tutorial on the burgeoning subprime mortgage market. Whereas banks had once typically held the mortgage loans they made in their own portfolios, a huge percentage of mortgages were now bundled and sold as securities on Wall Street. Since banks could now off-load their risk that any particular borrower might default on their loan, this “securitization” of mortgages had led banks to steadily loosen their lending standards. Credit rating agencies, paid by the issuers, had stamped these securities as “AAA,” or least risky, without adequately analyzing the default risk on the underlying mortgages. Global investors, awash in cash and eager for higher returns, rushed in to buy these products, pumping more and more money into housing finance. Meanwhile, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the two giant companies that Congress had authorized to purchase qualified mortgages to encourage homeownership—and which, by virtue of their quasi-governmental status, could borrow money much more cheaply than other companies—were knee-deep in the subprime market, with their shareholders making money hand over fist as the housing market swelled.

“这只是一个开始，”他告诉我。

“你是什么意思？”

“我是说整个房地产市场，整个金融系统。这都是一张等待崩溃的纸牌屋。”

我们坐在下午的阳光下，他给了我一个快速的入门介绍，介绍了不断增长的次贷抵押贷款市场。过去，银行通常会将他们发放的抵押贷款保留在自己的投资组合中，但现在有很大一部分抵押贷款被打包成证券在华尔街上出售。因为银行现在可以转移任何特定借款人违约的风险，这种抵押贷款的“证券化”导致银行不断放松贷款标准。信用评级机构由发行人支付，将这些证券评级为“AAA”或风险最小的产品，而没有充分分析基础抵押贷款的违约风险。全球的投资者大量投资于这些产品，追求更高的回报，为住房金融注入了越来越多的资金。与此同时，国会授权购买合格抵押贷款以鼓励住房拥有权的两家巨头公司房利美和房地美的股东们，深陷次贷市场，随着房市的膨胀，赚得盆满钵满。

All of this had contributed to a classic bubble, George said. So long as housing prices kept going up, everybody was happy: the family who could suddenly buy their dream house with no money down; the developers that couldn't build houses fast enough to satisfy all these new customers; the banks that sold increasingly complex financial instruments at handsome profits; the hedge funds and investment banks that were placing bigger and bigger bets on these financial instruments with borrowed money; not to mention furniture retailers, carpet manufacturers, trade unions, and newspaper advertising departments, all of which had every incentive to keep the party going.

这一切都造成了一个经典的泡沫，乔治说。只要房价继续上涨，每个人都感到高兴：可以不用付首付的家庭可以突然买到梦寐以求的房子；开发商不能快速建造房屋以满足所有这些新客户的需求；银行以可观的利润销售日益复杂的金融工具；对冲基金和投资银行用借来的钱押注于这些金融工具上，押注越来越大；更不用说家具零售商、地毯制造商、工会和报纸广告部门了，它们都有充分的动力继续派对。

But with so many unqualified buyers propping up the market, George was convinced the party would eventually end. What I was noticing in Chicago was just a tremor, he told me. Once the earthquake came, the impact would be far worse in places like Florida, Arizona, and Nevada, where subprime lending had been most active. As soon as large numbers of homeowners started defaulting, investors would realize that a lot of mortgage-backed securities weren't so AAA after all. They'd likely rush for the exits, dumping the securities as fast as they could. Banks that held these securities would be vulnerable to runs, and would probably pull back on lending to cover losses or maintain capital requirements, making it hard for even qualified families to get a mortgage, which in turn would depress the housing market even further.

然而，由于许多缺乏资格的买家支撑市场，乔治确信派对最终会结束。他告诉我，我在芝加哥注意到的只是一次震颤。一旦地震来了，类似佛罗里达、亚利桑那和内华达这样活跃的次级贷款市场将受到更严重的影响。当大量房主开始违约，投资者会意识到许多抵押支持证券并不如AAA评级那样安全。他们可能会争相抛售这些证券，以期迅速脱身。持有这些证券的银行将面临风险，可能会收紧贷款以弥补损失或保持资本要求，从而使即使是有资格的家庭也难以获得抵押贷款，这反过来又会进一步压低房地产市场。

It would be a vicious cycle, likely to trigger a market panic, and because of the sheer amount of money involved, the result could be an economic crisis the likes of which we hadn't seen in our lifetimes.

I listened to all this with growing incredulity. George was not prone to exaggeration, especially when it came to money. He told me he had taken a hefty "short" position himself, essentially betting that the price of mortgage-backed securities would go way down in the future. I asked him why it was that if the risk of a full-blown crisis was so high, no one—not the Federal Reserve, or bank regulators, or the financial press—seemed to be talking about it.

這將是一個惡性循環，可能會觸發市場恐慌，由於涉及到的金額極其巨大，結果可能會是我們一生中未曾見過的經濟危機。我聽了這些話，感到越來越難以置信。乔治在談到金錢時很少會誇張。他告訴我自己採取了一個相當“空頭”的立場，基本上是打賭抵押支持的證券價格在未來會大幅下降。我問他為什麼，如果出現全面危機的風險如此之高，沒人——無論是聯邦儲備系統、銀行監管機構還是金融新聞媒體——似乎在談論它。

George shrugged. "You tell me."

When I got back to my Senate office, I asked some of my staff to check with their counterparts on the Banking Committee to see if anyone saw any danger in the spiking of the subprime mortgage market. The reports came back negative: The Federal Reserve chairman had indicated that the housing market was a bit overheated and due for an eventual correction, but that given historical trends, he saw no major threat to the financial system or the broader economy. With all the other issues on my plate, including the start of the midterm campaigns, George's warning receded from my mind. In fact, when I saw him a couple of months later, in early 2007, both the financial and housing markets had continued to soften, but it didn't seem to be anything serious. George told me that he had been forced to abandon his "short" position after taking heavy losses.

乔治耸了耸肩。“你来告诉我吧。”

当我回到参议院办公室时，我让我的一些工作人员与银行委员会的同行联系，看看是否有人看到次级抵押贷款市场飙升存在危险。报告的结果是负面的：联邦储备委员会主席已经表明，房地产市场有些过热，需要进行适当调整，但从历史趋势来看，他认为对金融系统或更广泛的经济没有重大威胁。由于我要处理很多其他问题，包括中期竞选的开始，乔治的警告从我的脑海中消失了。实际上，当我在2007年初再次见到他时，金融和房地产市场已经继续走软，但似乎并不严重。George告诉我，他不得不放弃“空头”头寸，因为损失太大了。

"I just don't have enough cash to stay with the bet," he said calmly enough, adding, "Apparently I've underestimated how willing people are to maintain a charade."

I didn't ask George how much money he'd lost, and we moved on to other topics. We parted ways that day not knowing that the charade wouldn't last very much longer—or that its terrible fallout would, just a year and a half later, play a critical role in electing me president.

—

"SENATOR OBAMA. This is Hank Paulson."

It was a week and a half after the Republican National Convention, eleven days before my first scheduled debate with John McCain. It was clear why the U.S. Treasury secretary had requested the call.

“我现在手头实在没有足够的现金进行投注，”他平静地说道，接着补充道，“显然我低估了人们维持伪装的意愿。”

我没有问乔治输了多少钱，我们转移到了其他话题。那天我们分别时并不知道伪装并不会持续多久——或者它可怕的后果将在一年半后发挥关键作用，帮助我当选总统。

—

“奥巴马参议员。我是汉克·保尔森。”

这是共和党全国代表大会结束的一个半星期后，距离我与约翰·麦凯恩的首场辩论只有十一天。很显然，美国财政部长打来电话有特定的原因。

The financial system was in a meltdown and taking the American economy with it.

Although Iraq had been the biggest issue at the start of our campaign, I had always made the need for more progressive economic policies a central part of my argument for change. As I saw it, the combination of globalization and revolutionary new technologies had been fundamentally altering the American economy for at least two decades. U.S. manufacturers had shifted production overseas, taking advantage of low-cost labor and shipping back cheap goods to be sold by big-box retailers against which small businesses couldn't hope to compete. More recently, the internet had wiped out entire categories of office work and, in some cases, whole industries.

金融系统正在崩溃，并带领着美国经济一起走下坡路。虽然伊拉克一开始是我们竞选活动中最大的问题，但我一直将需要更加进步的经济政策作为我变革的中心论点之一。在我看来，全球化和革命性的新技术至少已经在过去的二十年里根本性改变了美国经济。美国制造商正在转移生产地点到海外，利用低成本的劳动力，然后运回廉价商品由大型零售商出售，而小企业无法与之竞争。最近，互联网已经摧毁了整个类别的办公工作，有时候甚至已经摧毁了整个行业。

In this new, winner-take-all economy, those controlling capital or possessing specialized, high-demand skills—whether tech entrepreneurs, hedge fund managers, LeBron James, or Jerry Seinfeld—could leverage their assets, market globally, and amass more wealth than any group in human history. But for ordinary workers, capital mobility and automation meant an ever-weakening bargaining position. Manufacturing towns lost their lifeblood. Low inflation and cheap flat-screen TVs couldn't compensate for layoffs, fewer hours and temp work, stagnant wages and reduced benefits, especially when both healthcare and education costs (two sectors less subject to cost-saving automation) kept soaring.

在这个新的赢家通吃的经济中，掌控资本或拥有专业、高需求技能的人——无论是科技企业家、对冲基金经理、勒布朗·詹姆斯还是杰瑞·塞茨菲尔德——可以利用自己的资产，在全球范围内市场营销，并积累比人类历史上任何一个群体都更多的财富。但对于普通工人来说，资本流动和自动化意味着他们的谈判地位越来越弱。制造业城镇失去了生命力。低通货膨胀率和廉价的平板电视无法弥补裁员、减少工作时间和临时工作、工资停滞和福利降低的损失，尤其是在医疗保健和教育成本不断上涨（两个领域难以实现成本节约自动化）的情况下。

Inequality also had a way of compounding itself. Even middle-class Americans found themselves increasingly priced out of neighborhoods with the best schools or cities with the best job prospects. They were unable to afford the extras—SAT prep courses, computer camps, invaluable but unpaid internships—that better-off parents routinely provided their kids. By 2007, the American economy was not only producing greater inequality than almost every other wealthy nation but also delivering less upward mobility.

I believed that these outcomes weren't inevitable, but rather were the result of political choices dating back to Ronald Reagan. Under the banner of economic freedom—an "ownership society" was the phrase President Bush used—Americans had been fed a steady diet of tax cuts for the wealthy and seen collective bargaining laws go unenforced. There had been efforts to privatize or cut the social safety net, and federal budgets had consistently underinvested in everything from early childhood education to infrastructure. All this further accelerated inequality, leaving families ill-equipped to navigate even minor economic turbulence.

不平等也会自行恶化。即便是美国的中产阶级，也发现自己日渐被挤出有着最好学校和最好工作前景的社区和城市。他们无法承担额外开支——如SAT培训课程、电脑营、无价但无偿的实习等——而这些在比较富裕的家庭里已经是常规服务。到了2007年，美国经济不仅比其他几乎所有富裕国家产生了更大的不平等，而且提供了更少的上升机会。

我相信，这些后果并非必然发生，而是由于政治选择，可以追溯到罗纳德·里根时代所致。在经济自由的旗帜下——“所有权社会”是布什总统的词汇——美国人一直食用着针对富裕阶层的税收削减，同时集体谈判法被无视。曾经有过资助民生安全网的私有化或削减的尝试，联邦预算在从托儿所教育到基础设施等方面一直缺乏投资。所有这一切进一步加剧了不平等，让家庭甚至无法应对轻微的经济风险。

I was campaigning to push the country in the opposite direction. I didn't think America could roll back automation or sever the global supply chain (though I did think we could negotiate stronger labor and environmental provisions in our trade agreements). But I was certain we could adapt our laws and institutions, just as we'd done in the past, to make sure that folks willing to work could get a fair shake. At every stop I made, in every city and small town, my message was the same. I promised to raise taxes on high-income Americans to pay for vital investments in education, research, and infrastructure. I promised to strengthen unions and raise the minimum wage as well as to deliver universal healthcare and make college more affordable.

我正在竞选，以推动国家朝相反的方向前进。我并不认为美国能够撤回自动化或切断全球供应链（尽管我确实认为我们可以在贸易协议中谈判更加强有力的劳工和环境条款）。但我相信我们可以像过去一样改革我们的法律和制度，以确保愿意工作的人们能够得到公平的机会。在我每次停留，每个城市和小镇，我的讯息都是相同的。我承诺提高高收入美国人的税收，以支付教育、研究和基础设施的重要投资。我承诺加强工会和提高最低工资，同时提供全民医疗保健，并使大学更加负担得起。

I wanted people to understand that there was a precedent for bold government action. FDR had saved capitalism from itself, laying the foundation for a post-World War II boom. I often talked about how strong labor laws had helped build a thriving middle class and a thriving domestic market, and how—by driving out unsafe products and fraudulent schemes—consumer protection laws had actually helped legitimate businesses prosper and grow. I explained how strong public schools and state universities and a GI Bill had unleashed the potential of generations of Americans and driven upward mobility. Programs like Social Security and Medicare had given those same Americans a measure of stability in their golden years, and government investments like those in the Tennessee Valley Authority and the interstate highway system had boosted productivity and provided the platform for countless entrepreneurs.

我想讓人們明白，大膽的政府行動有先例可循。Roosevelt成功地拯救了資本主義，為二戰後的繁榮時期打下基礎。我常常談論強有力的勞工法如何幫助建立了一個繁榮的中產階級和國內市場，以及如何透過驅逐不安全產品和詐騙計劃，消費者保護法實際上幫助了合法企業的繁榮和成長。

我解釋了健全的公立學校和州立大學以及《退伍軍人法》如何釋放了幾代美國人的潛力，帶動了向上流動。像社會保障和醫療保險等計劃，為那些年老時美國人提供了一定程度的穩定，而像田納西河谷畜產管理局和州際公路系統這樣的政府投資則推動了生產率，為無數企業家提供了平臺。

I was convinced we could adapt these strategies to current times. Beyond any specific policy, I wanted to restore in the minds of the American people the crucial role that government had always played in expanding opportunity, fostering competition and fair dealing, and making sure the marketplace

worked for everybody.

What I hadn't counted on was a major financial crisis.

—

DESPITE MY FRIEND George's early warning, it hadn't been until the spring of 2007 that I started noticing troubling headlines in the financial press. The nation's second-largest subprime lender, New Century Financial, declared bankruptcy after a surge in mortgage defaults in the subprime housing market. The largest lender, Countrywide, avoided the same fate only after the Federal Reserve stepped in and approved a shotgun marriage with Bank of America.我相信我们可以把这些策略应用到当前的时代。除了任何具体的政策之外，我想要让美国人民重新认识到政府在扩大机会、促进竞争和公平交易，以及确保市场为每个人服务方面一直扮演着至关重要的角色。但我没有料到会发生一场重大的金融危机。

尽管我的朋友乔治早早地发出警告，直到2007年春季，我才开始注意到财经新闻中令人担忧的头条。全国第二大次贷放贷人New Century Financial因次级住房市场贷款违约激增而宣布破产。最大的放贷人Countrywide在联邦储备委员会介入并批准与美国银行合并之后才避免了同样的命运。

Alarmed, I had spoken to my economic team and delivered a speech at NASDAQ in September 2007, decrying the failure to regulate the subprime lending market and proposing stronger oversight. This may have put me ahead of the curve compared to other presidential candidates, but I was nonetheless well behind the pace at which events on Wall Street were beginning to spin out of control.

In the months that followed, financial markets saw a flight to safety, as lenders and investors moved their money into government-backed Treasury bonds, sharply restricted credit, and yanked capital out of any firm that might have significant risk when it came to mortgage-backed securities. Just about every major financial institution in the world was dangerously exposed, having either invested directly in such instruments (often taking on debt to finance their bets) or loaned money to firms that did. In October 2007, Merrill Lynch announced *7.9 billion in losses related to mortgages. Citigroup warned that its figure might be closer to 11 billion.* In March 2008, the share price in the investment firm Bear Stearns dropped from 57 to 30 in a single day, forcing the Fed to engineer a fire-sale purchase by JPMorgan Chase. No one could say if or when Wall Street's three remaining major investment banks—Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, and especially Lehman Brothers, all of which were hemorrhaging capital at alarming rates—would face a similar reckoning.

我非常警覺，於2007年9月，曾與經濟團隊討論，在NASDAQ發表演講譴責未管制次貸貸款市場，並提議加強監管。這使我比其他總統候選人更具備前瞻性，但我仍然落後於華爾街事件發展速度。

接下來的幾個月，金融市場見證了一波安全逃離，貸款人和投資者將資金轉移到政府支持的國債上，嚴格限制信貸，從任何可能涉及抵押貸款證券風險的公司撤回資本。幾乎全球每一家主要金融機構都處於危險之中，既直接投資於這些工具（通常透過負債用於融資），或是向買家出借貸款。

2007年10月，美林宣布與抵押貸款有關的損失達到了79億美元。花旗警告可能更接近110億美元。2008年3月，投資公司貝爾斯登（Bear Stearns）的股價在一天之內從57美元下降至30美元，迫使聯邦儲備局（Fed）將其以火售的方式賣給摩根大通。沒有人能確定華爾街剩餘的三家主要投資銀行--高盛（Goldman Sachs）、摩根士丹利（Morgan Stanley）和尤其是雷曼兄弟（Lehman Brothers）--是否會面臨類似的清算。它們全都以驚人的速度流失資本。

For the public, it was tempting to see all this as a righteous comeuppance for greedy bankers and hedge fund managers; to want to stand by as firms failed and executives who'd drawn \$20 million bonuses were forced to sell off their yachts, jets, and homes in the Hamptons. I'd encountered enough Wall Street executives personally to know that many (though not all) lived up to the stereotype: smug and entitled, conspicuous in their consumption, and indifferent to the impact their decisions might have on everyone else.

对于公众来说，将这一切视为贪婪的银行家和对冲基金经理的正义报应是十分诱人的；希望在公司倒闭的情况下站在一旁，强迫那些已经获得2000万美元奖金的高管出售自己在汉普顿的游艇、私人飞机和房产。我个人遇到过足够多的华尔街高管，知道他们中的许多人（虽然不是所有人都是这样）都符合刻板印象：自负和有权，他们的消费公开显眼，却对他们的决定可能对其他人产生的影响漠不关心。

The trouble was that in the midst of a financial panic, in a modern capitalist economy, it was impossible to isolate good businesses from bad, or administer pain only to the reckless or unscrupulous. Like it or not, everybody and everything was connected.

By spring, the United States had entered a full-blown recession. The housing bubble and easy money had disguised a whole host of structural weaknesses in the American economy for a full decade. But with defaults now spiking, credit tightening, the stock market declining, and housing prices plummeting, businesses large and small decided to retrench. They laid off workers and canceled orders. They deferred investments in new plants and IT systems. And as people who had worked for those companies lost their jobs, or saw the equity in their homes or 401(k) plans dwindle, or fell behind on their credit card payments and were forced to spend down their savings, they, too, retrenched. They put off new car purchases, stopped eating out, and postponed vacations. And with declining sales, businesses cut payrolls and spending even more. It was a classic cycle of contracting demand, one that worsened with each successive month. March's data showed that one in eleven mortgages was past due or in foreclosure and that auto sales had cratered. In May, unemployment rose a half point—the largest monthly increase in twenty years.

困难在于，在金融恐慌的环境中，在现代资本主义经济中，不可能将好的企业与坏的企业分开，或仅对鲁莽或不道德的人施加痛苦。不管你喜欢与否，每个人和每件事都是相互联系的。

到了春天，美国陷入了全面性的经济衰退。房屋泡沫和容易得到的钱，掩盖了十年间美国经济中的各种结构性缺陷。但现在随着拖欠率的飙升，信贷收紧，股市下跌和房价暴跌，大小企业决定收缩。他们裁员，取消订单。他们推迟对新工厂和信息技术系统的投资。而随着那些曾在这些公司工作的人失去了工作，或者看到他们在房产或401(k)计划中的权益缩水，或者逾期信用卡付款并被迫花光其储蓄，他们也在退缩。他们推迟购买新车，停止外出就餐，并延迟

度假。由于销售额下降，企业甚至更多地削减了人员和支出。这是一个典型的需求萎缩循环，每个月都在恶化。三月份的数据显示，每十一份抵押贷款中就有一份逾期或处于强制执行，而汽车销售已经下滑。五月份，失业率上升了个百分点，是20年来最大的月度增长。

It had become President Bush's problem to manage. At the urging of his economic advisors, he had secured bipartisan agreement from Congress on a \$168 billion economic rescue package providing tax breaks and rebates meant to stimulate consumer spending and give the economy a jolt. But any effect it may have had was dampened by high gas prices that summer, and the crisis only grew worse. In July, news stations across the country broadcast images of desperate customers lined up to pull their money out of IndyMac, a California bank that promptly went belly-up. The much larger Wachovia survived only after Secretary Paulson was able to invoke a "systemic risk exception" to prevent its failure.

這問題成為布什總統的頭疼。在經濟顧問的敦促下，他在國會取得了兩黨一致同意的1680億美元經濟救援計劃，提供稅收減免和折扣，旨在刺激消費和促進經濟增長。但高油價令其效果大打折扣，危機日益加劇。七月份，全國各地的新聞媒體播出了顧客排隊搶取印第安納銀行的鏡頭，而該行很快就破產了。只有在保羅森部長成功激活“系統性風險例外”以防止萬事達卡的失敗後，規模更大的華克華利亞才倖免於難。

Congress meanwhile authorized \$200 billion to prevent Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac—the two privately owned behemoths that together guaranteed nearly 90 percent of America's mortgages—from going under. Both were placed in government conservatorship through the newly formed Federal Housing Finance Agency. Yet even with an intervention of that magnitude, it still felt as if the markets were teetering on the edge of collapse—as if the authorities were shoveling gravel into a crack in the earth that just kept on growing. And for the moment, at least, the government had run out of gravel.

議會授權2000億美元以防止業已保證近90%美國抵押貸款的兩個私有巨頭房利美（Fannie Mae）和房地美（Freddie Mac）崩潰。它們被置於新成立的聯邦住房金融局的監管下。然而，即使有這樣的干預，市場仍然感覺像是在崩潰的邊緣 - 就像當局正在向一個不斷擴大的裂縫裡填塞礫石。至少目前為止，政府已經用盡了所有的礫石。

Which was why Hank Paulson, the U.S. Treasury secretary, was calling me. I had first met Paulson when he was the CEO of Goldman Sachs. Tall, bald, and bespectacled, with an awkward but unpretentious manner, he'd spent most of our time talking about his passion for environmental protection. But his voice, typically hoarse, now sounded thoroughly frayed, that of a man fighting both exhaustion and fear.

That morning, Monday, September 15, Lehman Brothers, a \$639 billion company, had announced it was filing for bankruptcy. The fact that the Treasury Department had not intervened to prevent what would be the largest bankruptcy filing in history signaled that we were entering a new phase in the crisis.

这就是为什么美国财政部长汉克·保尔森打电话给我。我第一次见保尔森是在他担任高盛集团首席执行官时。他高大秃顶、戴着眼镜，态度尴尬但不矫揉造作，我们大部分时间都在谈论他对环境保护的热情。但他那通常嘶哑的声音，现在听起来很疲惫，像一个同时战斗着疲惫和恐惧的人。

那个早晨，也就是9月15日星期一，6390亿美元的雷曼兄弟公司宣布破产。财政部没有介入阻止这一史上最大的破产申请，表明我们正在进入危机的新阶段。

"We can expect a very bad market reaction," he said. "And the situation is likely to get worse before it gets better."

He explained why both Treasury and the Fed had determined that Lehman was too weak to prop up and that no other financial institution was willing to take on its liabilities. President Bush had authorized Paulson to brief both me and John McCain because further emergency actions would need bipartisan political support. Paulson hoped that both campaigns would respect and respond appropriately to the severity of the situation.

他说：“我们可以预计市场反应会非常糟糕。情况可能会变得更糟，然后才会好起来。”他解释了为什么财政部和联邦储备委员会都认为雷曼太弱无法支撑，也没有其他金融机构愿意承担其负债。布什总统授权保尔森向我和约翰·麦凯恩通报，因为进一步的紧急措施需要两党政治支持。保尔森希望两个竞选阵营都能尊重并适当地回应情况的严重性。

You didn't need a pollster to know that Paulson was right to be worried about the politics. We were seven weeks from a national election. As the public learned more about the enormity of the crisis, the idea of spending billions of taxpayer dollars to bail out reckless banks would surely rank in popularity somewhere between a bad case of shingles and Osama bin Laden. The following day, Paulson's Treasury would prevent catastrophes at Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley by redefining both institutions in a way that allowed them to create commercial banks eligible for federal protection. Still, even blue-chip companies with sterling ratings were suddenly unable to borrow the money needed to finance day-to-day operations, and money market funds, previously considered as safe and liquid as cash, were now starting to buckle.

保羅森擔心政治問題是對的，並不需要民調機構來驗證。全國選舉僅七週遠，隨著公眾了解危機的嚴重性，用納稅人的錢救助魯莽的銀行，這個想法必定不會受到歡迎，反而會像得了帶狀皰疹或本·拉登那樣令人討厭。接下來的一天，保羅森的財政部通過重新定義高盛和摩根士丹利，使它們成為符合聯邦保護資格的商業銀行，以防止災難發生。然而，即使是信譽良好的藍籌公司，使勁去借資金來維持日常運作，其中的一些市場基金，被認為像現金一樣安全和流動，現在也開始變得不穩定。

For Democrats, it would be easy enough to lay blame for the fiasco at the foot of the administration, but the truth was that plenty of congressional Democrats had applauded rising homeownership rates throughout the subprime boom. For Republicans who were up for reelection and already saddled with an unpopular president and a tanking economy, the prospect of voting for more Wall Street "bailouts" looked like an invitation to dig their own graves.

"If you need to take further steps," I told Paulson, "I'm guessing your biggest problem will come from your side, not mine." Already, many Republicans were complaining that the Bush administration's interventions in the banking sector violated the core conservative principles of limited government. They

accused the Federal Reserve of overstepping its mandate, and some had the gall to criticize government regulators for failing to catch the problems in the subprime market sooner—as if they themselves hadn't spent the past eight years working to weaken every financial regulation they could find.

民主黨可以把這場災難的責任歸咎於政府，但事實上許多國會民主黨人在次貸風暴期間都曾對房屋擁有率的不斷上升喝采。而對於即將面臨連任卻已經背負著不受歡迎的總統和衰退經濟的共和黨人來說，投票支持更多的華爾街“救助”費用似乎等同於邀請他們自己跳入墳墓之中。

我對保爾森說：“如果你需要採取更進一步的措施，我猜你最大的問題來自你自己的那一方，而不是我的那一方。”許多共和黨人已經在抱怨布什政府在銀行業的干預侵犯了有限政府的核心價值觀。他們指責聯邦儲備系統超越了自己的職權範圍，有些人甚至還有膽量批評政府監管者在次貸市場出現問題時未能及早發覺——好像他們自己在過去的八年中沒有竭盡全力緩和每項金融監管措施。

John McCain's public comments up to that point had been muted, and I urged Paulson to keep in close contact with my competitor as the situation developed. As the Republican nominee, McCain didn't have the luxury of distancing himself from Bush. His vow to continue most of Bush's economic policies, in fact, had always been one of his great vulnerabilities. During the primaries, he'd confessed that he didn't know much about economic policy. He'd more recently reinforced the impression that he was out of touch by admitting to a reporter that he wasn't sure how many homes he owned. (The answer was eight.) Based on what Paulson was telling me, McCain's political problems were about to get worse. I had no doubt his political advisors would urge him to improve his standing with voters by distancing himself from any financial rescue efforts the administration tried to make.

約翰·麥凱恩此前公開發表的言論很含蓄，我敦促保爾森在事態進展時與我的競爭對手保持密切聯繫。身為共和黨總統候選人，麥凱恩無法避免與布什保持距離。事實上，他一直都承諾要繼續實行布什的大部分經濟政策，這一點一直是他最大的弱點之一。在初選時，他承認自己對經濟政策不是很了解。最近，他因向記者承認自己不知道擁有多少房產而再次強調了他不接地氣的形象。（答案是八套房子）根據保爾森告訴我的那些信息，我毫不懷疑麥凱恩的政治問題即將更加嚴重。我相信他的政治顧問會敦促他通過保持距離與政府任何財務救援行動來提高他在選民中的支持率。

If McCain chose not to be supportive, I knew I'd be under fierce pressure from Democrats—and perhaps my own staff—to follow suit. And yet, as I wrapped up the conversation with Paulson, I knew that it didn't matter what McCain did. With the stakes this high, I would do whatever was necessary, regardless of the politics, to help the administration stabilize the situation.

If I wanted to be president, I told myself, I needed to act like one.

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AS EXPECTED, John McCain had difficulty coming up with a coherent response to the rapidly unfolding events. On the day of the Lehman announcement, in an ill-timed attempt at reassuring the public, he appeared at a televised rally and declared that the “fundamentals of the economy are strong.” My campaign absolutely roasted him for it. (“Senator, what economy are you talking about?” I asked, speaking later in the day at a rally of my own.)

如果麥凱恩選擇不支持，我知道我會面臨來自民主黨和可能是自己團隊的巨大壓力，讓我也採取同樣的立場。但是，在我結束與保爾森的談話時，我知道麥凱恩做什麼已經不重要了。在這種情況下，無論政治因素如何，我都將盡一切可能來幫助政府穩定情況。

我告訴自己，如果我想成為總統，我需要像一名總統一樣行事。

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和預期的一樣，約翰·麥凱恩在不斷發生的事件中難以做出連貫的回應。在雷曼宣布當天，他試圖在電視集會上安撫公眾，却聲稱“經濟基本面強勁”，進一步被我的競選團隊狠批。（“參議員，您說的是哪個經濟？”我在當天晚些時候的一次集會上說道。）

In the ensuing days, the news of Lehman's bankruptcy sent financial markets into a full-blown panic. Stocks plunged. Merrill Lynch had already negotiated a desperation sale to Bank of America. Meanwhile, the Fed's 200 billion loan program to banks had proven to be insufficient. Along with all the money to shore up Fannie and Freddie, another 85 billion was now being consumed by an urgent government takeover of AIG, the massive insurance company whose policies underwrote the subprime security market. AIG was the poster child for “too big to fail”—so intertwined with global financial networks that its collapse would cause a cascade of bank failures—and even after the government intervened, it continued to hemorrhage. Four days after Lehman's collapse, President Bush and Secretary Paulson appeared on television alongside Ben Bernanke and Chris Cox, the respective chairs of the Federal Reserve and the Securities and Exchange Commission, and announced the need for Congress to pass a bill that would eventually be known as the Troubled Asset Relief Program, or TARP, establishing a new emergency fund of \$700 billion. This was the price, they estimated, of staving off Armageddon.

在接下來的幾天里，雷曼破產的消息使得金融市場陷入了全面恐慌。股票大幅下跌。美林已經與美國銀行進行了絕望的出售談判。與此同時，美聯儲向銀行提供的2000億美元貸款計劃已被證明不足。除了為房利美和房地美提供資金支持的所有資金外，還有850億美元被用於緊急接管AIG——這家大型保險公司保證了次貸安全市場的保單。AIG是“太大而不能倒”的代表——與全球金融網絡相互交織，其崩潰將引發一系列銀行倒閉，即使在政府干預之後，它仍在大量虧損。在雷曼破產四天後，布什總統和保爾森國務卿與聯邦儲備委員會和證券交易委員會的各自主席伯南克和考克斯並肩出現在電視上，宣布需要國會通過一項隨後被稱為“困境資產救助計劃”的法案，建立一個新的7000億美元的緊急基金。這是他們估計避免末日的代價。

Perhaps to compensate for his earlier blunder, McCain announced his opposition to the government bailout of AIG. A day later, he reversed himself. His position on TARP remained unclear, opposing bailouts in theory but maybe supporting this one in practice. With all the zigging and zagging, our campaign had no problem tying the crisis to a “Bush-McCain” economic agenda that prioritized the wealthy and powerful over the middle class, arguing that McCain was unprepared to steer the country through tough economic times.

也许是为了弥补早前的错误，麦凯恩宣布反对政府对AIG的纾困计划。一天后，他又改变了主意。他在TARP政策上的立场仍不明确，理论上反对救助，但在实践中也许支持这个政策。由于这些摇摆不定的表现，我们的竞选活动没有问题地将危机与一个“布什-麦凯恩”经济议程联系起来，这个议程将富人和权贵置于中产阶级之上，并认为麦凯恩没有准备好带领国家度过艰难的经济时期。

Nevertheless, I did my best to stay true to the commitment I'd made to Paulson, instructing my team to refrain from making public comments that might jeopardize the Bush administration's chances at getting Congress to approve a rescue package. Along with our in-house economic advisors, Austan Goolsbee and Jason Furman, I had begun consulting with an ad hoc advisory group that included former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker, former Clinton Treasury secretary Larry Summers, and legendary investor Warren Buffett. All had lived through major financial crises before, and each confirmed that this one was of a different order of magnitude. Without swift action, they told me, we faced the very real possibility of economic collapse: millions more Americans losing their homes and their life savings, along with Depression-era levels of unemployment.

然而，我尽力遵守向保尔森所作出的承诺，指示我的团队不要发表可能危及布什政府通过救援计划的机会的公开评论。与我们的内部经济顾问奥斯丹·古尔斯比和杰森·弗曼一起，我已经开始与一个临时咨询小组进行咨询，该小组包括前联邦储备委员会主席保罗·沃尔克、前克林顿财政部长拉里·萨默斯和传奇投资者沃伦·巴菲特。他们都经历过重大金融危机，并确认这次危机是不同级别的。他们告诉我，如果不采取迅速行动，我们将面临经济崩溃的非常真实可能性：数百万美国人失去家园和储蓄，并且失业率达到大萧条时期的水平。

Their briefings proved invaluable in helping me understand the nuts and bolts of the crisis and evaluate the various responses being proposed. They also scared the heck out of me. By the time I traveled to Tampa, where I would be preparing for my first debate with McCain, I felt confident that on the substance of the economy, at least, I knew what I was talking about—and I increasingly dreaded what a prolonged crisis might mean for families all across America.

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EVEN WITHOUT THE distraction of a looming crisis, I probably wouldn't have looked forward to being holed up in a hotel for three days of debate prep. But given my inconsistency during the primary debates, I knew I needed the work. Fortunately, our team had recruited a pair of lawyers and political veterans—Ron Klain and Tom Donilon, who had served in similar roles prepping candidates like Al Gore, Bill Clinton, and John Kerry. The moment I arrived, they gave me a detailed breakdown of the debate format and an outline of every conceivable question that might be asked. Along with Axe, Plouffe, communications advisor Anita Dunn, and the rest of the team, they drilled me for hours on the precise answers they wanted to hear, down to the last word or turn of phrase. In the old Biltmore Hotel where we had set up shop, Ron and Tom had insisted on building an exact replica of the debate stage, and that first night they subjected me to a full ninety-minute mock debate, picking apart every aspect of my performance, from pace to posture to tone. It was exhausting but undeniably useful, and by the time my head hit the pillow, I was certain I would be dreaming in talking points.

他們的簡報對我理解危機的核心問題和評估各種提出的應對方案非常有價值。但是，它們也讓我非常害怕。當我前往坦帕市，為與麥凱恩的第一次辯論做準備時，至少對於經濟方面的內容，我有信心知道我在談論什麼 - 並且我越來越擔心持續的危機將對美國各地的家庭產生什麼樣的影響。

即使沒有令人煩惱的危機，我可能也不會期待在酒店裡被困上三天的辯論準備。但是，鑑於我在初選辯論中的表現不一，我知道我需要加強練習。幸運的是，我們的團隊招募了一對律師和政治老手 - 羅恩·克萊恩和湯姆·多尼隆，他們曾經在為阿爾·戈爾，比爾·克林頓和約翰·克裡等選人做過類似的準備工作。我到達時，他們向我詳細介紹了辯論形式以及可能提出的每個問題的大綱。他們與Axe, Plouffe, 傳訊顧問Anita Dunn以及團隊的其他成員一起，花了幾個小時鑽研他們想聽到的精確答案，從語調到用語的轉折都精確掌握。在我們設置營地的老畫框酒店裡，羅恩和湯姆堅持建立了辯論舞台的精確複製品，在第一晚上，他們向我展示了整整90分鐘的模擬辯論，從節奏到姿勢再到聲調的各個方面都進行了分析。這很累人，但無可否認地很有用，當我的頭撞上枕頭的時候，我肯定我會夢到談話要點。

Despite their best efforts, though, news from outside the Klain-Donilon bubble kept diverting my attention. In between sessions, I got updates on market developments and on the prospects for the administration's TARP legislation. To call it "legislation" was a stretch: The bill Hank Paulson had submitted to Congress consisted of three pages of boilerplate language authorizing the Treasury to use the \$700 billion emergency fund to buy troubled assets or more generally take steps it deemed necessary to contain the crisis. With the press and the public howling at the price tag and representatives from both sides of the aisle balking at the lack of detail, Pete Rouse told me, the administration wasn't even close to having the votes it needed for passage.

儘管他們盡了最大的努力，但外部的消息仍不斷分散我的注意力。在會議之間，我得到了市場發展和政府撥出緊急資金計劃的前景方面的更新。稱之為“法案”是有些牽強附會：漢克·保爾森提交給國會的法案只有三頁板式語言，授權財政部使用7000億美元的緊急基金來購買有問題的資產或採取其他必要步驟來遏制危機。彼得·勞斯告訴我，由於媒體和公眾對這個價值的尖叫，以及來自兩黨代表對細節的反對，政府甚至還沒有得到通過此法案所需的票數。

Harry Reid and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi affirmed this when I spoke to them by phone. Both were hard-nosed politicians, not averse to bashing Republicans in order to solidify their majorities when the opportunity arose. But as I would see repeatedly over the next few years, both Harry and Nancy were willing (sometimes after a whole lot of grousing) to set politics aside when an issue of vital importance was at stake. On TARP, they were looking to me for direction. I shared my honest assessment: With some conditions attached to ensure it wasn't just a Wall Street giveaway, Democrats needed to help get it passed. And to their credit, the two leaders said they'd manage to drag in their respective caucuses and provide votes for passage—if Bush and GOP leaders delivered sufficient Republican votes as well.

當我通過電話與哈利·里德和眾議院議長南希·佩洛西對話時，他們都確認了這一點。他們都是強硬的政治家，在機會出現時不會排斥抨擊共和黨，以鞏固他們的優勢地位。但在接下來的幾年裡，我會反覆看到哈利和南希都願意（有時經過很多抱怨之後）把政治放在一邊，當一個重要的問題攸關到時。在關於《資

產救助計劃》，他們希望我提供指導。我分享了我的誠懇評估：附帶一些條件以確保這不僅僅是向華爾街的禮物，民主黨需要幫助通過這項法案。值得肯定的是，這兩位領袖表示，他們將能夠吸引他們各自的黨派，并提供投票支持，如果布什和共和黨領袖也能提供足夠的共和黨人的支持。

I knew that was a hell of a big “if.” Unpopular legislation, an election fast approaching, and neither side wanting to hand ammunition to the other—it seemed a surefire recipe for gridlock.

To break the impasse, I started seriously considering a quixotic idea proposed by my friend Tom Coburn, a Republican senator from Oklahoma: that McCain and I put out a joint statement advocating that Congress pass some version of TARP. If both of us placed our hands on the bloody knife, Coburn reasoned, we could take the politics out of the vote and allow a nervous Congress to make a reasonable decision without obsessing over its Election Day impact.我知道那是一個巨大的“如果”。不受欢迎的立法、即将到来的选举，双方都不想为对方提供弹药——这似乎是一种制造僵局的绝妙配方。为了打破僵局，我开始认真考虑我的朋友汤姆·科本提出的一个古怪的想法：麦凯恩和我发表一份联合声明，呼吁国会通过某种版本的TARP。科本认为，如果我们两个人都把手放在那把血淋淋的刀上，就可以把政治因素从投票中剔除，让一个紧张的国会在不过分关注选举日影响的情况下做出合理的决定。

I had no idea how McCain would respond to this. It could come off as gimmicky, but knowing that unless a rescue package passed we’d be looking at what could turn into a full-blown depression, I figured it was worth a shot.

McCain and I spoke by phone as I rode back to my hotel after a short campaign event. His voice was soft, polite but cautious. He was open to a possible joint statement, he said, but had been mulling over a different idea: How about if we both suspended our campaigns? What if we postponed the debate, headed back to Washington, and waited until the rescue package passed?

我不知道麦凯恩会作何反应。这可能会显得花哨，但是我知道，除非通过一项救援计划，否则我们可能会面临一场全面的萧条。因此，我认为这是值得一试的。

我和麦凯恩在短暂的竞选活动之后通过电话交谈。他的声音很柔和，礼貌而谨慎。他表示愿意发表可能的联合声明，但一直在考虑一个不同的想法：如果我们都暂停竞选呢？我们如果推迟辩论，返回华盛顿，等待救援计划通过呢？

Though I couldn’t imagine how bringing the presidential campaign circus to Washington would be in any way helpful, I was encouraged by McCain’s apparent interest in rising above the day-to-day scrum and getting a bill passed. Careful not to sound dismissive, I suggested—and John agreed—that our campaign managers work up a range of options for our consideration, and that we check back in with each other in an hour or two.

That’s progress, I thought, hanging up. I then dialed Plouffe and instructed him to call Rick Davis, McCain’s campaign manager, to follow up. Minutes later, I arrived at the hotel and found Plouffe scowling, having just hung up with Davis.儘管我無法想像把總統選舉的馬戲團帶到華盛頓會有任何幫助，但我對麥凱恩似乎對超越日常爭吵並通過法案很感興趣感到鼓舞。小心翼翼地不想聽起來冷落，我建議——約翰同意——我們的競選經理起草一系列選擇，供我們考慮，並且在一到兩個小時後再聯繫。我想，這是進步。掛斷電話後，我致電普羅夫，指示他致電麥凱恩的競選經理里克·戴維斯跟進。幾分鐘後，我到達酒店，發現普羅夫皺眉頭，剛剛才掛斷了與戴維斯的電話。

“McCain’s about to hold a press conference,” he said, “announcing his plan to suspend his campaign and fly back to Washington.”

“What? I talked to him ten minutes ago.”

“Yeah, well...it wasn’t on the level. Davis says McCain won’t even show at the debate unless a rescue package gets done in the next seventy-two hours. He says McCain’s going to publicly call on you to join him in suspending campaigning since—get this—‘Senator McCain thinks politics should take a backseat right now.’” Plouffe spat out the words, looking like he wanted to hit somebody.

“麦凯恩即将举行新闻发布会，宣布暂停竞选计划并返回华盛顿”，他说，“什么？我十分钟前还和他通话了。”“是的，不过.....那不是真的。戴维斯称麦凯恩如果在未来72小时内没有获得救援计划，甚至不会出现在辩论会上。他说麦凯恩将公开呼吁你加入他，暂停竞选活动，并表示‘现在应该将政治放在次要位置’。”普洛夫咆哮着说出这些话，看起来像是想打人。

A few minutes later, we watched McCain make his announcement, his voice dripping with concern. It was hard not to feel both angry and disappointed. The charitable view was that John had reacted out of mistrust: Afraid that my suggestion of a joint statement was an attempt to one-up him, he’d decided to one-up me first. The less charitable view, shared unanimously by my staff, was that a desperate campaign was embarking on yet another poorly-thought-out political stunt.

Stunt or not, a whole passel of Washington political insiders considered McCain’s move a masterstroke. As soon as he was off the air, we were bombarded with anxious messages from Democratic consultants and Beltway supporters saying we needed to suspend the campaign or risk ceding the high ground at a moment of national emergency. But by both temperament and experience we weren’t inclined to follow the conventional wisdom. Not only did I think that the two of us posturing in Washington would lessen rather than improve the chances of getting TARP passed, but I felt that the financial crisis made it that much more important for the debate to take place, so that voters could hear directly from the two men vying to lead them through uncharted waters. Still, rejecting McCain’s call felt like a huge gamble. With my team gathered around me, I asked if anyone disagreed with my assessment. Without hesitation, they all said no.

几分钟后，我们看着麦凯恩做出他的声明，他的语气充满关切。很难不感到愤怒和失望。慈善的看法是约翰对我提出联合声明的建议有疑虑：他害怕我会超过他，所以他先决定超过我。不那么慈善的看法，我的员工全都一致认为，是一场不周密的政治噱头，是绝望的竞选活动的又一次尝试。

政治圈里的一批华盛顿资深人士认为，麦凯恩的举动是一场妙手。他一下播出，我们就被一堆焦虑的民主党顾问和华盛顿支持者的信息炸弹轰击，说我们需要暂停竞选，否则将在一个国家紧急情况的时刻失去高地。但是，由于性情和经验的限制，我们并不倾向于遵循普遍的观点。不仅如此，我认为我们在华盛

顿做秀会降低通过TARP的机会，而且我认为金融危机使辩论变得更加重要，以使选民可以直接听到两个争夺领导权的人在穿越未知水域时的观点。尽管如此，拒绝麦凯恩的呼吁感觉像是一个巨大的赌博。我和我的团队聚在一起，问是否有人不同意我的评估。毫不犹豫，他们全都说不。

I smiled. "Okay, then."

An hour and a half later, I held my own press conference to say I would not be suspending my campaign. I pointed out that I was already in regular consultation with Paulson and congressional leaders and that I was available to fly to Washington at a moment's notice if needed. I then ad-libbed a line that would dominate the news coverage: "Presidents are going to have to deal with more than one thing at a time."

We had no idea how voters would respond, but we all felt good about my decision. As soon as we sat down to start gaming out next steps, though, Plouffe got an email from Josh Bolten, Bush's chief of staff, asking that he call. He darted out of the room; when he returned a few minutes later, his frown had deepened.我微笑了：“好吧，那就這樣吧。”一個半小時後，我舉行了自己的新聞發布會，宣布我不會暫停競選活動。我指出我已經在與保爾森和國會領袖進行定期磋商，如果需要，我可以隨時飛往華盛頓。接著，我即興發表了一句話，這句話將成為新聞報導的主題：“總統們將不得不處理多項事務。”我們不知道選民會如何回應，但我們所有人都對我的決定感到滿意。然而，當我們坐下來開始制定下一步計劃時，普洛夫收到了布什的幕僚長喬許·博爾頓的一封電子郵件，請他打電話給他。他跑出房間，幾分鐘後回來時，他的皺眉深了。

"Apparently McCain has asked Bush to host a meeting tomorrow at the White House with you, McCain, and the congressional leaders to try to hash out an agreement on TARP. Bush should be calling at any minute to invite you to the festivities."

Plouffe shook his head.

"This is absolute bullshit," he said.

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ALTHOUGH IT'S NOT large, the Cabinet Room of the White House is stately, with a rich red carpet adorned with gold stars, and cream-colored walls with eagle-shaped sconces. On the north side of the room, marble busts of Washington and Franklin, sculpted in the classical style, gaze out from nooks on either side of a fireplace. At the center of the room sits an oval table made of gleaming mahogany and surrounded by twenty heavy leather chairs, a small brass plate affixed to the back of each one signifying where the president, vice president, and various cabinet members should sit. It's a place for sober deliberation, built to accommodate the weight of history.“显然，麦凯恩已请求布什明天在白宫主持一场会议，与你、麦凯恩和国会领袖一起尝试达成有关塔普的协议。布什随时会打电话邀请你参加这个盛会。”普洛夫摇了摇头。“这些都是完全的胡说八道。”

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虽然它不是很大，但白宫的内阁会议室是庄严的，地毯是深红色的，并装饰有金星，奶油色的墙壁上有鹰形的壁灯。在房间的北侧，华盛顿和富兰克林的大理石半身像，在壁炉两侧的凸起处凝视着外面。在房间的中心，是一张闪闪发光的红木椭圆形桌子，周围围着二十张沉重的皮椅子，每个椅背上都固定着一个小铜牌，表示哪个位置是总统、副总统以及各个内阁成员该坐的位置。这是一个冷静思考的地方，建成以承载历史的沉重。

On most days, light streams into the room through broad French doors that look out onto the Rose Garden. But on September 25, as I took my seat for the meeting Bush had called at McCain's behest, the sky was overcast. Around the table sat the president, Vice President Cheney, McCain, and me, along with Hank Paulson, Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid, the Republican leaders John Boehner and Mitch McConnell, plus the chairpersons and ranking members of the relevant committees. A horde of White House and congressional staffers lined the walls, taking notes and leafing through thick briefing books.

大多数日子，充足的自然光透过宽阔的法式门流入房间，眺望着玫瑰园。但在9月25日，当我就座参加为麦凯恩而召开的布什会议时，天空是阴沉的。在桌子周围坐着总统、副总统切尼、麦凯恩和我，还有汉克·保尔森、南希·佩洛西、哈里·里德、共和党领袖约翰·博纳和米奇·麦康奈尔，以及相关委员会的主席和排名成员。一群白宫和国会的工作人员排列在墙边，记笔记并翻阅厚厚的简报书。

No one looked like they wanted to be there.

The president certainly hadn't sounded enthusiastic when we'd spoken on the phone the previous day. I disagreed with just about every one of George W. Bush's major policy decisions, but I'd come to like the man, finding him to be straightforward, disarming, and self-deprecating in his humor.

"I can't tell you why McCain thinks this is a good idea," he'd said, sounding almost apologetic. He acknowledged that Hank Paulson and I were already communicating a couple of times daily and expressed appreciation for my behind-the-scenes help with congressional Democrats. "If I were you, Washington's the last place I'd want to be," Bush said. "But McCain asked, and I can't say no. Hopefully we can keep it short."

沒有人看起來想在那裡。昨天我們通電話時，總統明顯沒有表現出熱情來。我不同意喬治·W·布什的幾乎所有主要政策決策，但我開始喜歡這個人了，發現他是直率、毫無戒心且幽默的自嘲者。

"我無法告訴你為什麼麥凱恩認為這是個好主意，"他聽起來幾乎是在道歉。他承認漢克·保爾森和我已經每天溝通幾次，並對我在國會民主黨人背後的幫助表示感激。“如果我是你，華盛頓是我最不想去的地方，"布什說。“但麥凱恩要求，我不能說不。希望我們可以把它縮短到最短。"

Only later would I learn that Paulson and the rest of Bush's team had been opposed to the meeting, and for good reason. Over the previous several days, congressional leaders had begun to narrow their differences on the TARP legislation. That very morning, there had been reports of a tentative agreement (although within a few hours, House Republicans pulled back from it). With negotiations at such a delicate stage, Bush's advisors rightly felt that inserting me and McCain into the process would likely hinder more than help.

直到后来，我才知道 Paulson 和布什的团队一开始反对这次会议，这也是有充分理由的。在之前的几天，国会领袖们已经开始缩小 TARP 法案的分歧。就在那天早上，有报道称已经达成了暂时的一致（尽管在几个小时内，众议院共和党人又撤回了这个协议）。在谈判处于如此微妙的阶段时，布什的顾问们 rightly 认为，将我和麦凯恩插入进程很可能会妨碍而不是帮助。

Bush, though, had overruled his team, and I couldn't blame him. Given the increasing resistance to TARP within his own party, he could hardly afford to have the Republican nominee go south on him. Still, the entire proceeding had the air of an elaborate charade. Looking at the dour faces around the room, I understood we were gathered not for a substantive negotiation but rather a presidential effort to placate one man.

The president opened with a brief appeal for unity before turning the meeting over to Paulson, who updated us on current market conditions and explained how TARP funds would be used to buy up bad mortgages (“toxic assets,” as they were called) from the banks, thereby shoring up balance sheets and restoring market confidence. “If Hank and Ben think this plan is going to work,” Bush said after they were finished, “then that's what I'm for.”

布什却推翻了他的团队，我不能怪他。考虑到他的党内越来越大的TARP反对派，他几乎不能容忍共和党提名人离他而去。尽管如此，整个过程都带有精心设计的虚伪氛围。看着室内沉闷的面孔，我明白我们聚集在一起不是为了进行实质性的谈判，而是总统努力安抚一个人。

总统以一次简短的团结呼吁开场，然后将会议交给了保尔森，他向我们更新了当前市场状况，并解释了TARP基金将如何用于从银行收购坏的抵押贷款（被称为“有毒资产”），从而加强资产负债表，恢复市场信心。在他们讲完之后，布什说：“如果汉克和本认为这个计划会奏效，那我也这么想。”

In accordance with protocol, the president next called on Speaker Pelosi. Rather than take the floor herself, though, Nancy politely informed the president that the Democrats would have me speak first, on their behalf.

It had been Nancy and Harry's idea that I serve as their point person, and I was grateful for it. Not only did it ensure that I wouldn't be outflanked by McCain during the deliberations, but it signaled that my fellow Democrats saw their political fortunes as wrapped up with mine. The move seemed to catch the Republicans by surprise, and I couldn't help noticing the president giving Nancy one of his patented smirks—as a shrewd politician, he recognized a deft maneuver when he saw one—before nodding my way.

根据协议，总统接下来召见了众议院议长佩洛西。然而，南希礼貌地告诉总统，民主党将让我首先发言，代表他们发表意见。这是南希和哈里的想法，我很感激。这不仅保证了我不会在审议期间被麦凯恩超过，还表明我的民主党同僚认为他们的政治运势与我的息息相关。这个举措似乎让共和党人措手不及，我不禁注意到总统对南希露出了他惯有的嘲笑—作为一个精明的政客，他明白当他看到一个漂亮的策略时该如何反应—然后点了点头我的方向。

For the next several minutes, I spoke about the nature of the crisis, the details of the emerging legislation, and the remaining points on oversight, executive compensation, and homeowner relief that Democrats believed still needed to be addressed. Noting that both Senator McCain and I had publicly pledged not to play politics with the financial rescue effort, I told the president that Democrats would deliver their share of the votes needed for passage. But I warned that if there was any truth to reports that some Republican leaders were backing away and insisting on starting from scratch with a whole new plan, it would inevitably bog down negotiations, and “the consequences would be severe.”

在接下来的几分钟里，我谈论了危机的本质、新出台法规的细节以及民主党认为仍需解决的监督、高管薪酬和救济房主等问题。我指出，麦凯恩参议员和我公开承诺不会将金融救援努力政治化，民主党将投票支持通过该计划。但是，我提醒总统，如果有些共和党领袖退缩并坚持要从头开始制定全新的计划，谈判必然陷入僵局，“后果将会很严重”。

Bush turned to McCain and said, “John, since Barack had a chance to speak, I think it's only fair if I let you go next.”

Everyone looked at McCain, whose jaw tightened. He appeared to be on the verge of saying something, thought better of it, and briefly fidgeted in his chair.

“I think I'll just wait for my turn,” he said finally.

There are moments in an election battle, as in life, when all the possible pathways save one are suddenly closed; when what felt like a wide distribution of probable outcomes narrows to the inevitable. This was one of those moments. Bush looked at McCain with a raised eyebrow, shrugged, and called on John Boehner. Boehner said he wasn't talking about starting from scratch but just wanted some modifications—including a plan he had trouble describing, which involved the federal government insuring banks' losses rather than purchasing their assets.

布什转向麦凯恩说：“约翰，既然巴拉克有机会讲话，我认为如果我让你接下来讲话才公平。”大家看着麦凯恩，他的下颌紧绷着。他似乎要说什么，但想了想，最终轻轻地动了一下椅子。

“我想我还是等我的机会吧。”他最终说道。

在选举战役和生活中，有些时刻所有可能的途径都被关闭，只剩下不可避免的结果。这就是其中之一。布什耸耸肩，抬起眉毛看着麦凯恩，然后点了约翰·博尔纳。博尔纳说他不是要从头开始，只是想要一些修改—包括他很难描述的一个计划，其中联邦政府保险银行的亏损而不是购买它们的资产。

I asked Paulson if he'd looked at this Republican insurance proposal and determined whether it would work. Paulson said firmly that he had and it wouldn't.

Richard Shelby, the ranking member on the Senate Banking Committee, interjected to say he'd been told by a number of economists that TARP wouldn't work. He suggested that the White House give Congress more time to consider all its options. Bush cut him off and said the country didn't have more time.

As the discussion wore on, it became increasingly apparent that none of the Republican leaders were familiar with the actual content of the latest version of the TARP legislation—or for that matter the nature of their own proposed changes. They were simply trying to find a way to avoid taking a tough vote. After listening to several minutes of wrangling back and forth, I jumped in again.

我問保爾森是否看過共和黨的保險提案，並判斷它是否有效。保爾森堅定地表示他已經看過，並且不會有效。

參議院銀行委員會的最高階委員理查德·謝爾比插話說，他被一些經濟學家告知TARP不會起作用。他建議白宮給國會更多時間來考慮所有選擇。布什打斷了他的話，說這個國家沒有更多時間。

隨著討論的進行，越來越明顯的是，沒有一位共和黨領袖熟悉最新版本的TARP立法內容，或者說他們自己提出的改變的性質。他們只是在尋找一種避免採取強硬立場的方法。在聽了幾分鐘的爭吵後，我再次跳了進去。

“Mr. President,” I said, “I’d still like to hear what Senator McCain has to say.”

Once again, everyone turned to McCain. This time he studied a small note card in his hand, muttered something I couldn’t make out, and then served up maybe two or three minutes of bromides—about how talks seemed to be making progress, how it was important to give Boehner room to move his caucus to yes.

And that was it. No plan. No strategy. Not even a smidgen of a suggestion as to how the different positions might be bridged. The room fell silent as McCain set down his note card, his eyes downcast, like a batter who knows he’s just whiffed at the plate. I almost felt sorry for him; for his team to have encouraged such a high-stakes move and then sent their candidate into the meeting unprepared was political malpractice. When reporters got wind of his performance that day, the coverage would not be kind.

“總統先生，”我說，“我仍然想聽聽麥凱恩參議員有什麼要說的。”

眾眼再次轉向麥凱恩。這一次，他拿著一張小紙片低聲語言我聽不清，然後只給了大概兩三分鐘的陳詞濫調 - 約談判似乎正在取得進展，讓伯納有足夠的空間說服他的 caucus 投贊成票的重要性。

這就是全部。沒有計劃。沒有策略。甚至沒有任何建議，如何彌合不同立場的分歧。當麥凱恩放下筆記卡時，房間裡靜悄悄的，他的目光低垂，就像知道自己在打籃球比賽失敗的球員一樣。我幾乎為他感到遺憾，讓他的團隊鼓勵做出這樣高風險的舉動，然後卻沒有準備好讓他參加會議，這是政治上的失職。當記者知道他那天的表現後，報導不會很友善。

The more immediate effect of John’s weirdness, though, was to set off a Cabinet Room free-for-all. Nancy and Spencer Bachus, the ranking Republican on the House Financial Services Committee, started arguing over who deserved credit for the stronger taxpayer protections in the most recent version of the legislation. Barney Frank, the tough and quick-witted Democrat from Massachusetts who knew his stuff and had probably worked harder than anyone to help Paulson get TARP across the finish line, started taunting the Republicans, yelling repeatedly, “What’s your plan? What’s your plan?” Faces reddened; voices rose; people talked over one another. And all the while, McCain remained silent, stewing in his chair. It got so bad that finally President Bush rose to his feet.

約翰的古怪行為帶來的更直接影響，是引發了一場內閣會議的自由式混戰。南希和斯賓塞·巴卡斯 (Spencer Bachus) ——眾議院金融服務委員會的領先共和黨人——爭論誰應該得到最新版本法案中更強的納稅人保護的功勞。巴尼·弗蘭克 (Barney Frank) ——來自馬薩諸塞州的強硬、懂得、可能比任何人都更努力地幫助保爾森把TARP通過的民主黨人——開始嘲笑共和黨人，一遍又一遍地大喊“你們的計劃是什麼？你們的計劃是什麼？”。面孔漲紅；聲音上升；人們相互講話。而此時，麥凱恩 (McCain) 保持緘默，悶在椅子上。事態變得如此糟糕，最終布什總統站了起來。

“I’ve obviously lost control of this meeting,” he said. “We’re finished.”

With that, he wheeled around and charged out the south door.

The entire scene left me stunned.

As McCain and the Republican leadership quickly filed out of the room, I pulled Nancy, Harry, and the rest of the Democrats into a huddle in the adjacent Roosevelt Room. They were in various states of agitation, and because we’d already decided I wouldn’t be giving any post-meeting comments to reporters, I wanted to make sure that none of them said anything that might make matters worse. We were discussing ways that they could constructively summarize the meeting when Paulson entered, looking absolutely shell-shocked. Several of my colleagues started shooing him away, as if he were an unpopular kid on the playground. A few even jeered.

他说：“我显然已经失去了对这个会议的控制，我们结束了。”说完，他转身冲出南门。整个场面让我目瞪口呆。当麦凯恩和共和党领导人迅速走出房间时，我把南希、哈里和其他民主党人拉到了毗邻的罗斯福室里。他们情绪激动不同，因为我们已经决定我不会对记者发表任何会后评论，我想确保他们中没有人说出可能使情况变得更糟的话。当保尔森进入房间时，看起来受了极大的打击。我的几个同事开始把他推开，好像他是游乐场上不受欢迎的孩子。甚至有几个人喝倒彩。

“Nancy,” Paulson said, towering next to the Speaker. “Please...” And then, in an inspired and somewhat sad blend of humor and desperation, he lowered his six-foot-five, sixty-two-year-old frame onto one knee. “I’m begging you. Don’t blow this up.”

The Speaker allowed a quick smile. “Hank, I didn’t know you were Catholic,” she said. Just as quickly her smile evaporated, and she added curtly, “You may not have noticed, but we’re not the ones trying to blow things up.”

I had to give Paulson credit; getting back to his feet, he stood there for several more minutes and let the Democrats vent. By the time they exited for press availability, everyone had calmed down and agreed to try to put the best spin they could on the meeting. Hank and I made plans to talk later that night. After leaving the White House, I put in a call to Plouffe.保爾森站在議長旁邊，高大的身影讓人印象深刻：“南希，”他說道。“拜託了……”然後，他低下自己六英尺五英寸高、年過六十的身軀，混合了幽默和絕望的情緒。「我懇求你，不要炸掉這件事情。」

議長微微一笑。“漢克，我不知道你是天主教徒，”她說。她的微笑很快消失，她加上了一句脾氣很壞的話：“你可能沒有注意到，但我們不是那些試圖炸毀事物的人。”

我必須給保爾森信譽。他重新站起來，讓民主黨人發泄了一段時間。當他們離開準備接受新聞界的採訪時，大家都冷靜下來，同意儘可能地對這場會議進行最好的詮釋。漢克和我計劃晚些時候再談。離開白宮後，我打電話給普洛夫。

“How’d it go?” he asked.

I thought for a moment.

“It went fine for us,” I said. “But based on what I just saw, we better win this thing or the country is screwed.”

—

I’M NOT BY NATURE a superstitious person. As a kid, I didn’t have a lucky number or own a rabbit’s foot. I didn’t believe in ghosts or leprechauns, and while I might have made a wish when blowing out birthday candles or tossing a penny into a fountain, my mother had always been quick to remind me that there’s a direct link between doing your work and having your wishes come true.

“怎么样了？”他问道。

我想了一会儿。

“对我们来说很好，”我说。“但根据我刚刚看到的，我们最好赢得这个比赛，否则整个国家都会陷入困境。”

—

我并不是一个迷信的人。小时候，我没有幸运数字，也没有兔脚。我不信鬼魂或小矮人，虽然吹生日蜡烛或扔硬币许愿时可能会许个愿，但我的母亲总是迅速提醒我，做好自己的工作才会让愿望成真。

Over the course of the campaign, though, I found myself making a few concessions to the spirit world. One day in Iowa, for instance, a burly, bearded guy in biker garb and covered with tattoos strode up to me after an event and shoved something into my hand. It was his lucky metal poker chip, he explained; it had never failed him in Vegas. He wanted me to have it. A week later, a young blind girl in New Hampshire reached out to give me a small heart made of pink glass. In Ohio, it was a silver cross from a nun with an irrepressible smile and a face as grooved as a peach pit.

在竞选过程中，我发现自己有些许向精神世界做出妥协。比如在爱荷华州的一天，一个留着大胡子、穿着摩托车服、全身布满纹身的壮汉在活动后径直走到我身边，将一件东西塞到了我的手中。他解释说这是他的幸运金属筹码，在拉斯维加斯一直没出过差错。他想让我收下它。一周后，新罕布什尔州的一个年轻盲女伸出手来，递给我一个粉色玻璃制成的小心形饰品。在俄亥俄州，是一位笑容灿烂、脸上像桃核一样有纹路的修女赠给我一枚银色十字架。

My assortment of charms grew steadily: a miniature Buddha, an Ohio buckeye, a laminated four-leaf clover, a tiny bronze likeness of Hanuman the monkey god, all manner of angels, rosary beads, crystals, and rocks. Each morning, I made a habit of choosing five or six of them and putting them in my pocket, half consciously keeping track of which ones I had with me on a particularly good day.

If my cache of small treasures didn’t guarantee that the universe would tilt in my favor, I figured they didn’t hurt. I felt comforted anytime I turned them over in my hand or felt their light jangling as I moved from event to event. Each charm was a tactile reminder of all the people I’d met, a faint but steady transmission of their hopes and expectations.

我的护身符种类越来越多：迷你佛像、俄亥俄栗子、四叶草贴片、小型青铜中国猕猴神像、各种天使、念珠、水晶和石头。每天早晨，我习惯选择其中五六个放进口袋里，半意识地记住带了哪几个护身符，以备良好的日子使用。

如果我的小宝藏不能让宇宙朝着我倾斜，那我想它们也不会有影响。每当我把它们翻转在手中或在活动中感觉到它们轻轻地晃动时，我感到安慰。每个护身符都是人们的希望和期望的微弱而稳定的传输，让我想起我遇到的所有人。

I also became particular about my debate-day rituals. The morning was always devoted to going over strategy and key points, the early afternoon to some light campaigning. But by four o’clock I wanted the schedule cleared. To shed excess adrenaline, I’d get in a quick workout. Then, ninety minutes before heading to the venue, I’d shave and take a long hot shower, before putting on the new shirt (white) and tie (blue or red) that Reggie had hung in the hotel closet beside my freshly pressed blue suit. For dinner, comfort food: steak cooked medium-well, roasted or mashed potatoes, steamed broccoli. And in the half hour or so ahead of the debate, while glancing at my notes, I’d listen to music delivered through earbuds or a small portable speaker. Eventually I became a tad compulsive about hearing certain songs. At first it was a handful of jazz classics—Miles Davis’s “Freddie Freeloader,” John Coltrane’s “My Favorite Things,” Frank Sinatra’s “Luck Be a Lady.” (Before one primary debate, I must have played that last track two or three times in a row, clearly indicating a lack of confidence in my preparations.)

我也變得對辯論當天的儀式謹慎起來。早上通常用來檢討策略和重點，早下午則進行輕鬆的競選活動。但到下午四點時，我希望清空日程。為了消耗過多的腎上腺素，我會進行一次快速的運動。然後，在前往場地的90分鐘前，我會刮鬍子、洗個熱水澡，然後穿上Reggie掛在旅館衣櫥外的新襯衫（白色）和新領帶（藍色或紅色），再穿上我剛剛燙燙過的藍色西裝。晚餐通常是舒適食物：熟得七分的牛排、烤或是土豆泥、蒸花椰菜。在辯論前的半個小時左右，我會一邊瀏覽筆記，一邊通過耳機或小型便攜式音箱聽音樂。最終，我對聽某些歌曲有些強迫症。起初只有一些爵士經典曲目，比如Miles Davis的《Freddie Freeloader》、John Coltrane的《My Favorite Things》、Frank Sinatra的《Luck Be a Lady》。（在一次初選辯論前，我肯定連續播放這最后一首歌曲兩三次，顯然表明了我對自己的準備缺乏信心。）

Ultimately it was rap that got my head in the right place, two songs especially: Jay-Z’s “My 1st Song” and Eminem’s “Lose Yourself.” Both were about defying the odds and putting it all on the line (“Look, if you had one shot or one opportunity, to seize everything you ever wanted in one moment, would you capture it? Or just let it slip...”); how it felt to spin something out of nothing; getting by on wit, hustle, and fear disguised as bravado. The lyrics felt tailored to my early underdog status. And as I sat alone in the back of the Secret Service van on the way to a debate site, in my crisp uniform and dimpled tie, I’d nod my head to the beat of those songs, feeling a whiff of private rebellion, a connection to something grittier and more real than all the fuss and deference that now surrounded me. It was a way to cut through the artifice and remember who I was.

最終，是rap讓我的頭腦回歸正常，特別是兩首歌：Jay-Z的"My 1st Song"和Eminem的"Lose Yourself"。這兩首歌都是關於打破困境，把一切都拋在一邊的故事（"看，如果你只有一次機會，就一切都想得到，你會抓住它嗎？還是讓它溜走..."）；如何從無中創造出有；只靠智慧、勤奮和以勇氣為掩護的恐懼生存。這些歌詞貼切地描寫了我作為一個早期的弱者的經歷。當我獨自坐在特勤車的後座，穿著整潔的制服和帶有鑽痕的領帶，前往辯論場地時，我會隨著這些歌曲的節奏點頭，感覺到私人反叛的情緒，一種與現在所環繞的一切繁文縟節和恭敬相比更真實、更有力的聯繫。這是一種通過假面來尋找自己的方式。

Before my first debate with John McCain in late September, I followed the ritual to a T. I ate my steak, listened to my music, felt the weight of the charms in my pocket as I walked onto the stage. But frankly, I didn't need a lot of luck. By the time I arrived on the campus of the University of Mississippi—the place where less than fifty years earlier a Black man named James Meredith had been forced to obtain a Supreme Court order and the protection of five hundred federal law enforcement personnel simply to attend—I was no longer the underdog.

在我與John McCain的第一場辯論之前，我按部就班地進行了儀式。我吃了牛排，聽了我的音樂，感覺口袋里的护身符的重量，然後走上了講台。但坦白地說，我並不需要太多運氣。當我來到密西西比大學校園時——那裡不到五十年前曾經發生一位名叫詹姆斯·梅雷迪思的黑人強行獲得最高法院命令和五百名聯邦執法人員的保護才得以入學的地方——我已經不再是弱勢群體了。

The race was now mine to lose.

As expected, the press covering the fiasco at the White House meeting had been merciless to McCain. His problems only grew worse when his campaign announced, just a few hours before the debate, that—because of the “progress” that had resulted from his intervention in congressional negotiations around TARP—he would lift the self-imposed suspension of his campaign and participate after all. (We'd planned to show up regardless, even if it meant I had a nice, televised one-on-one conversation with the moderator, Jim Lehrer.) Reporters saw McCain's latest move for what it was: a hasty retreat after a political stunt that had backfired.

這場比賽現在我就是我輸掉的風險。如預期，報導白宮會議失敗的媒體對麥凱恩毫不留情。當他的競選團隊在辯論幾個小時前宣布，因為他在國會TARP議論中的“進展”，他將解除自我暫停競選，參加辯論時，他的問題只會越來越嚴重。（即使這意味著我必須與主持人吉姆·萊亞進行一個美好的電視一對一交談，我們已經計劃好了要出現。）記者們認為麥凱恩的最新舉動就是一個倉促的撤退，這是一個政治噱頭帶來的熄火效應。

The debate itself offered few surprises. McCain appeared relaxed onstage, patching together lines from his campaign speeches and standard Republican orthodoxy, delivered with ample doses of humor and charm. Still, his spotty knowledge of the details of the financial crisis and his lack of answers for what he planned to do about it became more and more evident as we continued to joust. Meanwhile, I was on my game. No doubt my training regimen at the hands of drill sergeants Klain and Donilon had paid off; as much as I instinctively resisted canned answers to questions, there was no denying that both television audiences and the pundits found my more practiced responses compelling, and the preparation kept me from droning on too long.

辯論本身並未帶來太多的驚喜。麥凱恩在台上顯得輕鬆自在，拼湊出他競選演講和標準的共和黨正統思想，並融入了大量幽默和魅力。然而，隨著辯論的繼續，他對於金融危機的細節知識不足和缺乏計劃的回答越來越明顯。與此同時，我狀態良好。毫無疑問，我在克萊恩和多尼隆中士的訓練課程中收益匪淺；盡管我藐視對問題的機械化回答，但觀眾和評論家們都認為我更加嫋熟的回答令人信服，而這種準備也避免了我冗長的發言。

More than that, though, my mood for the debate with McCain was noticeably different. Unlike my debates with Hillary and the rest of the Democratic field, which so often felt like an elaborate game, splitting hairs and notching style points, the differences between me and John McCain were real and deep; the stakes in choosing one of us over the other would reverberate for decades, with consequences for millions of people. Confident in my command of the facts, certain of why my ideas had a better chance than John's of meeting the challenges the country now faced, I felt energized by our exchanges and found myself (almost) enjoying our ninety minutes onstage.

此外，與麥凱恩辯論時我的心态明显不同。与我和希拉里及其他民主党竞选者的辩论相比，后者往往感觉像是一个复杂的游戏，分割头发，标记风格，但我和约翰·麦凯恩之间的区别是真实而深刻的；选择我们中的一人将对数百万人产生影响并在几十年内产生回响。我对自己对事实的掌握有信心，确定自己的想法比约翰的更有可能应对国家当前面临的挑战，我感觉到了交流的动力，并发现自己（几乎）在台上享受我们的九十分钟。

The snap postdebate surveys of undecided voters showed me winning by a wide margin. My team was giddy, full of fist bumps, high fives, and probably a few private sighs of relief.

Michelle was happy but more subdued. She hated going to debates; as she described it, having to sit there looking serene, no matter what was said about me or how badly I screwed up, her stomach churning, was like getting a tooth drilled without novocaine. In fact, whether out of fear that it might jinx the outcome, or because of her own ambivalence about the prospect of my winning, she generally avoided talking to me about the horse-race aspect of the campaign. Which is why I was surprised when, in bed later that night, she turned to me and said, “You're going to win, aren't you?”

未决定选民的快速辩论后调查显示我以很大的优势获胜。我的团队充满了兴奋，互相击掌，高举双手，可能还有私底下的轻松松一口气。米歇尔也很高兴，但相对低调。她讨厌去辩论，她说，不管别人怎么说我和我犯了多么严重的错误，她都必须坐在那里，保持冷静，胃里翻江倒海，就像没有注射麻醉剂进行牙齿切割一样。事实上，无论是为了不让结果变坏，还是因为对我赢得选举结果的矛盾心理，她通常避免与我谈论竞选中的竞赛方面。这就是为什么当她在晚上在床上转向我说：“你会赢，对吗？”时，我感到惊讶的原因。

“A lot can still happen...but yeah. There's a pretty good chance I will.”

I looked at my wife. Her face was pensive, as if she were working out a puzzle in her mind. Finally she nodded to herself and returned my gaze. “You're going to win,” she said softly. She kissed me on the cheek, turned off the bedside lamp, and pulled the covers over her shoulders.

ON SEPTEMBER 29, three days after the debate at Ole Miss, Bush's TARP legislation fell thirteen votes short of passage in the House of Representatives, with two-thirds of Democrats voting in support of it and two-thirds of Republicans voting against it. The Dow Jones immediately sustained a terrifying 778-point drop, and after a pounding in the press and no doubt a flood of calls from constituents watching their retirement accounts evaporate, enough members of both parties flipped to pass an amended version of the rescue package several days later.很多事情仍可能发生……但是没错，我胜算非常大。我看着我的妻子，她的脸上带着思考的表情，仿佛在脑海中解决某个难题。最终，她点了点头，并回望了我一眼。

“你会赢的。”她轻声说道。她亲了亲我的脸颊，关掉床头灯，把被子拉到了自己的肩膀上。

—

9月29日，在密西西比州立大学的辩论会之后的第三天，布什的资产救援法案在众议院投票中缺少13票通过，在此次投票中，三分之二的民主党人支持该法案，三分之二的共和党人反对该法案。道琼斯指数立即惊人地下跌了778点，在媒体的猛烈抨击和无疑是选民观察他们的退休账户消失后的涌入电话后，足够多的两党议员翻转了立场，并在几天后通过了修改过的救援方案。

Greatly relieved, I called Hank Paulson to congratulate him for his efforts. But while TARP's passage would prove to be critical in saving the financial system, the whole episode did nothing to reverse the public's growing impression that the GOP—and by extension their nominee for president—couldn't be trusted to responsibly handle the crisis.

Meanwhile, the campaign decisions that Plouffe had pushed for months earlier were paying off. Our army of organizers and volunteers had fanned out across the country, registering hundreds of thousands of new voters and launching unprecedented operations in states that allowed early voting. Our online donations continued to flow, allowing us to play in whatever media markets we chose. When, a month ahead of the election, the McCain campaign announced it was halting its efforts in Michigan, historically a key battleground state, to concentrate its resources elsewhere, Plouffe was almost offended. "Without Michigan, they can't win!" he said, shaking his head. "They might as well raise a white flag!"

非常欣慰，我打电话给汉克·保尔森祝贺他的努力。虽然“紧急资产贷款计划”的通过证明对拯救金融体系至关重要，但整个事件没有扭转公众越来越深的印象，即共和党——并间接涉及他们的总统候选人——无法信任地负责处理危机。与此同时，普洛夫数月前推动的竞选决策正在得到回报。我们的组织者和志愿者大军已经遍布全国，在允许提前投票的州展开了前所未有的行动，注册了数十万新选民。我们的在线捐款继续流入，让我们能够在选择的任何媒体市场上进行竞选。当选举前一个月，麦凯恩竞选团队宣布停止在密歇根州，一个历史上的关键战场州中的努力，以集中资源在其他地方时，普洛夫几乎感到被冒犯了。“没有密歇根，他们就不能赢！”他摇了摇头说：“他们不妨升起白旗！”

Instead of focusing energy on Michigan, the McCain campaign turned their attention to a man who'd become an unlikely cult figure: Joe Wurzelbacher. I'd encountered Wurzelbacher a few weeks earlier as I did some old-fashioned door knocking in Toledo, Ohio. It was the kind of campaigning I enjoyed most, surprising people as they raked leaves or worked on their cars in the driveway, watching kids zoom up on bikes to see what the commotion was about.

That day, I was standing on a corner, signing autographs and talking with a group of people, when a man with a shaved head who looked to be in his late thirties introduced himself as Joe and asked about my tax plan. He was a plumber, he said, and he was worried that liberals like me would make it harder for him to succeed as a small-business owner. With the press pool cameras rolling, I explained that my plan would raise taxes only on the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans, and that by investing those revenues in things like education and infrastructure, the economy and his business would be more likely to prosper. I told him that I believed that this sort of redistribution of income—"when you spread the wealth around" were my words—had always been important in opening up opportunity to more people.麥凱恩的競選活動轉移了對密歇根的注意力，轉而關注一個異常的崇拜人物：喬·維塞爾巴赫。幾周前，我在俄亥俄州托萊多進行了一些老式的敲門拜訪，遇到了維塞爾巴赫。那天，我在街角簽名和與一群人交談，一個留著光頭、看起來年約四十多歲的男人介紹自己是喬，詢問我的稅務計劃。他是一名水管工，他擔心像我這樣的自由派會使他作為一個小企業主更難成功。當新聞攝影棚的攝影機在拍攝時，我解釋說，我的計劃只會增加對最富有的2%美國人的稅收，通過將這些收入投資於教育和基礎設施等事項來繁榮經濟和他的生意。我告訴他，我相信這種收入再分配——“當你在富裕中傳播財富”是我的話——始終對開拓更多人的機會至關重要。

Joe was affable but unconvinced, and we agreed to disagree, shaking hands before I left. In the van headed back to our hotel, Gibbs—who like any great campaign communications director had an unerring nose for how a few seemingly innocuous words could trigger political silliness—told me my comment about spreading the wealth was problematic.

“What are you talking about?”

“The phrase doesn't poll well. People associate it with communism and shit.”

I laughed it off, saying that the whole point of rolling back the Bush tax cuts was to redistribute income from people like me to folks like Joe. Gibbs looked at me like a parent whose child keeps making the same mistake over and over again.乔是和藹可亲但不为所动的，我们同意各自保持意见，并在我离开前握手。在开往酒店的车上，吉布斯——像所有伟大的竞选传媒总监一样，对几个看似无害的词语会如何引发政治上的傻气有着敏锐的嗅觉——告诉我我关于“共享财富”的评论有问题。“你在说什么？”“这个短语在民意调查中得分不高。人们把它与共产主义等恶心事物联系起来。”我一笑了之，说，取消布什减税的整个目的就是将收入从像我这样的人分配给像乔这样的人。吉布斯看着我，就像是一个幼儿一遍又一遍地犯同样的错误的父母一样。

Sure enough, as soon as the footage of me and Wurzelbacher, instantly dubbed "Joe the Plumber," surfaced, McCain started hammering on it during our debates. His campaign went all in, suggesting that this salt-of-the-earth guy in Ohio had unmasked my secret, socialist income-redistribution agenda, treating him like an oracle of Middle America. Broadcast news anchors were suddenly interviewing Joe. There were Joe the Plumber TV spots, and McCain brought Joe with him to a few campaign rallies. Joe himself seemed by turns amused, baffled, and occasionally put out by his newfound fame. But when all was said and done, most voters seemed to view Joe as not much more than a distraction from the serious business of electing the next president.

果然，当我和沃兹尔巴赫的影像被立刻冠以“水管工乔”的称号，麦凯恩就开始在我们的辩论中痛击它。他的竞选活动全力支持，暗示这个俄亥俄州的乡村人士揭开了我秘密的社会主义收入再分配计划，把他当作中美洲地区的先知。广播新闻主播突然采访了乔。有“水管工乔”电视广告，麦凯恩也带着乔一起参加了几场竞选集会。乔本人看起来时而感到有趣、困惑，有时又感到被新发掘的名声所困扰。但说到底，大多数选民似乎认为乔不过是干扰选出下一个总统的严肃事务的一个小插曲而已。

Most voters, but not all. For those who got their news from Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh, Joe the Plumber fit neatly into some larger narrative involving Reverend Wright; my alleged fealty to radical community organizer Saul Alinsky; my friendship with my neighbor Bill Ayers, who'd once been a leader of the militant group the Weather Underground; and my shadowy Muslim heritage. For these voters, I was no longer just a left-of-center Democrat who planned to broaden the social safety net and end the war in Iraq. I was something more insidious, someone to be feared, someone to be stopped. To deliver this urgent, patriotic message to the American people, they increasingly looked to their most fearless champion, Sarah Palin.

大多數選民，但不是所有人。對於那些從肖恩·漢尼蒂和拉什·林博格那裡得到新聞的人來說，裘·托普利很容易被歸入一些更大的敘述中，涉及到萊文·萊特牧師；我對激進社區組織家索爾·阿林斯基的效忠；我與鄰居比爾·艾爾斯的友誼，他曾經是激進組織風暴地下的領袖；以及我神秘的穆斯林遺產。對於這些選民來說，我不再只是計劃擴大社會安全網並結束伊拉克戰爭的中偏左民主黨人。我成為了更具陰謀色彩的人，是值得恐懼和阻止的人。為了向美國人民傳遞這個緊急、愛國的信息，他們越來越多地把目光投向最勇敢的冠軍，莎拉·佩林。

Since August, Palin had tanked during a number of high-profile media interviews, becoming a punch line on Saturday Night Live and other late-night comedy shows. But her power lay elsewhere. She'd spent the first week of October drawing big crowds and enthusiastically gassing them up with nativist bile. From the stage, she accused me of "palling around with terrorists who would target their own country." She suggested that I was "not a man who sees America the way you and I see America." People turned up at rallies wearing T-shirts bearing slogans like PALIN'S PITBULLS and NO COMMUNISTS. The media reported shouts of "Terrorist!" and "Kill him!" and "Off with his head!" coming from her audiences. Through Palin, it seemed as if the dark spirits that had long been lurking on the edges of the modern Republican Party—xenophobia, anti-intellectualism, paranoid conspiracy theories, an antipathy toward Black and brown folks—were finding their way to center stage.

自8月以来，在多次备受瞩目的媒体采访中，佩林的声望急转直下，成了《周六夜现场》和其他深夜喜剧节目的笑柄。但她的力量在别处。十月的第一周，她吸引了很多人群，并用本土主义的恶毒言辞热情驱动着他们。她在台上指责我“和恐怖分子交往，这些恐怖分子瞄准的对象是他们自己的国家。”她暗示我“不是一个像你和我一样看待美国的男人。”人们在集会上穿着印有口号的T恤衫，例如佩林的斗犬和没有共产主义者。媒体报道她的观众们喊出了“恐怖分子！”，“杀了他！”，“剁下他的头颅！”等口号。通过佩林，似乎长期潜伏在现代共和党边缘的黑暗精神——排外主义、反智主义、妄想性阴谋论、对黑人和棕色人种的反感——正在找到登上中心舞台的道路。

It was a testament to John McCain's character, his fundamental decency, that anytime a supporter approached him spewing Palin-style rhetoric, he politely pushed back. When a man at a Minnesota rally announced into the microphone that he was afraid of having me as a president, McCain wouldn't have it.

"I have to tell you, he is a decent person and a person that you do not have to be scared of as president of the United States," he said, causing his audience to boo lustily. Answering another question, he said, "We want to fight, and I will fight. But we will be respectful. I admire Senator Obama and his accomplishments. I will respect him. I want everyone to be respectful and let's make sure we are because that's the way politics should be conducted in America."

這是對約翰·麥凱恩品格的證明，他的基本道德素質令人敬佩，每當支持者用帕林式的言論接近他時，他總是客氣地予以回應。有一次，在明尼蘇達的一次集會中，一位男子甚至對麥凱恩大聲宣布他擔心我成為總統的時候會發生什麼事情，麥凱恩不會輕易妥協。

他說：“我必須告訴你，他是一個正派的人，作為美國總統，你不必為他感到害怕。”麥凱恩這麼說，引起了觀眾的不滿，紛紛發出噓聲。回答另一個問題時，他說：“我們要鬥爭，我會鬥爭，但是我們要尊重。我很欣賞奧巴馬參議員和他所取得的成就，我會尊重他。我希望每個人都尊重別人，讓我們確保這就是美國政治應該進行的方式。”

I wonder sometimes whether with the benefit of hindsight McCain would still have chosen Palin—knowing how her spectacular rise and her validation as a candidate would provide a template for future politicians, shifting his party's center and the country's politics overall in a direction he abhorred. I never posed the question to him directly, of course. Over the next decade, our relationship would evolve into one of grudging but genuine respect, but the 2008 election understandably remained a sore point.

I like to think that, given the chance to do it over again, he might have chosen differently. I believe he really did put his country first.

有時我會想，如果麥凱恩有機會重新選擇，他是否仍會選擇帕林，知道她的驚人崛起和作為候選人的合法性，會為未來的政治人物提供模板，將他的黨派中心和全國政治整體推向他所憎惡的方向。當然，我從未直接向他提出這個問題。在接下來的十年中，我們的關係會逐漸演變成一種勉強但真誠的尊重，但2008年的選舉理所當然地成為一個敏感的話題。

我想，如果有機會重新做選擇，他可能會做出不同的選擇。我相信他真的把國家放在首位。

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THE CHANT THAT had started with Edith Childs and her big hat in a small room in Greenwood, South Carolina, more than a year earlier now rose spontaneously, rippling through crowds of forty or fifty thousand, as people filled up football fields and city parks, undaunted by the unseasonably hot October weather. Fired up, ready to go! Fired up, ready to go! We had built something together; you could feel the energy like a physical force. With just a few weeks to go before the election, our field offices were scrambling to find enough space to accommodate the numbers of people signing on to

volunteer; Shepard Fairey's graphic art poster, titled HOPE, with a stylized red, white, and blue version of my face staring off into the distance, seemed suddenly ubiquitous. It felt as though the campaign had moved beyond politics and into the realm of popular culture. "You're the new 'in' thing," Valerie would tease.

这场歌声，始于南卡罗来纳州格林伍德的艾迪丝·查尔兹和她那顶大帽子的小房间，已经超过一年，现在在四五万人的人群中自发地升腾起来，人们在足球场和城市公园里挤满了人，不顾这个不寻常的炎热的十月天气。被激发起来，准备好了！被激发起来，准备好了！我们一起建立了一些东西，你可以感觉到这股能量像一种物理力量。在选举前的几周里，我们的现场办公室正忙于寻找足够的空间来容纳越来越多的志愿者；谢泼德·费里的平面艺术海报，题为HOPE，用一种风格化的红、白、蓝色的版本展现了我的面孔朝向远方，似乎突然无处不在。感觉就像这个竞选活动已经超越了政治界，进入了流行文化的领域。“你是新的‘潮流’，”瓦莱丽会逗我。

That worried me. The inspiration our campaign was providing, the sight of so many young people newly invested in their ability to make change, the bringing together of Americans across racial and socioeconomic lines—it was the realization of everything I'd once dreamed might be possible in politics, and it made me proud. But the continuing elevation of me as a symbol ran contrary to my organizer's instincts, that sense that change involves "we" and not "me." It was personally disorienting, too, requiring me to constantly take stock to make sure I wasn't buying into the hype and remind myself of the distance between the airbrushed image and the flawed, often uncertain person I was.

那使我感到煩惱。我們活動的靈感，那麼多年輕人對於改變能力的新投入感，跨越種族和社會經濟階層的聚集——這實現了我曾經在政治方面夢想可能實現的一切，這讓我感到自豪。但是把我抬高為象徵的持續提升卻違背了我的組織者本能，讓我感到困惑，因為我深知改變牽扯到“我們”而不是“我”。這也對我個人造成了困惑，需要我不斷檢視自己，確保我沒有買進宣傳口號，提醒自己我是一個具有缺陷，常常不確定的人。

I was also contending with the likelihood that if I was elected president, it would be impossible to meet the outsized expectations now attached to me. Since winning the Democratic nomination, I'd begun to experience reading the newspapers differently, in a way that gave me a jolt. Every headline, every story, every exposé, was another problem for me to solve. And problems were piling up quickly. Despite TARP's passage, the financial system remained paralyzed. The housing market was in a nosedive. The economy was shedding jobs at an accelerating rate, and there was speculation that the Big Three automakers would soon be in jeopardy.

我也預測到如果我當選總統，就不可能滿足現在寄予我的巨大期望。自從贏得民主黨提名以來，我已經開始以一種給我一個震驚的方式來閱讀報紙。每條標題，每個故事，每一次揭露都是我要解決的另一個問題。而問題正在迅速累積。儘管TARP已經通過，金融系統仍然癱瘓。房屋市場正在暴跌。經濟正在加速流失工作崗位，有人猜測三大汽車製造商也將很快陷入危險之中。

The responsibility of tackling these problems didn't scare me. In fact, I relished the chance. But from everything I was learning, things were likely to get significantly worse before they got better. Resolving the economic crisis—not to mention winding down two wars, delivering on healthcare, and trying to save the planet from catastrophic climate change—was going to be a long, hard slog. It would require a cooperative Congress, willing allies, and an informed, mobilized citizenry that could sustain pressure on the system—not a solitary savior.

處理這些問題的責任並不讓我感到害怕。事實上，我很樂意挑戰。但從我所學到的一切來看，事情在好轉前可能會變得更加嚴峻。解決經濟危機——更不用說結束兩場戰爭、實現健康保障、試圖拯救地球免於災難性氣候變化——都需要耗費長時間和巨大努力。這需要合作的國會、樂意合作的盟友，以及一個有能力持續對體制施加壓力的知情並動員的公民群體，而不是獨自拯救者。

So what would happen when change didn't come fast enough? How would these cheering crowds respond to the inevitable setbacks and compromises? It became a running joke between me and the team: "Are we sure we want to win this thing? It's not too late to throw it." Marty expressed a more ethnic version of the same sentiment: "Two hundred and thirty-two years and they wait until the country's falling apart before they turn it over to the brother!"

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MORE THAN ANYTHING campaign-related, it was news out of Hawaii that tempered my mood in October's waning days. Maya called, saying the doctors didn't think Toot would last much longer, perhaps no more than a week. She was now confined to a rented hospital bed in the living room of her apartment, under the care of a hospice nurse and on palliative drugs. Although she had startled my sister with a sudden burst of lucidity the previous evening, asking for the latest campaign news along with a glass of wine and a cigarette, she was now slipping in and out of consciousness.

如果改變來得不夠快，會發生什麼呢？這些歡呼的人群將如何應對不可避免的挫折和妥協？這成為了我和團隊之間的一個笑柄：“我們確定想贏得這個東西嗎？還來得及扔掉。”馬蒂表達了一種更具族裔色彩的情緒：“達成兩百三十二年之後，當這個國家正在分崩離析的時候，他們才把它交給了有色人種！”

比起任何與競選相關的事情，十月末來自夏威夷的消息讓我的情緒沉重了。瑪雅打來電話，說醫生們認為杜特不會再撐多久，可能只有一周。她現在被困在租來的病床上，在公寓客廳裡接受醫護人員的護理和緩解性治療。儘管她在前一個晚上突然清醒了一下，要求知道最新的競選新聞，還有一杯葡萄酒和一支香煙，但現在她正進退兩難。

And so, twelve days before the election, I made a thirty-six-hour trip to Honolulu to say goodbye. Maya was waiting for me when I arrived at Toot's apartment; I saw that she had been sitting on the couch with a couple of shoeboxes of old photographs and letters. "I thought you might want to take some back with you," she said. I picked up a few photos from the coffee table. My grandparents and my eight-year-old mother, laughing in a grassy field at Yosemite. Me at the age of four or five, riding on Gramps's shoulders as waves splashed around us. The four of us with Maya, still a toddler, smiling in front of a Christmas tree.

於是，在選舉前的十二天，我前往檀香山，進行了一段長達三十六小時的旅程，去跟瑪雅道別。當我到達Toot的公寓時，瑪雅正在等我，她坐在沙發上，手中拿著幾個鞋盒，裡面裝滿了舊照片和信件。“我想你可能想帶一些回去，”她說。我從咖啡桌上撿起了幾張照片。我的祖父母和八歲的母親，在優勝美地的草地上大笑。我四歲或五歲的時候，騎在祖父的肩膀上，海浪拍打著我們。我們四個人和瑪雅，在一棵聖誕樹前微笑。

Taking the chair beside the bed, I held my grandmother's hand in mine. Her body had wasted away and her breathing was labored. Every so often, she'd be shaken by a violent, metallic cough that sounded like a grinding of gears. A few times, she murmured softly, although the words, if any, escaped me. What dreams might she be having? I wondered if she'd been able to look back and take stock, or whether she'd consider that too much of an indulgence. I wanted to think that she did look back; that she'd reveled in the memory of a long-ago lover or a perfect, sunlit day in her youth when she'd experienced a bit of good fortune and the world had revealed itself to be big and full of promise.

坐在床邊的椅子上，我握着奶奶的手。她的身體已經枯瘦，呼吸困難。她不時會被劇烈的、像齒輪磨擦一樣的咳嗽所震動。有幾次，她微聲呢喃，但話語，如果有的話，我聽不懂。

她會做什麼夢呢？我在想，她是否能够回首過去，回味往事，或者她會認為那太過沉迷於自己。我希望她真的回首過去；希望她沉浸在那段遙遠的愛情或青春時期的完美、陽光明媚的一天，那時世界充滿了希望。

I thought back to a conversation I'd had with her when I was in high school, around the time that her chronic back problems began making it difficult for her to walk for long stretches.

“The thing about getting old, Bar,” Toot had told me, “is that you're the same person inside.” I remember her eyes studying me through her thick bifocals, as if to make sure I was paying attention. “You're trapped in this doggone contraption that starts falling apart. But it's still you. You understand?” I did now.

For the next hour or so, I sat talking to Maya about her work and her family, all the while stroking Toot's dry, bony hand. But eventually the room felt too crowded with memories—colliding, merging, refracting, like images in a kaleidoscope—and I told Maya I wanted to take a quick walk outside. After consulting with Gibbs and my Secret Service detail, it was agreed that the press pool downstairs would not be informed, and I took the elevator to the basement level and went out through the garage, turning left down the narrow street that ran behind my grandparents' apartment building.我回想起和她在我上高中的時候的一次談話，那時她的慢性背部問題開始讓她難以長時間行走。

“老了的問題，巴爾，”圖特告訴我，“是你內心還是同樣的人。”我記得她透過厚厚的雙光眼鏡注視著我，好像想確保我在認真聽。“你被困在這個該死的機器裡，它開始破裂。但它仍然是你。你明白了吗？”

現在我明白了。

接下來的一個小時左右，我和瑪雅聊起她的工作和家庭，一邊輕輕地摸著圖特乾燥而瘦的手。但最終，房間裡的回憶太過擁擠—撞擊、融合、折射，像萬花筒里的圖像—我告訴瑪雅我想出去走走。在與吉布斯和我的特勤小組商議後，決定不告訴樓下的新聞採訪小組，我乘電梯到地下室，穿過車庫出去，沿着我祖父母公寓樓後面的狹窄街道向左轉了。

The street had barely changed in thirty-five years. I passed the rear of a small Shinto temple and community center, then rows of wooden homes broken up by the occasional three-story concrete apartment building. I had bounced my first basketball—a gift from my father when I was ten years old—down this street, dribbling the length of the uneven sidewalk on my way to and from the courts at the nearby elementary school. Toot used to say that she always knew when I was coming home for dinner because she could hear that darn ball bouncing from ten stories up. I had run down this street to the supermarket to buy her cigarettes, motivated by her promise that I could buy a candy bar with the change if I was back in ten minutes. Later, when I was fifteen, I'd walk this same street home from a shift at my first job, scooping ice cream at the Baskin-Robbins around the corner, Toot laughing heartily when I grumbled to her about my paltry paycheck.这条街道在35年間幾乎沒有變化。我走過一個小神社和社區中心的後面，然後是一排木製房屋，偶爾會有一幢三層的混凝土公寓樓。我十歲時父親送給我的第一個籃球，我曾在這條街上彈過它，沿着不平整的人行道到附近的小學球場打球。Toot總是說，她總能聽到那該死的籃球聲從十層樓高處傳來，於是就知到我快回來吃晚飯了。我曾沿着這條街跑去超市給她買香煙，被她承諾如果我十分鐘內回來就可以用剩下的零錢買一塊糖果。後來，當我15歲時，我從角落處的Baskin-Robbins賣冰淇淋的第一份工作回家走過同一条街，Toot聽到我埋怨工資微薄時，會開心地大笑。

Another time. Another life. Modest and without consequence to the rest of the world. But one that had given me love. Once Toot was gone, there would be no one left who remembered that life, or remembered me in it.

I heard a stampede of feet behind me; the press pool had somehow gotten wind of my unscheduled excursion and were gathering on the sidewalk across the street, cameramen jostling to set up their shots, reporters with microphones looking at me awkwardly, clearly conflicted about shouting a question. They were decent about it, really just doing their jobs, and anyway I had barely traveled four blocks. I gave the press a quick wave and turned around to go back to the garage. There was no point in going farther, I realized; what I was looking for was no longer there.

另一個時間，另一個生命。平凡而且與世界無關。但是這個生命曾經給了我愛。當Toot離開之後，就再也沒有人記得那個生命了，也沒有人記得我在其中的存在。

我聽到身後有一群人的腳步聲，記者們不知何時已經知道了我的離開，聚集在對面的人行道上，攝影師們搶著設置器材，帶著麥克風的記者們也尷尬地看著我，顯然在猶豫是否要喊一個問題。他們其實很道地，只是在履行自己的工作，反正我才剛走了四個街區。我向媒體們揮了揮手，轉身回到停車場。我發現沒有必要再繼續走下去了，因為我在尋找的東西已經不在那裡了。

I left Hawaii and went back to work. Eight days later, on the eve of the election, Maya called to say Toot had died. It was my last day of campaigning. We were scheduled to be in North Carolina that evening, before flying to Virginia for our final event. Before heading to the venue, Axe asked me gently if I needed help writing a topper to my usual campaign remarks, to briefly acknowledge my grandmother's death. I thanked him and said no. I knew what I wanted to say.

It was a beautiful night, cool with a light rain. Standing on the outdoor stage, after the music and cheers and chants had died down, I spent a few minutes telling the crowd about Toot—how she'd grown up during the Depression and worked on an assembly line while Gramps was away in the war, what she had meant to our family, what she might mean to them.

我離開夏威夷回去工作了。選舉前夕的第八天，瑪雅打電話來說圖特去世了。那是我競選的最後一天。當晚我們原本計劃在北卡羅來納州逗留，之後飛往維吉尼亞參加最後一個活動。在前往場地之前，艾克斯輕聲問我是否需要幫忙撰寫關於我祖母逝世的簡短講話，以便在我的競選演說中加入。我感謝他，並表示不需要。我知道我想說什麼。

那是一個美麗的晚上，涼爽微雨。在戶外舞台上，當音樂、歡呼和吶喊聲漸漸消失時，我花了幾分鐘告訴觀眾有關圖特的事情—她是如何在大蕭條時期長大，如何在格蘭姆斯在戰場上時在裝配線工作，她對我們家庭的重要性以及她可能對他們的意義。

“She was one of those quiet heroes that we have all across America,” I said. “They’re not famous. Their names aren’t in the newspapers. But each and every day they work hard. They look after their families. They sacrifice for their children and their grandchildren. They aren’t seeking the limelight—all they try to do is just do the right thing.

“And in this crowd, there are a lot of quiet heroes like that—mothers and fathers, grandparents, who have worked hard and sacrificed all their lives. And the satisfaction that they get is seeing that their children and maybe their grandchildren or their great-grandchildren live a better life than they did.

她是美國各地都有的那些默默無聞的英雄之一，“我說道。”他們不出名，名字也不會登在報紙上。但他們每天都在努力工作，照顧家人。他們為子女和孫子女們做出犧牲。他們不是在追求名利，他們只是努力做正確的事情。

在這個群體中，有很多像他們一樣的默默無聞的英雄—母親和父親、祖父母們一直在努力工作和奉獻。他們所得到的滿足感就是看到他們的孩子、孫子女甚至曾孫过得比他們更好。

“That’s what America’s about. That’s what we’re fighting for.”

It was as good a closing argument for the campaign as I felt that I could give.

—

IF YOU'RE THE CANDIDATE, Election Day brings a surprising stillness. There are no more rallies or town halls. TV and radio ads no longer matter; newscasts have nothing of substance to report. Campaign offices empty as staff and volunteers hit the streets to help turn out voters. Across the country millions of strangers step behind a black curtain to register their policy preferences and private instincts, as some mysterious collective alchemy determines the country's fate—and your own. The realization is obvious but also profound: It's out of your hands now. Pretty much all you can do is wait.

“这就是美国的精神所在。这也是我们所为之奋斗的。”这是我为选举活动做出的最好的结尾陈述。

如果你是候選人，選舉日帶來了出人意料的寧靜。沒有了集會或城鎮大會。電視和廣播廣告再也不重要；新聞報道已經沒有什麼實質性的內容了。競選辦公室空無一人，工作人員和志願者涌上街頭幫助選民投票。全國數百萬陌生人走上黑暗的窗簾後，表達他們的政策偏好和個人意願，由一些神秘的集體力量決定國家和你自己的命運。這種意識顯而易見，但也很深刻：局勢已經不在你的控制之中了。你基本上只能等待。

Plouffe and Axe were driven crazy by the helplessness, passing hours on their BlackBerrys scrounging for field reports, rumors, bad weather—anything that might be taken as a data point. I took the opposite tack, giving myself over to uncertainty as one might lie back and float over a wave. I did start the morning by calling into a round of drive-time radio shows, mostly at Black stations, reminding people to get out and vote. Around seven-thirty, Michelle and I cast our votes at the Beulah Shoesmith Elementary School, a few blocks from our home in Hyde Park, bringing Malia and Sasha with us and sending them on to school after that.

普魯夫和艾克斯因為無能為力而瘋狂，他們整天忙於搜尋現場報告、謠言、壞天氣等任何可作為數據點的事情。而我卻採用了相反的策略，像躺在海浪上漂浮一樣，投身於不確定性中。那天早上，我打了一些電話給多家廣播電台，主要是在黑人電台上，提醒人們出去投票。七點半左右，米歇爾和我帶著瑪莉亞和薩莎一起到了比尤拉·舒斯密斯小學投票，這所小學距離我們位於海德公園的家只有幾個街區，投完票後，我們讓瑪莉亞和薩莎去上學了。

I then made a quick trip to Indianapolis to visit a field office and shake hands with voters. Later, I played basketball (a superstition Reggie and I had developed after we played the morning of the Iowa caucus but failed to play the day of the New Hampshire primary) with Michelle's brother, Craig, some old buddies, and a handful of my friends' sons who were fast and strong enough to keep us all working hard. It was a competitive game, filled with the usual good-natured trash talk, although I noticed an absence of hard fouls. This was per Craig's orders, I learned later, since he knew his sister would hold him accountable if I came home with a black eye.

後來，我快速前往印第安納波利斯參觀一個外勤辦公室並握手與選民。隨後，我和米歇爾的兄弟克雷格以及一些老朋友和幾個朋友的兒子打籃球（這是我和雷吉在愛荷華州初選的早上打的一個迷信，但在新罕布什爾初選的那一天我們沒有打籃球）。這是一場競爭激烈的比賽，充滿了平常的友好嘲弄，但我注意到缺少狠狠犯規。這是克雷格的命令，我後來才知道，因為他知道如果我帶著黑眼回家，他的妹妹會問責他。

Gibbs, meanwhile, was tracking news from the battleground states, reporting that turnout appeared to be shattering records across the country, creating problems in some polling places as voters waited four or five hours to cast their ballots. Broadcasts from the scenes, Gibbs said, showed people more jubilant than frustrated, with seniors in lawn chairs and volunteers passing out refreshments as if they were all at a neighborhood block party.

I spent the rest of the afternoon at home, puttering around uselessly while Michelle and the girls got their hair done. Alone in my study, I made a point of editing the drafts of both my victory and concession speeches. Around eight p.m. Axe called to say that the networks had called Pennsylvania in our favor, and Marvin said we should start heading to the downtown hotel where we'd be watching the returns before moving over to the public gathering at Grant Park.

吉布斯同時一直關注著戰場州的新聞，報告說全國的投票率似乎正創下破紀錄的紀錄，在某些投票站引發了問題，因為選民排隊等候四五個小時才能投票。吉布斯說，場景中的廣播顯示人們比沮喪更為歡欣鼓舞，年長者坐在草坪椅上，志願者分發飲料，彷彿他們在參加社區街區派對。下午的其餘時間，我在家閒逛，而米歇爾和女兒們則去理發了。獨自一人在我的書房裡，我特意編輯了勝利和落敗演講稿的草稿。晚上8點左右，艾克斯打電話來說，電視網已經據報我們贏得了賓夕法尼亞州，馬文說我們應該開始前往市中心的酒店觀看選舉結果，然後再移師到格蘭特公園的公共集會場。

Outside the front gate of our house, the number of Secret Service agents and vehicles seemed to have doubled over the past few hours. The head of my detail, Jeff Gilbert, shook my hand and pulled me into a brief embrace. It was unseasonably warm for Chicago at that time of year, almost in the mid-sixties, and as we drove down Lake Shore Drive, Michelle and I were quiet, staring out the window at Lake Michigan, listening to the girls horsing around in the backseat. Suddenly Malia turned to me and asked, "Daddy, did you win?"

我们家前面的大门外，特勤局特工和车辆的数量似乎在过去几个小时里翻了一番。我的保护小组组长杰夫·吉尔伯特握住我的手，把我拥入怀中。当时芝加哥已是一个异常温暖的季节，气温近60多摄氏度。我们沿着滨湖大道行驶时，米歇尔和我都静默不语，凝视着密西根湖，聆听着女孩们在后座上的嬉戏声。突然，玛利亚转过头来问我：“爸爸，你赢了吗？”

“I think so, sweetie.”

“And we're supposed to be going to the big party to celebrate?”

“That's right. Why do you ask?”

“Well, it doesn't seem like that many people might be coming to the party, 'cause there are no cars on the road.”

I laughed, realizing my daughter was right; save for our motorcade, the six lanes in both directions were completely empty.

Security had changed at the hotel as well, with armed SWAT teams deployed in the stairwells. Our family and closest friends were already in the suite, everyone smiling, kids racing around the room, and yet the atmosphere was still strangely muted, as if the reality of what was about to happen hadn't yet settled in their minds. My mother-in-law, in particular, made no pretense of being relaxed; through the din, I noticed her sitting on the couch, her eyes fixed on the television, her expression one of disbelief. I tried to imagine what she must be thinking, having grown up just a few miles away during a time when there were still many Chicago neighborhoods that Blacks could not even safely enter; a time when office work was out of reach for most Blacks, and her father, unable to get a union card from white-controlled trade unions, had been forced to make do as an itinerant tradesman; a time when the thought of a Black U.S. president would have seemed as far-fetched as a pig taking flight.

“我想是这样的，亲爱的。”

“那我们要去参加庆祝的大派对了？”

“没错。你为什么问？”

“这样看来，好像没有很多人会来参加派对了，因为路上没有车。”

我笑了起来，意识到我的女儿是正确的；除了我们的车队外，双向六车道完全空无一人。

酒店的安全措施也发生了变化，武装的特警队伍部署在楼梯间。我们的家人和最亲密的朋友已经在套房里，每个人都在微笑，孩子们在房间里奔跑，但气氛仍然异常低调，好像人们还没有完全意识到即将发生的事情。特别是我的岳母，毫不掩饰自己的紧张；在喧闹声中，我注意到她坐在沙发上，目光注视着电视，表情不可思议。我试图想象她现在在想些什么，她成长在距离这里仅几英里的地方，那时候，许多芝加哥的黑人社区甚至难以进入；大多数黑人无法从事办公室工作，她的父亲无法从由白人控制的工会获得工会卡，被迫成为流动的手工艺人；那时的黑人总统之想想象是一样不可思议的事情，就像一头猪会飞一样。

I took a seat next to her on the couch. "You okay?" I asked.

Marian shrugged and kept staring at the television. She said, "This is kind of too much."

"I know." I took her hand and squeezed it, the two of us sitting in companionable silence for a few minutes. Then suddenly a shot of my face flashed up on the TV screen and ABC News announced that I would be the forty-fourth president of the United States.

The room erupted. Shouts could be heard up and down the hall. Michelle and I kissed and she pulled back gently to give me the once-over as she laughed and shook her head. Reggie and Marvin rushed in to give everyone big bear hugs. Soon Plouffe, Axe, and Gibbs walked in, and I indulged them for several minutes as they rattled off state-by-state results before telling them what I knew to be true—that as much as anything I'd done, it was their skill, hard work, insight, tenacity, loyalty, and heart, along with the commitment of the entire team, that had made this moment possible.

我坐在沙发旁边。我问：“你还好吗？”

Marian耸了耸肩，继续盯着电视。她说：“这有点太多了。”

“我知道。”我握住她的手，我们一起坐了几分钟的伴侣式沉默。然后，突然间，我的脸被电视屏幕一闪而过，ABC新闻宣布我将成为美国第44任总统。

屋里爆发了。听到一路上传来的欢呼声。米歇尔和我亲吻，她轻轻地拉了回来，一边笑一边摇头打量我。里吉和马文冲进来，给大家拥抱。不久，普卢夫、

艾克斯和吉布斯走进来，我与他们交谈几分钟，他们逐州地讲述了结果，然后告诉他们我所知道的真相——在我所做的任何事情中，正是他们的技巧、努力、洞察力、韧性、忠诚和心脏，以及整个团队的承诺，使这一时刻成为可能。

The rest of the night is mostly a blur to me now. I remember John McCain's phone call, which was as gracious as his concession speech. He emphasized how proud America should be of the history that had been made and pledged to help me succeed. There were congratulatory calls from President Bush and several foreign leaders, and a conversation with Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi, both of whose caucuses had had very good nights. I remember meeting Joe Biden's ninety-one-year-old mother, who took pleasure in telling me how she'd scolded Joe for even considering not being on the ticket.

整晚的大部分都已模糊不清。我记得约翰·麦凯恩的电话，他的让步演讲和他一样温和。他强调美国应该为创造了历史而感到骄傲，并承诺要帮助我成功。有来自布什总统和几位外国领导人的祝贺电话，还有与哈里·里德和南希·佩洛西的对话，他们的党团都度过了愉快的夜晚。我记得见到乔·拜登九十一岁的母亲，她很高兴地告诉我她怎么责备乔甚至考虑不参选。

More than two hundred thousand people had gathered in Grant Park that night, the stage facing Chicago's glittering skyline. I can see in my mind even now some of the faces looking up as I walked onstage, men and women and children of every race, some wealthy, some poor, some famous and some not, some smiling ecstatically, others openly weeping. I've reread lines from my speech that night and heard accounts from staff and friends of what it felt like to be there.

But I worry that my memories of that night, like so much else that's happened these past twelve years, are shaded by the images that I've seen, the footage of our family walking across the stage, the photographs of the crowds and lights and magnificent backdrops. As beautiful as they are, they don't always match the lived experience. In fact, my favorite photograph from that night isn't of Grant Park at all. Rather it's one I received many years later as a gift, a photograph of the Lincoln Memorial, taken as I was giving my speech in Chicago. It shows a small gathering of people on the stairs, their faces obscured by the darkness, and behind them the giant figure shining brightly, his marble face craggy, his eyes slightly downcast. They're listening to the radio, I am told, quietly contemplating who we are as a people—and the arc of this thing we call democracy.

那晚在格兰特公园聚集了超过二十万人，舞台面对着芝加哥璀璨的城市天际线。我现在依然可以在脑海里看到一些人们仰望着，男女老少各族裔，有些富裕，有些贫穷，有些著名，有些不是，有些露出狂喜的笑容，有些毫不掩饰地哭泣。我已经读过那晚演讲中的一些句子，并听到过员工和朋友关于当时的感受的描述。

但是我很担心那晚的记忆，像这些过去12年里发生的许多其他事情一样，都被我看到的画面所阴影覆盖，我们家人走过舞台的镜头、人群闪烁的灯光和宏伟的背景的照片。尽管它们很美，但并不总是匹配当时的生活体验。事实上，那晚我最喜欢的照片并不是格兰特公园的，而是许多年后我收到的一份礼物，一张我正在芝加哥演讲时拍摄的林肯纪念堂的照片。它显示了一群人在楼梯上聚集，他们的脸被黑暗所掩盖，在他们身后，那个巨大的形象闪耀着，他的大理石脸庞崎岖，眼神微微低垂。我听说他们在安静地收听音机，思考我们作为民族的身份——和我们所谓的民主的发展轨迹。

## PART THREE RENEGADE

### 叛逆者

#### CHAPTER 10

ALTHOUGH I HAD VISITED THE White House several times as a U.S. senator, I had never been inside the Oval Office before I was elected president. The room is smaller than you might expect—less than thirty-six feet on its long axis, seven feet narrower along the other—but its ceiling is high and grand, and its features match up with the photos and newsreels. There's Washington's portrait above the mantel of an ivy-draped fireplace, and the two high-backed chairs, flanked by sofas, where the president sits with the vice president or visiting foreign dignitaries. There are two doors that blend seamlessly into the gently curved walls—one leading out to the hallway, the other to the "Outer Oval," where the president's personal aides are stationed—and a third leading to the president's small inner office and private dining room. There are the busts of long-dead leaders and Remington's famous bronze cowboy; the antique grandfather clock and the built-in bookcases; the thick oval carpet with a stern eagle stitched into its center; and the Resolute desk—a gift from Queen Victoria in 1880, ornately carved from the hull of a British ship that a U.S. whaling crew helped salvage after a catastrophe, full of hidden drawers and nooks and with a central panel that pops open, delighting any child who has a chance to crawl through it.

### 第十章

儘管我作為一名美國參議員多次訪問白宮，但在當選總統之前我從未進入過橢圓形辦公室。這個房間比你想像的要小—長軸不到36英尺，另一邊比這個窄7英尺—但它的天花板高大，宏偉，而且它的特色跟照片和新聞紀錄完全相符。在覆藤上爬滿了的壁爐上方，是華盛頓的肖像畫，而總統與副總統或訪問的外國尊貴客人坐的兩張高背椅呈對稱擺放，旁邊是沙發。有兩扇門巧妙地融入了溫柔曲線的牆壁中—一扇通向走廊，另一扇通向「外部橢圓形辦公室」，總統的私人助理們在那裡工作—第三扇門通向總統的小型內辦公室和私人餐廳。這裡有死去的領袖的胸像和雷明頓（Remington）著名的青銅牛仔像，有古董落地鐘和內嵌的書櫃，有厚實的橢圓地毯，中央繡有嚴肅的鷹紋章，還有「Resolute」辦公桌—這是維多利亞女王在1880年送給美國的禮物，由美國捕鯨隊幫助打撈的英國船體精雕細琢，充滿了藏匿的抽屜和角落，有一個中央的面板可以彈開，讓任何有機會爬進去的孩子開心不已。

One thing cameras don't capture about the Oval Office is the light. The room is awash in light. On clear days, it pours through the huge windows on its eastern and southern ends, painting every object with a golden sheen that turns fine-grained, then dappled, as the late-afternoon sun recedes. In bad weather, when the South Lawn is shrouded by rain or snow or the rare morning fog, the room takes on a slightly bluer hue but remains undimmed, the weaker natural light boosted by interior bulbs hidden behind a bracketed cornice and reflecting down from the ceiling and walls. The lights are never turned off, so that even in the middle of the night the Oval Office remains luminescent, flaring against the darkness like a lighthouse's rounded torch.

照相机无法捕捉到办公室椭圆形空间的一件事情就是光线。房间里充满了光。在晴朗的日子里，光透过东部和南部庞大的窗户涌入，将每个物体都涂上一层金色的光泽，随着傍晚太阳消退，细腻的肌理变得斑驳多姿。在恶劣的天气中，当南草坪被雨水或雪或罕见的早晨雾所覆盖时，房间略显微蓝，但仍然明亮，墙角和天花板上的蓝色灯光被加强自然光线减弱的效果。灯从未关闭，即使在半夜，椭圆形空间仍然是光明的，像圆形火炬一样在黑暗中闪耀。

I spent most of eight years in that room, grimly listening to intelligence reports, hosting heads of state, cajoling members of Congress, jousting with allies and adversaries, and posing for pictures with thousands of visitors. With staffers I laughed, cursed, and more than once fought back tears. I grew comfortable enough to put my feet up or sit on the desk, roll around on the floor with a child, or steal a nap on the couch. Sometimes I'd fantasize about walking out the east door and down the driveway, past the guardhouse and wrought-iron gates, to lose myself in crowded streets and reenter the life I'd once known.

我在那个房间里度过了八年的大部分时间，严肃地听取情报报告，接待各国元首，哄骗国会成员，与盟友和对手搏斗，并与成千上万的参观者合影留念。我和职员们一起笑，骂，有时还会流泪。我变得足够自在，可以把脚放在桌子上或坐在桌子上，和孩子一起在地板上滚来滚去，或在沙发上偷个小憩。有时候我会幻想走出东门，穿过警卫室和铁艺大门，在拥挤的街道上迷失自我，重新回到曾经的生活。

But I would never fully rid myself of the sense of reverence I felt whenever I walked into the Oval Office, the feeling that I had entered not an office but a sanctum of democracy. Day after day, its light comforted and fortified me, reminding me of the privilege of my burdens and my duties.

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MY FIRST VISIT to the Oval took place just days after the election, when, following a long tradition, the Bushes invited Michelle and me for a tour of our soon-to-be home. Riding in a Secret Service vehicle, the two of us traveled the winding arc of the South Lawn entrance to the White House, trying to process the fact that in less than three months we'd be moving in. The day was sunny and warm, the trees still flush with leaves, and the Rose Garden overflowing with flowers. Washington's prolonged fall provided a welcome respite, for in Chicago the weather had quickly turned cold and dark, an arctic wind stripping the trees bare of leaves, as if the unusually mild weather we had enjoyed on election night had been merely part of an elaborate set, to be dismantled as soon as the celebration was done.但我永远不会完全摆脱每次走进总统办公室时所感到的崇敬感，那种感觉让我觉得我走进了一个不是办公室而是民主圣殿。日复一日，它的光芒使我舒适和坚定，提醒我我的负担和职责的特权。

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我第一次参观椭圆形办公室是在选举后几天，当时布什夫妇按照长久以来的传统邀请米歇尔和我参观即将成为我们的家的地方。乘坐特勤局的汽车，我们两人沿着南草坪入口的蜿蜒弧形路线前往白宫，试图理解不到三个月内我们就要搬进去的事实。那天阳光明媚，温暖宜人，树木还有浓密的叶子，玫瑰花园则是花香四溢。华盛顿持续的秋季气候让我们暂时舒缓了压力，因为在芝加哥，天气很快就变得寒冷和黑暗，一股北极风吹光了树叶，仿佛我们在选举之夜享受到的异常温暖天气只是一场精心设计的布景，庆祝之余就要被拆除。

The president and First Lady Laura Bush greeted us at the South Portico, and after the obligatory waves to the press pool, President Bush and I headed over to the Oval Office, while Michelle joined Mrs. Bush for tea in the residence. After a few more photographs and an offer of refreshments from a young valet, the president invited me to have a seat.

“So,” he asked, “how’s it feel?”

“It’s a lot,” I said, smiling. “I’m sure you remember.”

“Yep. I do. Seems like yesterday,” he said, nodding vigorously. “Tell you what, though. It’s a heck of a ride you’re about to take. Nothing like it. You just have to remind yourself to appreciate it every day.”

总统和夫人Laura Bush在南门廊迎接我们，完成向新闻摄影组示意之后，布什总统和我便前往椭圆形办公室，而米歇尔则与布什夫人一起在住所享用茶点。经过拍摄照片和年轻的管家提供的饮料礼节之后，总统邀请我坐下。

“你感觉如何？”他问道。

“很多事情，”我微笑着说道，“我确信您还记得。”

“当然，我记得。感觉好像就在昨天。”他点头表示，“告诉你，在这个骑车上的时刻很珍贵，这是无与伦比的。你只需要每天提醒自己去感激它就可以了。”

Whether because of his respect for the institution, lessons from his father, bad memories of his own transition (there were rumors that some Clinton staffers had removed the W key from the White House computers on their way out the door), or just basic decency, President Bush would end up doing all he could to make the eleven weeks between my election and his departure go smoothly. Every office in the White House provided my team with detailed “how to” manuals. His staffers made themselves available to meet with their successors, answer questions, and even be shadowed as they carried out their duties. The Bush daughters, Barbara and Jenna, by that time young adults, rearranged their schedules to give Malia and Sasha their own tour of the “fun” parts of the White House. I promised myself that when the time came, I would treat my successor the same way.

由於對於機構的尊重、父親的教導、自己的轉型的不良經歷（有傳聞稱某些克林頓的工作人員在離開白宮時從電腦上移走了W鍵），或者只是出於基本的正直，布什總統最終會盡力讓我當選和他離職之間的十一個星期順利進行。每個辦公室在白宮都向我們的團隊提供了詳細的“操作手冊”。他的工作人員使自己可以與他們的接班人見面，回答問題，甚至在執行職責時被跟隨。當時已是年輕成年人的布什的女兒芭芭拉和珍娜，調整了自己的日程以便為瑪麗亞和莎莎提供自己的白宮“樂趣”之旅。我保證自己，當時機來臨時，我會以同樣的方式對待我的繼任者。

The president and I covered a wide range of subjects during that first visit—the economy and Iraq, the press corps and Congress—with him never straying from his jocular, slightly fidgety persona. He provided blunt assessments of a few foreign leaders, warned that people in my own party would end up giving me some of my biggest headaches, and kindly agreed to host a luncheon with all the living presidents sometime before the inauguration. I was aware that there were necessary limits to a president’s candor while talking to his successor—especially one who had run against so much of his

record. I was mindful as well that for all President Bush's seeming good humor, my presence in the very office he'd soon be vacating must be stirring up difficult emotions. I followed his lead in not delving too deeply into policy. Mostly, I just listened.

在第一次会面中，总统和我涉及了广泛的主题，包括经济和伊拉克、新闻记者团和国会议员，他从未偏离他的诙谐、略有烦躁的个性。他对一些外国领导人做出了直率的评估，警告说我的党派中的人将成为我最大的头疼，还友善地同意在就职典礼之前与所有在世总统共进午餐。

我意识到，在与他的继任者谈话时，总统的坦率必须受到必要的限制——特别是对于一个反对他很多记录的人而言。我也注意到，尽管布什总统似乎十分幽默，但我在即将空出的办公室里待着可能会激起他难以处理的情绪。我遵循他的领导，在政策上没有深入探讨。大多数情况下，我只是听取。

Only once did he say something that surprised me. We were talking about the financial crisis and Secretary Paulson's efforts to structure the rescue program for the banks now that TARP had passed through Congress. "The good news, Barack," he said, "is that by the time you take office, we'll have taken care of the really tough stuff for you. You'll be able to start with a clean slate."

For a moment, I was at a loss for words. I'd been talking to Paulson regularly and knew that cascading bank failures and a worldwide depression were still distinct possibilities. Looking at the president, I imagined all the hopes and convictions he must have carried with him the first time he walked into the Oval Office as president-elect, no less dazzled by its brightness, no less eager than I was to change the world for the better, no less certain that history would judge his presidency a success.

只有一次他說了一句讓我感到驚訝的話。我們正在談論金融危機和保羅森（Paulson）秘書為救助計劃的銀行結構進行努力，此時TARP（Troubled Asset Relief Program，困境資產救援計劃）已經通過了國會。他說：“好消息是，巴拉克，等到你就職時，我們已經為你處理了真正困難的事情。你將能夠以一張白紙開始。”

一時間，我不知道該說什麼。我一直在定期與保羅森交談，並且知道連鎖銀行失敗和全球經濟大蕭條仍然是明顯的可能性。看著總統，我想像著他第一次走進橢圓形辦公室時所帶著的所有希望和信念，就像當初我們一樣熱切地想要把這個世界變得更美好，就像他一樣相信歷史會評價他的總統任期為成功。

"It took a lot of courage on your part to get TARP passed," I said finally. "To go against public opinion and a lot of people in your own party for the sake of the country."

That much at least was true. I saw no point in saying more.

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BACK HOME IN CHICAGO, our lives had shifted sharply. Inside our house, things didn't feel so different, with mornings spent fixing breakfast and getting the girls ready for school, returning phone calls and talking to staffers. But once any of us stepped outside the front door, it was a new world. Camera crews were stationed at the corner, behind recently erected concrete barriers. Secret Service countersniper teams, clad in black, stood watch on rooftops. A visit to Marty and Anita's house, just a few blocks away, became a major endeavor; a trip to my old gym was now out of the question. Riding downtown to our temporary transition office, I realized that the empty roads that Malia had noticed on election night were the new norm. All my entries and exits into buildings happened through loading docks and service elevators, cleared of everyone but a few security guards. It felt as if I now lived in my own portable, perpetual ghost town.“你为推动TARP通过付出了很大的勇气。”我最终说道，“为了国家的利益，你违反了公众舆论和很多自己党派内的人的意愿。”

至少这部分是真的。我看不出有必要说得更多。

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回到芝加哥的家中，我们的生活发生了巨大的变化。在家里，早晨依然要做早餐，为女儿们准备上学，并处理来电以及与职员的交流。但一旦踏出前门，我们所处的世界就截然不同了。摄像机团队设在街角，后面竖立着刚刚建立的混凝土屏障。身着黑色制服的秘密特勤计数狙击队员们，站在屋顶上严密监控。去离我们家仅数个街区远的Marty和Anita家里，现在成为了一项艰巨的任务；到我曾经去过的健身房散步，现在也已经不再可能了。当我骑车前往市中心的我们临时的过渡办公室时，意识到马莉雅在选举之夜所看到的空无一人的道路，现在被视作是新的规范。我所有进出建筑的记录都来自货运码头和服务用电梯，那里除了一些保安人员，就只剩下了几个人。感觉好像现在我生活在一个私人的，永无止境的鬼城里。

I spent my afternoons forming a government. A new administration brings less turnover than most people imagine: Of the more than three million people, civilian and military, employed by the federal government, only a few thousand are so-called political appointees, serving at the pleasure of the president. Of those, he or she has regular, meaningful contact with fewer than a hundred senior officials and personal aides. As president, I would be able to articulate a vision and set a direction for the country; promote a healthy organizational culture and establish clear lines of responsibility and measures of accountability. I would be the one who made the final decisions on issues that rose to my attention and who explained those decisions to the country at large. But to do all this, I would be dependent on the handful of people serving as my eyes, ears, hands, and feet—those who would become my managers, executors, facilitators, analysts, organizers, team leaders, amplifiers, conciliators, problem solvers, flak catchers, honest brokers, sounding boards, constructive critics, and loyal soldiers.我花费下午时间来组建政府。新政府的人员更迭比大多数人想象的少：联邦政府雇用了超过三百万名文职和军人，但只有几千名所谓的政治任命，顺从总统的心愿而任职。其中，总统只与少于一百名高级官员和私人助手有定期且有意义的接触。作为总统，我能够阐述国家的愿景，制定国家的方向；促进健康的组织文化，并建立明确的责任和衡量标准。我会成为将会做出最终决策的人，解释这些决策给整个国家听。但是，为了做到这一点，我将依赖于几个人，他们将成为我的眼睛、耳朵、手和脚，成为我的经理、执行者、协调者、分析师、组织者、团队领袖、增强器、调解者、问题解决者、责任人、坦诚批评者、忠诚的士兵。

It was crucial, then, to get these early appointments right—starting with the person who could serve as my chief of staff. Unfortunately the initial response from my number one recruit for the job was less than enthusiastic.

“No fucking way.”

That was Rahm Emanuel, the former fundraiser for Richard M. Daley and enfant terrible in the Clinton administration, now a congressman from Chicago's North Side and the mastermind of the 2006 Democratic wave that had taken back the House of Representatives. Short, trim, darkly handsome, hugely ambitious, and manically driven, Rahm was smarter than most of his colleagues in Congress and not known for hiding it. He was also funny, sensitive, anxious, loyal, and famously profane: At a charity roast in his honor a few years earlier, I'd explained how the loss of Rahm's middle finger to a meat slicer when he was a teenager had rendered him practically mute.因此，在起點上就要把這些早期任命做對——首先是要選擇我可以任命為我的幕僚長的人。不幸的是，我的頭號招聘對這份工作的反應不是很熱情。

“絕對不行。”

這就是來自芝加哥北邊、2006年民主黨掀起拿回國會眾議院浪潮的幕後推手、曾為里查德M.戴利募款的人物、內行且驕傲，總統克林頓政府的為非作歹者，Rahm Emanuel。身材矮小，體型修長，五官深刻，野心勃勃、目標明確，人格驕縱、偏執，比起他的國會同事更加聰明，絕不掩飾這一點。他也很幽默、敏感、擔心、忠誠，而且臭名昭著地談話粗鄙：在幾年前的一次以他為慈善晚宴的籌備中，我曾講述過由於他在十幾歲時被肉切片機切斷中指，這使得他幾乎變成了啞巴。

“Look, I'm honored you're asking,” Rahm told me when I reached out a month before the election. “I'll do anything you need to help. But I'm happy where I am. My wife and kids are happy. And I know too much to believe that shit about a family-friendly White House. Anyway, I'm sure you can find better candidates than me.”

I couldn't argue with Rahm about the hardships involved in accepting my offer. In the modern White House, the chief of staff was the day-to-day quarterback, the end of the funnel through which every issue facing the president had to first pass. Few in government (including the president) worked longer hours or under more unrelenting pressure.

“看，你问我我很荣幸，”拉姆在选举前一个月回答我，“我会尽我所能去帮助你做任何事情。但我现在很开心。我的妻子和孩子们很开心。而且我知道得太多了，不能相信那些关于一个家庭友好的白宫的鬼话。无论如何，我相信你一定可以找到比我更好的人选。”

我不能反驳拉姆关于接受我的提议所面临的困难。在现代白宫，幕僚长是日常掌控的领袖，总统面临的每个问题都必须由他处理。在政府中，鲜有人（包括总统本人）能够工作更长的时间或承受更大的压力。

But Rahm was wrong about me having a better choice. After two punishing years on the campaign, Plouffe had already told me that he wouldn't initially be joining the administration, in part because his wife, Olivia, had delivered a new baby just three days after the election. Both my Senate chief of staff, Pete Rouse, and former Clinton chief of staff John Podesta, who had agreed to help manage our transition team, had taken themselves out of the running. Although Axe, Gibbs, and Valerie would all accept senior positions in the White House, none had the mix of skills and experience I'd need for the chief of staff job.

但拉姆错了，认为我可以找到更好的人选。在竞选期间经历了两年的煎熬之后，普洛夫已经告诉我他不会马上加入政府，部分原因是他的妻子奥利维亚在选举后仅三天就生了孩子。我的参议院办公厅主任皮特·罗斯和前克林顿总统办公厅主任约翰·波德斯塔也退出竞争。虽然艾克斯、吉布斯和瓦莱丽都愿意接受白宫的高级职位，但他们都没有我需要的首席办公室主任的技能和经验。

Rahm, on the other hand, knew policy, knew politics, knew Congress, knew the White House, and knew financial markets from a stint working on Wall Street. His brashness and impatience rubbed some people the wrong way; as I would learn, his eagerness to “put points on the board” sometimes led him to care less about the substance of a deal than getting a deal done. But with an economic crisis to tackle and what I suspected might be a limited window to get my agenda through a Democratically controlled Congress, I was convinced that his pile-driver style was exactly what I needed.

另一方面，拉姆明白政策，懂政治，了解国会，熟悉白宫，以及在华尔街工作的经验让他了解金融市场。他的鲁莽和不耐烦有时会引起某些人的反感。正如我所了解到的，他渴望“得分”，有时会不太在意协议的实质，只想完成协议。但面对经济危机和我怀疑在民主党控制下的国会中实现议程的时间窗可能有限，我确信他的铁锤式风格正是我所需要的。

In the final days before the election, I had worn Rahm down, appealing to his ego but also to the decency and genuine patriotism hidden beneath his wiseass persona. (“The biggest crisis facing the country in our lifetime,” I yelled at him, “and you're going to sit on the goddamn sidelines?”) Axe and Plouffe, both of whom knew Rahm well and had seen him in action, were thrilled when he accepted the job. But not all of my supporters were as enthusiastic. Hadn't Rahm supported Hillary? a few groused. Didn't he represent the same old triangulating, Davos-attending, Wall Street-coddling, Washington-focused, obsessively centrist version of the Democratic Party we had been running against? How can you trust him?

在選舉前的最後幾天裡，我消耗了拉姆，既訴諸他的自尊心，也訴諸他智慧的表象下所隱藏的良心和真正的愛國精神。（「我們一生中面臨的最大危機」，我對他喊道，「你會坐在場邊上嗎？」）阿克斯和普洛夫都很高興他接受了這份工作，因為他們都很了解拉姆，並見識過他的才華。但並非我所有的支持者都像他們那麼熱烈。他不是支持希拉里嗎？有人嘀咕道。他不代表那個我們一直對抗的同樣的三角主義、達沃斯峰會參加者、傾向經濟精英、華盛頓中心主義和偏執的中間派民主黨版本嗎？你怎麼能信任他？

These were all variations on a question that would recur in the coming months: What kind of president did I intend to be? I had pulled off a neat trick during the campaign, attracting support from independents and even some moderate Republicans by promising bipartisanship and an end to slash-and-burn politics while maintaining the enthusiasm of those on the left. I had done so not by telling different people what they wanted to hear but by stating what I felt to be the truth: that in order to advance progressive policies like universal healthcare or immigration reform, it was not only possible but necessary to avoid doctrinaire thinking; to place a premium on what worked and listen respectfully to what the other side had to say.

這些都是一個問題的不同變化，這個問題在未來的幾個月裡會不斷出現：我打算成為什麼樣的總統？在競選期間，我做了一個巧妙的法子，承諾要實現兩黨合作，結束劇烈政治，同時保持左派人士的熱情，吸引了獨立人士和一些中間派共和黨人的支持。我這樣做的方法不是向不同的人說他們想聽到的話，而是說明我認為的真相：為了促進像普及醫療保健或移民改革等進步政策，不僅是可能的，而且是必要的，要避免教條式的思維，要重視有效的方法，尊重對方的聲音。

Voters had embraced my message—because it sounded different and they were hungry for different; because our campaign hadn't depended on endorsements from the usual assortment of interest groups and power brokers that might have otherwise forced me into a strict party orthodoxy; because I was new and unexpected, a blank canvas upon which supporters across the ideological spectrum could project their own vision of change. Once I started making appointments, though, the differing expectations within my coalition began to show. After all, each person I selected for a job in the administration came with his or her own history, paper trail, and set of supporters and detractors. For insiders, at least—the politicians and operatives and reporters whose job it was to read the tea leaves—each appointment signified my true political intentions, evidence of my tilt to the right or to the left, my willingness to break from the past or peddle more of the same. Choices in people reflected choices in policy, and with each choice, the chances of disillusionment grew.

選民們接受了我的訊息 - 因為它聽起來與眾不同，而且他們很渴望不同；因為我們的競選活動並沒有依靠通常那些利益團體和權力經紀人的背書，否則我可能會被迫遵循嚴格的黨派正統；因為我是新人，意外之財，支持者們在意識形態光譜的各個角落上都可以投射自己對改變的願景。

然而，一旦我開始進行任命，聯盟內部的不同期望就開始浮現。畢竟，我選擇為政府工作的每個人都有自己的歷史、證據和一群支持者和反對者。對內部人員來說 - 那些負責閱讀茶葉的政治家、操作員和記者 - 每個任命都代表了我的真正政治意圖，證明了我向左或向右的傾向，我是否願意擺脫過去或者推銷更多的同樣東西。人員選擇反映了政策選擇，隨著每個選擇，失望的機會也增加了。

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WHEN IT CAME to assembling my economic team, I decided to favor experience over fresh talent. The circumstances, I felt, demanded it. The October jobs report, released three days after the election, was dismal: 240,000 jobs lost (revisions would later reveal that the true number was 481,000). Despite the passage of TARP and continuing emergency measures by Treasury and the Fed, the financial markets remained paralyzed, banks were still on the verge of collapse, and foreclosures showed no signs of slowing down. I loved the various up-and-comers who'd advised me throughout the campaign and felt a kinship with left-leaning economists and activists who saw the current crisis as the result of a bloated and out-of-control financial system in dire need of reform. But with the world economy in free fall, my number one task wasn't remaking the economic order. It was preventing further disaster. For this, I needed people who had managed crises before, people who could calm markets in the grip of panic—people who, by definition, might be tainted by the sins of the past.

當我組建我的經濟團隊時，我決定優先考慮經驗而非新鮮人才。我覺得情況要求如此。選舉後三天發佈的十月份就業報告令人沮喪：失去了240,000個工作崗位（修訂後，真實數字為481,000）。盡管TARP已經通過並持續出台緊急措施，由財務部和聯邦儲備委員會施行，金融市場仍然陷入癱瘓，銀行仍處於崩潰邊緣，且房屋抵押貸款沒有減緩的跡象。我喜歡那些在競選期間為我提供諮詢的崛起者們，對於認為當前危機是由臃腫且失控的金融系統引起，迫切需要改革的左翼經濟學家和活動家們感到親切。但在全球經濟陷入自由墜落的情況下，我的首要任務不是重塑經濟秩序，而是防止進一步災難。為此，我需要那些已經成功應對過危機的人，能夠平息陷入恐慌的市場 - 它們在過去也許有過種種錯誤行為。

For Treasury secretary, it came down to two candidates: Larry Summers, who had held the job under Bill Clinton, and Tim Geithner, Larry's former deputy and then head of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Larry was the more obvious choice: An economics major and debate champion at MIT, one of the youngest professors to be tenured at Harvard, and more recently the university's president, he had already served as the World Bank's chief economist, an undersecretary for international affairs, and deputy Treasury secretary before taking the reins from his predecessor and mentor, Bob Rubin. In the mid-1990s, Larry had helped engineer the international response to a series of major financial crises involving Mexico, Asia, and Russia—the closest analogues to the crisis I was now inheriting—and even his fiercest detractors acknowledged his brilliance. As Tim aptly described it, Larry could hear your arguments, restate them better than you could, and then show why you were wrong.

對於財政部長的人選，最終僅剩兩位候選人：歷任比爾·克林頓政府下的財政部長拉裡·莎梅爾斯，和拉裡曾在職期間擔任副手，現署紐約聯邦準備理事會主席的蒂姆·蓋特納。拉裡是更為明顯的選擇：他在麻省理工學院就讀經濟學並成為討論冠軍，是哈佛大學最年輕的教授之一，之後成為校長，曾擔任世界銀行首席經濟學家、國際事務副部長和財政部副部長，在接替前任和他的指導者鮑勃·魯賓之後主導財政部。在1990年代中期，拉裡曾幫助制定對涉及墨西哥、亞洲和俄羅斯的一系列重大金融危機的國際應對方案，這是與我現在遇到的危機最相似的情況，即使是他最激烈的反對者也承認他的才華。正如蒂姆所描述的那樣，拉裡可以聽取你的論點，比你更好地重述它們，然後證明你的錯誤。

He also had an only partly deserved reputation for arrogance and political incorrectness. As president of Harvard, he'd had a public row with the prominent African American studies professor Cornel West and had later been forced to resign after, among other things, positing that intrinsic differences in high-end aptitude might be one reason women were underrepresented in the math, science, and engineering departments of leading universities.

As I got to know him, I'd come to believe that most of Larry's difficulties in playing well with others had less to do with malice and more to do with obliviousness. For Larry, qualities like tact and restraint just cluttered the mind. He himself seemed impervious to hurt feelings or the usual insecurities, and he would express appreciation (accompanied by mild surprise) when anyone effectively challenged him or thought of something he'd missed. His lack of interest in standard human niceties extended to his appearance, which was routinely disheveled, his ample belly occasionally exposed by a shirt missing a button, his haphazard approach to shaving often resulting in a distracting patch of stubble under his nose.

他也因为傲慢和政治不正确的名声而闻名，尽管部分名声并不应该归于他。作为哈佛大学的校长，他曾公开与著名非裔美国研究教授康奈尔·威斯特发生争执，并在后来被迫辞职，原因之一是认为天生的高端能力差异可能是领先大学的数学、科学和工程部门女性代表不足的原因之一。

随着我对他的了解加深，我开始认为，Larry与他人相处不佳的大部分困难与他的恶意关系不大，而主要是因为他粗心大意。对于Larry来说，像机智和克制这样的品质只会使思维混乱。他本人似乎对受伤的感觉或通常的不安全感毫不在乎，当有人有效地挑战他或想到他错过的东西时，他会表示赞赏（伴随着轻微的惊讶）。他对标准人类礼仪的缺乏也延伸到他的外表，经常衣衫不整，衬衫上缺失的纽扣有时会露出他凸起的肚子，他随意的刮胡子方法通常会导致他鼻子下的一个令人分心的刺杀。

Tim was different. The first time I met him, in a New York hotel a few weeks before the election, the word that popped into my head was “boyish.” He was my age, but his slight build, unassuming carriage, and elfin face made him appear considerably younger. During the course of our hour-long conversation he maintained a soft-spoken, good-humored equanimity. We had an immediate rapport, partly based on childhood parallels: As a result of his father’s work as a development specialist, he’d spent much of his youth abroad, instilling in him a reserve that I recognized in myself.

蒂姆与众不同。我第一次见到他是在纽约的一家酒店，那是选举前的几周。当时我脑海里浮现出的词是“少年气盛然。”虽然他和我同龄，但他身材瘦弱，举止谦和，长着精灵般的面孔，看上去比实际年龄要小得多。在我们一小时的对话过程中，他一直保持着温和、好脾气的平静。我们立刻有了共鸣，部分原因是儿时有相似的经历：因为父亲担任开发专家的工作，他的青少年时期大部分时间都在国外度过，这让他有种我自己也有的保留。

After getting a master’s degree in East Asian studies and international economics, Tim worked as an Asia specialist for Henry Kissinger’s consulting shop and then joined Treasury, becoming a junior trade official in Japan. It was Larry Summers who plucked Tim out of obscurity to serve as his special assistant, and as Larry rose, so did Tim. Tim became a central if unheralded player in dealing with the various financial crises of the 1990s, and it was on the strength of Larry’s recommendation that he would end up heading the New York Fed. Their relationship spoke not only to Larry’s generosity but also to Tim’s quiet confidence and intellectual rigor—qualities that had been amply tested over the previous year, as Tim had worked around the clock with Hank Paulson and Ben Bernanke in an effort to contain the Wall Street meltdown.

在获得了东亚研究和国际经济学硕士学位后，蒂姆曾在亨利·基辛格的咨询机构任职亚洲专家，然后加入财政部，成为日本的初级贸易官。是拉里·萨默斯将蒂姆从默默无闻中挑选出来担任他的特别助理，随着拉里的崛起，蒂姆也崭露头角。蒂姆成为处理1990年代各种金融危机的关键人物，虽未受到大肆赞扬，但正是在拉里的推荐下，他最终成为了纽约联邦储备银行的行长。他们的关系不仅展现了拉里的慷慨，也展现了蒂姆的沉着自信和智力严谨，而这些品质在过去一年中得到了充分的检验，因为蒂姆与汉克·保尔森和本·伯南克日以继夜地努力遏制华尔街的崩溃。

Whether out of loyalty to Larry, sheer exhaustion, or justifiable guilt (like Rahm—and me—Tim still had kids at home and a wife who longed for a calmer life), Tim spent much of our first meeting trying to discourage me from hiring him as Treasury secretary. I came away convinced otherwise. For anyone—even Larry—to match Tim’s real-time understanding of the financial crisis or his relationships with the current crop of global financial players would take months, I thought, and that was time that we didn’t have. More important, my gut told me that Tim had a basic integrity, a steadiness of temperament, and an ability to problem-solve unsullied by ego or political considerations that would make him invaluable in the task ahead.

无论是因为对拉里的忠诚、彻底的疲惫还是合理的负罪感（就像拉姆和我一样，蒂姆还有孩子在家，妻子渴望平静的生活），在我们第一次会议中，蒂姆花了很多时间试图劝告我不要聘请他担任财政部长。但我却坚信他的价值。我认为要让任何人（甚至是拉里）都能与蒂姆的实时了解金融危机或与当前一批全球金融参与者的关系，需要几个月的时间，而这是我们没有的时间。更重要的是，我的直觉告诉我，蒂姆具有基本的诚信、稳定的性情和解决问题的能力，不带任何自我的因素或政治方面的考虑，这将使他在即将到来的任务中不可或缺。

In the end, I decided to hire both men—Larry to help figure out what the hell to do (and not do), Tim to organize and steer our response. To make it work, I had to sell Larry on serving not as Treasury secretary but rather as director of the National Economic Council (NEC), which, despite being the White House’s top economic job, was considered less prestigious. The director’s traditional function was to coordinate the economic policy-making process and act as a diplomatic broker between various agencies, which didn’t exactly play to Larry’s strengths. But none of that mattered, I told Larry. I needed him, his country needed him, and as far as I was concerned, he’d be an equal to Tim in formulating our economic plan. My earnestness may have had some influence on his thinking—though the promise (at Rahm’s suggestion) to make Larry the next chair of the Federal Reserve no doubt helped get him to yes as well.

最終，我決定雇用這兩個人 - Larry 幫助理解該如何採取行動（和不採取的行動），Tim 負責組織和指導我們的反應。為了讓它發揮作用，我不得不讓 Larry 接受擔任國家經濟委員會（NEC）的主任，而不是財政部長，盡管NEC是白宮的頂級經濟職位，但被認為不那麼有威望。主任的傳統職能是協調經濟政策制定過程，並在各種機構之間充當外交調解人，這不完全符合Larry的優勢。但是，我告訴Larry，這些都不重要。我需要他，我的國家需要他，我認為他在制定我們的經濟計劃方面和Tim平起平坐。我的誠懇可能對他的思考產生了一些影響 - 雖然承諾（Rahm的建議）讓Larry成為聯邦儲備委員會的下一任主席無疑也幫助他接受了這個工作。

I had other key posts to fill. To head the Council of Economic Advisers—responsible for providing the president with the best possible data and analysis on all economic matters—I chose Christina Romer, a rosy-cheeked Berkeley professor who had done seminal work on the Great Depression. Peter Orszag, the head of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, accepted the job as director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Melody Barnes, a thoughtful African American lawyer and former chief counsel to Senator Ted Kennedy, was put in charge of the Domestic Policy Council. Jared Bernstein, a left-leaning labor economist, came on board as part of Joe Biden’s team, as did Gene Sperling, the bespectacled, hyperarticulate policy wonk who had served four years as Bill Clinton’s director of the NEC and who now agreed, along with campaign economists Austan Goolsbee and Jason Furman, to function as roving utility players.

我有其他重要的职位要填补。为领导经济顾问委员会——负责为总统提供最好的数据和分析经济事务——我选择了克里斯蒂娜·罗默，一个红润脸颊的伯克利教授，她在大萧条方面做了开创性的工作。非党派国会预算办公室负责人彼得·奥尔扎格接受了担任管理和预算办公室主任的工作，思考性的非裔美国律师和前参议员特德·肯尼迪首席法律顾问梅洛迪·巴恩斯负责国内政策委员会。左倾劳工经济学家贾里德·伯恩斯坦作为乔·拜登团队的一员加入了该团队，基因·斯柏林，一个戴着眼镜、能说善道的政策专家，曾担任比尔·克林顿的国家经济会议主席四年，现在同意和竞选经济学家奥斯坦·古尔斯比和贾森·弗曼一起担任漫游的实用球员。

In the months to come, I would spend countless hours with this brain trust and their deputies, asking questions, sifting through recommendations, poring over slide decks and briefing books, formulating policy and then subjecting whatever we had thought up to relentless scrutiny. Arguments were heated, dissent was encouraged, and no idea was rejected because it came from a junior staffer or didn't fit into a particular ideological predisposition.

Still, Tim and Larry were the dominant voices on our economic team. Both men were rooted in the centrist, market-friendly economic philosophy of the Clinton administration, and given the remarkable run of economic prosperity during the 1990s, such a pedigree had long been considered a matter of pride. As the financial crisis worsened, though, that record would come increasingly under fire. Bob Rubin was already seeing his reputation tarnished as a result of his role as senior counselor at Citigroup, one of the financial institutions whose massive exposure in the subprime securities market now fed the contagion. As soon as I announced my economic team, press stories noted that Larry had championed significant deregulation of the financial markets during his time at Treasury; commentators wondered whether, during his tenure at the New York Fed, Tim—along with Paulson and Bernanke—had been too slow to sound the alarm about the risk the subprime market had posed to the financial system.未来几个月里，我将与这个智囊团及其副手花费无数小时，提问，筛选建议，研读幻灯片和简报，制定政策，并对我们想出的任何东西进行无情的审查。争论激烈，鼓励异议，并且没有任何一个想法被拒绝，因为它来自年轻的员工或不符合特定的意识形态倾向。

不过，蒂姆和拉里是我们的经济团队中占主导的声音。这两个人都扎根于克林顿政府的中间派、市场友好的经济哲学，鉴于上世纪九十年代经济繁荣的惊人成就，这样的血统早已被认为是一种骄傲。然而，随着金融危机的加剧，这一记录将越来越受到质疑。鲍勃·鲁宾已经因其在花旗集团担任高级顾问的角色而看到其声誉受损，花旗也是挤兑债务证券市场大规模暴露的金融机构之一。当我宣布我的经济团队时，媒体报道提到拉里在财政部任职期间倡导了重大的金融市场放松管制政策；评论员们则质疑蒂姆在纽约联邦储备银行工作期间，与波尔森和伯南克一起是否对子贷市场对金融系统的风险发出了过慢的警报。

Some of these criticisms were valid, others grossly unfair. What was certain was that by selecting Tim and Larry, I had yoked myself to their history—and that if we weren't able to right the economic ship quickly, the political price for choosing them would be high.

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AROUND THE SAME time that I was finalizing decisions on my economic team, I asked staffers and my Secret Service detail to arrange a clandestine meeting in the fire station at Reagan National Airport. The facility was empty when I arrived, the fire trucks removed to accommodate our motorcade. I stepped into a lounge that had been set up with some refreshments and greeted the compact, silver-haired man in a gray suit seated inside.

其中一些批评是正确的，而其他批评则非常不公平。可以确定的是，通过选择蒂姆和拉里，我已经和他们的历史联系在了一起，如果我们不能快速纠正经济形势，那么选择他们的政治代价将会很高。

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大约在我决定我的经济团队时，我要求工作人员和我的特勤小组在里根国家机场的消防站安排一个秘密会议。当我到达时，设施已经空了，消防车移走以容纳我们的车队。我走进一个设有一些茶点的休息室，向坐在里面的身穿灰色西装的紧凑银发男子问好。

“Mr. Secretary,” I said, shaking his hand. “Thanks for taking the time.”

“Congratulations, Mr. President-Elect,” Robert Gates replied, steely-eyed and tight-smiled, before we sat down and got to business.

It's fair to say that President Bush's secretary of defense and I did not hang out in the same circles. In fact, once you got beyond our common Kansas roots (Gates had been born and raised in Wichita), it was hard to imagine two individuals who had traveled such different roads to arrive at the same location. Gates was an Eagle Scout, a former air force intelligence officer, a Russia specialist, and a CIA recruit. At the height of the Cold War, he served in the National Security Council (NSC) under Nixon, Ford, and Carter, and in the CIA under Reagan, before becoming the agency's director under George H. W. Bush. (He'd previously been nominated by Reagan, but questions about his knowledge of the Iran-Contra affair had led him to withdraw.) With Bill Clinton's election, Gates left Washington, D.C., joined corporate boards, and later served as president of Texas A&M University—a post he would hold until 2006, when George W. Bush asked him to replace Donald Rumsfeld at the Pentagon and salvage an Iraq War strategy that was then thoroughly in shambles.

“我先生，”我伸出手与他握手。“感谢您抽出时间来见我。”

“祝贺您，当选总统先生，”罗伯特·盖茨回答，眼神坚定，微笑脸紧绷，然后我们坐下来处理事务。

可以说，布什总统的国防部长和我并不在同一个圈子里。实际上，一旦你超越我们共同的堪萨斯州籍（盖茨在威奇托出生和长大），很难想象两个这么不同背景的人走上了相同的路。盖茨是一个鹰派童子军、前空军情报官、俄罗斯专家和中央情报局招募人员。在冷战的高峰期，他曾在尼克松、福特和卡特领导下的国家安全委员会（NSC）任职，后来在里根领导下的中央情报局任职，直到乔治·H·W·布什任总统时成为该机构的主管。（他曾被里根提名，但关于他对伊朗门事件的知识产生了疑问，导致他退出了提名。）随着比尔·克林顿的当选，盖茨离开了华盛顿，加入了企业董事会，后来还担任了德克萨斯州农工大学的校长，直到2006年，当时伊拉克战争的战略已经彻底崩溃，乔治·W·布什请他接替唐纳德·拉姆斯菲尔德在五角大楼拯救这一战略。

He was a Republican, a Cold War hawk, a card-carrying member of the national security establishment, a prior champion of foreign interventions I had likely protested while in college, and now defense secretary to a president whose war policies I abhorred. And yet I was in the firehouse that day to ask Bob Gates to stay on as my secretary of defense.

As with my economic appointments, my reasons were practical. With 180,000 U.S. troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, any wholesale turnover in

the Defense Department seemed fraught with risk. Moreover, whatever differences Gates and I may have had regarding the initial decision to invade Iraq, circumstances had led us to share similar views about the path forward. When President Bush—on Gates's recommendation—had ordered a “surge” of additional U.S. troops in Iraq in early 2007, I had been skeptical, not because I doubted the ability of more U.S. troops to reduce violence there, but because it was framed as an open-ended commitment. 他是共和黨人，一個冷戰鷹派，一名國家安全體系的持牌成員，曾經是我在大學時期可能曾經抗議過的外交干預的支持者，現在他是我在掙扎中請求留任的國防部長，而我對總統的戰爭政策感到憎惡。然而，當時我在消防局，是來請求鮑勃·蓋茨留任我的國防部長。

和我的經濟人員任命一樣，我的原因是實際的。在伊拉克和阿富汗部署了18萬美國部隊，任何國防部的全面轉型都充滿風險。此外，不管蓋茨和我之間在最初入侵伊拉克的決定上有什麼分歧，情況都使我們開始有了共同的觀點。當時，布什總統按照蓋茨的建議，在2007年初在伊拉克增派更多美國部隊，我曾持懷疑態度，不是因為我懷疑更多的美國部隊能否減少那裡的暴力，而是因為這被認為是一個無限期的承諾。

Under Gates's direction, though, the Petraeus-led surge (and a brokered alliance with Sunni tribes in Anbar Province) not only significantly reduced violence but also purchased the Iraqis time and space for politics. With the help of painstaking diplomacy by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and, especially, U.S. ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker, Iraq was on the path to forming a legitimate government, with elections scheduled for the end of January. Midway through my transition, the Bush administration had even announced a Status of Forces Agreement with the Maliki government that would withdraw U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of 2011—a timetable that effectively mirrored what I'd proposed during the campaign. Meanwhile, Gates publicly emphasized the need for the United States to refocus attention on Afghanistan, one of the central tenets of my foreign policy platform. Tactical questions remained regarding pace, resources, and personnel. But the fundamental strategy of winding down combat operations in Iraq and bolstering our efforts in Afghanistan was now firmly established—and for the moment at least, no one was in a better position to carry out that strategy than the defense secretary currently in place.

在蓋茨的領導下，佩特雷烏斯領導的增兵行動（以及與安巴爾省逊尼派部落達成的協議聯盟）不僅顯著降低了暴力事件，還為伊拉克人民爭取了政治上的時間和空間。在國務卿康多莉扎·萊斯和尤其是美國駐伊拉克大使瑞恩·克羅克的艱苦外交努力下，伊拉克正朝着形成一個合法政府的道路上前進，選舉定于一月底舉行。在我過渡期間的中途，布什政府甚至宣布了美國與馬利基政府簽署的部隊地位協議，將在2011年底前從伊拉克撤出美軍，這與我在競選中提出的时间表基本相同。同時，蓋茨公開強調了美國需要重新關注阿富汗的安全問題，這是我外交政策中的重要內容之一。有關速度、資源和人員的戰術問題仍然存在，但縮減伊拉克的戰鬥行動並加強我們在阿富汗的努力的基本戰略現在已經得到了確認，而目前為止，沒有人比現任國防部長更具备執行這一戰略的能力。

I also had sound political reasons for keeping Gates. I had promised to end constant partisan rancor, and Gates's presence in my cabinet would show that I was serious about delivering on that promise. Retaining him would also help generate trust within the U.S. military and the various agencies that made up the intelligence community (known as the IC). Wielding a military budget larger than those of the next thirty-seven countries combined, leaders in the Defense Department and the IC were filled with strong opinions, skilled at bureaucratic infighting, and had a bias for doing things the way they'd always been done. I wasn't intimidated by this; I knew in broad strokes what I wanted to do and expected that habits born of the chain of command—saluting and executing orders from the commander in chief, even those with which one strongly disagreed—were deeply ingrained.

我也有保留蓋茨的合理政治理由。我承諾要結束不斷的黨派爭吵，蓋茨留在我的內閣中將顯示我認真地兌現了這一承諾。保留他還將有助於在美國軍方和組成情報界的各個機構中建立信任（這些機構被稱為情報社區，即IC）。領導國防部和情報界的人擁有比其他三十七個國家加起來的軍費更多，他們充滿了強烈的觀點，擅長於官僚鬥爭，並且有做事情的偏見以以往的固有方式。我不被這些吓倒；我大概知道自己想要做什么，並且期望從指揮官那裡接受命令並執行，即使有強烈的反對意見，這些都是深深根植的命令鏈習慣。

Still, I understood that moving America's national security apparatus in a new direction wasn't easy for any president. If President Eisenhower—the former Supreme Allied Commander and one of the architects of D-Day—had occasionally felt stymied by what he called the “military-industrial complex,” there was a high likelihood that pushing reform might be harder for a newly elected African American president who'd never served in uniform, had opposed a mission that many had devoted their lives to achieving, wanted to rein in the military budget, and had surely lost the Pentagon vote by a sizable margin. To get things done now, rather than in a year or two down the line, I needed someone like Gates, who knew how the building worked and where the traps were laid; someone who already had the respect that I—regardless of my title—would in some ways have to earn.

我明白讓美國國家安全機構轉變方向並不是一個任何總統都容易做到的事情。如果前最高盟軍指揮官和D-Day的建築師之一艾森豪威爾總統曾經感到阻礙，被他稱為“軍事工業複合體”，那麼剛當選的非裔美國總統想要實施改革就更加困難了。他從未穿過軍裝，反對許多人致力實現的使命，想要控制軍事預算，無疑已經在五角大廈的選票上失去了大量的支持。現在想要在不久的將來完成任務，需要像蓋茨這樣的人來幫忙，他知道如何操作建築，也知道哪裡有陷阱。他已經贏得了尊重，而我 - 無論我的頭銜是什麼 - 某些方面仍需努力。

There was a final reason I wanted Gates on my team, and that was to push against my own biases. The image of me that had emerged from the campaign—the starry-eyed idealist who instinctively opposed military action and believed that every problem on the international stage could be solved through high-minded dialogue—had never been entirely accurate. Yes, I believed in diplomacy and thought war should be a last resort. I believed in multilateral cooperation to address problems like climate change, and I believed that the steady promotion of democracy, economic development, and human rights around the world served our long-term national security interests. Those who voted for me or had worked on my campaign tended to share those beliefs, and they were most likely to populate my administration.

我之所以要讓蓋茨加入我的團隊，最後一個原因是為了抵制我自己的偏見。由競選活動中浮現出來的形象——那個因本能地反對軍事行動並相信可以通過高尚對話解決國際舞台上的每一個問題的憧憬者並不完全準確。是的，我相信外交，認為戰爭應該是最後的手段。我相信多邊合作解決氣候變化等問題，而且我相信，積極推廣民主、經濟發展和人權，在全球範圍內都符合我們的長期國家安全利益。投票給我或參與我的競選活動的人傾向于分享這些信念，因此他們很可能成為我的行政人員。

But my foreign policy views—and, indeed, my early opposition to the invasion of Iraq—owed at least as much to the “realist” school, an approach that valued restraint, assumed imperfect information and unintended consequences, and tempered a belief in American exceptionalism with a humility about our ability to remake the world in our image. I would often surprise people by citing George H. W. Bush as a recent president whose foreign policy I admired. Bush, along with James Baker, Colin Powell, and Brent Scowcroft, had deftly managed the end of the Cold War and the successful prosecution of the Gulf War.

然而我的外交政策觀點 - 的確，我的早期反對伊拉克入侵也是如此 - 至少部分歸功於“現實主義”學派，這種方法尊重克制，假定不完美的信息和意外的後果，並以謙遜的態度對待我們重新塑造世界的信念。我經常會出人意料的引用小布什的外交政策來讚揚。小布什與詹姆斯·貝克、科林·鮑威爾和布倫特·斯考克羅夫特一起熟練地管理了冷戰的結束和海灣戰爭的成功。

Gates had come of age working with such men, and in his handling of the Iraq campaign I saw enough overlap between our views to feel confident that we could work together. Having his voice at the table, along with those of people like Jim Jones—the retired four-star general and former head of European Command, whom I had slated as my first national security advisor—guaranteed that I’d hear a broad range of perspectives before making major decisions, and that I would have to continually test even my deepest assumptions against people who had the stature and confidence to tell me when I was wrong.

蓋茲曾與這樣的人一起成長，他處理伊拉克戰爭的手法，讓我看到我們的觀點有足夠的重疊，讓我有信心我們可以共事。讓他和吉姆·瓊斯（Jim Jones）這樣的人與我坐在一起，這位退役的四星上將，前歐洲司令部的負責人，我已經安排他擔任我第一個國家安全顧問，保證在做出重大決策之前，我會聽到廣泛的觀點，而我也必須不斷考驗甚至是深層的假設，對抗那些有足夠威望和信心告訴我我錯了的人。

Of course, all this depended on a basic level of trust between me and Gates. When I had asked a colleague to reach out to him about his possible willingness to stay on, Gates had sent back a list of questions. How long would I expect him to serve? Would I be willing to exercise flexibility in the drawdown of troops from Iraq? How would I approach the Defense Department staffing and budget?

As we sat together in the firehouse, Gates acknowledged that it wasn’t typical for a potential cabinet appointee to quiz his or her future boss this way. He hoped I hadn’t found it presumptuous. I assured him that I didn’t mind, and that his candor and clear thinking were precisely what I was looking for. We went through his list of questions. I had a few of my own. After forty-five minutes, we shook hands and were whisked away in our separate motorcades. 當然，這一切都取決於我和蓋茨之間的基本信任。當我託同事向他詢問他是否願意繼續任職時，蓋茨回覆了一份問題清單。我希望他能任職多長時間？我是否願意在從伊拉克撤軍時行使靈活性？我將如何處理國防部的人員配置和預算？

當我們坐在消防站裡時，蓋茨承認，潛在的內閣任命者這樣向未來的老板提問並不是很典型。他希望我沒有覺得他太自以為是。我向他保證我並不介意，他的坦率和清晰的思考正是我正在尋找的。我們回答了他的問題，我也提出了幾個問題。45分鐘後，我們握手，各自上了自己的車。

“So?” Axelrod asked upon my return.

“He’s in,” I said. “I like him.” Then I added, “We’ll see if he likes me back.”

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WITHOUT MUCH FUSS, the other pieces of my national security team fell into place: longtime friend and former diplomat Susan Rice as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Leon Panetta, a former California congressman and Clinton chief of staff with a well-earned reputation for bipartisanship, as director of the CIA; and retired admiral Dennis Blair as director of national intelligence. Many of my closest advisors from the campaign took on key staff roles, including my debate drill sergeant Tom Donilon as deputy national security advisor, young hotshots Denis McDonough, Mark Lippert, and Ben Rhodes as assistant deputies at the NSC, and Samantha Power in an NSC position newly focused on atrocity prevention and the advancement of human rights.

**“那么呢？”阿克塞罗德在我回来后问道。**

**“他同意了，”我说。“我喜欢他。”然后我又说，“我们可以看看他是否也喜欢我。”**

其他国家安全团队的成员很快就到位了：长期的朋友和前外交官苏珊·赖斯担任美国驻联合国大使；来自加利福尼亚州的前国会议员兼克林顿的幕僚长利昂·帕内塔作为中央情报局局长，以其获得的跨党派合作的声誉；以及退役将领丹尼斯·布莱尔担任国家情报局局长。竞选团队中的许多最亲密的顾问承担了关键的工作职责，包括我的辩论训练营指导教练汤姆·多尼隆作为副国家安全顾问，年轻有为的丹尼斯·麦克唐纳、马克·利珀特和本·罗兹作为国家安全会议的助理副手，以及萨曼莎·波尔在国家安全委员会担任新设的职务，专注于防止暴行和推动人权。

Just one remaining potential appointee caused any kind of stir. I wanted Hillary Clinton to be my secretary of state.

Observers put forth various theories about my rationale for choosing Hillary: that I needed to unify a still-divided Democratic Party, that I was worried about her second-guessing me from her seat in the Senate, that I had been influenced by Doris Kearns Goodwin’s book Team of Rivals and was self-consciously mimicking Lincoln by placing a former political opponent in my cabinet.

But really it was simpler than that. I thought Hillary was the best person for the job. Throughout the campaign, I had witnessed her intelligence, preparation, and work ethic. Whatever her feelings toward me, I trusted her patriotism and commitment to duty. Most of all, I was convinced that at a time when diplomatic relations around the world were either strained or suffering from chronic neglect, having a secretary of state with Hillary's star power, relationships, and comfort on the world stage would give us added bandwidth in a way that nobody else could.

只有一个潜在的任命引起了轩然大波。我想让希拉里·克林顿担任我的国务卿。

观察家们对于我选择希拉里的理由提出了各种理论：我需要团结仍然分裂的民主党；我担心她从参议院的席位上对我的判断提出质疑；我受到多丽丝·基因斯·古德温所著《同侪竞争》一书的影响，自觉地模仿林肯将一位前政治对手放在我的内阁中。

但实际上，原因比这更简单。我认为希拉里是最适合这个职位的人。在整个竞选期间，我见证了她的智慧、准备和工作态度。无论她对我有什么感受，我都信任她的爱国主义和责任感。最重要的是，我相信，在全球外交关系要么紧张要么慢慢荒废的时候，一个拥有希拉里明星魅力、人际关系和对世界舞台的舒适感的国务卿，会给我们增加带宽，这是其他任何人都做不到的。

With the scars of the campaign still fresh in their minds, not everybody in my camp was convinced. (“You sure you want a secretary of state who ran TV ads saying you weren’t ready to be commander in chief?” a friend asked. I had to remind him that my soon-to-be vice president had said the same thing.) Hillary was wary too, and when I first offered her the job, at a meeting in our transition office in Chicago about ten days after the election, I found myself politely rebuffed. She was tired, she said, and looked forward to settling into the more predictable Senate schedule. She still had campaign debt she needed to retire. And then there was Bill to consider. His work in global development and public health at the Clinton Foundation had made a real difference around the world, and both Hillary and I knew that the need to avoid even an appearance of conflicts—particularly with respect to fundraising—would likely place him and the foundation under new constraints.

隨著選舉運動的傷痕仍然深深地印在人們的腦海中，我的團隊裡並非每個人都被說服了。（「你確定你要一個曾經在電視廣告上說你還不具備指揮官的能力的國務卿嗎？」一個朋友問道。我不得不提醒他我的即將成為副總統的人也曾這樣說過。）希拉里也很謹慎，當我第一次在芝加哥的過渡辦公室裡提出這份工作時候，大約是在選舉後十天左右，我發現自己被禮貌地拒絕了。她說她很累，並期待著能順利遵循參議院的日程。她仍有需要償還的選舉債務。還有就是要考慮到比爾的情況。他在克林頓基金會的全球發展和公共衛生工作已經在世界各地取得了實際的成果，希拉里和我都知道要避免甚至是出現衝突的情況，尤其是在籌款方面——可能會給他和基金會帶來新的限制。

The concerns she voiced were valid, but I considered them manageable. I asked her to take some time and think it over. Over the course of the next week, I enlisted Podesta, Rahm, Joe Biden, several of our Senate colleagues, and whoever else I could think of to reach out and help make the case to Hillary. Despite the full-court press, when we spoke next, on a late-night phone call, she told me she was still inclined to turn me down. Again I persisted, certain that whatever remaining doubts she might have had less to do with the job and more to do with our potential relationship. I elicited her views on Iraq, North Korea, nuclear proliferation, and human rights. I asked her how she might revitalize the State Department. I assured her that she’d have constant and direct access to me, and the ability to choose her own team. “You’re too important for me to take no as an answer,” I said at the end of the call.

她提出的问题很有道理，但我认为它们是可以解决的。我要求她花些时间考虑一下。在接下来的一周里，我招募了Podesta、Rahm、Joe Biden、几位参议院同僚以及其他我能想到的人去联系并帮助说服希拉里。尽管我们全力以赴，但在我们下一次通话中，一个晚上的电话交谈中，她告诉我她还是倾向于拒绝我。我再次坚持不懈，确信她所剩下的任何疑虑都不是针对工作本身，而是针对我们之间的潜在关系。我征求了她对伊拉克、朝鲜、核扩散和人权的看法。我问她如何振兴国务院。我向她保证，她将有持续而直接的与我联系的机会，并且有能力选择自己的团队。在通话结束时，我说：“你太重要了，我不能接受你的拒绝答案。”。

By the next morning, Hillary had decided to accept my offer and join the administration. A week and a half later, I introduced her and the rest of my national security team—along with my choice for attorney general, Eric Holder, and my Department of Homeland Security nominee, Governor Janet Napolitano—at a Chicago press conference. Looking at the men and women assembled onstage, I couldn’t help noticing that almost all of them were far older than I was, possessed of decades more experience in the highest levels of government, and that at least a couple of them had originally supported someone else for president, unmoved by talk of hope and change. A team of rivals after all, I thought. I’d find out soon enough whether this indicated a well-founded confidence in my ability to lead—or the naïve faith of a novice about to get rolled.

到了第二天早上，希拉里已经决定接受我的提议，并加入政府。一周半后，我在芝加哥的新闻发布会上介绍了她和我国家安全团队的其他成员——以及我选定的司法部长埃里克·霍尔德和我国土安全部的提名人选，州长珍妮特·纳波利塔诺。看着站在舞台上的男女们，我不禁注意到，几乎所有人都比我年长许多，在政府最高层拥有更多年的经验，至少有几个人最初支持了其他总统候选人，对希望和改变的讲话不会被影响。共和党之队，我想。我很快就会发现，这是对我领导能力的有根据的信心，还是一个即将混乱的新手的天真信仰。

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WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON was elected president in 1789, Washington, D.C., didn’t yet exist. The president-elect had to make a seven-day trip by barge and horse-drawn buggy from his home in Mount Vernon, Virginia, to New York City’s Federal Hall—the temporary seat of the new national government—for his swearing in. A crowd of ten thousand greeted him. The oath of office was administered, followed by a shout of “Long live George Washington” and a thirteen-gun salute. Washington delivered a muted, fifteen-minute inaugural address, not to the crowd but to the members of Congress within their ill-lit, makeshift chamber. He then headed to a service at a nearby church.

当乔治·华盛顿于1789年当选总统时，华盛顿特区尚未存在。当选总统必须要乘坐驳船和马车从他在弗农山庄的住所前往纽约市的联邦大厅 - 新国家政府的临时所在地 - 进行宣誓就职。一万人群迎接了他。宣誓就职后，发出了“乔治·华盛顿万岁”的喊叫声和13响礼炮。华盛顿进行了一场半小时的就职演说，不是献给人群，而是在国会成员们的昏暗、临时搭建的议会厅中进行。之后，他前往附近的一家教堂参加了一场宗教仪式。

With that, the Father of Our Country was free to get on with the business of making sure America outlasted his tenure.

Over time, presidential inaugurations grew more elaborate. In 1809, Dolley Madison hosted the first inaugural ball in the new capital, with four hundred people shelling out four dollars each for the privilege of attending what to that point was the largest social event ever held in Washington, D.C. Befitting his populist reputation, Andrew Jackson threw open the White House doors to several thousand of his supporters for his inauguration in 1829; the drunken crowd got so rowdy that Jackson was said to have escaped through a window.

因此，我們的國父得以自由地著手處理確保美國能延續他的任期的事務。

隨著時間的推移，總統就職典禮變得越來越繁複。在1809年，多莉·麥迪遜(Dolley Madison)在新首都舉辦了第一次就職舞會，四百人每人支付四美元的費用，享有參加到那時為華盛頓特區舉行的最大型社交活動的特權。符合他的民粹主義聲譽，安德魯·傑克遜(Andrew Jackson)在1829年的就職典禮上向數千名支持者敞開了白宮之門；酒醉的人群如此喧囂，據說傑克遜逃過了一扇窗戶。

For his second inauguration, Teddy Roosevelt wasn't content with military processions and marching bands—he threw in a passel of cowboys and the Apache chief Geronimo. And by the time it was John F. Kennedy's turn in 1961, the inauguration had become a multiday televised spectacle, complete with performances by famous musical artists, a reading by poet laureate Robert Frost, and several fancy balls where Hollywood's leading celebrities could sprinkle stardust on the new president's bankrollers and ward heelers. (Frank Sinatra apparently pulled out all the stops to make the parties Camelot-worthy—although he was forced into what must have been an awkward conversation with his friend and fellow Rat Packer Sammy Davis, Jr., when Joe Kennedy sent word that the presence of Davis and his very white Swedish wife at the inaugural balls might not sit so well with JFK's southern supporters and should therefore be discouraged.)

羅斯福第二次就職不僅僅有軍隊陣列和樂隊，還有一群牛仔和阿帕奇族酋長杰羅尼莫。而到了1961年，輪到約翰·F·肯尼迪就職時，就職典禮已經成為一個持續多天的電視盛宴，包括由著名的音樂藝術家表演、詩人勞倫斯·羅伯特·弗洛斯特朗讀作，以及幾個華麗宴會，在這裡好萊塢領先的名人可以在新總統的資助者和僚屬中撒一些星塵。（弗蘭克·辛納屈顯然竭盡全力讓聚會達到亞瑟王的水平，盡管當喬·甘迺迪發出消息說，戴維斯和他的白皮膚瑞典妻子在就職舞會上的出席可能對肯尼迪南方支持者不利，因此應該被阻止時，他被迫進行了一次可能非常尷尬的對話與他的朋友和同樣的老鼠包裝者山姆·戴維斯。）

Given the excitement our campaign had generated, expectations for my inauguration—scheduled for January 20, 2009—were high. As with the Democratic convention, I didn't have much to do with the details of putting it together, confident that the committee we'd set up and my campaign's organizational whiz Alyssa Mastromonaco (then slated to be my Director of Running Stuff) had everything well in hand. Instead, while stages were being erected and bleachers set up along the D.C. parade route, Michelle, the girls, and I went to Hawaii for Christmas, where—in between sorting out my final cabinet appointments, daily consultations with my economic team, and early work on my inaugural address—I tried to catch my breath.

鉴于我们的竞选引起了很高的兴奋，我就职典礼的期望值也很高，该典礼定于2009年1月20日举行。与民主党全国代表大会一样，我并没有太多参与筹备细节的事情，相信我们设立的委员会和我的竞选组织专家阿莉莎·马斯特罗莫纳科（当时担任我的“运行事项主管”）已经有一切妥善安排。与此同时，在特区游行路线沿线搭建舞台和看台的同时，米歇尔、女儿们和我去了夏威夷过圣诞节——期间，我竭力喘口气，在最终内阁任命、每日与经济团队的磋商和就职演说的早期工作间，尽力放松身心。

Maya and I spent an afternoon going through Toot's personal effects and then walked the same rocky outcropping near Hanauma Bay where we'd said a final farewell to our mother and scattered her ashes over the ocean below. I pulled together a pickup basketball game with some of my old high school teammates. Our families sang Christmas carols, baked cookies, and debuted what would end up becoming an annual talent show (the dads were fairly judged to be the least talented). I even had a chance to bodysurf at Sandy Beach, one of my favorite haunts as a youth. Shooting down a gently breaking wave, the light curling with the sweep of water and the sky etched with a flight of birds, I could pretend for a moment that I wasn't surrounded by several wet-suited Navy SEALs, that the Coast Guard cutter in the distance had nothing to do with me, that pictures of me shirtless wouldn't later end up on the front pages of newspapers around the world with headlines like FIT FOR OFFICE. When I finally signaled that I was ready to go, the leader of my security team that day—a sardonic agent named Dave Beach who'd been with me from the start and knew me as a friend—tilted his head, shook the water out of his ears, and said matter-of-factly, "I hope you enjoyed that, 'cause it's the last time you'll be able to do it for a long, long while."

瑪雅和我花了一個下午整理杜特的私人物品，然後漫步在距離我們為母親送行、將她的骨灰散佈在海洋下方的Hanauma灣附近的岩石外凸處。我組織了一場與我的中學隊友一起打的籃球比賽。我們的家人唱著聖誕頌歌，烤著餅乾，並首次舉辦了一場後來成為年度才藝表演的活動（父親們被公正地評定為最不具才華的人）。我還有機會在沙灘海灘（曾是我的青少年時期最喜歡的地方之一）進行身體衝浪。瞪著水灣的輕蜿蜒曲線，天空刻畫著一群飛鳥，我可以幻想一下，我不是被幾個穿著潮濕潛水服的海豹突擊隊包圍，遠處的海岸警衛艇和我毫無關聯，我的赤裸上半身照片不會在以後出現在世界各地的報紙頭版上，標題如適合擔任公職。當我最後示意我已準備好離開時，當天我的安全團隊領袖——一名諷刺的代理人戴夫·比奇從一開始就和我一起並且知道我是朋友——歪著頭，搖了搖耳朵里的水，毫不客氣地說：“希望你享受這一刻，因為這是你在很長一段時間內最後一次做這件事了。”

I laughed, knowing he was joking...or was he? The campaign and its immediate aftermath had offered no time for reflection, so it was only during this brief tropical interlude that all of us—friends, family, staffers, Secret Service—had a chance to wrap our heads around what had happened and try to envision what was yet to come. Everyone seemed happy but slightly tentative, unsure whether it was okay to acknowledge the strangeness of things,

trying to figure out what had changed and what had not. And although she didn't show it, no one felt this uncertainty more keenly than the soon-to-be First Lady of the United States.

我笑了，因为我知道他在开玩笑……或者他是认真的？竞选活动和它的直接后果没有给我们任何反思的时间，所以只有在这短暂的热带停留期间，我们所有人——朋友、家人、工作人员、特勤局——才有机会理清发生了什么，并试图设想未来。每个人似乎都很开心，但略带犹豫，不确定是否可以承认事情的奇怪之处，试图弄清楚什么发生了变化，什么没有变化。虽然她没有表现出来，但没有人比即将成为美国第一夫人更强烈地感受到这种不确定性。

Over the course of the campaign, I'd watched Michelle adapt to our new circumstances with unerring grace—charming voters, nailing interviews, perfecting a style that showed her to be both chic and accessible. It was less a transformation than an amplification, her essential "Miche-ness" burnished to a high shine. But for all her growing comfort with being in the public eye, behind the scenes Michelle was desperate to carve out some zone of normalcy for our family, a place beyond the distorting reach of politics and fame.

在整个竞选过程中，我看到米歇尔以无与伦比的优雅适应了我们的新环境——迷住了选民、成功完成了采访、完善了显示她既时尚又亲近的风格。这不是一种转变，而是一种放大，她本质的“Miche-ness”被磨光到了极致。但尽管她越来越适应了公众关注，幕后的米歇尔却渴望为我们的家庭创造一些正常的地带，一个远离政治和名声扭曲影响的地方。

In the weeks after the election, this meant throwing herself into the tasks any couple might go through when having to relocate for a new job. With typical efficiency, she sorted. She packed. She closed accounts, made sure our mail would get forwarded, and helped the University of Chicago Medical Center plan for her replacement.

Her overriding focus, though, was on our daughters. The day after the election she had already arranged for a tour of D.C. schools (both Malia and Sasha crossed the all-girls schools off their list, settling instead on Sidwell Friends, a private school founded by Quakers and the same school Chelsea Clinton had attended) and talked to teachers about managing the girls' transfer into classes midyear. She sought advice from Hillary and from Laura Bush on how to insulate them from the press and grilled the Secret Service on ways to avoid having the girls' security detail disrupt playdates and soccer games. She familiarized herself with the operations of the White House residence and made sure the furniture in the girls' bedrooms wouldn't look like something out of Monticello.

选举后几周里，她全身心投入到与任何需要为新工作搬迁的夫妇一样的任务中。以其高效率著称，她分类整理、打包行李，关账户，确保我们的邮件可以转发，并帮助芝加哥大学医学中心计划她的继任者。

然而，她的主要关注点是我们的女儿。选举后的第二天，她就已经安排了参观华盛顿特区的学校（Malia和Sasha都将只选择女子学校，最终选择了由贵格会创立的私立学校Sidwell Friends，这也是切尔西·克林顿上学的地方），并与老师们讨论如何管理女孩们在学期中转入新的班级。她向希拉里和劳拉·布什寻求建议，以便让女儿远离媒体的困扰，并向特勤局询问如何避免女孩的安保人员打扰到她们的玩耍和足球比赛。她熟悉了白宫的住宅运营，并确保女儿卧室里的家具不会像蒙蒂塞洛一样古老陈旧。

It's not as if I didn't share Michelle's stress. Malia and, especially, Sasha were so young in 2008, all pigtails and braids, missing teeth and round cheeks. How would the White House shape their childhoods? Would it isolate them? Make them moody or entitled? At night, I would listen intently as Michelle gave me the latest intel she'd gathered, then offer my thoughts on this or that issue that was nagging her, providing her with assurances that a sullen remark or small piece of mischief from either of the girls didn't indicate the early effects of their suddenly topsy-turvy world.

這並不意味著我沒有分享米歇爾的壓力。2008年，瑪莉亞和特別是薩莎還很年輕，都是兩條辮子、缺牙和圓圓的面頰。白宮會如何影響他們的童年？會使他們孤立嗎？使他們心情糟糕或自以為是？晚上，我會聆聽米歇爾提供的最新情報，然後提供對她所困擾的這個或那個問題的看法，並向她保證，女孩們的氣憤言詞或小行為並不意味著他們早期經歷了翻天覆地的世界。

But as had been true during so much of the last ten years, the day-to-day burden of parenting rested largely on Michelle. And as she watched how—before I had even assumed office—the vortex of work pulled me in, as she saw her own career sidelined, her tight-knit circle of friends soon to be hundreds of miles away as she made her way in a city where so many people's motives were necessarily suspect, the prospect of loneliness settled on her like a cloud.

All of which helps explain why Michelle asked her mom to come live with us in the White House. That Marian Robinson was even willing to consider it came as something of a surprise to me, for by nature my mother-in-law was cautious, finding satisfaction in steady work, familiar routines, a small circle of family and friends that she'd known for years. She had lived in the same house since the 1960s and rarely ventured out of Chicago; her one extravagance was an annual three-day trip to Vegas with her sister-in-law Yvonne and Mama Kaye to play the slots. And although she adored her grandchildren and had agreed to retire early to help Michelle look after the girls once the campaign heated up, she had always made a point of not hanging around our Chicago home or staying for dinner once her work was done.但是过去十年中的大部分时间都是这样的，家庭日常育儿的重担主要落在了米歇尔的肩上。她看到，在我就职之前，工作的漩涡吞噬了我，她的职业生涯被搁置，她的亲密朋友圈即将离她而去，因为她要生活在一个许多人动机必然可疑的城市，在这里，孤独的前景像云一样落在了她的头上。所有这些都有助于解释为什么米歇尔要求她妈妈来和我们一起住在白宫。对于我婆婆玛丽安·罗宾逊来说，她甚至会考虑这样的要求，对我来说是有些令人惊讶的，因为她天生谨慎，喜欢稳定的工作，熟悉的例行公事，以及她认识多年的一小群家人和朋友。自20世纪60年代起，她一直住在同一所房子里，很少离开芝加哥；她唯一的奢侈是每年和她的嫂子Yvonne和Mama Kaye一起去拉斯维加斯玩老虎机的三天旅行。虽然她很喜欢孙子们，并同意及早退休帮助米歇尔照顾女儿们一旦竞选热烈起来，但她总是注意不要逗留在我们在芝加哥的家中或者在完成工作后留下来吃晚饭。

“I am not going to be one of those old ladies,” she’d say with a huff, “who won’t leave their kids alone just ’cause they’ve got nothing better to do.” Still, when Michelle asked her to move to Washington with us, Marian didn’t put up much resistance. She knew her daughter wouldn’t ask unless it was really important.

There was the practical stuff, of course. For the first few years we were in the White House, it would be Marian who accompanied Malia and Sasha to school every morning and kept them company after school if Michelle was at work. But it was more than that. What really mattered—what wouldn’t stop mattering long after the girls had outgrown the need for babysitting—was the way Marian’s mere presence kept our family grounded.

“我可不会成为那些老太太之一，”她怒气冲冲地说，“仅仅因为没什么事可做，就不停地打扰孩子们。”尽管如此，当米歇尔邀请她和我们一起搬到华盛顿时，玛丽安并没有反对。她知道女儿不会无缘无故地提出这个请求。当然，有些实际问题也需要考虑。在我们在白宫的头几年，玛丽安会每天早上陪着玛莉亚和萨莎上学，并在下午等待她们放学。如果米歇尔在工作，她会照顾她们。但这不仅是为了实际问题。真正重要的是，玛丽安的存在让我们的家庭始终保持着平稳的状态，这种重要性会在女孩们长大后仍然存在，并不会因为需要取代临时保姆的需求而消失。

My mother-in-law didn’t act like she was better than anybody else, so our daughters never even considered that an option. She lived by a doctrine of no fuss and no drama and was unimpressed by any form of opulence or hype. When Michelle came back from a photo shoot or a black-tie dinner, where her every move had been monitored or her hairstyle scrutinized by the press, she could shed her designer dress, throw on a pair of jeans and a T-shirt, and know that her mom was upstairs in her suite on the top floor of the White House, always willing to sit and watch TV with her and talk about the girls or folks back home—or about nothing in particular.

我的婆婆从来不觉得自己比别人优越，所以我们的女儿们从不会考虑这种选择。她奉行“少操心，少戏剧性”，对任何形式的奢华或炒作都不感兴趣。当米歇尔从一场拍照或晚宴（她的每一个动作都受到媒体的监视，头发也受到仔细的审查）回来时，她可以脱下设计师礼服，穿上一条牛仔裤和T恤，知道她的妈妈在白宫最高层的套房里等着她，总是愿意陪她看电视、谈论女孩们或家乡的事——或者什么都不谈。

My mother-in-law never complained about anything. Whenever I interacted with her, I’d remember that, no matter what kind of mess I was dealing with, no one had forced me to be the president and that I needed to just suck it up and do my job.

What a gift my mother-in-law was. For us, she became a living, breathing reminder of who we were and where we came from, a keeper of values we’d once thought ordinary but had learned were more rare than we had ever imagined.

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WINTER SEMESTER AT Sidwell Friends School started two weeks before Inauguration Day, so after New Year’s we flew back to Chicago, scooped up whatever personal effects had not already been shipped ahead, then boarded a government plane for Washington. Blair House, the president’s official guesthouse, couldn’t accommodate us that early, so we checked into the Hay-Adams hotel, the first of three moves we’d make in the span of three weeks.

我的婆婆 ni zai qi ta qing kuang shang shen me dou mei you shang suo guo. Mei ci yu ta jie jiao, wo jiu hui ji nian dao, wu lun wo chuli de shi qing duo me fan nao, mei you ren qiang za wo dang zhu ren, wo ying gai zhi neng xiang he kan qi lai, zuo hai shi xu yao zuo hai de shi.

Wo de婆婆真的是一份礼物。对我们来说，她是我们从哪里来、我们是谁的生动体现，是我们曾经认为很普通但后来发现更加珍贵的价值观的守护者。

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Sidwell Friends学校的冬季学期在就职典礼前两个星期开始，所以新年后的我们飞回芝加哥，收拾好未提前运过去的一切私人物品，然后登上政府飞机前往华盛顿。虽然总统的正式宾馆Blair House还无法接待我们，但我们入住了Hay-Adams酒店，这是我们接下来3周内要搬3次家的第一站。

Malia and Sasha didn’t seem to mind being in a hotel. They especially didn’t mind their mom’s unusually indulgent attitude toward TV watching, bed jumping, and sampling every dessert on the room-service menu. Michelle accompanied them to their first day of school in a Secret Service vehicle. Later, she would tell me how her heart sank as she watched her precious babies—looking like miniature explorers in their brightly colored coats and backpacks—walking into their new lives surrounded by burly armed men.

At the hotel that night, though, the girls were their usual chattering, irrepressible selves, telling us what a great day they’d had, and how lunch was better than at their old school, and how they had already made a bunch of new friends. As they spoke, I could see the tension on Michelle’s face start to lift. When she informed Malia and Sasha that now that school had started, there’d be no more weeknight desserts and TV watching and that it was time to brush their teeth and get ready for bed, I figured things would turn out okay.

瑪莉亞和莎莎似乎不介意住在旅館裡。他們尤其不介意媽媽對他們在旅館裡看電視、跳床、還有品嚐房間服務菜單上所有甜點的特別任性。米歇爾陪同他們坐著特勤車去上第一天的學校。隨後，她告訴我當她看著寶貝們——穿著鮮豔外套和背包的小小探險家——走進被魁梧武裝男子包圍的新生活時，她的心顫抖了。

當晚在旅館裡，孩子們還是如往常般說個不停，無法壓制興奮的情緒，告訴我們他們過了多麼美好的一天，午餐比以前的學校好吃，還交了一堆新朋友。當他們說話時，我看到米歇爾臉上的緊張情緒開始消散。當她告訴瑪莉亞和莎莎，現在學校已經開始了，平日晚餐後就不能再看電視和吃點心了，是該刷牙準備上床時，我覺得一切都會沒事的。

Meanwhile, our transition was firing on all cylinders. Initial meetings with my national security and economic teams were productive, with folks sticking to the agenda and grandstanding kept to a minimum. Crammed into nondescript government offices, we set up working groups for every agency and every imaginable topic—job training, airline safety, student loan debt, cancer research, Pentagon procurement—and I spent my days picking the brains of

earnest young whiz kids, rumpled academics, business leaders, advocacy groups, and grizzled veterans of previous administrations. Some were auditioning for a job in the administration; others wanted us to adopt proposals that had gone nowhere over the previous eight years. But all seemed eager to help, excited by the prospect of a White House willing to put new ideas to the test. 與此同時，我們的政權轉變進展順利。與我的國家安全和經濟團隊的初次會議是有成效的，人們堅持議程，掩飾和雄辯陳詞被最小限度地抑制。我們擠在不起眼的政府辦公室裡，為每個機構和各種可能的主題建立工作組——工作培訓、航空安全、學生貸款債務、癌症研究、五角大樓採購，我花了大部分時間與認真的年輕神童、衣衫襤褸的學者、商業領袖、倡導團體以及之前政府的老兵們交流。一些人在應聘政府職位，另一些人希望我們採納八年前沒有進展的提案。但是所有人都願意幫助，對白宮願意實驗新想法感到興奮。

There were, of course, bumps along the way. Some of my preferred choices for cabinet positions declined or didn't pass vetting. At various points in the day Rahm might pop in to ask me how I wanted to handle some emerging policy or organizational dispute, and behind the scenes there was no shortage of the early jockeying—over titles, turf, access, parking spots—that characterizes any new administration. But overall, the mood was one of focused exhilaration, all of us convinced that with smart, deliberate work we could transform the country in the ways we had promised. 當然，路上當然有波折。我的一些喜愛的內閣職位人選拒絕或未通過審查。在一天的不同時間，拉姆可能會突然走進來問我如何處理一些新興政策或組織紛爭，而在幕後，不乏早期的角逐——就職說辭，資源，訪問權，停車場等等，這是任何新政府的特徵。但總體而言，情緒是一種專注的振奮，我們都相信，通過聰明，謹慎的工作，我們可以按照我們所承諾的方式改變國家。

And why not? Polls showed my approval rating close to 70 percent. Each day brought a new round of positive media coverage. Younger staffers like Reggie and Favs were suddenly hot items in the D.C. gossip columns. Despite forecasts for frigid temperatures on Inauguration Day, authorities predicted record crowds, with hotels already booked for miles around. The avalanche of requests for the ticketed events—from elected officials, donors, distant cousins, high school acquaintances, and various important personages we barely knew or hadn't even met—never slowed. Michelle and I did our best to sort through all of them without bruising too many feelings. 为什么不呢？民意调查显示我的支持率接近70%。每天都有新的积极媒体报道。像雷吉和法夫这样的年轻工作人员突然成为华盛顿流言的热门话题。尽管就职典礼当天预测气温将骤降，但当局预测人潮将创纪录，酒店已经预订了好几英里远。对于邀请制活动的请求浪潮——从民选官员、捐赠者、远房表亲、高中同学到我们几乎不认识或从未见过的各种重要人物——从未减缓。我和米歇尔尽最大努力处理所有这些请求，同时又不伤害太多人的感情。

“It's like our wedding,” I grumbled, “but with a bigger guest list.”

Four days before the inauguration, Michelle, the girls, and I flew to Philadelphia, where in homage to Lincoln's whistle-stop train ride from Springfield to Washington for his 1861 inauguration we boarded a vintage railroad car and reprised the last leg of his journey, with one deviation: a stop in Wilmington, where we picked up Joe and Jill Biden. Watching the adoring crowd that had gathered to see them off, hearing Joe joke with all the Amtrak conductors he knew by name after years of commuting, I could only imagine what was going through his mind, rolling down tracks he'd first traveled not in joy but in anguish so very long ago.

“这就像是我们的婚礼，”我抱怨道，“只不过嘉宾名单更长而已。”

就在就职典礼前的四天，米歇尔、女儿们和我一起飞往费城，在向林肯1861年总统就职时所乘坐的停车制动式火车上，向他的行程的最后一段致敬，并做了一个变通：我们在威尔明顿停了一下，接上了乔·拜登和吉尔·拜登。看着聚集在那里为他们欢送的爱慕者们，听着乔和多年乘车通勤认识的所有美铁列车售票员开玩笑，我只能想象他的脑海里正在想些什么，在他很久以前第一次悲痛地经过的铁轨上滚动。

I spent much of the time that day chatting with the several dozen guests we'd invited along for the ride, most of them ordinary voters we'd met here and there along the campaign trail. They joined Malia, Sasha, and me in singing “Happy Birthday” as Michelle blew out the candles on her cake (it was her forty-fifth), giving it the feeling of a close family gathering, the kind Michelle so treasured. Occasionally I'd step out onto the train's rear platform, feeling the wind cut against my face, the syncopated rhythm of wheels against tracks somehow slowing down time, and I'd wave to the clusters of people who had gathered along the way. There were thousands of them, mile after mile, their smiles visible from a distance, some standing on flatbed trucks, others pressed up against fences, many holding homemade signs with messages like GRANDMAS 4 OBAMA or WE BELIEVE or YES WE DID or lifting up their kids and urging them to wave.

那一天，我大部分时间都在和我们邀请的数十名普通选民聊天，他们大多数是我们在竞选路线上随处相遇的人。他们和我、玛利亚和萨莎一起唱着“生日快乐”为米歇尔庆祝45岁生日，给人一种亲密家庭聚会的感觉，这正是米歇尔如此珍视的。偶尔，我会走出火车的后平台，感受风刮过我的脸，有节奏的轮子声在轨道上，时间仿佛放慢了，我会向沿途聚集的人们挥手。一路上有成千上万的人，他们的微笑可以看到，有人站在货车上，有人靠在围墙上，许多人手持自制的标语，上面写着“祖母们支持奥巴马”、“我们相信”、“是的，我们做到了”或者举起孩子，鼓励他们挥手。

Such moments continued over the next two days. During a visit to Walter Reed Army Medical Center, I met a young Marine amputee who saluted from his bed and told me he'd voted for me despite being a Republican, and that he would be proud to call me his commander in chief. At a homeless shelter in southeast Washington, a tough-looking teenage boy wordlessly wrapped me in the tightest embrace. My father's stepmother, Mama Sarah, had traveled all the way from her tiny rural village in northwestern Kenya for the inauguration. I smiled as I watched this elderly woman without any formal education, a woman whose home had a tin roof and neither running water nor indoor plumbing, being served dinner in Blair House on china used by prime ministers and kings.

這些時刻持續了接下來的兩天。在訪問瓦爾特·里德陸軍醫療中心期間，我遇到了一名年輕的海軍陸戰隊員截肢者，他從床上向我致敬，告訴我他投了我的票，儘管他是共和黨人，他將以我為自己的總司令而感到自豪。在華盛頓東南部的一所無家可歸者收容所，一個外表強硬的少年無聲地將我緊緊地擁抱在懷

裡。我的父親的繼母莎拉馬瑞，從她在肯尼亞西北部的小村莊遠道而來參加就職典禮。我微笑著看著這位沒有任何正式教育的老年婦女，這位家中只有一個鐵皮屋頂，沒有自來水和室內衛生設施，卻在布萊爾大廈享用著由首相和國王使用的瓷器用餐。

How could my heart not be stirred? How could I resist believing there was something true in all this, something that might last?

Months later, when the magnitude of economic wreckage was fully understood and the public mood had turned dark, my team and I would ask ourselves whether—as a matter of politics and governance—we should have done more to tamp down this collective postelection high and prepare the country for the hardships to come. It's not as if we didn't try. When I go back and read interviews I gave right before taking office, I'm struck by how sober I was—insisting that the economy would get worse before it got better, reminding people that reforming healthcare couldn't happen overnight and that there were no simple solutions in places like Afghanistan. The same goes for my inauguration speech: I tried to paint an honest picture of our circumstances, stripping out some of the loftier rhetoric in favor of calls for responsibility and common effort in the face of daunting challenges.

我的心不被激動嗎？我怎麼能抗拒相信這其中有些真實的東西，有些能夠持續的東西呢？

幾個月後，當經濟崩潰的影響被完全瞭解，公眾情緒轉暗之際，我和我的團隊會問自己，作為政治和治理的問題，我們是否應該做更多的工作來緩和這種選後高漲的情緒，並為即將到來的艱難時期做好準備。這不是說我們沒有盡力。當我回顧我上任前的採訪時，我被我的冷靜所震撼——堅信經濟會變得更糟，請人們謹記醫療改革不能一蹴而就，在像阿富汗這樣的地方沒有簡單的解決方案。我的就職典禮演講也是如此：我試圖描繪出我們的現實狀況，摒棄了一些高飛揚的演講，轉而呼籲在面對艱難挑戰時負起責任，共同努力。

It's all there, in black and white, a pretty accurate assessment of how the next few years would go. And yet maybe it was for the best that people couldn't hear those cautionary notes. After all, it wasn't hard to find reasons to feel fear and anger in early 2009, to mistrust politicians or the institutions that had failed so many people. Maybe what was needed was a burst of energy, no matter how fleeting—a happy-seeming story about who we were as Americans and who we might be, the kind of high that could provide just enough momentum to get us through the most treacherous part of the journey.

在黑白之間，一份相當準確的評估表述了未來几年會如何發展。但也許那些謹慎的警告聽不到也是件好事。畢竟，在2009年初，很容易找到理由感到恐懼和憤怒，不相信政治家或曾經辜負了許多人的機構。也許需要的是一股能夠提供短暫但充足動力的高峰——有關我們作為美國人的身份和可能成為的模樣的愉快故事，足以讓我們度過旅途中最危險的部分。

That feels like what happened. A collective, unspoken decision was made that for a few weeks at least, the country would take a much-needed break from cynicism.

—

INAUGURATION DAY ARRIVED, bright, windy, and freezing cold. Because I knew that the events had been choreographed with a military precision, and because I tend to live my life about fifteen minutes behind schedule, I set two alarms to make sure I was up on time. A run on the treadmill, breakfast, a shower and shave, repeated tries before the tie knot was up to snuff, and by eight forty-five a.m. Michelle and I were in the car for the two-minute drive from Blair House to St. John's Episcopal Church, where we had invited a friend of ours, Dallas pastor T. D. Jakes, to lead a private service.感覺就像發生了這樣的事情。一個集體的、未說出口的決定被做出，至少在幾個星期裡，這個國家需要從玩世不恭中休息一下。

就職日來了，天氣晴朗、有風，非常冷。因為我知道這些活動是經過嚴謹籌劃的，而且我往往比正常時間晚十五分鐘，所以我設置了兩個鬧鐘，以確保我及時起床。先是在跑步機上運動、吃早餐、洗澡和刮鬍子，繞了好幾次才把領帶綁好，到了早上八點四十五分，米歇爾和我開車從布萊爾官邸到聖約翰長老會教堂，我們邀請我們的一位朋友、達拉斯的牧師T.D.傑克斯來主持私人崇拜。

For his sermon that morning, Reverend Jakes drew on the Old Testament's Book of Daniel, describing how Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, faithful to God despite their service in the royal court, refused to kneel before King Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol; how as a result the three men were thrown into a blazing furnace; and yet how because of their faithfulness, God protected them, helping them to emerge from the furnace unscathed.

In assuming the presidency during such turbulent times, Reverend Jakes explained, I too was being thrown into the flames. The flames of war. The flames of economic collapse. But so long as I stayed true to God and to doing what was right, I too had nothing to fear.

在那個早晨的布道中，杰克斯牧師引用了舊約的但以理書，描述了夏得拉、米煞、亞伯尼歌（Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego）三人服侍於皇家宮廷，但仍忠於上帝，拒絕向尼布甲尼撒王的金像下跪；由此三人被扔進爐火中；但是由於他們的忠誠，上帝保護了他們，使他們毫髮無損地從火爐中走出來。

杰克斯牧師解釋說，當我在如此動盪的時期擔任總統時，我也像被扔進了火中一樣。是戰爭之火，是經濟崩潰之火。但只要我忠於上帝，忠於做正確的事情，我也没有什麼可怕的。

The pastor spoke in a majestic baritone, his broad, dark face smiling down on me from the pulpit. "God is with you," he said, "in the furnace." Some in the church began to applaud, and I smiled in acknowledgment of his words. But my mind was drifting back to the previous evening, when after dinner I had excused myself from my family, walked upstairs to one of Blair House's many rooms, and received a briefing from the director of the White House Military Office on the "football"—the small leather-jacketed suitcase that accompanies the president at all times and contains the codes needed to launch a nuclear strike. One of the military aides responsible for carrying the football explained the protocols as calmly and methodically as someone might describe how to program a DVR. The subtext was obvious.牧師用莊嚴的男中音在說話，他那寬闊、黑色的面孔從講壇上面向我微笑著。他說：“上帝與你同在，在自己的爐火中。”教堂裡有些人開始鼓掌，我微笑著回應他的話。但我的注意力卻飄回到前一晚，當我在晚餐後向家人請辭，走上樓去到白宮外交官之家的其中一個房間裡，在那裡接受了白宮軍事辦公室主任關於“核彈控制箱”的簡報——這是隨時陪伴總統的手提箱，裡面放著啟動核打擊所需的代碼。負責攜帶核彈控制箱的其中一名軍事助手冷靜而有條理地解釋了相關協議，就像有人在描述如何設置DVR一樣平靜。隱含的意思是明顯的。

I would soon be vested with the authority to blow up the world.

The night before, Michael Chertoff, President Bush's secretary of homeland security, had called to inform us of credible intelligence indicating that four Somali nationals were thought to be planning a terrorist attack at the inauguration ceremony. As a result, the already massive security force around the National Mall would be beefed up. The suspects—young men who were believed to be coming over the border from Canada—were still at large. There was no question that we'd go ahead with the next day's events, but to be safe, we ran through various contingencies with Chertoff and his team, then assigned Axe to draft evacuation instructions that I'd give the crowd if an attack took place while I was onstage.

我很快就会被赋予引爆世界的权力。前一天晚上，布什总统的国土安全部长迈克尔·切尔托夫打电话通知我们，有可靠情报表明四名索马里人正在计划在就职典礼上发动恐怖袭击。因此，在国家购物中心周围已经有大量的安保力量，还将加强。嫌疑人是从加拿大国境线越过来的年轻男子，他们仍然在逃。毫无疑问，我们会继续进行第二天的活动，但为了安全起见，我们与切尔托夫及其团队一起制定了各种应急预案，然后安排艾克斯起草撤离指示，如果在我上台时发生袭击，我将向人群发出撤离指示。

Reverend Jakes wrapped up his sermon. The choir's final song filled the sanctuary. No one beyond a handful of staffers knew of the terrorist threat. I hadn't even told Michelle, not wanting to add to the day's stress. No one had nuclear war or terrorism on their minds. No one except me. Scanning people in the pews—friends, family members, colleagues, some of whom caught my eye and smiled or waved with excitement—I realized this was now part of my job: maintaining an outward sense of normalcy, upholding for everyone the fiction that we live in a safe and orderly world, even as I stared down the dark hole of chance and prepared as best I could for the possibility that at any given moment on any given day chaos might break through.

賈克牧師結束了他的說教。唱詩班的最後一首歌填滿了聖殿。只有少數員工知道恐怖威脅。我甚至沒有告訴米歇爾，不想給這一天增添壓力。沒有人會想到核戰或恐怖主義。除了我以外。掃視著坐在長凳上的人們-朋友、家人、同事，其中一些人抬頭微笑或興奮地揮手，我意識到這現在是我的工作的一部分：維持表面上的正常感，為每個人支持我們生活在一個安全和有秩序的世界的幻想，即使我凝視著機會的黑暗洞口，盡我所能為隨時隨地可能爆發的混亂做好準備。

At nine fifty-five, we arrived at the North Portico of the White House, where President and Mrs. Bush greeted us and led us inside, to where the Bidens, Vice President Cheney and his family, and congressional leaders and their spouses had gathered for a brief reception. Fifteen minutes ahead of schedule, our staffs suggested that we leave early for the Capitol in order to account for what they described as massive crowds. We loaded into the waiting cars in pairs: leaders of the House and Senate first, then Jill Biden and Mrs. Cheney, Michelle and Mrs. Bush, Joe Biden and Vice President Cheney, with President Bush and me bringing up the rear. It was like the boarding of Noah's Ark.

在九点五十五分，我们到达了白宫北门，总统与夫人布什迎接我们进入室内，在那里拜登夫妇、副总统切尼和他的家人、国会领袖及其配偶等人也聚集在一起，进行了短暂的招待会。比预定时间提前了15分钟，我们的工作人员建议我们提前离开，前往国会大厦，以应对他们所描述的大量人群。我们成对地坐上等待的车辆：先是众议院和参议院的领袖，然后是吉尔·拜登和切尼夫人、米歇尔和布什夫人、乔·拜登和副总统切尼，我和布什总统排在最后。就像挪亚方舟的登船一样。

It was my first time in "the Beast," the oversized black limousine used to transport the president. Reinforced to survive a bomb blast, the thing weighs several tons, with plush black leather seats and the presidential seal stitched on a leather panel above the phone and the armrest. Once closed, the doors of the Beast seal out all sound, and as our convoy slow-rolled down Pennsylvania Avenue, while I made small talk with President Bush, I looked out the bulletproof windows at the throngs of people who were still on their way to the Mall or had already taken seats along the parade route. Most appeared to be in a celebratory mood, cheering and waving as the motorcade passed. But turning the corner onto the final leg of the route, we came upon a group of protesters chanting into bullhorns and holding up signs that read INDICT BUSH and WAR CRIMINAL.这是我第一次坐“野兽”，这辆巨型黑色轿车是总统用来运输的。该车经过加强以承受爆炸的冲击，重达数吨，配备绒面黑色皮革座椅和总统徽章刺绣在电话和扶手上方的皮革面板上。一旦关闭，“野兽”的车门便隔绝了所有声音，当我们的车队在宾夕法尼亚大道缓慢行驶时，我和布什总统闲聊着，透过防弹玻璃窗向仍在前往广场或已经就座在游行路线两旁的人群张望。大多数人似乎处于欢庆的情绪中，当车队经过时欢呼和挥手。但当车队拐进路线的最后一段时，我们遇到了一群示威者在扩音器里高喊口号，举着标语牌上写着“起诉布什”和“战争罪犯”。

Whether the president saw them I couldn't say—he was deep into an enthusiastic description of what it was like to clear brush at his ranch in Crawford, Texas, where he'd be heading directly after the ceremony. But I felt quietly angry on his behalf. To protest a man in the final hour of his presidency seemed graceless and unnecessary. More generally, I was troubled by what these last-minute protests said about the divisions that were churning across the country—and the weakening of whatever boundaries of decorum had once regulated politics.

我不能确定总统是否看到了这些抗议——他正全神贯注地描述在得克萨斯州克劳福德农场疏林的经历，仪式结束后他会直接前往那里。但我为他感到内心的愤怒。在总统任期的最后时刻抗议一个人似乎是无礼和不必要的。更一般地说，这些临时抗议所反映的国内分化问题和政治风纪的削弱也让我感到不安。

There was a trace of self-interest in my feelings, I suppose. In a few hours it would be only me riding in the backseat of the Beast. It wouldn't take long, I figured, before bullhorns and signs were directed my way. This too would be part of the job: finding a way not to take such attacks personally, while avoiding the temptation to shut myself off—as perhaps my predecessor had too often done—from those shouting on the other side of the glass. We had been wise to leave early; the streets were choked with people, and by the time we arrived at the Capitol we were several minutes behind schedule. Together with the Bushes, we made our way to the Speaker's office for more handshakes, photos, and instructions before participants and guests—including the girls and the rest of our families—began lining up for the procession. Michelle and I were shown the Bible we'd borrowed from the Library of Congress for the administering of my oath, a small, thick volume covered in burgundy velvet with gilt edges, the same Bible Lincoln had used

for his own swearing in. Then it was Michelle's turn to go, leaving me, Marvin, and Reggie momentarily alone in a holding room, just like old times.我想我的感受中有些自私成分。我知道，在未来几个小时里，只有我会坐在野兽车的后排。我想，很快就会有人拿着喇叭和标语瞄准我。这也是工作的一部分：不将这些攻击当做个人的攻击，同时避免像我的前任那样把自己隔离在玻璃的另一边，不去理会那些大声呼喊的人。

我们离开得很早很明智；街道上挤满了人，等到我们到达国会大厦时，我们已经晚了几分钟。我们和布什一家一起去到发言人的办公室握手、拍照、听取指示，然后参与者和客人，包括女孩和我们家中的其他成员，开始排队进行游行。米歇尔和我看到了我们从国会图书馆借来的圣经，这是一本小而厚、外面覆盖着酒红色天鹅绒，边缘镶镀金的圣经，正是林肯自己就是用这本圣经宣誓就职的。然后轮到了米歇尔去了，我们三个人暂时留在一个等候室里，就像过去一样。

“Anything in my teeth?” I asked with an exaggerated smile.

“You're good,” Marvin said.

“It's cold out there,” I said. “Just like Springfield.”

“A few more people, though,” Reggie said.

A military aide stuck his head into the room and said it was time. I gave Reggie and Marvin fist bumps and followed the congressional committee down the long hallways, through the Capitol Rotunda and National Statuary Hall, past the rows of well-wishers who lined the walls, a gauntlet of honor guards saluting each step, until I finally arrived at the glass doors leading out onto the inaugural platform. The scene beyond was stunning: The crowd blanketed the Mall in an unbroken plane, reaching well past the Washington Monument and out to the Lincoln Memorial, with what must have been hundreds of thousands of handheld flags shimmering under the noonday sun like the surface of an ocean current. For a brief moment, before trumpets sounded and I was announced, I closed my eyes and summoned the prayer that had carried me here, one I would continue to repeat every night I was president.

“我的牙齿上有什么东西吗？”我夸张地笑着问道。

“没事，很好。”马文回答。

“外面很冷，就像斯普林菲尔德一样。”我说道。

“不过人多了一些。”雷吉说。

一名军事助手探头探脑地走进房间，说是时间到了。我与雷吉和马文碰了拳头，然后跟随国会委员会穿过漫长的走廊、国会穹顶和国家雕像大厅，经过一排排祝福者，一路穿过一个个行礼的荣誉卫兵，直到我最终走到通往就职台的玻璃门前。门外的景象令人惊叹：人群在广场上形成一片连绵不断的平地，延伸至华盛顿纪念碑以外，一定有成千上万面手持旗帜，在正午的阳光下闪烁着，就像海流的表面一样。在号角声响起并宣布我到场之前的一瞬间，我闭上了眼睛，唤起了把我带到这里的祈祷。从此，我每天都会在担任总统期间不断重复这个祈祷。

A prayer of thanks for all I'd been given. A prayer that my sins be forgiven. A prayer that my family and the American people be kept safe from harm.

A prayer for guidance.

—

TED SORENSEN, JFK's friend, confidant, and chief speechwriter, had been an early supporter of mine. By the time we met, he was almost eighty but still sharp, with a bracing wit. He even traveled on my behalf, a persuasive if also slightly high-maintenance campaign surrogate. (Once, while our motorcade was barreling down the highway in a driving Iowa rainstorm, he leaned forward and yelled at the agent behind the wheel, “Son, I'm half blind but even I can see you're too damn close to that car!”) Ted also became a favorite of my young speechwriting team, generously offering advice and occasionally commenting on drafts of their speeches. Since he had co-authored Kennedy's inaugural address (“Ask not what your country can do for you...”), they asked him once what had been the secret to writing one of the four or five greatest speeches in American history. Simple, he said: Whenever he and Kennedy sat down to write, they told themselves, “Let's make this good enough to be in a book of the great speeches someday.”

感謝上天所賜，祈求饒恕我的罪過。求神保佑我的家人和美國人民遠離危險，求神指引我前途。

—

TED SORENSEN是JFK的好友、心腹和主要演讲稿撰稿人之一，他曾是我早期的支持者。當我們相遇時，他已經快八十歲了，但仍然非常聰明，幽默風趣。他甚至為我的競選活動旅行，是一個有說服力卻也稍微麻煩的代言人。（有一次，當我們的車隊在愛荷華州的公路上急速行駛時，他向開車的特工大喊：“孩子，我雖然有一隻眼睛有問題，但我還是可以看出你開得太近了！”）Ted還成為了我年輕演講稿撰稿團隊的心儀對象，慷慨地提出建議，偶爾還會對他們的演講稿進行評論。由於他曾合著肯尼迪的就職演講（“不要問國家能為你做什麼……”），他的團隊曾問過他寫下美國歷史上最偉大的四五篇演講的秘訣是什麼。他簡單地回答道：每當他和肯尼迪坐下來寫作時，他們總告訴自己：“讓這個演講足夠好，將來能夠被收錄在偉大演講集裡。”

I don't know if Ted was trying to inspire my team or just mess with their heads.

I do know that my own address failed to reach JFK's lofty standards. In the days that followed, it received far less attention than did the estimates of the crowd size, the bitterness of the cold, Aretha Franklin's hat, and the slight glitch that occurred between me and Chief Justice John Roberts during the administering of the oath, causing us to meet in the White House's Map Room the following day for an official do-over. Some commentators thought the speech had been unnecessarily dark. Others detected inappropriate criticism of the previous administration.

我不知道Ted是在鼓舞我的团队还是在搞乱他们的思维。

我知道我自己的演讲没有达到JFK的高标准。在接下来的几天里，它获得的关注远远不如人群规模的估计、严寒的苦涩、Aretha Franklin的帽子以及在我和首席大法官约翰·罗伯茨进行誓言时发生的小故障所获得的关注，导致我们在白宫地图室的第二天进行官方重拍。一些评论家认为演讲过于黑暗。其他人则发现了对前一届政府的不当批评。

Still, once I'd finished delivering it, I felt satisfied that I'd spoken honestly and with conviction. I was also relieved that the note to be used in case of a terrorist incident had stayed in my breast pocket.

With the main event behind me, I let myself relax and soak in the spectacle. I was moved by the sight of the Bushes mounting the stairs to their helicopter and turning to wave one final time. I felt pride holding Michelle's hand as we walked a portion of the parade route. I was tickled by the parade participants: Marines, mariachi bands, astronauts, Tuskegee Airmen, and, especially, the high school bands from every state in the Union (including my alma mater Punahou's marching band—Go Buff 'n Blue!).

然而，一旦我完成了演讲，我感到满意，因为我说话诚实而有信念。我也很庆幸在我胸前口袋里备用的防恐备忘录没有被用到。

主要活动结束后，我放松下来，享受整个场面。看着布什夫妇登上直升机并最后挥手告别，我感动不已。和米歇尔手牵手沿着部分游行路线走时，我感到自豪。游行参与者：海军陆战队员、玛丽亚奇管乐队、宇航员、图斯基吉空军、特别是来自联邦各州的高中乐队（包括我的母校Punahou乐队——加油Buff 'n Blue！），都让我感到很开心。

The day contained just one sad note. During the traditional postinaugural lunch in the Capitol, in between toasts and presentations by our congressional hosts, Teddy Kennedy—who had recently had surgery to remove a cancerous brain tumor—collapsed in a sudden, violent seizure. The room fell silent as emergency medics rushed in. Teddy's wife, Vicki, followed alongside as they wheeled him away, her face stricken with fear, leaving the rest of us to wonder anxiously about his fate, none of us imagining the political consequences that would eventually flow from that moment.

这一天只有一个令人悲伤的事件。在国会传统的就职典礼午餐期间，我们的国会议员主人向我们致词和介绍，而在其中，刚刚接受了切除脑癌手术的泰迪·肯尼迪突然发生了严重的癫痫发作。紧急医疗人员赶到时，整个房间都陷入了沉默。泰迪的妻子维奇跟随在旁边，一边扶着他一起离开，她的脸上洋溢着恐惧，我们其余的人则忧心忡忡地想着他的命运，谁都没有想象到最终由于这一刻带来的政治后果。

Michelle and I attended a total of ten inaugural balls that evening. Michelle was a chocolate-brown vision in her flowing white gown, and at our first stop I took her in my arms and spun her around and whispered silly things in her ear as we danced to a sublime rendition of "At Last" sung by Beyoncé. At the Commander in Chief's Ball, we split up to dance with two charming and understandably nervous young members of our armed forces.

The other eight balls I'd be hard-pressed to remember.

By the time we got back to the White House, it was well past midnight. A party for our family and closest friends was still going strong in the East Room, with the Wynton Marsalis Quintet showing no signs of letting up. Twelve hours in high heels had taken a toll on Michelle's feet, and since she had to get up an hour earlier than I did to get her hair done for another church service the next morning, I offered to stay and entertain our guests while she headed to bed.那晚，米歇尔和我共参加了十个就职舞会。在我们的第一站，米歇尔身穿飘逸的白色长袍，成为了一个充满诱惑的巧克力色幻影，我们跳了一首甜美的“最后”伴随着Beyoncé的演唱，在舞池里我抱着她，让她旋转，轻声低语，小声咒骂，睡意袭来。在“总司令球”上，我们分开跳舞，和身为武装部队成员的两位迷人而有些紧张的年轻人共舞。

剩下的八个球会让我很难记住。

等我们回到白宫时，已经过了午夜。在东厅，我们的家人和最亲密的朋友仍在狂欢，文顿·马萨利斯五重奏仍在努力。十二个小时的高跟鞋给米歇尔的脚带来了很大的疲劳，因为她明天早上还要去另外一个教会参加仪式，比我早一个小时起床弄头发，所以我提出留下来招待客人，让她先去睡觉。

Just a few lights were on by the time I got upstairs. Michelle and the girls were asleep, the sound of night crews clearing dishes and breaking down tables and chairs barely audible from below. I realized I hadn't been alone all day. For a moment I just stood there, looking up and down the enormous central hall, not yet certain of where each of the many doors led, taking in the crystal chandeliers and a baby grand piano, noticing a Monet on one wall, a Cézanne on another, pulling out some of the books on the shelf, examining small busts and artifacts and portraits of people I didn't recognize.當我走上樓時，僅有幾盞燈是亮著的。米雪和女孩們已經睡著，來自下方的夜班人員清理碗盤和拆卸桌椅的聲音幾乎聽不見。我意識到整夜都沒有獨處過。我只是站在那裡，仔細觀察整個中央大廳，還不確定許多門通向哪裡，欣賞水晶吊燈和一架小型三角鋼琴，注意到一面滿是莫內的牆壁，一面滿是塞尚，拿出書架上的一些書籍，檢查小雕塑、文物和我不認識的人像畫。

My mind went back to the first time I had seen the White House, some thirty years ago, when as a young community organizer I had brought a group of students to Washington to lobby their congressman on a bill to increase student aid. The group of us had stood outside the gate along Pennsylvania Avenue, a few students mugging and taking pictures with disposable cameras. I remember staring up at the windows on the second floor, wondering if at that very moment someone might be looking down at us. I had tried to imagine what they might be thinking. Did they miss the rhythms of ordinary life? Were they lonely? Did they sometimes feel a jolt in their heart and wonder how it was that they had ended up where they were?

當時我思緒回到了30年前，當時我還是一名年輕的社區組織者，帶著一群學生到華盛頓為一項增加學生補助金的法案進行遊說。我們的小組站在賓夕法尼亞大道的門口，有些學生假裝擺造型，用拋棄式相機拍照。我記得我看著二樓的窗戶，想著這個時候會不會有人正在從窗戶裡看著我們。我曾試圖想像他們在想什麼。他們是否想念著普通生活的節奏？他們是否感到孤獨？他們是否有時會感到心中激動，想知道自己是如何到達現在這個位置的呢？

I'd have my answer soon enough, I thought. Pulling off my tie, I walked slowly down the hall, turning off what lights remained on.

我想很快就会得到答案。我解开领带，慢慢地走过走廊，关掉剩下的灯。

## CHAPTER 11

NO MATTER WHAT YOU MIGHT tell yourself, no matter how much you've read or how many briefings you've received or how many veterans of previous

administrations you've recruited, nothing entirely prepares you for those first weeks in the White House. Everything is new, unfamiliar, fraught with import. The vast majority of your senior appointees, including cabinet secretaries, are weeks or sometimes months away from being confirmed. Across the White House complex, staffers can be seen securing the requisite IDs, asking where to park, learning how to operate the phones, figuring out where the bathrooms are, and schlepping boxes into the cramped warren of offices in the West Wing or the more capacious rooms in the nearby Eisenhower Executive Office Building (EEOB), all while trying not to look completely overwhelmed. It's like moving-in day on a college campus, except a large percentage of the people involved are middle-aged, in suits, and, along with you, charged with running the most powerful nation on earth.

## 第11章

无论你告诉自己什么，无论你读了多少书，接受了多少简报，或者招募了多少前任政府的老手，都不能完全准备你迎接在白宫的这几个星期。一切都是新的，不熟悉的，充满重要性。你的大多数高级任命，包括内阁部长，需要几周或几个月的时间才能得到确认。在整个白宫大楼里，工作人员可以看到安全获取必要ID，询问停车的地方，学习操作电话，找出洗手间在哪里，把箱子搬进西翼狭小的办公室或附近艾森豪威尔行政办公楼更宽敞的房间里（EEOB），同时试图不让自己看起来完全不堪重负。就像大学校园的搬家日一样，只不过涉及到的人大部分都是中年人、穿着西装，与你一起负责经营地球上最强大的国家。

I didn't have to worry about moving myself in, but my days were a whirlwind. Having witnessed how stumbles out of the gate had hobbled Bill Clinton throughout his first two years in office, Rahm was intent on taking advantage of our postelection honeymoon period to get some things done.

"Trust me," he said. "The presidency is like a new car. It starts depreciating the minute you drive it off the lot."

To build early momentum, he had instructed our transition team to identify campaign promises I could fulfill with the stroke of a pen. I signed an executive order banning torture and launched what was supposed to be a year-long process to close the U.S. military detention center in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. We instituted some of the toughest ethics rules in White House history, including tightening restrictions on lobbyists. A couple of weeks later, we finalized an agreement with congressional leaders to cover four million more kids under the Children's Health Insurance Program, and shortly after that, we lifted President Bush's moratorium on federally funded embryonic stem-cell research.

我不必擔心自己的搬遷，但我的日子卻很緊湊。見證了比爾·克林頓首兩年因為起步不順而陷入困境的經歷後，拉姆決心利用我們選舉後的緩衝期，抓住機會做一些事情。

"相信我，"他說，"總統就像是一輛新車，你離開車場的那一刻起，它就開始貶值。"

為了建立早期態勢，他指示我們的過渡小組確定我可以用筆劃來實現的競選承諾。我簽署了一項禁止酷刑的行政命令，啟動了關閉古巴關塔那摩灣美國軍事拘留中心的一年計劃。我們實施了一些白宮史上最嚴格的道德規則，包括加強限制遊說者。幾週後，我們與國會領袖達成協議，為四百萬名兒童提供更多的兒童醫療保險計劃，不久之後，我們取消了布什總統對聯邦資助的胚胎幹細胞研究的禁令。

I signed my first bill into law on my ninth day in office: the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. The legislation was named after an unassuming Alabaman who, deep into a long career at the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, had discovered that she'd routinely been paid less than her male counterparts. As discrimination cases go, it should have been a slam dunk, but in 2007, defying all common sense, the Supreme Court had disallowed the lawsuit. According to Justice Samuel Alito, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act required Ledbetter to have filed her claim within 180 days of when the discrimination first occurred—in other words, six months after she received her first paycheck, and many years before she actually discovered the pay disparity. For over a year, Republicans in the Senate had blocked corrective action (with President Bush promising to veto it if it passed). Now, thanks to quick legislative work by our emboldened Democratic majorities, the bill sat on a small ceremonial desk in the East Room.我在任职的第九天签署了自己的第一项法案：莉莉·萊德貝特公平薪酬法案。这项法规以一位来自阿拉巴马州的不起眼的女性——莉莉·萊德貝特命名，她在固特异轮胎和橡胶公司的一段漫长职业生涯中发现，她的工资一直比男同事低。作为一个涉及歧视的案件，这应该是显而易见的事情，但2007年，最高法院毫无意义地取消了这个诉讼。根据萨缪尔·阿利托法官的说法，民权法案第七章要求莱德贝特在歧视行为发生后180天内提出申诉——换句话说，在她收到第一份工资的六个月后，早在她发现薪酬差异的许多年前。长达一年多的时间，参议院的共和党人一直阻止这项纠正措施（总统布什承诺如果通过将否决它）。现在，由于我们大胆的民主党多数派快速立法工作的结果，这项法案已经放在东厅的一个小仪式桌子上。

Lilly and I had become friends during the campaign. I knew her family, knew her struggles. She stood next to me that day as I put my signature on the bill, using a different pen for each letter of my name. (The pens would serve as keepsakes for Lilly and the bill's sponsors—a nice tradition, though it made my signature look like it had been written by a ten-year-old.) I thought not just about Lilly but also about my mother, and Toot, and all the other working women across the country who had ever been passed over for promotions or been paid less than they were worth. The legislation I was signing wouldn't reverse centuries of discrimination. But it was something, a step forward.

在竞选过程中，Lilly和我成为了朋友。我了解她的家庭和经历。那一天，当我用不同的笔为我的名字签署法案时，她站在我的身边。（这些笔会成为Lilly和法案赞助人的纪念品——尽管这是一个不错的传统，但我的签名看起来像是一个十岁的孩子写的。）我不仅想到Lilly，还想到了我的母亲、Toot和全国其他曾被跳过晋升机会或工资不公的女性。我签署的法案不会逆转几个世纪的歧视。但这是一步迈向前方的努力。

This is why I ran, I told myself. This is what the office can do.

We would roll out other comparable initiatives in those first few months, some attracting modest press attention, others noticed only by those directly affected. In normal times, this would have been enough, a series of small wins as our bigger legislative proposals—on healthcare, immigration reform, and climate change—began to work their way through Congress.

But these were not normal times. For the public and the press, for me and my team, only one issue truly mattered: What were we going to do to halt the economy's collapse?这就是我逃走的原因，我告诉自己。这就是办公室能做的事情。

在那头几个月里，我们还会推出其他类似的计划，有些会引起一些不起眼的媒体关注，而有些则只会被直接受影响的人注意到。在正常情况下，这已经足够了，因为我们制定的更大的立法提案——例如医疗保健、移民改革和气候变化方面的一——已经开始在国会中奏效，我们已经取得了一系列小小的胜利。

但这不是正常的时期。对于公众、媒体，对于我和我的团队来说，只有一个问题真正重要：我们将采取什么措施来阻止经济的崩溃？

—

AS DIRE AS the situation had seemed before the election, it wasn't until a mid-December meeting in Chicago with my new economic team, just over a month before I was sworn in, that I had begun to appreciate the scope of what we were dealing with. Christy Romer, whose cheery demeanor and sensible style brought to mind a 1950s TV-sitcom mom, opened her presentation with a line she'd heard Axelrod use in an earlier meeting.

“Mr. President-Elect,” she said, “this is your holy-shit moment.”

The chuckles quickly subsided as Christy took us through a series of charts. With over half of America's twenty-five largest financial institutions having either failed, merged, or restructured to avoid bankruptcy during the previous year, what had begun as a crisis on Wall Street had now thoroughly infected the broader economy. The stock market had lost 40 percent of its value. There were foreclosure filings on 2.3 million homes. Household wealth had dropped 16 percent, which, as Tim would later point out, was more than five times the percentage loss that occurred in the aftermath of the 1929 market crash. All this on top of an economy that was already suffering from persistently high levels of poverty, a decline in the share of working-age men who were actually working, a fall in productivity growth, and lagging median wages.尽管在选举前形势看起来已经很困难，但是直到我和新经济团队在芝加哥于12月中旬举行的会议上接触到真正的情况——那时距我宣誓就职刚刚过去一个月，我才开始意识到我们要处理的事情的范围有多大。克里斯蒂·罗默的欢快举止和明智的风格让我想起上世纪50年代的电视情景喜剧妈妈，她在介绍中开头就引用了在早些时候Axelrod的会议上所说的一句话，“总统当选人先生，这是您的全都完了时刻”。

当克里斯蒂开始带我们看一系列的图表时，大家的欢笑也很快地消失了。在前一年内，超过美国25家最大的金融机构中有一半已经破产、合并或重组，这一危机不再局限于华尔街，而是已经彻底感染并影响到了整个经济。股市已经失去了40%的价值。有230万住房正在被执行强制执行程序。家庭财富已经下降了16%，正如Tim后来指出的那样，这比1929年股市崩盘后的损失百分比高了五倍以上。所有这些加起来，让本身已经遭受长期高贫困率、工作年龄男性占比下降、生产力增长下滑、中位数工资停滞不前的经济更加雪上加霜。

And we had yet to reach the bottom. As people had felt poorer, they'd stopped spending, just as mounting losses had caused banks to stop lending, imperiling more businesses and more jobs. A number of major retailers already had gone belly-up. GM and Chrysler were headed in the same direction. News stations now carried daily reports of mass layoffs at blue-chip companies like Boeing and Pfizer. According to Christy, all arrows pointed in the direction of the deepest recession since the 1930s, with job losses—estimated at 533,000 in November alone—likely to get worse.

而我们还没到谷底。随着人们感到越来越贫困，他们停止了消费，正如日益增加的损失导致银行停止借贷，危及更多的企业和更多的就业机会。一些大型零售商已经倒闭了。通用汽车和克莱斯勒也在朝着同样的方向前进。新闻电视台现在每天都播报蓝筹股企业如波音和辉瑞的大规模裁员事件。据克里斯蒂称，所有的箭头都指向20世纪30年代以来最深的经济衰退，预计失业人数——仅11月就达到了533,000人——可能会变得更糟。

“How much worse?” I asked.

“We're not sure,” Larry chimed in, “but probably in the millions.” He explained that unemployment was typically a “lagging indicator,” meaning the full scale of job losses during recessions didn't show up right away, and usually continued well after an economy started growing again. Moreover, economies typically recovered much more slowly from recessions triggered by financial crises than from those caused by fluctuations in the business cycle. In the absence of quick and aggressive intervention by the federal government, Larry calculated, the chances of a second Great Depression were “about one in three.”

“比现在更糟?”我问道。

拉里接著說：“我們不確定，但可能有數以百萬計的人受影響。”他解釋說，失業率通常是一個滯後指標，這意味著經濟衰退期間失業人數的完整規模不會立即顯示出來，通常還會持續一段時間。此外，由金融危機引起的經濟衰退通常比由商業周期波動引起的更慢恢復。在聯邦政府沒有迅速且積極地干預的情況下，拉里估計第二次大蕭條的機會“大約有三分之一”。

“Jesus,” Joe Biden muttered. I looked out the window of the downtown conference room. A heavy snow swirled soundlessly through a gray sky. Images of tent cities and people lined up at soup kitchens materialized in my head.

“All right, then,” I said, turning back to the team. “Since it's too late to ask for a recount, what can we do to lower those odds?”

We spent the next three hours mapping out a strategy. Job one was reversing the cycle of contracting demand. In an ordinary recession, monetary policy would be an option: By lowering interest rates, the Federal Reserve could help make the purchase of everything from homes to cars to appliances significantly cheaper. But while Chairman Ben Bernanke was committed to trying out a range of unorthodox strategies to douse the financial panic, Tim explained, the Fed had used up most of its bullets over the course of the previous year: With interest rates already close to zero, neither businesses nor consumers, already badly overleveraged, showed any inclination to take on more debt.

“耶穌，”乔·拜登喃喃自语。我看着市中心会议室的窗外。一片沉重的雪花在灰色的天空中无声旋转。帐篷城市和排队领取救济食品的人们的影像浮现在我的脑海中。

“好的，”我转回团队说道。“既然要求重新计票已经太迟了，我们能做些什么降低这些几率呢？”

我们花了接下来的三个小时来制订战略。首要任务是扭转需求萎缩的循环。在普通的经济衰退中，货币政策是一种选择：通过降低利率，联邦储备委员会可以帮助使从房屋到汽车到家电的购买显著便宜。但是，正如蒂姆所解释的那样，虽然主席本·伯南克致力于尝试一系列非正统策略来扑灭金融恐慌，但在过去一年的过程中，联邦储备委员会已经使用了大部分子弹：由于利率已经接近于零，企业和消费者已经严重过度负债，没有任何倾向承担更多债务。

Our conversation therefore focused on fiscal stimulus, or, in layperson's terms, having the government spend more money. Though I hadn't majored in economics, I was familiar enough with John Maynard Keynes, one of the giants of modern economics and a theoretician of the causes of the Great Depression. Keynes's basic insight had been simple: From the perspective of the individual family or firm, it was prudent to tighten one's belt during a severe recession. The problem was that thrift could be stifling; when everyone tightened their belts at the same time, economic conditions couldn't improve.

因此，我们的谈话重点关注财政刺激，或者通俗地说，让政府增加支出。虽然我没有主修经济学，但我对现代经济学巨匠之一约翰·梅纳德·凯恩斯很熟悉，他是大萧条原因的理论家。凯恩斯的基本见解非常简单：从个人家庭或企业的角度来看，在经济严重衰退时收紧钱袋是明智的。问题在于节俭可能会扼杀经济增长；当每个人同时收紧钱袋时，经济状况无法得到改善。

Keynes's answer to the dilemma was just as simple: A government needed to step in as the "spender of last resort." The idea was to pump money into the economy until the gears started to turn again, until families grew confident enough to trade in old cars for new ones and innovative companies saw enough demand to start making new products again. Once the economy was kick-started, the government could then turn off the spigot and recoup its money through the resulting boost in tax revenue. In large part, this was the principle behind FDR's New Deal, which took shape after he took office in 1933, at the height of the Great Depression. Whether it was young men in the Civilian Conservation Corps put to work building trails in America's national parks, or farmers receiving government payments for surplus milk, or theater troupes performing as part of the Works Progress Administration, the New Deal's programs helped unemployed Americans get desperately needed paychecks and companies sustain themselves with government orders for steel or lumber, all of which helped bolster private enterprise and stabilize the faltering economy.

凯恩斯（Keynes）對這個困境的答案同樣簡單：政府需要成為「最後的消費者」，投入資金到經濟中直到機器再次運轉，直到家庭有信心用舊車換新車，創新公司看到足夠的需求開始製造新產品。一旦經濟啟動，政府便可以關閉閥門，通過增加稅收回收其資金。在很大程度上，這是FDR新政的原則，在他於1933年上任時形成，正值大蕭條的高峰期。無論是年輕人在平民保護軍中工作，為美國國家公園建造遊樂設施，還是農民收到政府購買剩餘牛奶的補貼，或是戲劇劇團作為聯邦公共工程計劃的一部分進行表演，新政的計劃都幫助失業美國人獲得急需的薪水，通過政府對鋼鐵或木材的訂單，企業得以維持自己的存在，從而增強私營企業和穩定崩潰的經濟。

As ambitious as it was at the time, New Deal spending actually proved too modest to fully counteract the Great Depression, especially after FDR succumbed to 1936 election-year pressures and pulled back too early on what was then seen by many elite opinion makers as government profligacy. It would take the ultimate stimulus of World War II, when the entire nation mobilized to build an Arsenal of Democracy, to finally break the Depression once and for all. But the New Deal had kept things from getting worse, and Keynesian theory had come to be widely accepted among economists, including politically conservative ones (although Republican-leaning economists typically preferred stimulus in the form of tax cuts rather than government programs).

新政支出的野心虽然当时很大，但实际上证明对于完全抵消大萧条，尤其是在罗斯福总统在1936年选举年面临压力时撤回了过早开展的许多被许多精英舆论人士视为政府浪费的计划来说太过保守。最终需要二战的刺激，整个国家动员起来建造民主的武器库，才最终彻底摆脱了大萧条的影响。但是新政确实防止了情况进一步恶化，凯恩斯主义理论已经被广泛接受，包括政治上保守的经济学家（尽管共和党倾向的经济学家通常更喜欢将刺激措施采取为减税而不是政府项目）。

So we needed a stimulus package. To deliver the necessary impact, how big did it need to be? Before the election, we'd proposed what was then considered an ambitious program of 175 billion. *Immediately after the election, examining the worsening data, we had raised the number to 500 billion.* The team now recommended something even bigger. Christy mentioned a trillion dollars, causing Rahm to sputter like a cartoon character spitting out a bad meal.

"There's no fucking way," Rahm said. Given the public's anger over the hundreds of billions of dollars already spent on the bank bailout, he said, any number that began "with a t" would be a nonstarter with lots of Democrats, not to mention Republicans. I turned to Joe, who nodded in assent.

所以我们需要一份刺激计划。为了产生必要的影响，它需要有多大？选举前，我们提出了一项被认为是雄心勃勃的1750亿美元计划。选举后立即，考虑到数据的恶化，我们将数字提高到5000亿美元。现在，团队建议采取更大的措施。克里斯蒂提到了一万亿美元，这让拉姆就像拼命吐出不好吃的食的食物的卡通人物一样。“不可能的，”拉姆说。他说，鉴于公众对已经在银行纾困上花费的数千亿美元的愤怒，任何以“t”开头的数字都会成为民主党人和共和党人排斥的地雷。我转向乔，他点了点头表示同意。

"What can we get passed?" I asked.

"Seven, maybe eight hundred billion, tops," Rahm said. "And that's a stretch."

There was also the question of how stimulus dollars would be used. According to Keynes, it didn't matter much what the government spent the money on, so long as it generated economic activity. But since the levels of spending we were talking about would likely preclude funding for other priorities well into the future, I pushed the team to think about high-profile, high-yield projects—modern versions of the Interstate Highway System or the Tennessee Valley Authority that would not only give the economy an immediate boost but could transform America's longer-term economic landscape. What about a

national smart grid that would make the delivery of electricity more secure and efficient? Or a new, highly integrated air traffic control system that would enhance safety and reduce fuel costs and carbon emissions?

“我问道：“我们能过什么关？”

“最多七，八千亿，只是勉强能做到。”Rahm说。

还有一个问题是刺激资金将如何使用。根据凯恩斯的理论，政府用钱在什么上面并不重要，只要能够产生经济活动即可。但由于我们正在讨论的支出水平可能会使未来资金无法用于其他优先事项，因此我督促团队考虑一些备受关注、收益高的项目——现代版的美国国家公路系统或田纳西河谷管理局，这不仅能够给经济带来立即的提振，还可以改变美国更长期的经济景观。例如，国家智能电网项目，可以使电力传输更加安全有效；或新的高度整合的航空交通管制系统，可以提高安全性并减少燃料成本和碳排放？”

Folks around the table were not encouraging. “We’ve already started asking federal agencies to identify high-impact projects,” Larry said, “but I have to be honest, Mr. President-Elect. Those kinds of projects are extremely complicated. They take time to develop...and unfortunately time is not on our side.” The most important thing was to get the money into people’s pockets as quickly as possible, and that aim was best served by providing food stamps and extended unemployment insurance, as well as middle-class tax cuts and aid to states to help them avoid having to lay off teachers, firefighters, and police officers. Studies had shown that spending on infrastructure provided the biggest bang for the buck—but, Larry suggested, even there we should focus on more prosaic undertakings like road repair and patching up aging sewer systems, projects that local governments could use to put people to work right away.

桌子周圍的人並不鼓舞人心。“我們已經開始請求聯邦機構辦識高影響項目，”勞倫斯說，“但我得說實話，當類似項目極其複雜與發展的時間，我們的時間不多。”最重要的事情是盡快將錢放入人們的口袋，最好的方式是提供食品券和延長失業保險，以及給予中產階級稅收減免和援助各州，以幫助他們避免解僱教師、消防員和警察。研究顯示，在基礎建設上花費提供了最大的效益，但勞倫斯建議，甚至在那裡，我們應該專注於更為平淡的事業，如道路修復和翻新老化的下水道系統，這些項目可讓地方政府立即用於創造就業。

“It’s going to be hard to get the public excited about food stamps and repaving roads,” Axe said. “Not real sexy.”

“Neither’s a depression,” Tim tartly replied.

Tim was the one person among us who’d already spent a stomach-churning year on the front lines of the crisis. I could hardly blame him for refusing to be swept up in any starry-eyed plans. His biggest concern was that mass unemployment and bankruptcies were further weakening the financial system, creating what he described as “an adverse feedback loop.” As Larry took the lead on the stimulus package, Tim and his team would in the meantime try to come up with a plan to unlock the credit markets and stabilize the financial system once and for all. Tim admitted that he wasn’t yet sure exactly what would work—or whether the remaining \$350 billion in TARP money would be enough to cover it.

“Axe說：「要讓公眾對食品券和鋪設道路感到興奮，可能會很難。這些話題不太性感。」

Tim冷嘲熱諷地回答說：「大蕭條也不是。」

Tim是我們中唯一已在危機前線度過了令人揪心的一年的人。我不能怪他不願意被任何充滿幻想的計劃席捲。他最大的擔憂是大規模失業和破產進一步削弱了金融體系，形成了他所描述的「不良反饋循環」。當Larry負責刺激計劃時，Tim和他的團隊將在此期間試圖提出一個計劃，以解鎖信貸市場，並一次將金融體系穩定下來。Tim承認他還不確定什麼才是可行的，或者剩下的3500億美元TARP資金是否足以支撐它。"

And that wasn’t the end of our to-do list. A talented team—including Shaun Donovan, the former head of New York City’s Department of Housing Preservation and Development and my nominee for housing and urban development secretary, as well as Austan Goolsbee, my longtime economic advisor and a University of Chicago professor, whom I would appoint to the Council of Economic Advisers—had already begun work on plans to shore up the housing market and reduce the flood of foreclosures. We recruited prominent finance whiz Steve Rattner and Ron Bloom, a former investment banker who represented unions in corporate restructurings, to generate strategies to save the auto industry. And my soon-to-be budget director, Peter Orszag, was given the unenviable task of coming up with a plan to pay for the stimulus in the short term while putting the federal budget on a more sustainable path for the long term—this at a time when high levels of emergency spending and lower tax revenues had already driven the federal deficit to more than \$1 trillion for the first time in history.

那并不是我们待办事项的终点。一支才华横溢的团队——包括肖恩·多诺万（Shaun Donovan，前纽约市房屋保护和发展部门负责人，我提名他担任住房和城市发展部长），以及奥斯坦·古尔斯比（我的长期经济顾问，芝加哥大学教授，我任命他为经济顾问委员会成员）——已经开始制定计划，以支持房屋市场并减少被强制执行的抵押贷款数量的影响。我们聘请了著名的金融专家史蒂夫·拉特纳（Steve Rattner）和表示工会在企业重组中的罗恩·布鲁姆（Ron Bloom）来制定拯救汽车工业的战略。我的即将出任的预算主管彼得·奥尔扎格（Peter Orszag）则被赋予了一个不受欢迎的任务，即在短期内为刺激计划提供资金，并在长期内使联邦预算走上更可持续的道路——在这个时期，高额的紧急支出和税收收入下降已经将联邦赤字推到历史上首次超过1万亿美元的水平。

In exchange for Peter’s troubles, we wrapped up the meeting by bringing in a cake to celebrate his fortieth birthday. As people gathered around the table to watch him blow out the candles, Goolsbee—whose tweedy name always seemed incongruous with his Jimmy Olsen looks, ebullient humor, and Waco, Texas, twang—appeared beside me.

“That’s definitely the worst briefing any incoming president has gotten since FDR in 1932!” he said. He sounded like a boy impressed by the sight of a particularly grisly wound.

“Goolsbee,” I said, “that’s not even my worst briefing this week.”

為了彌補彼得的困擾，我們帶了一個蛋糕來慶祝他的四十歲生日，以此來結束會議。當人們圍坐在桌旁看他吹熄蠟燭時，古爾茲比（一個若有休閒感的名字，總是和他天真爽朗的幽默和德克薩斯州瓦科市的南方口音格格不入）出現在我身旁。他像個男孩一樣，對特別恐怖的傷口印象深刻。

“這肯定是自1932年羅斯福上任以來，接任總統們得到的最糟糕的簡報！”他說。他的聲音像個男孩，對特別恐怖的傷口印象深刻。

“古茲比，”我說，“這甚至不是本週我接到的最糟糕的簡報。”

I WAS ONLY half-joking; outside of economic briefings, I was spending much of my transition time in windowless rooms, getting the classified details on Iraq, Afghanistan, and multiple terrorist threats. Still, I remember leaving the meeting on the economy more energized than despondent. Some of my confidence was a matter of postelection adrenaline, I suppose—the untested, maybe delusional belief that I was up for the task at hand. I also felt good about the team I'd assembled; if anyone could come up with the answers we needed, I figured this group could.

我只是半开玩笑，除了经济简报，我大部分过渡时间都在无窗室内，了解伊拉克、阿富汗和多个恐怖威胁的机密细节。尽管如此，我记得离开经济会议时还充满活力而非沮丧。我想我的一些信心来自于选举后的肾上腺素，或许这是未经考验的、或许是幻觉的信念，认为我能够胜任手头的任务。我也对我组建的团队感到满意；如果有人能提供我们需要的答案，我想这个团队应该能做到。

Mostly, though, my attitude was a necessary acknowledgment of how life's fortunes balance out. Given all that had gone my way during the campaign, I could hardly complain now about the bad cards we'd been dealt. As I'd remind my team more than once over the course of the next few years, the American people probably wouldn't have taken a chance on electing me if things hadn't been spinning out of control. Our job now was to get the policy right and do what was best for the country, regardless of how tough the politics might be.

大部分时间，我的态度是必要的承认生命的命运是如何平衡的。考虑到在竞选中所发生的一切，我现在几乎不能抱怨我们的处境。正如在接下来的几年中我告诉我的团队的那样，如果事情没有失控，美国人可能不会冒险选举我。我们现在的任务是正确制定政策，无论政治有多么艰难，都要为国家做出最好的选择。

That's what I told them, anyway. Privately, I knew that the politics weren't just going to be tough.

They were going to be brutal.

In the days leading up to the inauguration, I had read several books on FDR's first term and the implementation of the New Deal. The contrast was instructive, though not in a good way for us. By the time Roosevelt was elected in 1932, the Great Depression had been wreaking havoc for more than three years. A quarter of the country was unemployed, millions were destitute, and the shantytowns that dotted the American landscape were commonly referred to as "Hoovervilles"—a fair reflection of what people thought of Republican president Herbert Hoover, the man FDR was about to replace.

无论如何，那就是我告诉他们的。私下里，我知道政治不仅会很困难，而且会残酷无情。就在就职典礼前的几天，我读了几本关于Roosevelt的第一任期和New Deal实施的书。对比很有启示性，但对我们来说并不是好事。当罗斯福在1932年当选时，大萧条已经肆虐了三年多。四分之一的国家失业，数百万人陷入贫困，遍布美国土地的棚户区通常被称为“胡佛镇”——这很好地反映了人们对共和党总统赫伯特·胡佛的看法，这个人将被即将取代的罗斯福。

So widespread was the hardship, so discredited were Republican policies, that when a new bout of bank runs occurred during what was then a four-month transition between presidencies, FDR made a point of rebuffing Hoover's efforts to enlist his help. He wanted to make sure that in the public's mind, his presidency marked a clean break, untarnished by past blunders. And when, in a stroke of luck, the economy showed signs of life just a month after he took office (before his policies had been even put into effect), FDR was happy not to share the credit with the previous administration.

困难如此普遍，共和党的政策如此失信于民，以至于在当时四个月的总统过渡期间出现一轮新的银行挤兑时，罗斯福强调拒绝胡佛求助。他想确保在公众心目中，他的总统任期标志着一个干净的分界线，没有被以往的失误所玷污。当经济在他上任后仅一个月就出现复苏迹象时（甚至还没有实施他的政策），罗斯福很高兴不与之前的政府分享功劳。

We, on the other hand, were not going to have the benefit of such clarity. After all, I had already made the decision to help President Bush with his necessary though wildly unpopular response to the banking crisis, placing my hand on the proverbial bloody knife. To further stabilize the financial system, I knew, I'd likely have to do more of the same. (I was already having to twist the arms of some Senate Democrats just to get them to vote for the release of the second, \$350 billion tranche of TARP funds.) As voters watched the situation get worse, which Larry and Christy said was all but assured, my popularity—along with that of the Democrats who now controlled Congress—was sure to plummet.

然而，我们并没有享受到如此清晰的好处。毕竟，我已经决定帮助布什总统应对银行危机，确保必要但广受反感的反应，并将手放在如今的血腥刀上。我知道，要进一步稳定金融体系，我很可能需要做更多的努力。（我已经不得不扭转一些民主党参议员的手臂，只是为了让他们投票支持第二笔3500亿美元的TARP资金。）随着选民看到情况变得更糟，而Larry和Christy说几乎是必然的，我的受欢迎程度以及现在掌控国会的民主党的受欢迎程度注定会下跌。

And despite the turmoil of the previous months, despite the horrific headlines of early 2009, nobody—not the public, not Congress, not the press, and (as I'd soon discover) not even the experts—really understood just how much worse things were about to get. Government data at the time was showing a severe recession, but not a cataclysmic one. Blue-chip analysts predicted that the unemployment rate would top out at 8 or 9 percent, not even imagining the 10 percent mark it would eventually reach. When, several weeks after the election, 387 mostly liberal economists had sent a letter to Congress, calling for a robust Keynesian stimulus, they'd put the price tag at 300 to 400 billion—about half of what we were about to propose, and a good indicator of where even the most alarmist experts had the economy pegged. As Axelrod described it, we were about to ask the American public to spend

close to a trillion dollars on sandbags for a once-in-a-generation hurricane that only we knew was coming. And once the money was spent, no matter how effective the sandbags proved to be, a whole lot of folks would be flooded out anyway.

儘管前幾個月的動盪，尽管2009年初可怕的头条新闻，没有人——不是公众、不是国会、不是媒体，也不是专家（正如我不久后将发现的）——真正理解事情将变得多么糟糕。当时的政府数据显示出了一次严重的衰退，但并不是灾难性的衰退。蓝筹股分析师预测失业率会达到8%或9%，甚至不敢想象它最终会达到10%。当选举几周后，387位主要是自由派的经济学家致信国会，呼吁富有弹性的凯恩斯主义刺激政策时，他们把价格标签定在了3000亿至4000亿美元——约为我们将提出的一半，也是经济学家们对经济的最悲观估计的一个很好的指标。正如阿克塞尔罗德所描述的那样，我们即将要求美国公众在一次千载难逢的飓风中花费近1万亿美元来购买沙袋，而这只有我们知道。一旦花费了这笔钱，无论沙袋实际上的效果如何，许多人仍会被淹没。

“When things are bad,” Axe said, walking next to me as we left the December meeting, “no one cares that ‘things could have been worse.’”

“You’re right,” I agreed.

“We’ve got to level-set people’s expectations,” he said. “But if we scare them or the markets too much, that will just add to the panic and do more economic damage.”

“Right again,” I said.

Axe shook his head dolefully. “It’s going to be one hell of a midterm election,” he said.

This time I said nothing, admiring his occasional, almost endearing ability to state the obvious. As it was, I didn’t have the luxury of thinking that far ahead. I had to focus on a second, more immediate political problem. “當事情變得糟糕的時候，”剃刀說，當我們在12月的會議上離開時走在我旁邊，“沒有人在意‘情況本來可以更糟。’”

“你是對的，”我同意道。

“我們必須調整人們的期望值，”他說。“但如果我們嚇到他們或市場太多，那只會加劇恐慌，並造成更多的經濟損失。”

“你又是對的，”我說。

剃刀無可奈何地搖了搖頭。“這將會是一場地獄般的中期選舉，”他說。

這次我沒有說什麼，欣賞他偶爾幾乎可愛的直言不諱的能力。因為現在，我沒有想那麼遠的時間。我必須集中精力解決第二個更迫切的政治問題。

We had to get the stimulus bill through Congress right away—and Congress didn’t work very well.

—

THERE WAS A pervasive nostalgia in Washington, both before I was elected and during my presidency, for a bygone era of bipartisan cooperation on Capitol Hill. And the truth is that throughout much of the post-World War II era, the lines separating America’s political parties really had been more fluid. By the 1950s, most Republicans had accommodated themselves to New Deal-era health and safety regulations, and the Northeast and the Midwest produced scores of Republicans who were on the liberal end of the spectrum when it came to issues like conservation and civil rights. Southerners, meanwhile, constituted one of the Democratic Party’s most powerful blocs, combining a deep-rooted cultural conservatism with an adamant refusal to recognize the rights of African Americans, who made up a big share of their constituency. With America’s global economic dominance unchallenged, its foreign policy defined by the unifying threat of communism, and its social policy marked by a bipartisan confidence that women and people of color knew their place, both Democrats and Republicans felt free to cross party lines when required to get a bill passed. They observed customary courtesies when it came time to offer amendments or bring nominations to a vote and kept partisan attacks and hardball tactics within tolerable bounds.我们必须尽快让刺激法案通过国会，但国会的运作并不顺畅。

在我当选和总统任期期间，华盛顿普遍怀念一段过去的时代，那个时代国会内两党合作的状况更好。事实上，在二战后的大部分时期里，区分美国政党的界限的确更加模糊。到了20世纪50年代，大多数共和党人已经适应了《新政》时期的健康与安全监管，而东北和中西部地区产生了许多共和党人，在保护环境和民权等问题上处于自由派的一端。与此同时，南方居民组成了民主党最强大的一群，极端保守的文化背景构成了其中的一部分，拒绝承认黑人权利，而黑人是他们选区的重要一部分。在美国的全球经济主导地位无人挑战、外交政策围绕着统一的反共威胁展开，社会政策信奉两党对女性和有色人种知道自己的位置的信心时，当需要议会通过法案时，民主党和共和党都感到自由跨越党派界限。正式场合下，无论是提出修正案还是将提名交付投票时，都会注意通常的礼节，同时将攻击和强硬手段控制在容许范围内。

The story of how this postwar consensus broke down—starting with LBJ’s signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and his prediction that it would lead to the South’s wholesale abandonment of the Democratic Party—has been told many times before. The realignment Johnson foresaw ended up taking longer than he had expected. But steadily, year by year—through Vietnam, riots, feminism, and Nixon’s southern strategy; through busing, *Roe v. Wade*, urban crime, and white flight; through affirmative action, the Moral Majority, union busting, and Robert Bork; through assault weapons bans and the rise of Newt Gingrich, gay rights and the Clinton impeachment—America’s voters and their representatives became more and more polarized.這篇文章講述了二戰後的共識是如何瓦解的——從林登·詹森簽署《1964年民權法》開始，他預言這將導致南方全面離開民主黨——這已經被講述了很多次了。詹森預見的重組比他預期的時間更長。但是，逐年地——通過越戰、暴動、女權主義和尼克松的南方戰略；通過校車、羅伊訴韋德案、城市犯罪和白人大量外逃；通過平權行動、道德多數派、聯合破壞和羅伯特·伯克的鬥爭；通過攻擊性武器禁令和紐特·金里奇的崛起、同性戀權利和克林頓彈劾——美國的選民及其代表變得越來越極端。

Political gerrymandering fortified these trends, as both parties, with the help of voter profiles and computer technology, drew congressional districts with the explicit aim of entrenching incumbency and minimizing the number of competitive districts in any given election. Meanwhile, the splintering of the media and the emergence of conservative outlets meant voters were no longer reliant on Walter Cronkite to tell them what was true; instead, they could hew to sources that reinforced, rather than challenged, their political preferences.

政治上的选区造假强化了这些趋势，两党借助选民档案和电脑技术来划分国会选区，以巩固现任议员的地位，减少每次选举中具有竞争力的区域数量。与此同时，媒体的分裂和保守派媒体的出现意味着选民不再依赖沃尔特·克朗凯特告诉他们什么是真实的；相反，他们可以依据强化而非挑战他们政治偏好的信息来源。

By the time I took office, this “big sort” between red and blue was close to complete. There were still holdouts in the Senate—a dozen or so moderate-to-liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats who were open to collaboration—but most of them were hanging on to their seats for dear life. In the House, wave elections in 2006 and 2008 had swept a dozen or so conservative Democrats from traditionally GOP districts into office. But on the whole, House Democrats skewed liberal, especially on social issues, with white southern Democrats an endangered species. The shift among House Republicans was even more severe. Purged of just about all of the remaining moderates, their caucus leaned further right than any in modern history, with old-school conservatives jockeying for influence with the newly emboldened breed of Gingrich disciples, Rush Limbaugh bomb throwers, Sarah Palin wannabes, and Ayn Rand acolytes—all of whom brooked no compromise; were skeptical of any government action not involving defense, border security, law enforcement, or the banning of abortion; and appeared sincerely convinced that liberals were bent on destroying America.

當我就任時，紅藍黨之間的「大分野」幾近完成。參議院還有一些中間派到自由派的共和黨人和保守派的民主黨人持續支持合作，但大多數人都在為他們的席位而掙扎。2006年和2008年的浪潮選舉讓約十二名保守派民主黨人從傳統上被共和黨支配的地區當選。但整體而言，眾議院的民主黨人偏向自由主義，特別是在社會問題上，隨著南方白人民主黨人成為瀕危物种。而在眾議院，共和黨人的轉變更加嚴重。他們的團體中剩餘的中間派幾乎都被清除，傳統的保守派正與新的金里奇追隨者、拉什·林博等人爭奪影響力，他們毫不妥協，對任何不涉及國防、邊境安全、執法或禁止墮胎的政府行動都持懷疑態度，並真誠地相信自由派要摧毀美國。

On paper, at least, none of this would necessarily stop us from getting a stimulus bill passed. After all, Democrats enjoyed a seventy-seven-seat majority in the House and a seventeen-seat majority in the Senate. But even in the best of circumstances, trying to get the largest emergency spending bill in history through Congress in record time would be a little like getting a python to swallow a cow. I also had to contend with a bit of institutionalized procedural mischief—the Senate filibuster—which in the end would prove to be the most chronic political headache of my presidency.

从纸面上看，这一切并不一定会阻止我们通过一项刺激法案。毕竟，民主党在众议院中拥有77个席位的多数和参议院中17个席位的多数。但即使在最好的情况下，在记录时间内通过历史上最大的紧急支出法案将会像让一条蟒蛇吞下一头牛一样困难。而我还不得不应对一些制度化过程中的恶作剧——参议院的阻挠行为，最终这将成为我总统任期中最具慢性政治头疼的问题。

The filibuster isn’t mentioned anywhere in the Constitution. Instead, it came into being by happenstance: In 1805, Vice President Aaron Burr urged the Senate to eliminate the “motion to proceed”—a standard parliamentary provision that allows a simple majority of any legislature to end debate on a piece of business and call for a vote. (Burr, who seems never to have developed the habit of thinking things through, reportedly considered the rule a waste of time.)

It didn’t take long for senators to figure out that without a formal way to end debate, any one of them could bring Senate business to a halt—and thereby extract all sorts of concessions from frustrated colleagues—simply by talking endlessly and refusing to surrender the floor. In 1917, the Senate curbed the practice by adopting “cloture,” allowing a vote of two-thirds of senators present to end a filibuster. For the next fifty years the filibuster was used only sparingly—most notably by southern Democrats attempting to block anti-lynching and fair-employment bills or other legislation that threatened to shake up Jim Crow. Gradually, though, the filibuster became more routinized and easier to maintain, making it a more potent weapon, a means for the minority party to get its way. The mere threat of a filibuster was often enough to derail a piece of legislation. By the 1990s, as battle lines between Republicans and Democrats hardened, whichever party was in the minority could—and would—block any bill not to their liking, so long as they remained unified and had at least the 41 votes needed to keep a filibuster from being overridden.

質詢演說（filibuster）在憲法中並未提及，而是由偶然事件而形成：1805年，副總統亞倫·伯爾（Aaron Burr）敦促參議院取消“程序動議”——一個標準的議會條款，允許任何立法機構的簡單多數結束對一項業務的辯論，並要求投票。（據報導，伯爾似乎從未培養出深思熟慮的習慣，認為這個規則是浪費時間的。）

沒有正式結束辯論的方法，參議員們很快意識到，他們中的任何一個人都可以通過不斷地發言並拒絕交出發言權，使參議院的業務陷入停滯，從而從受挫的同事那裡得到各種讓步。1917年，參議院通過了“結束辯論”的方式限制了此做法，允許在場參議員中的三分之二投票結束堵塞。在接下來的50年裡，質詢演說只有少量使用，尤其是南方民主黨人試圖阻止反私刑和公平就業法案或其他威脅與種族隔離法相違背的立法。然而，逐漸地，質詢演說變得更加常態化和容易維持，成為少數黨獲得意願的一種更有力的武器。威脅使用質詢演說就足以使一項立法失敗。到了1990年代，由於共和黨和民主黨之間的戰線硬化，只要少數黨保持團結，並且至少有41票來阻撓一場質詢演說被推翻，他們就能阻止任何不合他們心意的提案。

Without any constitutional basis, public debate, or even the knowledge of most Americans, passing legislation through Congress had come to effectively require 60 votes in the Senate, or what was often referred to as a “supermajority.” By the time I was elected president, the filibuster had become so thoroughly integrated into Senate practice—viewed as an essential and time-honored tradition—that nobody much bothered to discuss the possibility of reforming or doing away with it altogether.

And that is why—having just won an election by an overwhelming electoral margin and with the support of the largest congressional majority in many years—I still couldn’t rename a post office, much less pass our stimulus package, without winning a few Republican votes.沒有任何憲法依據、公開辯論或甚至大多數美國人的認知，通過國會立法實際上需要在參議院贏得60票，即常被稱為“超級多數派”。當我當選總統時，延遲投票已經深深融入參議院的實踐中——被視為一項重要的、悠久的傳統——沒有人真的關注過改革或完全廢除它的可能性。這就是為什麼——我剛剛以壓倒性的選舉優勢贏得選舉，並得到多年來最大的國會多數派支持——我仍然無法更改郵局名稱，更不用說通過我們的刺激方案，而不獲得一些共和黨人的支持。

How hard could that be?

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A MAJOR WHITE HOUSE initiative can take months to prepare. There are scores of meetings involving multiple agencies and perhaps hundreds of staffers. There are extensive consultations with interested stakeholders. The White House communications team is charged with choreographing a tightly managed campaign to sell the idea to the public, and the machinery of the entire executive branch is marshaled to pull in key committee chairs and ranking members. All of this takes place long before actual legislation is drafted and introduced.

## 這到底有多難？

白宮的一個重大倡議可能需要準備數月時間。需要多個部門進行會議、數百名職員參與。還需要與有興趣的利益攸關方進行廣泛磋商。白宮的宣傳團隊負責設計一個嚴格管理的宣傳活動，以將此理念銷售給公眾，並動員整個行政部門的機器拉攏重要委員會主席和排名成員。所有這些都在實際立法起草和提交之前就已經進行。

We had no time for any of that. Instead, before I even took office, my still-unofficial and largely unpaid economic team worked nonstop through the holidays to flesh out the key elements of what would become the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (apparently “stimulus package” wouldn’t go over well with the public).

We proposed that nearly \$800 billion be divided into three buckets of roughly equal size. In bucket one, emergency payments like supplementary unemployment insurance and direct aid to states to slow further mass layoffs of teachers, police officers, and other public workers. In bucket two, tax cuts targeted at the middle class, as well as various business tax breaks that gave companies a big incentive to invest in new plants or equipment now instead of later. Both the emergency payments and the tax cuts had the advantage of being easy to administer; we could quickly get money out the door and into the pockets of consumers and businesses. Tax cuts also had the added benefit of potentially attracting Republican support.

我们没有时间进行任何这些事情。相反，在我就职之前，我的非正式和大部分无薪的经济团队在节日期间不停地工作，以完善美国复苏和再投资法案（显然，“刺激计划”在公众中不太受欢迎）的关键要素。

我们提议将近8000亿美元分成三个大臣桶。第一个桶是紧急付款，如补充失业保险和直接援助各州以减缓教师、警察和其他公共工作者的进一步大规模裁员。在第二个桶中，针对中产阶级的减税以及各种企业税收减免，这给予企业投资新工厂或设备的巨大激励，而不是拖延到以后。紧急付款和减税都具有易于管理的优点；我们可以快速将钱付出，进入消费者和企业的口袋。减税还具有吸引共和党支持的额外好处。

The third bucket, on the other hand, contained initiatives that were harder to design and would take longer to implement but might have a bigger long-term impact: not just traditional infrastructure spending like road construction and sewer repair but also high-speed rail, solar and wind power installation, broadband lines for underserved rural areas, and incentives for states to reform their education systems—all intended not only to put people to work but to make America more competitive.

Considering how many unmet needs there were in communities all across the country, I was surprised by how much work it took for our team to find worthy projects of sufficient scale for the Recovery Act to fund. Some promising ideas we rejected because they would take too long to stand up or required a huge new bureaucracy to manage. Others missed the cut because they wouldn’t boost demand sufficiently. Mindful of accusations that I planned to use the economic crisis as an excuse for an orgy of wasteful liberal boondoggles (and because I in fact wanted to prevent Congress from engaging in wasteful boondoggles, liberal or otherwise), we put in place a series of good-government safeguards: a competitive application process for state and local governments seeking funding; strict audit and reporting requirements; and, in a move we knew would draw howls from Capitol Hill, a firm policy of no “earmarks”—to use the innocuous name for a time-honored practice in which members of Congress insert various pet projects (many dubious) into must-pass legislation.

然而，第三个桶却包含了更难设计且需要更长时间才能实施，但长期影响可能更大的举措：不仅仅是传统的基础设施支出，如道路建设和污水修复，还包括高速铁路、太阳能和风能的安装、下发宽带线路到没有得到服务的乡村地区和激励各个州改革其教育系统。这些措施不仅旨在创造就业机会，而且也旨在使美国更具竞争力。

考虑到全国各地社区有如此多未满足的需求，我对我们的团队需要付出多少努力才能找到足够规模并值得投资的项目感到惊讶。我们拒绝了一些有前途的想法，因为它们需要花费太长时间来建立或需要一个庞大的新官僚机构来管理。还有一些项目之所以未被获批，是因为它们不能足够促进需求。我们在考虑到有人指责我计划利用经济危机来进行浪费性的自由派玩意（因为我实际上希望阻止国会进行浪费性的任何玩意，无论是自由派还是其它流派），我们采取了一系列良好的政府保障措施：为争取资金寻求地方政府和州政府进行的竞争性申请过程；严格的审计和报告要求；而且，我们知道这将引起国会议员们的强烈反对，实行了坚定的“不附加特别拨款（earmarks）”政策，这是一种占用“强制性通过”的立法程序插入各种个人项目（很多都是可疑的）的做法。

We had to run a tight ship and maintain high standards, I told my crew. With any luck, the Recovery Act wouldn’t just help avert a depression. It could also serve to restore the public’s faith in honest, responsible government.

By New Year’s Day, most of our initial work was finished. Armed with our proposal and knowing we couldn’t afford to work on a conventional timetable, Joe Biden and I traveled to the Capitol on January 5—two weeks before my inauguration—to meet with Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, House Republican leader John Boehner, and the other key leaders of the newly installed 111th Congress whose support we’d need to get a bill passed.

我告诉我的团队，我们必须运筹帷幄，保持高标准。如果幸运的话，经济复苏法案不仅可以帮助我们避免大萧条，还可以恢复公众对于诚实、负责任的政府的信心。

到元旦，我们的大部分初步工作都已完成。带着我们的提案并且知道我们无法按照常规时间表工作，乔·拜登和我于1月5日前往国会山，会见参议院多数党领袖哈里·里德、参议院共和党领袖米奇·麦康奈尔、众议院议长南希·佩洛西、众议院共和党领袖约翰·博纳，以及新上任的第111届国会的其他关键领导人，他们的支持是我们通过法案所需要的。

Of the four key leaders, I knew Harry best, but I'd had my share of interactions with McConnell during my few years in the Senate. Short, owlish, with a smooth Kentucky accent, McConnell seemed an unlikely Republican leader. He showed no aptitude for schmoozing, backslapping, or rousing oratory. As far as anyone could tell, he had no close friends even in his own caucus; nor did he appear to have any strong convictions beyond an almost religious opposition to any version of campaign finance reform. Joe told me of one run-in he'd had on the Senate floor after the Republican leader blocked a bill Joe was sponsoring; when Joe tried to explain the bill's merits, McConnell raised his hand like a traffic cop and said, "You must be under the mistaken impression that I care." But what McConnell lacked in charisma or interest in policy he more than made up for in discipline, shrewdness, and shamelessness—all of which he employed in the single-minded and dispassionate pursuit of power.

在那四位主要领导者里，我和哈里最亲近，但我在参议院的几年里也和麦康奈尔有过一些互动。他矮小、长得像猫头鹰，讲话带着流畅的肯塔基口音，似乎不太可能成为共和党领袖。他没有撒谎、拍马屁或者激昂演讲的才能。据大家所知，他甚至在自己党团里也没有亲近的朋友，也没有什么强烈的信仰，除了一种几乎宗教般的反对任何形式的竞选财务改革。乔告诉我，在共和党领袖阻止了一项乔提出的议案之后，他们曾有一次在参议院的冲突。当乔试图解释这个法案的优点时，麦康奈尔举起手像个交通警察说：“你一定是误以为我在乎。”但是，麦康奈尔在魄力、政策兴趣方面的缺陷都在他单纯而冷静地追求权力的决心、精明和无耻中得到了弥补。

Harry couldn't stand him.

Boehner was a different animal, an affable, gravel-voiced son of a bartender from outside Cincinnati. With his chain-smoking and perpetual tan, his love of golf and a good merlot, he felt familiar to me, cut from the same cloth as many of the Republicans I'd gotten to know as a state legislator in Springfield—regular guys who didn't stray from the party line or the lobbyists who kept them in power but who also didn't consider politics a blood sport and might even work with you if it didn't cost them too much politically. Unfortunately these same human qualities gave Boehner a tenuous grip on his caucus; and having experienced the humiliation of being stripped of a leadership post as a result of insufficient fealty to Newt Gingrich in the late 1990s, he rarely deviated from whatever talking points his staff had prepared for him, at least not in public. Unlike the relationship between Harry and McConnell, however, there was no real enmity between Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Boehner, just mutual frustration—on Nancy's part because of Boehner's unreliability as a negotiating partner and his frequent inability to deliver votes; on Boehner's part because Nancy generally outmaneuvered him.哈利無法忍受他。

波納是一個不同凡響的動物，一個來自辛辛那提郊區的和藹可親、嗓音低沉的酒吧老板之子。他經常吸煙，皮膚晒得黑黑的，熱愛打高爾夫球和好酒。他讓我感到很熟悉，和我在斯普林菲尔德擔任州議員時認識的許多共和黨人一樣，是普通的人們，他們不會背離黨派鴻溝或軟禁他們當權的遊說者，但如果這不會對他們在政治上造成太大的代價，他們甚至會與你合作。但不幸的是，這些人性的品質使波納對自己的陣營掌握不穩；由於在上世紀90年代未能效忠紐特·金裡奇，而被剝奪了一個領導職位的屈辱經歷，他很少在公開場合偏離他的工作人員準備的談話要點。與哈利和麥康奈爾之間的關係不同，然而，演說者南希·佩洛西和波納之間並沒有真正的敵意，只是互相的挫折——南希因波納不可靠的談判夥伴和經常無法提供投票而感到失望；而波納之所以感到挫敗，則是因為南希通常在策略上比他更出色。

Boehner wasn't the first to be outflanked by the Speaker. On the surface, Nancy, in her designer suits, matching shoes, and perfectly coiffed hair, looked every bit the wealthy San Francisco liberal she was. Though she could talk a mile a minute, she wasn't particularly good on TV at the time, with a tendency to deliver Democratic nostrums with a practiced earnestness that called to mind an after-dinner speech at a charity gala.

But politicians (usually men) underestimated Nancy at their own peril, for her ascent to power had been no fluke. She'd grown up in the East, the Italian American daughter of Baltimore's mayor, tutored from an early age in the ways of ethnic ward bosses and longshoremen, unafraid to play hardball politics in the name of getting things done. After moving to the West Coast with her husband, Paul, and staying home to raise their five kids while he built a successful business, Nancy eventually put her early political education to good use, rising steadily through the ranks of the California Democratic Party and Congress to become the first female Speaker in American history. She didn't care that Republicans made her their favorite foil; nor was she fazed by the occasional grousing of her Democratic colleagues. The fact was, nobody was tougher or a more skilled legislative strategist, and she kept her caucus in line with a combination of attentiveness, fundraising prowess, and a willingness to cut off at the knees anyone who failed to deliver on commitments they'd made.

博納在被议长挡住路之前，并不是第一位。外表上，南希穿着设计师西装、相配的鞋子，头发完美的造型，看起来正是她所代表的身份——身价亿万的旧金山自由派。虽然她能够迅速发言，但早期的她在电视上表现并不好，有一种用虚伪的热情说民主党说辞的倾向，让人想起慈善晚宴的主题演讲。但是，政治家们（通常是男性）低估南希往往会后悔不已，因为她的权力之路不是偶然的。她在东部长大，是巴尔的摩市长的意大利裔女儿，从小就接受种族地区老板和码头工人的政治教育，毫不畏惧地打出硬气政治牌来实现目标。在随丈夫保罗搬到西海岸后，她在家中照顾五个孩子，同时也用上了她早期的政治知识，逐步在加利福尼亚民主党和国会中晋升，成为美国历史上第一位女议长。她并不介意共和党将她作为自己的最爱，也不被民主党同僚偶尔的牢骚所困扰。事实上，没有人比她更强硬或更有技巧的立法策略家，她通过关注，筹款能力和愿意削弱任何未能实现承诺的人来保持她的党派队伍顺从。

Harry, Mitch, Nancy, and John. The Four Tops, we sometimes called them. For most of the next eight years, the dynamics among these individuals would play a key role in shaping my presidency. I became accustomed to the ritualistic quality of our joint meetings, the way they'd file into the room one at a time, each offering a handshake and a muted acknowledgment ("Mr. President...Mr. Vice President..."); how, once we were all seated, Joe and I and sometimes Nancy would attempt some lighthearted banter, considering ourselves lucky if we got a tepid smile from the other three, while my staff brought in the press pool for the obligatory photo op; how, once the press had been ushered out and we got down to business, the four of them would

take care not to show their cards or make firm commitments, their comments often sprinkled with thinly veiled recrimination directed at their counterparts, all of them unified only in their common desire to be somewhere else. 哈里、米奇、南希和约翰。有时我们称他们为“四个顶尖”。在接下来的八年中，这些人之间的动态将在我的总统任期中发挥关键作用。我习惯了我们联席会议的例行性质，他们会一个接一个地走进房间，每个人都会握手并略微示意一下（“总统先生...副总统先生...”）；我们所有人一旦坐下来，我和乔以及有时候是南希，会尝试一些轻松的谈笑，如果我们能从其他三个人那里得到一个温吞吞的微笑，那我们会认为自己很幸运，而我的工作人员则会引导新闻摄影队进入房间进行必要的照片拍摄；一旦新闻摄影队被引导出去后，我们开始正式谈事情。四个人都会小心地不表露自己的底牌或做出坚定的承诺，他们的评论常常带着掩饰的指责，针对他们的对手，他们唯一的共同点就是有一个异曲同工之妙，都想去别的地方。

Perhaps because it was our first meeting since the election, perhaps because we were joined by their respective whips and deputies, and perhaps because of the gravity of what lay before us, the Four Tops were all on their best behavior when we gathered that day in early January in the opulent LBJ Room, just off the Senate chamber, along with other congressional leaders. They listened with studied attentiveness as I made the case for the Recovery Act. I mentioned that my team had already reached out to their staffs for input on actual legislation and that we welcomed any suggestions to make the stimulus package more effective. I noted that I also hoped to visit with each of their caucuses immediately after the inauguration to answer further questions. But given the rapidly worsening situation, I said, speed was of the essence: We needed a bill on my desk not in one hundred days but in thirty. I closed by telling those gathered that history would judge all of us by what we did in this moment and that I hoped we could muster the kind of bipartisan cooperation that would restore the confidence of an anxious and vulnerable public.

也许是因为这是我们自大选以来的第一次会面，也许是因为我们有他们各自的鞭子和副手，也许是因为我们面临的严肃性质，当我们在1月初在豪华的LBJ房间（Senate议院外）与其他国会领袖一起聚集时，Four Tops 表现得都很好。当我为《复苏法案》辩护时，他们专注地聆听。我提到我的团队已经联系了他们的工作人员，以针对实际立法征求意见，并欢迎任何建议来使刺激方案更有效。我还提到，我希望在就职典礼后立即与他们的许多人见面，以回答更多的问题。但是鉴于形势的日益恶化，我说，速度至关重要：我们需要在30天内把法案送到我的桌子上，而不是100天。我最后还告诉在场的人，历史将通过我们在这一时刻所做的事情来判断所有人，我希望我们能够凝聚这种能够恢复焦虑和脆弱公众信心的两党合作。

Considering what I was asking congressional leaders to do—to compress what might normally be a year-long legislative process into one month—the reaction around the room was relatively subdued. My longtime friend Dick Durbin, the Senate whip, asked about increasing the portion of stimulus dollars dedicated to infrastructure. Jim Clyburn, the House majority whip, offered a pointed history lesson on all the ways the New Deal had bypassed Black communities, asking how we were going to prevent the same thing from happening in places like his home state of South Carolina. Virginian Eric Cantor, the second-ranking Republican in the House and one of the conservative Young Turks known to be gunning for Boehner's job, praised some of the tax cut proposals we had included in the package but asked whether a bigger, permanent tax cut wouldn't work better than spending on what he considered failed liberal programs like food stamps.

考虑到我当时向国会领袖提出的要求——压缩通常需要一年时间的立法过程为一个月——房间里的反应相对冷静。我多年的朋友、参议院鞭子迪克·德宾问及增加刺激基金用于基础设施的部分是如何实现的。众议院多数党鞭吉姆·克莱伯恩则针对历史提出问题，谈到新政没有照顾到黑人社区的方方面面，询问我们将如何避免类似的情况在南卡罗来纳等地重演。众议院为数不多的保守派“年轻土耳其”之一、排名第二的共和党籍弗吉尼亚州议员埃里克·坎特对我们方案中加入的一些减税建议表示赞赏，但却问是否比起花在被认为是失败的自由派计划，如食品券上，实施更大规模、永久性的减税会更合适。

It was, however, the comments from Harry, Mitch, Nancy, and John, delivered with teeth-clenching civility and requiring a bit of deciphering, that gave me and Joe our best sense of the real state of play.

“Well, Mr. President-Elect,” said Nancy, “I think the American people are pretty clear that you inherited a terrible mess. Just terrible. And of course our caucus is prepared to do the responsible thing to clean up this mess that you inherited. But I just hope our friends on the other side of the aisle remember how it was the Democrats, including you, Mr. President-Elect, who stepped up to the plate...Despite what we all know was bad politics...it was Democrats who were willing to help President Bush with TARP. I hope our Republican friends take the same responsible approach in what, as you said, is a very critical moment.”

然而，哈利、米奇、南希和约翰的评论以咬牙切齿的礼貌、需要一点破译，给了我和乔最好的感觉，了解实际情况。

“总统当选人，”南希说，“我认为美国人民非常清楚，你继承了一个可怕的混乱局面，非常可怕。当然，我们的党团已经准备好做出负责任的事情，清理你继承的混乱。但我希望我们对过道的朋友们记得，正是民主党人，包括你，总统当选人，履行自己的责任……尽管我们都知道这是糟糕的政治，但是民主党人愿意帮助布什总统完成了TARP计划。我希望我们的共和党朋友们在这个非常关键的时刻采取同样负责任的态度。”

Translation: Don't think for a minute that we won't be reminding the American people every single chance we get that Republicans caused the financial crisis.

“Our caucus won't like it,” Harry said, “but we don't have much choice, so we'll just have to get it done, okay?”

Translation: Don't expect Mitch McConnell to lift a finger to help.

“Well, we're happy to listen, but with all due respect, I don't think the American people are looking for more big spending and bailouts,” Boehner said.

“They're tightening their belts, and they expect us to do the same.”

不要以為我們不會在每一個機會都提醒美國人共和黨是導致金融危機的罪魁禍首。

“我們的黨團可能不喜歡，但我們別無選擇，所以我們只能完成它了，好嗎？”哈里說道。

別指望麥康奈爾會伸手幫忙。

“嗯，我們很樂意聽取意見，但恕我直言，我不認為美國人民想要更多的巨額支出和救助措施，”波納說道，“他們正在緊縮腰帶，他們也期待我們這樣做。”

Translation: My caucus will crucify me if I say anything that sounds cooperative.

“I can’t tell you there’s much of an appetite for what you’re proposing, Mr. President-Elect,” McConnell said, “but you’re welcome to come to our weekly luncheon to make your case.”

Translation: You must be under the mistaken impression that I care.

On our way down the stairs after the meeting was over, I turned to Joe.

“Well, that could have been worse,” I said.

“Yeah,” Joe said. “No fistfights broke out.”

I laughed. “See there? That’s progress!”

我如果说任何听起来合作的话，我的籍会把我钉在十字架上。

“选任总统先生，你提出的建议不太受欢迎，”麦康奈尔说，“但你可以来参加我们每周的午餐会，为你的立场辩护。”

你一定误以为我在意。

我们结束会议后下楼时，我转向乔。

“嗯，那可能会更糟，”我说。

“是啊，”乔说。“没有打架。”

我笑了。“你看，这就是进步！”

—

GIVEN HOW HECTIC everything was in the first few weeks after I took office, I barely had time to dwell on the pervasive, routine weirdness of my new circumstances. But make no mistake, it was weird. There was the way everyone now stood up anytime I walked into a room. “Sit down,” I’d growl, telling my team that those kinds of formalities weren’t my style. They’d smile and nod—and then do the exact same thing the next time we met.

There was the way my first name all but disappeared, used by nobody but Michelle, our families, and a few close friends, like Marty. Otherwise, it was “Yes, Mr. President” and “No, Mr. President,” although over time my staff at least adopted the more colloquial “POTUS” (president of the United States) when talking to or about me inside the White House.考虑到我刚上任的前几周有多么忙碌，我几乎没有时间反省我新处境的普遍怪异。但毫无疑问，那是很奇怪的。每当我走进一个房间，每个人都站起来的方式，就是其中一个例子。“坐下，”我会咆哮，告诉我的团队这些礼节都不是我风格。他们会微笑着点头，然后下一次见面时做完全相同的事情。我的名字一直都不用说出来，只有Michelle、我们的家人，还有一些亲密的朋友，像Marty。否则，是“是，总统先生”和「不，总统先生」，虽然随着时间的推移，我的工作人员至少在白宫内部与我交谈或讨论时采用了更口语化的「美国总统」（POTUS）。

There was the way my daily schedule had suddenly become a behind-the-scenes tug-of-war between various staffers, agencies, and constituencies, each one wanting their causes highlighted or their issues addressed, outcomes spit out through a hidden machinery that I never fully understood.

Meanwhile, I discovered that whenever the Secret Service agents whispered into their wrist microphones, they were broadcasting my movements over a staff-monitored radio channel: “Renegade heading to residence” or “Renegade to Situation Room” or “Renegade to Secondary Hold,” which was their discreet way of saying I was going to the bathroom.

我的日程表突然变成了各种工作人员、机构和选民之间幕后的拉锯战，每个人都希望他们的事业得到突出，或者他们的问题得到解决，结果则通过我从未完全理解的隐藏机器输出。与此同时，我发现每当特勤局探员低声说话时，他们会通过工作人员监控的无线电频道广播我的行动：“叛逆者前往住所”或“叛逆者前往情报室”或“叛逆者前往辅助区”，这是他们含蓄的方式，意味着我要去洗手间。

And there was the ever-present traveling press pool: a herd of reporters and photographers who needed to be alerted anytime I left the White House complex and would follow me in a government-provided van. The arrangement made sense when we traveled on official business, but I soon discovered that it applied in all circumstances, whether Michelle and I were going out to a restaurant or I was heading to a gym to play basketball or planning to watch one of the girls’ soccer games at a nearby field. As Gibbs, who was now my press secretary, explained, the rationale was that a president’s movements were inherently newsworthy and that the press needed to be on the scene in case something consequential happened. And yet I can’t recall the press van ever capturing any image more compelling than me getting out of a car wearing sweatpants. It did have the effect of eliminating whatever scraps of privacy I might still have had when venturing beyond the White House gates. Feeling mildly cranky about it, I asked Gibbs that first week whether we could leave the press behind when I went on personal outings.

而且，一直跟隨著我的還有總統巡迴記者團：一群需要隨時知道我離開白宮區域的記者和攝影師，他們會跟隨我乘坐政府提供的車輛。在我們進行官方活動時，這種安排是有道理的，但我很快就發現，無論是米歇爾和我去餐廳，還是我前往健身房打籃球，或是計劃在附近的足球場觀看女兒的比賽，都適用。正如現在擔任我的新聞秘書的吉布斯所解釋的那樣，理由是總統的行蹤本身就具有新聞價值，媒體需要在現場以防發生重大事件。然而，我不能回憶起巡迴記者團有何收穫比我穿著運動褲下車更有吸引力的影像。這確實消除了我在越出白宮大門時還擁有的一點私密性。在那第一周感到有些煩躁後，我問吉布斯是否可以在我私人外出時讓記者團留在後面。

“Bad idea,” Gibbs said.

“Why? The reporters crammed in that van must know it’s a waste of time.”

“Yeah, but their bosses don’t,” Gibbs said. “And remember, you promised to run the most open administration in history. You do this, the press will have a

fit.”

“I’m not talking about public business,” I objected. “I’m talking about taking my wife on a date. Or getting some fresh air.” I’d read enough about previous presidents to know that Teddy Roosevelt once spent two weeks camping in Yellowstone, traveling by horse. I knew that during the Great Depression, FDR had passed weeks at a time sailing up the East Coast to an island near Nova Scotia. I reminded Gibbs that Harry Truman had gone for long morning walks through the streets of Washington during his presidency. “不是个好主意，”吉布斯说。

“为什么？那辆面包车里挤满了记者，他们一定知道这是浪费时间。”

“是啊，但他们的老板不知道，”吉布斯说。“还记得你的承诺吗？让这个政府成为历史上最开放的政府。你这么做，媒体会抓狂的。”

“我不是在谈公共业务，”我反驳道。“我是在谈带妻子出去约会，或者呼吸新鲜空气。”我读过很多先前的总统，比如特迪·罗斯福曾花两周时间骑马在黄石公园里野营。我也知道在大萧条时期，富兰克林·罗斯福曾多次乘船沿东海岸到达新斯科舍附近的岛屿。我提醒吉布斯哈里·S·杜鲁门总统在任期内常常在华盛顿大街上长时间散步。

“Times have changed, Mr. President,” Gibbs said patiently. “Look, it’s your decision. But I’m telling you, getting rid of the press pool will create a shitstorm that we don’t need right now. It’ll also make it harder for me to get cooperation from them when it comes to the girls...”

I started to answer, then shut my mouth. Michelle and I had already told Gibbs that our highest priority was making sure the press left our daughters alone when they were out and about. Gibbs knew I wasn’t going to do anything to jeopardize that. Having successfully repulsed my rebellion, he was wise enough not to gloat; instead he just patted me on the back and headed to his office, leaving me to mutter under my breath. (To their credit, members of the press would place Malia and Sasha off-limits for the duration of my presidency, an act of basic decency that I deeply appreciated.)

时代已经改变了，总统先生，”吉布斯耐心地说。“你的决定。但我告诉你，取消新闻池会引起我们现在不需要的骚动。这也会让我在需要合作时难以得到他们的支持，特别是对于女孩们……”

我刚要回答，然后闭上了嘴。米歇尔和我已经告诉过吉布斯，我们的最高优先事项是确保新闻界在女儿外出时离开她们。吉布斯知道我不会做任何危及这一点的事情。成功地驱逐了我的反叛，他聪明地没有幸灾乐祸，只是拍了拍我的背，走向他的办公室，留下我嘟囔不已。（值得赞扬的是，新闻界成员将玛莉亚和萨沙的禁区放在了我的总统任期内，这是我非常感激的基本尊重行为。）

My team did throw me one bone when it came to freedom: I was able to keep my BlackBerry—or, rather, I was given a new, specially modified device, approved only after several weeks of negotiations with various cybersecurity personnel. With it, I could send and receive emails, though only from a vetted list of twenty or so contacts, and the internal microphone and headphone jack had been removed, so that the phone function didn’t work. Michelle joked that my BlackBerry was like one of those play phones you give toddlers, where they get to press buttons and it makes noises and things light up but nothing actually happens.

我的团队在自由方面给了我一点让步：他们让我保留了我的BlackBerry手机，或者说是给了我一部特别修改过的新机器。在经过几周的与各种网络安全人员的谈判后，这部手机得到了批准。我可以用它发送和接收电子邮件，但只能和二十个左右经过审核的联系人通信，而且内置的麦克风和耳机插孔已被移除，因此它的电话功能无法使用。米歇尔开玩笑说，我的BlackBerry就像是给幼儿的那种玩具手机，他们可以按按钮会有声音和东西会亮起来，但什么都没用。

Given these limitations, most of my contact with the outside world depended on three young aides who sat in the Outer Oval: Reggie, who had agreed to stay on as my body man; Brian Mosteller, a fastidious Ohioan who organized all my daily events within the complex; and Katie Johnson, Plouffe’s no-nonsense assistant from the campaign who now performed the same function for me. Together they served as my unofficial gatekeepers and personal life-support system, patching through my phone calls, scheduling my haircuts, providing briefing materials, keeping me on time, alerting me to upcoming staff birthdays and purchasing cards for me to sign, telling me when I’d spilled soup on my tie, enduring my rants and bad jokes, and generally keeping me functioning throughout the course of twelve- to sixteen-hour days.

基于这些限制，我与外界的大部分联系都依赖于三个年轻的助手，他们坐在外部椭圆形办公室里：雷吉（Reggie），他同意留下来担任我的随从；布赖恩·莫斯特勒（Brian Mosteller）是一个神经质的俄亥俄人，他负责组织我在复杂的事件日程中的所有日常活动；凯蒂·约翰逊（Katie Johnson）是普卢夫竞选团队中的果断助手，现在为我执行同样的职责。他们一起作为我的非正式门卫和个人生命支持系统，通过我的电话，安排我的美发，提供简报材料，让我按时工作，提醒我即将到来的员工生日，并为我购买要签名的卡片，告诉我是否将汤汁洒在了领带上，并忍受我发脾气和说冷笑话，总之，在12至16小时的工作日中让我保持运转。

The lone denizen of the Outer Oval past his mid-thirties was Pete Souza, our White House photographer. Middle-aged, compactly built, and with a swarthy complexion that reflected his Portuguese roots, Pete was on his second tour at the White House, having served as an official photographer for the Reagan administration. After various teaching stints and freelance assignments, Pete had landed at the Chicago Tribune, where he’d covered the early stages of the Afghan War as well as my start in the U.S. Senate.

在外部椭圆形的 mid-thirties 裡，唯一的居民是我們的白宮攝影師Pete Souza。中年，結實，膚色黝黑反映了他的葡萄牙人根源，Pete 正在他的第二次在白宮服務，此前他曾擔任雷根政府的官方攝影師。經過多年的教學和自由撰稿的工作，Pete 最後來到芝加哥論壇報，他在那裡報導了阿富汗戰爭的早期階段，以及我在美國參議院的開始。

I had liked him right away: In addition to having a photojournalist’s gift for capturing complex stories in a single image, Pete was smart, unpretentious, a bit curmudgeonly, but never cynical. After we won, he agreed to join the team on the condition that I allow him unfettered access. It was a measure of my confidence in him that I gave the okay, and for the next eight years Pete became a constant presence, skirting the edges of every meeting, witnessing every victory and defeat, occasionally lowering himself onto a creaky knee to get the angle he wanted, never making a sound other than the constant

whirr of the camera's shutter.我一开始喜欢上了他：除了具有摄影记者拍摄复杂故事的天赋外，Pete还很聪明，不矫情，有点暴躁，但从来不愤世嫉俗。在我们赢得胜利后，他同意条件加入团队，我允许他自由接触。这是我对他的信心的一种体现，接下来的八年里，Pete成为了一个不断存在的人，擅长观察每一次胜利和挫败，偶尔低下头抓拍自己想要的角度，除了镜头的不断闪烁，从不发出任何声音。

He also became a good friend.

In this new, curiously sealed habitat of mine, the fondness and trust I felt toward those I worked with and the kindness and support they showed me and my family were a saving grace. This was true for Ray Rogers and Quincy Jackson, the two young navy valets assigned to the Oval Office, who served refreshments to visitors and whipped up a solid lunch for me every day in the tiny kitchenette wedged next to the dining space. Or the White House Communications Agency staffers, among them two brothers named Nate and Luke Emory, who set up lecterns, prompters, and video shoots at a moment's notice. Or Barbara Swann, who brought the mail each day and appeared incapable of anything other than a smile and sweet word for everyone.他也成为了好朋友。在我这个新的、奇妙封闭的栖息地里，我对那些我共事的人们的喜爱和信任以及他们对我和我的家人的善意和支持成为了拯救的恩典。这对雷·罗杰斯和昆西·杰克逊来说也是如此，他们是派往椭圆形办公室的两个年轻的海军侍从，为访客提供茶点，每天在餐厅旁边挤进一个小小的厨房为我准备美味的午餐。还有在白宫通讯署工作的员工，其中包括名叫内特和卢克·埃默里的两个兄弟，他们可以在瞬间设置讲台、提示器和视频拍摄。还有每天送来邮件，看起来似乎只会微笑和对每个人说甜言蜜语的芭芭拉·斯旺。

And it was true of the residence staff. My family's new living quarters seemed less a home than an extended series of suites in a boutique hotel, complete with a gym, pool, tennis court, movie theater, salon, bowling alley, and medical office. The staff was organized under the direction of chief usher Steve Rochon, a former Coast Guard rear admiral who was hired by the Bushes in 2007, becoming the first African American to hold the post. A cleaning crew came through each day, keeping the place spotless; a rotating team of chefs prepared meals for our family or, as sometimes happened, for a few hundred guests; butlers were on hand to serve those meals or anything else you might want; switchboard operators sat ready to put through calls at all hours and to make sure we woke up in the morning; ushers waited in the small elevator every morning to take me down to work and were there to greet me again upon my evening return; building engineers were on-site to fix what was broken; and in-house florists kept every room filled with magnificent, ever-varying, freshly cut flowers.這也是住房工作人員的真實情況。我家的新居似乎不是一個家，而是一個精品酒店的延伸套房，配有健身房、游泳池、網球場、電影院、美容院、保齡球館和診所。在首席招待史蒂夫·羅翰(Rochon)的指導下，工作人員被組織起來。他是一名前海岸警衛隊少將，於2007年被布什聘用，成為第一位擔任此職位的非裔美國人。每天都有一個清潔隊經過，保持地方整潔；一個輪班的廚師團隊為我們全家或者有時是為幾百名客人準備餐點；管家在手邊提供任何你可能需要的東西或者服務；總機操作員隨時待命，接聽所有的電話，確保我們早上起床；招待員每天早上在小電梯門口等我，帶我下樓去工作，晚上我回來時還在等我；建築工程師在現場修理壞掉的東西；室內花店保持每個房間都充滿了華麗的、不斷變幻的新鮮切花。

(It's worth pointing out here—only because people were often surprised to hear it—that a First Family pays out of pocket for any new furniture, just as it does for everything else it consumes, from groceries to toilet paper to extra staff for a president's private dinner party. The White House budget does set aside funds for a new president to redo the Oval Office, but despite some worn upholstery on the chairs and sofas, I decided that a historic recession wasn't the best time to be going through fabric swatches.)

值得指出的是，第一家庭需要自掏腰包购买任何新家具，就像购买杂货、卫生纸、总统私人晚宴的额外工作人员一样。白宫预算确实安排了资金供新总统重新装修椭圆形办公室使用，但虽然椅子和沙发的软垫有点磨损，我认为历史上的衰退不是挑选织物样品的最佳时机。

And for the president, at least, there was a trio of navy valets, first among them a soft-spoken bear of a man named Sam Sutton. On our first full day in the White House, I walked through the hallway closet that connected our bedroom to my bathroom only to find every shirt, suit, and pair of pants I owned perfectly pressed and hung in orderly rows, my shoes shined to a high gloss, every pair of socks or shorts folded and sorted as if in a department store display. When in the evening I returned from the Oval Office and hung my (only lightly mussed!) suit in the closet (a significant improvement over my normal practice of draping it on the nearest doorknob, one of Michelle's pet peeves), Sam came up beside me and gently but firmly explained that it would be better if from now on I just left the care of my clothes up to him—a switch that not only improved my general appearance but no doubt helped my marriage.至于总统，至少有三名海军侍从队员，其中首位是一位名叫山姆·萨顿 (Sam Sutton) 的温文尔雅的大个子。在我们在白宫度过的第一个完整的一天，我走过连接我们卧室和浴室的走廊衣柜，却发现我的每一件衬衫、西装和裤子都被完美地熨烫和整齐地挂着，我的鞋子也被擦得非常亮，每双袜子或短裤都像在商场一样被折叠和分类。晚上当我从椭圆形办公室回来，并把（只是轻微地弄皱！）的西服挂在衣柜里（这是一项明显的改善，而不是像往常一样把它搭在最近的门把手上，这是米歇尔有点头疼的事情之一），山姆走到我身边，温柔而坚定地解释道，从现在开始，最好是让他来负责我的衣服的照料——这个转变不仅改善了我的整体形象，而且无疑有助于我的婚姻。

None of this was a hardship, of course. Still, it was a little disconcerting. During the campaign, Michelle and I had become accustomed to always having people around, but they hadn't occupied our house, and we definitely weren't used to having butlers and maids. In this new, rarefied air, we worried that the girls would get too coddled and slide into bad habits, and we instituted a rule (enforced with only average success) that they had to clean their rooms and make their beds before school each morning. My mother-in-law, loath to have anyone waiting on her, asked the staff for a lesson on using the washers and dryers so she could do her own laundry. Feeling a little embarrassed myself, I tried to keep the Treaty Room, which served as my personal office in the residence, free of the stacks of books, papers, and assorted junk that had characterized all my previous "Holes."當然，這些都不是什麼困難的事情。但還是有點讓人不安。在競選期間，米歇爾和我已經習慣了周圍總是有人，但他們沒有住進我們的房子，我們也不習慣有管家和女僕。在這個新的高尚環境中，我們擔心女兒會變得太過嬌慣，陷入壞習慣，於是我們設立了一個規則（只有一般的成功）：每天早上上學前，她們必須打掃房間並整理床鋪。我的婆婆討厭有人等她，所以她向工作人員請教如何使用洗衣機和烘干機，以便她自己洗衣服。我自己也感到有點尷尬，所以我試圖讓我的個人辦公室——條約室保持整潔，以前的“破爛堆”——書籍、文件和各種雜物都不再存在。

Gradually, thanks to the steady generosity and professionalism of the residence staff, we found ourselves settling in. We became especially close to our regular crew of chefs and butlers, with whom we had daily contact. As with my valets, all of them were Black, Latino, or Asian American, and all but one were men (Cristeta Comerford, a Filipina American, had been recently appointed as the White House's executive chef, the first woman to hold the job). And while they were uniformly glad to have well-paying, secure jobs with good benefits, it was hard to miss in their racial makeup the vestiges of an earlier time, when social rank had clear demarcations and those who occupied the office of president felt most comfortable in their privacy when served by those they assumed were not their equals—and, therefore, could not judge them.

逐漸地，由於住宅工作人員穩定的慷慨和專業，我們開始安頓下來。我們特別親近我們的常規廚師和管家團隊，每天都有接觸。就像我的侍者一樣，他們全部是黑人、拉丁裔或亞裔美國人，而且除了一個人外，其他都是男性（菲律賓裔美國人Cristeta Comerford最近被任命為白宮行政主廚，是擔任此職位的第一個女性）。雖然他們都很高興能夠擁有高薪、穩定的工作和良好的福利待遇，但在他們的種族構成中，無法忽視早期社會地位明確劃分的遺物，而那些擔任總統職位的人最舒適的隱私時刻，就是當他們被那些他們認為不是他們的平等者，因此不能判斷他們時，為他們提供服務。

The most senior butlers were a pair of big, round-bellied Black men with sly senses of humor and the wisdom that comes from having a front-row seat to history. Buddy Carter had been around since the tail end of the Nixon presidency, first caring for visiting dignitaries at Blair House and then moving to a job in the residence. Von Everett had been around since Reagan. They spoke of previous First Families with appropriate discretion and genuine affection. But without saying much, they didn't hide how they felt about having us in their care. You could see it in how readily Von accepted Sasha's hugs or the pleasure Buddy took in sneaking Malia an extra scoop of ice cream after dinner, in the easy rapport they had talking to Marian and the pride in their eyes when Michelle wore a particularly pretty dress. They were barely distinguishable from Marian's brothers or Michelle's uncles, and in that familiarity they became more, not less, solicitous, objecting if we carried our own plates into the kitchen, alert to even a hint of what they considered substandard service from anyone on the residence staff. It would take us months of coaxing before the butlers were willing to swap their tuxedos for khakis and polo shirts when serving us meals.

最資深的管家是一對大圓腹黑人，他們帶着狡黠的幽默感和從歷史的第一排得來的智慧。巴迪·卡特從尼克松總統的最後階段開始服務，首先負責接待在布萊爾別墅的貴賓，然後轉移到白宮。馮·埃弗雷特自里根總統開始就在白宮服務。他們適當地保密並真摯地談論以前的第一家庭。但他們不多說話，卻沒有掩飾他們對我們的照顧的感受。您可以從馮容易接受薩沙的擁抱或巴迪在晚餐後悄悄塞給瑪莉亞一個額外的冰淇淋勺子中看出來，在談話中，他們與瑪麗安有輕鬆的互動，而當米歇爾穿上特別漂亮的禮服時，他們的眼睛中流露著自豪。他們幾乎與瑪麗安的兄弟和米歇爾的叔叔一樣，因此更加熱心，挑剔地對待我們在餐廳將自己的盤子端進廚房等行為。我們要花數月時間來哄騙管家在招待我們用餐時換上卡其褲和Polo衫。

“We just want to make sure you're treated like every other president,” Von explained.

“That's right,” Buddy said. “See, you and the First Lady don't really know what this means to us, Mr. President. Having you here...” He shook his head. “You just don't know.”

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WITH SUPPORT FROM Speaker Pelosi and Democratic House Appropriations Committee chair Dave Obey, as well as heroic efforts from our still-skeletal staff, we were able to get the Recovery Act legislation drafted, introduced in the House, passed out of committee, and scheduled for a full vote of the House—all by the end of my first week in office.

**“我们只是想确保您像其他总统一样受到待遇，”冯解释道。“没错，”巴迪说。“您和第一夫人并不真正知道这对我们意味着什么，总统先生。有您在这里……”他摇了摇头，“您根本不知道。”**

在众议院议长佩洛西和民主党众议院拨款委员会主席戴维·奥贝以及我们仍处于萌芽阶段的工作人员的英勇努力的支持下，我们成功起草了《复苏法案》，在众议院提交了法案，使法案经过了委员会审议，安排在本届会议全体投票中进行表决---这全部在我上任的第一周完成了。

We considered it a minor miracle.

It helped that congressional Democrats were enthusiastic about the core elements of the package—although that didn't stop them from griping about all sorts of particulars. Liberals complained that the business tax cuts were giveaways to the rich. More centrist Dems expressed anxiety about how the big price tag would play with their more conservative constituents. Members across the spectrum complained about how direct aid to states would only help Republican governors balance their budgets and appear fiscally responsible, even as those same governors accused the folks in Congress of spending like drunken sailors.

我们认为这是一个小奇迹。得益于国会民主党人对该计划核心要素的热情支持，尽管他们仍在抱怨各种细节。自由派抱怨业务税减免是向富人的恩惠。更加中间派的民主党人则担心高昂的价格标签，会如何影响到他们更保守的选民。代表们的抱怨有点跨越了整个我们的政治谱系——他们抱怨直接向州提供援助只会帮助共和党州长平衡预算，并表现得负责任，而这些州长却指责国会人员像醉汉一样挥霍。

This kind of low-grade grumbling was par for the course with any major legislative initiative, regardless of who was in the White House. It was especially common among Democrats, who for a variety of reasons (a more diverse makeup, a greater aversion to authority) seemed to take an almost perverse pride in their lack of message discipline. When some of these complaints spilled into the press, with reporters hyping a handful of stray comments as a possible sign of dissension in the ranks, Rahm or I made sure to lob a call at the worst transgressors so we could explain—in plain and sometimes

unprintable terms—just why it was that headlines like KEY DEMOCRATS BLAST OBAMA STIMULUS PLAN or DEMOCRATS MAKE CLEAR THEY WILL GUARD TURF were not exactly helpful to the cause.

這種低水準的抱怨在任何重大立法措施中都是常態，無論誰在白宮。這在民主黨人中尤其常見，由於種種原因（更多樣化的組成，更大的反權威傾向），他們似乎對缺乏訊息紀律幾乎有一種反常的驕傲。當這些抱怨之中有部分流入媒體時，記者會夸大數條零散評論，指其可能是分裂派系的跡象。此時，拉姆或我會確保將最嚴重的罪犯打電話，以便我們可以用平易近人且有時不可印刷的措辭來解釋，為什麼標題如“民主黨高層炮轟奧巴馬的經濟刺激計劃”或“民主黨明確表示他們將保護其地盤”等並不有利於事業。

Our message was received. On the margins, we made some concessions in the drafted legislation, boosting funding for congressional priorities, trimming dollars from some of our own. But when the dust had settled, the legislation contained close to 90 percent of what our economic team had originally proposed, and we'd succeeded in keeping the bill free of earmarks and egregious wastes of money that might discredit it in the eyes of the public. Just one thing was missing: Republican support.

From the start, none of us had been particularly optimistic about getting a big chunk of Republican votes, especially in the aftermath of billions already spent on financial rescue. Most House Republicans had voted against TARP despite significant pressure from a president of their own party. Those who had voted for it continued to face withering criticism from the Right, and there was a growing belief within Republican circles that one of the reasons they had done so badly in successive elections was that they'd allowed President Bush to lead them astray from conservative, small-government principles.

我們的信息已經收到。在制定法律草案時，我們在邊緣上做了一些讓步，增加了資金投入國會重點項目，從我們自身中削減了一些財政。但是，當塵埃落定之後，該法案包含了接近我們經濟團隊最初提出的90%的內容，而且我們成功保持了該法案不包含特定款項和荒唐浪費，這些會使公眾對其產生不信任感。

只缺一點：共和黨的支持。

從一開始，我們對獲得共和黨人的大量支持並不是非常樂觀，尤其是在已經花費數十億美元進行財政救助之後。盡管許多眾議院共和黨人受到自己黨派總統的壓力，已經反對了TARP，但仍面臨著來自右翼的嚴厲批評。而共和黨圈內越來越多的人相信，他們在連續的選舉中表現不佳的原因之一就是他們允許布什總統偏離保守、小政府原則的路線。

Nevertheless, coming out of our early-January meeting with congressional leaders, I had told my team to ramp up our Republican outreach. Not just for show, I said; make a serious effort.

The decision exasperated some Democrats, especially in the House. Having been in the minority for over a decade, House Democrats had been entirely shut out of the legislative process. Now that they were in control, they were in no mood to see me offer concessions to their former tormentors. They thought I was wasting my time, being naïve. “These Republicans aren’t interested in cooperating with you, Mr. President,” one member told me bluntly. “They’re looking to break you.”

然而，從我們一月初與國會領袖的會議中出來後，我告訴我的團隊加強我們對共和黨的聯繫。我說這不只是為了表面的功夫，要認真努力。這個決定讓一些民主黨人感到惱火，特別是眾議院的民主黨人。因為他們在十多年中一直處於少數黨地位，已經完全被排除在立法過程之外。現在他們掌控了局面，他們不想看到我向他們以前的折磨者讓步。他們覺得我在浪費時間，太天真了。一位成員直截了當地對我說：“這些共和黨人對你沒興趣，總統先生。他們是在尋找打破你的機會。”

I figured they might be right. But for a variety of reasons, I felt it was important to at least test the proposition. Getting the two Republican votes we needed for a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate would be a lot easier, I knew, if we first secured a decent Republican vote count in the House—safety in numbers being a maxim by which almost every politician in Washington lived. Republican votes would also provide useful political cover for Democrats representing conservative-leaning parts of the country, who were already looking ahead to tough reelection races. And truthfully, just the act of negotiating with Republicans served as a handy excuse to deflect some of the less orthodox ideas that occasionally surfaced from our side of the aisle (“I’m sorry, Congressman, but legalizing marijuana isn’t the kind of stimulus we’re talking about here...”).

我想他們可能是對的。但出于各種原因，我覺得至少測試一下這個命題是很重要的。我知道，如果我們首先在眾議院獲得共和黨投票數，那麼在參議院獲得兩個所需的共和黨投票就會更容易，因為安全在數字中被幾乎所有華盛頓政客奉為格言。共和黨的選票也為代表保守傾向地區的民主黨人提供了有用的政治掩護，他們已經在著眼於艱難的連任競選。說實話，與共和黨人談判的行動本身就是一個很方便的借口，可以轉移一些偶爾從我們這一方涌現的非正統思想（“對不起，國會議員，但合法化大麻不是我們在這裡談論的刺激問題...”）。

But for me, reaching out to Republican members wasn’t just tactical. Since my convention speech in Boston and through the closing days of my campaign, I had argued that people across the country weren’t as divided as our politics suggested, and that to do big things we needed to move past partisan bickering. And what better way to make an honest effort to reach across the aisle than from a position of strength, at a time when I didn’t necessarily need support from House Republicans to get my agenda passed? I thought that maybe, with an open mind and a bit of humility, I might catch GOP leaders by surprise and ease their suspicions, helping to build working relationships that could carry over to other issues. And if, as was more likely, the gambit didn’t work and Republicans rejected my overtures, then at least voters would know who was to blame for Washington’s dysfunction.

但對我來說，接觸共和黨成員不僅是戰術上的問題。自從我在波士頓的大會演講以來，一直到競選的最後幾天，我都在主張全國人民並沒有像我們的政治所表現的那樣分裂，而要做大事就需要超越黨派之爭。那就有什麼比從一個強大的立場出發，不一定需要眾議院共和黨成員的支持來實現我的議程，更好的方法來誠實地努力跨越派系差異呢？我認為，帶著開放的心態和一點謙卑，我可能會讓共和黨領袖感到意外，減輕他們的懷疑，幫助建立可以延續到其他問題的工作關係。如果，像更有可能的情況那樣，這種策略不起作用，共和黨人拒絕了我的主動出擊，那麼至少選民將知道誰要為華盛頓的功能障礙負責。

To lead our Legislative Affairs office, we had recruited a savvy former senior House Democratic staffer named Phil Schiliro. He was tall and balding, with a high-pitched laugh that masked a quiet intensity, and from Congress's first day in session Phil set out in search of negotiating partners, calling in me or Rahm or Joe Biden to help court individual members where necessary. When some Republicans expressed interest in more infrastructure, we told them to give us a list of their priorities. When others said they couldn't vote for a bill that included contraception funding dressed up as stimulus, we urged Democrats to strike the provision. When Eric Cantor suggested a reasonable modification to one of our tax provisions, despite the fact there was no chance he'd be voting for the bill, I told my staff to make the change, wanting to send a signal that we were serious about giving Republicans a seat at the table.

为了领导我们的立法事务办公室，我们引入了一位精明的前众议院民主党高级职员Phil Schiliro。他身材高大，已经开始秃顶，高昂的笑声掩盖了内心的强烈性格，从国会的第一天开始，Phil就着手寻找谈判伙伴，必要时呼叫我、拉姆或乔·拜登协助招揽个别成员。当一些共和党人表示对更多的基础设施感兴趣时，我们告诉他们罗列他们的优先事项清单。当其他人说他们不能投票支持涵盖口服避孕措施经费的经济刺激计划时，我们敦促民主党人撤销这项条款。当Eric Cantor对我们的税收规定提出合理修改建议时，尽管他不可能投票支持这项法案，但我告诉我的工作人员予以更改，希望向共和党人传递信号，让他们参与讨论。

Yet with each passing day, the prospect of Republican cooperation appeared more and more like a distant mirage. Those who'd initially expressed interest in working with us stopped returning our phone calls. GOP members of the House Appropriations Committee boycotted hearings on the Recovery Act, claiming that they weren't being seriously consulted. Republican attacks on the bill in the press became less restrained. Joe reported that Mitch McConnell had been cracking the whip, preventing members of his caucus from even talking to the White House about the stimulus package, and Democratic House members said they'd heard the same thing from their GOP counterparts.

然而，隨著時間的推移，共和黨合作的前景變得越來越像一個遙遠的海市蜃樓。那些最初表示有興趣與我們合作的人不再回電子郵件。眾議院撥款委員會的共和黨成員罷課，聲稱他們沒有受到認真的諮詢。共和黨在媒體上對該法案的攻擊變得更加克制。喬報告說，米奇·麥康奈爾一直在施壓，阻止他的黨派成員甚至與白宮討論刺激計劃，民主黨眾議院成員表示，他們聽到了共和黨同僚的同樣聲音。

“We can't play” was how one Republican apparently put it.

Bleak as things looked, I thought I still might have a chance to sway a few members during my visits to the House and Senate Republican caucuses, both of which were scheduled on January 27, the eve of the House vote. I took extra time to prepare my presentation, making sure I had all the facts and figures at my fingertips. The morning before the meetings, Rahm and Phil joined me in the Oval Office to review the arguments we thought Republicans might find most persuasive. We were about to load my motorcade for the drive to Capitol Hill when Gibbs and Axe walked into the Oval Office and showed me an AP wire story that had just come in, right after Boehner's meeting with his caucus. HOUSE REPUBLICANS URGED TO OPPOSE STIMULUS BILL.

“我们无法参与游戏”，这是一名共和党人所说的。尽管前景十分黯淡，我仍然觉得在我前往众议院和参议院共和党团集会的途中，仍有机会说服一些成员。这两个团体的集会都安排在1月27日，即众议院投票前夜。我花了额外时间准备演讲，确保我能随时掌握所有的事实和数据。会议前的早晨，拉姆和菲尔加入了我，一起在椭圆形办公室里回顾我们认为共和党人可能会最感兴趣的论据。当我们准备开车前往国会山时，吉布斯和艾克斯走进了椭圆形办公室，向我展示了一篇刚刚出现的美联社通讯报道，该报道是在博纳与他的团队会议后发布的。该报道声称众议院共和党人呼吁反对刺激法案。

“When did this happen?” I asked, scanning the article.

“About five minutes ago,” Gibbs said.

“Did Boehner call to give us a heads-up?” I asked.

“No,” Rahm said.

“Am I correct to assume, then, that this shit's not on the level?” I said, as the group of us started heading outside toward the Beast.

“That would be correct, Mr. President,” Rahm said.

The caucus meetings themselves weren't overtly hostile. Boehner, Cantor, and House Republican Conference chair Mike Pence were already at the lectern when I arrived (deftly avoiding a private conversation about the stunt they'd just pulled), and after Boehner's brief introduction and some polite applause, I stepped up to speak. It was my first time at a House Republicans gathering, and it was hard not to be struck by the room's uniformity: row after row of mostly middle-aged white men, with a dozen or so women and maybe two or three Hispanics and Asians. Most sat stone-faced as I briefly made the case for stimulus—citing the latest data on the economy's meltdown, the need for quick action, the fact that our package contained tax cuts Republicans had long promoted, and our commitment to long-term deficit reduction once the crisis had passed. The audience did perk up when I opened the floor for a series of questions (or, more accurately, talking points pretending to be questions), all of which I cheerfully responded to as if my answers mattered.

“這是什麼時候發生的？”我掃了一遍文章問道。

“大約五分鐘前吧，”吉布斯說。

“Boehner 打電話給我們嗎，讓我們知道這件事？”我問道。

“沒有，”拉姆說。

“那我可以推斷出來這事不靠譜了對吧？”我說，我們團隊一起向外面的野獸車走去。

“沒錯，總統先生，”拉姆說。

郊區會議本身並不是開放敵對的。Boehner，Cantor和眾議院共和黨會議主席Mike Pence當我到達講台時已經在那裡了（巧妙地避免了他們剛剛要的把戲的私人談話），在Boehner的簡短介紹和禮貌的掌聲之後，我開始發言。這是我第一次出席眾議院共和黨人集會，房間裡的單一性不得不引起我的注意：一

排排大多數是中年白人的人，有大約十幾個女人，也許只有兩三個西班牙人和亞洲人。當我簡短地為刺激方案辯護時，大多數人都像石像一樣坐著，援引最新的經濟崩潰數據，快速行動的必要性，我們的方案包含了共和黨長期推動的減稅措施，以及在危機過去後我們對長期財政赤字的承諾。當我開放一系列問題（更準確地說，是號稱問題的話語）時，觀眾才真正開始注意到我，並且我愉快地回答了所有這些“問題”。

“Mr. President, why doesn’t this bill do anything about all those Democratic-sponsored laws that forced banks to give mortgages to unqualified borrowers and were the real cause of the financial crisis?” (Applause.)

“Mr. President, I’ve got a book here for you that shows the New Deal didn’t end the Depression but actually made things worse. Do you agree that the Democrats’ so-called stimulus is just repeating those mistakes and will leave a sea of red ink for future generations to clean up?” (Applause.)

“Mr. President, will you get Nancy Pelosi to put her partisan bill aside and start over with the truly open process that the American people are demanding?” (Cheers, applause, a few hoots.)

“总统先生，为什么这项法案没有针对那些民主党赞助的法律采取行动，这些法律强制银行向不合格的借款人提供抵押贷款，是金融危机的真正原因？”（掌声。）

“总统先生，我这里有一本书，证明新政并没有结束大萧条，反而使情况更糟。您同意民主党所谓的刺激计划只是重复那些错误，留下一片红色债务给后代清理吗？”（掌声。）

“总统先生，您能否让南希·佩洛西暂时放下党派法案，重新开始真正公开的程序，满足美国人民的要求？”（欢呼、掌声、几声嘘声。）

On the Senate side, the setting felt less stilted. Joe and I were invited to sit around a table with the forty or so senators in attendance, many of them our former colleagues. But the substance of the meeting was not much different, with every Republican who bothered to speak singing from the same hymnal, describing the stimulus package as a pork-filled, budget-busting, “special-interest bailout” that Democrats needed to scrap if they wanted any hope of cooperation.

On the ride back to the White House, Rahm was apoplectic, Phil despondent. I told them it was fine, that I’d actually enjoyed the give-and-take.在參議院這邊，氛圍感覺沒有那麼呆板。喬和我被邀請坐在一個桌子旁邊，與四十多位參議員一起出席，其中很多人是我們的前同事。但會議的實質卻沒有太大不同，每一位發言的共和黨人都唱同一首歌，將刺激計劃描述為充滿豬肉、繳不起帳的「特殊利益救援行動」，民主黨如果想要得到任何合作的希望，就必須把它取消。

在回白宮的路上，拉姆惱羞成怒，菲爾頹喪。我告訴他們沒有關係，我實際上享受了這種互動。

“How many Republicans do you think might still be in play?” I asked.

Rahm shrugged. “If we’re lucky, maybe a dozen.”

That proved optimistic. The next day, the Recovery Act passed the House 244 to 188 with precisely zero Republican votes. It was the opening salvo in a battle plan that McConnell, Boehner, Cantor, and the rest would deploy with impressive discipline for the next eight years: a refusal to work with me or members of my administration, regardless of the circumstances, the issue, or the consequences for the country.

我问：“你认为可能还有多少共和党人参与其中？”莱姆耸了耸肩。“如果我们很幸运，可能只有十几个。”那被证明是乐观的。第二天，恢复法案在没有一个共和党人的支持下，以244票对188票在众议院通过。这是一项作战计划的开端，麦康奈尔、博纳、坎特和其他人将以令人印象深刻的纪律执行八年的计划：无论情况、问题或对国家的后果如何，拒绝与我或我的政府成员合作。

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YOU MIGHT THINK that for a political party that had just suffered two cycles of resounding defeat, the GOP strategy of pugnacious, all-out obstruction would carry big risks. And during a time of genuine crisis, it sure wasn’t responsible.

But if, like McConnell and Boehner, your primary concern was clawing your way back to power, recent history suggested that such a strategy made sense. For all their talk about wanting politicians to get along, American voters rarely reward the opposition for cooperating with the governing party. In the 1980s, Democrats retained their grip on the House (though not the Senate) long after Ronald Reagan’s election and the country’s shift to the right, in part because of the willingness of “responsible” Republican leaders to help make Congress work; the House flipped only after a Gingrich-led GOP turned Congress into an all-out brawl. Similarly, Democrats made no inroads against a Republican-controlled Congress by helping pass President Bush’s tax cuts or his prescription drug plan; they won back the House and Senate when they began challenging the president and Republican leaders on everything from Social Security privatization to the handling of the Iraq War.

你可能会认为，对于一个刚刚经历了两次惨败的政党来说，激进的斗争性阻挠策略存在巨大风险。而在真正的危机时刻，这种做法肯定是不负责任的。但如果像麦康奈尔和博纳这样，你们的主要关注点是夺回权力，那么最近的历史表明这种策略很有道理。尽管他们口口声声想要政治家相处融洽，但美国选民很少奖励采取合作态度的反对党。在20世纪80年代，民主党在罗纳德·里根当选和全国政治右转后仍然牢牢掌控着众议院（虽然不是参议院），部分原因是“负责任”的共和党领导人愿意协助使国会运转。只有在金里奇领导下，共和党将国会变成了一场全面激烈的斗争后，众议院才翻转。同样地，民主党通过协助通过布什总统的税收减免计划或处方药计划，在对共和党控制的国会没有取得任何进展；他们只有在开始对社会保障私有化和伊拉克战争的处理等各个方面对总统和共和党领导人提出挑战时，才夺回了众议院和参议院的控制权。

Such lessons weren’t lost on McConnell and Boehner. They understood that any help they offered my administration in mounting an effective, sustained government response to the crisis would only be to my political benefit—and would tacitly acknowledge the bankruptcy of their own anti-government, anti-regulation rhetoric. If, on the other hand, they fought a rearguard action, if they generated controversy and threw sand in the gears, they at least had a chance to energize their base and slow me and the Democrats down at a time when the country was sure to be impatient.

麥康奈爾和約瑟夫深刻明白這樣的教訓。他們明白，只要他們在危機中向我的政府提供協助，這都將對我產生政治上的好處，並且默認他們自己的反政府、反管制言論的破產。如果，另一方面，他們抵抗後退，煽動爭議並使機器出故障，他們至少有機會激發自己的基礎，並在國家肯定會不耐煩的時候減緩我民主黨人的步伐。

In executing their strategy, Republican leaders had a couple of things going for them—starting with the nature of modern news coverage. From my time in the Senate and on the campaign trail, I'd gotten to know most of the national political reporters, and on the whole, I found them to be smart, hardworking, ethical, and committed to getting their facts straight. At the same time, conservatives weren't wrong to think that in their personal attitudes the majority of news reporters probably fell at the more liberal end of the political spectrum.

在执行他们的战略时，共和党领袖有几个有利条件——首先是现代新闻报道的性质。从我在参议院和竞选路线上所了解的情况来看，我认识了大多数国家政治记者，总体来说，我发现他们智慧、勤奋、道德、致力于准确报道事实。同时，保守派并没有错，认为在个人态度方面，大多数新闻记者可能处于政治光谱的更自由派端。

This would seem to make these reporters unlikely accomplices in McConnell's and Boehner's plans. But whether out of fear of appearing biased, or because conflict sells, or because their editors demanded it, or because it was the easiest way to meet the deadlines of a twenty-four-hour, internet-driven news cycle, their collective approach to reporting on Washington followed a depressingly predictable script:

Report what one side says (quick sound bite included).

Report what the other side says (opposing sound bite, the more insulting the better).

這似乎使得這些記者成為麥康奈爾和波納的計劃中不太可能的同謀者。但是，不論是因為擔心顯得偏袒，還是因為衝突可以賣出新聞，或是因為他們的編輯要求，或者因為這是適應24小時、網絡驅動的新聞周期最簡單的方式，他們對華盛頓的報導集體遵循了一個讓人沮喪的預定劇本：

報導一方所說的話（包括快速的片段）。

報導另一方所說的話（對立的片段，愈不禮貌愈好）。

Leave it to an opinion poll to sort out who's right.

Over time, my staff and I became so resigned to this style of "he said / he said" coverage that we could joke about it. ("In dueling press conferences today, the debate over the shape of planet Earth heated up, with President Obama—who claims the Earth is round—coming under withering attack from Republicans who insist that the White House has covered up documents proving the Earth is flat.") In those first few weeks, though, with our White House communications team barely in place, we could still be surprised. Not just by the GOP's willingness to peddle half-truths or outright lies about the contents of the Recovery Act (the claim that we were planning to spend millions on a Mob Museum in Las Vegas, for example, or that Nancy Pelosi had included \$30 million to save an endangered mouse), but by the willingness of the press to broadcast or publish these whoppers as straight news.

留給輿論調查來解決誰是對的。

隨著時間的推移，我和我的工作人員對這種“他說/他說”式的報導變得如此熟悉，以至於我們可以開玩笑。（“在今天的對峙記者會上，圍繞地球形狀的辯論升溫，聲稱地球是圓的奧巴馬總統遭到了共和黨的猛烈攻擊，後者堅稱白宮已經隱瞞了證明地球是扁平的文件。”）然而，在那幾周裡，我們的白宮通訊團隊幾乎尚未到位時，我們仍然會感到驚訝。不僅是因為共和黨願意傳遞有關復甦法案內容的半真半假或完全謊言（例如，我們計劃在拉斯維加斯花費數百萬美元建立黑幫博物館，或者南希·佩洛西已經包括了3000萬美元來拯救瀕危鼠），還有媒體願意將這些顛倒黑白的事實作為直接的新聞播報或發佈。

With enough badgering from us, an outlet might eventually run a story that fact-checked Republican claims. Rarely, though, did the truth catch up to the initial headlines. Most Americans—already trained to believe that the government wasted money—didn't have the time or inclination to keep up with the details of the legislative process or who was or wasn't being reasonable in negotiations. All they heard was what the Washington press corps told them—that Democrats and Republicans were fighting again, politicians were splurging, and the new guy in the White House was doing nothing to change it.

在我们不停地逼迫下，新闻媒体最终可能会发布一篇查证共和党说法的报道。然而，真相很少能赶上最初的头条新闻。大多数美国人——已经被训练相信政府在浪费钱——没有时间或兴趣去跟上立法过程的细节或谈判中谁是或不是理性的。他们听到的只是华盛顿新闻界告诉他们的——民主党和共和党再次斗争，政治家们挥霍无度，白宫的新手什么也没做来改变这一切。

Of course, efforts to discredit the Recovery Act still depended on the ability of GOP leaders to keep their members in line. At a minimum, they needed to make sure the stimulus package didn't get enough support from stray Republicans to be deemed "bipartisan," since (as McConnell would later explain) "when you hang the bipartisan tag on something, the perception is that differences have been worked out." Their task was made easier now that the majority of GOP members hailed from districts or states that were solidly Republican. Their base of voters, fed a steady diet of Fox News, talk radio, and Sarah Palin speeches, was in no mood for compromise; in fact, the biggest threat to these representatives' reelection prospects came from primary challengers who might accuse them of being closet liberals. Rush Limbaugh had already castigated Republicans like McCain for saying that with the election over, they now hoped for my success. "I hope Obama fails!" the talk radio show host had thundered. Back in early 2009, most Republican elected officials didn't consider it wise to be quite that blunt in public (it was a different story in private, as we would later learn). But even those politicians who didn't share Limbaugh's sentiments knew that with that single statement, he was effectively channeling—and shaping—the views of a sizable chunk of their voters.

當然，試圖抹黑《經濟恢復法案》的努力仍然依賴於共和黨領袖能否讓其成員保持一致。最起碼，他們需要確保刺激計畫不會得到足夠的共和黨人支持，被視為“兩黨合作”，因為（正如麥康奈爾後來解釋的那樣）“當你在某事上貼上兩黨合作的標籤，認為 差異已被解決。”他們的任務變得更加容易，因為大多數共和黨成員來自於堅定的共和黨選區或州份。他們的選民基礎得到了穩定的福克斯新聞，談話節目和莎拉·帕林的演講養分，沒有妥協的心情；事實上，這些

代表的競選連任前景的最大威脅來自於初選挑戰者，後者可能指責他們是關閉自由主義者的衣櫃。拉什·林博已經痛斥像麥凱恩這樣的共和黨人，因為他們說選舉已經結束，現在他們希望我的成功。“我希望奧巴馬失敗！”這位談話節目主持人已經大聲喊叫。早在2009年，大多數共和黨當選官員不認為在公開場合如此坦率是明智的（後來我們會得知這是不同的故事）。但是，即使那些不贊同林博立場的政治家也知道，他以單一言論有效地傳達和塑造了一大群選民的觀點。

Big conservative donors weighed in as well. Panicked by the cratering economy and the impact it was already having on their members' bottom lines, traditional business organizations like the Chamber of Commerce eventually came out in favor of the Recovery Act. But their influence over the Republican Party had by then been supplanted by billionaire ideologues like David and Charles Koch, who had spent decades and hundreds of millions of dollars systematically building a network of think tanks, advocacy organizations, media operations, and political operatives, all with the express goal of rolling back every last vestige of the modern welfare state. For them, all taxes were confiscatory, paving the road to socialism; all regulations were a betrayal of free-market principles and the American way of life. They saw my victory as a mortal threat—which is why, shortly after my inauguration, they pulled together a conclave of some of America's wealthiest conservatives in a smartly manicured resort in Indian Wells, California, to map out a strategy to fight back. They didn't want compromise and consensus. They wanted war. And they let it be known that Republican politicians without the stomach to resist my policies at every turn would not only find donations drying up but also might find themselves the target of a well-financed primary challenge.

大型保守派捐助者也发声了。传统商业组织，如商会，由于恐慌经济崩溃及其已经对成员的底线产生的影响，最终支持恢复行动。但他们在共和党中的影响已被亿万富翁意识形态家族David和Charles Koch所替代，他们花费数十年和数亿美元系统地建立了一系列智库、倡导组织、媒体运营和政治行动家网络，目的是消除现代福利国家的最后痕迹。对他们来说，所有税收都是没收的，铺设通向社会主义的道路；所有规定都是对自由市场原则和美国生活方式的背叛。他们认为我的胜利是一种致命威胁，这就是为什么在我就职后不久，他们在加利福尼亚州印第安韦尔斯一个整洁的度假胜地召集了一些美国最富有的保守派人士，制定了一个打击我的战略。他们不想妥协和共识。他们想要战争。他们让人们知道，没有胃口在每一个转折点上反对我的政策的共和党政治家，不仅会发现捐款干涸，还可能成为一个资金充足的初选挑战的目标。

As for those Republicans who were still tempted to cooperate with me despite lobbying from constituents, donors, and conservative media outlets, good old-fashioned peer pressure usually did the trick. During the transition, I had met with Judd Gregg, a capable, decent GOP senator from New Hampshire, and offered to make him commerce secretary—part of my effort to deliver on my promise of bipartisan governance. He'd readily accepted, and in early February, we announced his nomination. With Republican opposition to the Recovery Act growing more boisterous by the day, though, as McConnell and the rest of leadership worked him over in caucus meetings and on the Senate floor and former First Lady Barbara Bush reportedly stepped in to dissuade him from joining my administration, Judd Gregg lost his nerve. A week after we'd announced his nomination, he called to withdraw.

對於那些共和黨人依然被誘惑跟我合作，儘管有來自選民、贊助者和保守媒體的遊說，老式的同儕壓力通常能夠發揮作用。在過渡期間，我曾與新罕布什爾州一位有能力且體面的共和黨參議員Judd Gregg會面，提出要讓他擔任商務部長，這是我承諾要實現兩黨治理的一部分。他欣然接受了，並在2月初公佈了他的提名。然而，隨著共和黨對復原法案的反對逐日增加，當麥康諾和其他領導人在參議院內部會議和會議中敦促他，前第一夫人芭芭拉·布什據報加入後，Judd Gregg失去了勇氣。在我們公佈他的提名一周後，他打電話撤回了提名。

Not every Republican picked up on the rapidly shifting mood within their own party. On the day the Senate was to vote on the Recovery Act, I found myself in Fort Myers, Florida, at a town hall-style meeting meant to drum up public support for the bill and allow me to answer questions about the economy. Joining me was Florida governor Charlie Crist, a moderate Republican with a friendly, polished demeanor and the kind of good looks—tanned, silver-haired, sparkling white teeth—that seemed straight out of central casting. Crist was hugely popular at the time, having cultivated an image of someone who could work across party lines, avoiding divisive social issues and instead focusing on promoting business and tourism. He also knew that his state was in big trouble: As one of the hot spots of subprime lending and the housing bubble, Florida had an economy and state budget in free fall and in desperate need of federal help.

並非所有共和黨人都注意到他們自己黨派中快速變化的情況。在參議院將投票通過復蘇法案的那一天，我發現自己身處佛羅里達州Fort Myers的一個鎮民廳式的會議中，旨在振興支持該法案的公眾支持，並讓我回答有關經濟的問題。和我一起參加的是佛羅里達州州長查理·克里斯特（Charlie Crist），他是一個溫和的共和黨人，擁有友好的、精緻的舉止和那種好看的外表——古銅色的頭髮、閃亮的白色牙齒，似乎直接出自中央卡司選拔。當時，克里斯特非常受歡迎，他樹立了一個跨越黨派的人物形象，避免有爭議的社會問題，而是關注推動商業和旅遊業。他也知道，他的州正處於巨大的困境中：作為次級貸款和房地產泡沫的熱點之一，佛羅里達的經濟和州預算正在著陸並急需聯邦幫助。

It was out of both temperament and necessity, then, that Crist agreed to introduce me at the town hall and publicly endorse the stimulus bill. Despite the fact that home values in Fort Myers had dropped about 67 percent (with a full 12 percent of houses in foreclosure), the crowd was raucous and energized that day, mostly Democratic and still swept up in what Sarah Palin would later call the “hopey, changey stuff.” After Crist offered up a reasonable, somewhat cautious explanation of why he supported the Recovery Act, pointing out its benefits for Florida and the need for elected officials to put people before party politics, I gave the governor what was my standard “bro hug”—a handshake, an arm around the back for a pat, an appreciative look in the eye, a thank-you in the ear.

因为各种性格和必要的原因，Crist同意在市政厅介绍我，并公开支持刺激法案。尽管Fort Myers的房价下跌了约67%（12%的房屋面临被收回），但那天的人群是喧闹而充满活力的，主要是民主党人，仍然被Sarah Palin后来称为“希望和变革的东西”所席卷。在Crist提出了一个理智而谨慎的支持复苏法案的解释之后，指出其对佛罗里达州的好处以及当选官员需要将人民放在政党政治之前的必要性，我向州长展示了我的标准“兄弟拥抱”——握手，敲背臂，欣赏目光，耳边的感谢。

Poor Charlie. How could I know that my two-second gesture would prove to be a political kiss of death for him? Within days of the rally, footage of “the hug”—accompanied by calls for Crist’s head—began appearing in right-wing media outlets. In a matter of months, Crist went from a Republican star to a pariah. He was called a poster child for appeasement, the kind of weak-kneed, opportunistic RINO who needed to be made an example of. It would take time for the whole thing to play out: In the 2010 U.S. Senate race, Crist was forced to run as an independent and got clobbered by conservative upstart Marco Rubio; Crist eventually mounted a political comeback only by switching parties and winning one of Florida’s congressional seats as a Democrat. Nevertheless, the immediate lesson was not lost on congressional Republicans.

可憐的查理。我怎麼會知道我的兩秒鐘舉動竟會成為他的政治死亡之吻呢？在集會後的幾天裡，伴隨著對克里斯特的指責，「擁抱」的畫面在右翼媒體上開始出現。幾個月的時間裡，克里斯特從共和黨的明星變成了社會棄兒。他被稱為妥協主義的代言人，是那種需要作為一個例子而被打擊的膝軟、機會主義的「共和黨人裡的非共和黨人」(RINO)。整個事情需要時間才能得出結論：在2010年美國參議院競選中，克里斯特被迫作為獨立候選人搏鬥，最終被保守新人馬爾科·魯比奧擊敗；後來，克里斯特只能通過轉黨並贏得佛羅里達州的一個國會席位才實現政治的東山再起。然而，這件事的直接教訓對國會共和黨人並不是什麼風聲。

Cooperate with the Obama administration at your own peril.  
And if you have to shake his hand, make sure you don’t look happy about it.

—  
LOOKING BACK, IT’S hard for me not to fixate on the political dynamics that unfolded in those first weeks of my presidency—how quickly Republican resistance hardened, independent of anything we said or did, and how thoroughly that resistance colored the way the press and ultimately the public viewed the substance of our actions. After all, those dynamics set the course for so much of what happened in the months and years that followed, a cleaving of America’s political sensibilities that we are still dealing with a decade later.和奥巴马政府合作，自己冒着危险。

如果你不得不和他握手，确保你看起来并不开心。

回顾过去，我很难不专注于我总统任期的前几周所展现的政治动态 - 共和党的抵抗如此迅速且独立于我们所说或做的任何事情，并且如何彻底地影响了新闻媒体并最终影响了公众对我们行动实质的看法。毕竟，这些动态为接下来数月甚至数年所发生的许多事情奠定了基础，分裂了美国的政治感知，这是我们十年后仍在应对的问题。

But in February 2009, I was obsessed with the economy, not politics. So it’s worth pointing out a relevant piece of information that I omitted from the Charlie Crist story: A few minutes before I walked out onstage to give him that hug, I got a call from Rahm letting me know that the Recovery Act had just cleared the Senate, assuring the legislation’s eventual passage through Congress.

How we got it done can’t be considered a model for the new brand of politics I’d promised on the campaign trail. It was old-school. Once the House vote made clear that a broadly bipartisan bill wasn’t in the cards, our focus narrowed to securing 61 Senate votes—61 because no Republican senator could afford to be tagged as the sole vote that put Obama’s bill over the top. In the radioactive atmosphere McConnell had orchestrated, the only Republicans even willing to consider supporting us were three self-identified moderates from states in which I’d won handily: Susan Collins and Olympia Snowe of Maine and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania. Those three, along with Senator Ben Nelson of Nebraska—the unofficial spokesman for the half dozen Democrats from conservative states whose priority on every controversial issue was to position themselves somewhere, anywhere, to the right of Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi, thereby winning the prized label of “centrist” from Washington pundits—became the gatekeepers through which the Recovery Act had to pass. And none of these four senators were shy about charging a hefty toll.

但是在2009年2月，我痴迷于经济而非政治。所以，值得指出的是一个相关的信息，我在Charlie Crist的故事中忽略了：在我走上舞台拥抱他之前几分钟，我接到了Rahm的电话，告诉我恢复行动刚刚通过了参议院，确保该法案最终通过国会。我们是如何完成的，不能被视为我在竞选路上承诺的新政治的典范。这是老派的。一旦众议院的投票表明广泛的跨党派法案不可行，我们的重点就是确保获得61个参议院票，61个之所以是因为没有共和党参议员能承受被贴上让奥巴马的法案获得胜利的唯一一票标签的风险。在麦康奈尔精心策划的辐射氛围中，唯一愿意考虑支持我们的共和党人仅有三个自我认定为温和派的人，来自那些我轻松赢得的州：缅因州的苏珊·柯林斯和奥林匹亚·斯诺和宾夕法尼亚州的阿伦·斯佩克特。这三个人加上来自内布拉斯加州的参议员本·尼尔森（代表着来自保守州的六个民主党人，在每个有争议的问题上，他们的优先考虑是将自己定位在Harry Reid和Nancy Pelosi的右侧，从而赢得华盛顿专家所称的“中央派”标签），成为恢复行动必须通过的门卫。这四个参议员中没有一个人会羞于索取高昂的通行费。

Specter, who had already battled two bouts of cancer, insisted that 10 billion of the Recovery Act go to the National Institutes of Health. Collins demanded the bill be stripped of dollars for school construction or middle-class Americans from paying a higher tax bill. Nelson wanted extra Medicaid money for rural states. Even as their priorities added billions, because any figure higher than that just seemed “too much.”

專案在已經與癌症鬥爭兩次後，堅持將救援法案的100億美元撥給國立衛生研究院。柯林斯要求這項法案中不提供學校建設的資金，並且要包含一個“AMT法案” - 這是一項稅收措施，防止中上層美國人付出更高的稅款。納爾遜想要額外的醫療補助金用於農村地區。儘管他們的優先事項增加了數十億美元，但該小組堅持整個法案的總額必須低於8000億美元，因為任何比這更高的數字都似乎“太多”了。

As far as we could tell, there was no economic logic to any of this, just political positioning and a classic squeeze play by politicians who knew they had leverage. But this truth went largely unnoticed; as far as the Washington press corps was concerned, the mere fact that the four senators were working in “bipartisan” fashion signified Solomonic wisdom and reason. Meanwhile, liberal Dems, particularly in the House, were furious with me for letting a “Gang of Four” effectively determine the final contents of the bill. Some went so far as to suggest that I barnstorm against Snowe, Collins, Specter, and Nelson in their home states until they relinquished their “ransom” demands. I told them this wasn’t going to happen, having calculated (with concurrence from

Joe, Rahm, Phil, Harry, and Nancy) that strong-arming tactics would likely backfire—and also shut the door on getting the quartet's cooperation on any other bill I might try to pass in the future.

就我們所知，這一切似乎都沒有任何經濟邏輯，僅僅是政治立場和政治人物掌握籌碼的欺壓手段。但這個真相往往被忽視；在華盛頓新聞界看來，四位參議員以“跨黨派”的方式工作，意味著所羅門智慧和理性。同時，自由派民主黨人，特別是眾議院，對於讓“四人幫”有效地確定法案的最終內容非常憤怒。有些人甚至建議我在他們的家鄉，針對Snowe、Collins、Specter和Nelson進行激烈抨擊，直到他們放棄“贖金”要求。我告訴他們這不會發生，因為我已經計算出（經Joe、Rahm、Phil、Harry和Nancy同意）用強硬手段很可能會失敗，同時也會關閉我未來可能嘗試通過任何其他法案與這四人合作的大門。

Anyway, the clock was ticking; or, as Axe later described it, the house was burning and those four senators had the only fire hose. After a week of negotiations (and plenty of cajoling, pestering, and hand-holding of the senators by me, Rahm, and especially Joe), an agreement was reached. The Gang of Four mostly got what they wanted. In return, we got their votes, while retaining almost 90 percent of the stimulus measures we'd originally proposed. Other than the votes of Collins, Snowe, and Specter, the modified, 1,073-page bill passed both the House and the Senate strictly along party lines. And less than a month after I took office, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act was ready for me to sign into law.

不管怎样，时钟在滴答作响；或者像艾克斯后来所描述的那样，房子正在着火，而这四位参议员拥有唯一的消防水管。经过一周的谈判（和我、拉姆和乔对参议员的逗弄、纠缠和安慰），达成了一项协议。四人帮基本上得到了他们想要的东西。作为回报，我们得到了他们的选票，同时保留了我们最初提出的几乎90%的刺激措施。除了柯林斯、斯诺和斯佩克特的投票外，修改后的1,073页法案严格按照党派线路通过了众议院和参议院。不到我上任不到一个月，复苏和再投资法案就已经准备好让我签署成法。

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THE SIGNING CEREMONY took place before a small crowd at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. We had asked the CEO of an employee-owned solar energy company to introduce me; and as I listened to him describe what the Recovery Act would mean to his business—the layoffs averted, the new workers he'd hire, the green economy he hoped to promote—I did my best to savor the moment.

By any conventional yardstick, I was about to sign historic legislation: a recovery effort comparable in size to FDR's New Deal. The stimulus package wouldn't just boost aggregate demand. It would help millions weather the economic storm, extending unemployment insurance for the jobless, food assistance for the hungry, and medical care for those whose lives had been upended; supply the broadest onetime tax cut for middle-class and working-poor families since Reagan; and provide the nation's infrastructure and transportation systems the biggest infusion of new spending since the Eisenhower administration.

簽署儀式在丹佛自然與科學博物館的一個小人群面前舉行。我們邀請了一家員工持有的太陽能公司的CEO介紹我；當我聽著他描述《經濟恢復法案》對他的企業意味著什麼-防止裁員，新工人的招聘，他希望推動綠色經濟時，我盡力享受這一刻。

按照任何傳統標準，我即將簽署歷史性法案：一項與FDR的新政規模相當的恢復計劃。刺激計劃不僅會促進總體需求，還將幫助數百萬人度過經濟風暴，延長失業人士的失業救濟，提供給那些生活被顛覆的人食品援助和醫療護理；為中產階級和勞動貧困家庭提供自里根以來最廣泛的一次性減稅；並為國家的基礎設施和運輸系統提供自艾森豪威爾政府以來最大規模的新增支出。

That's not all. Without losing our focus on short-term stimulus and job creation, the Recovery Act would also put a massive down payment on campaign commitments I'd made to modernize the economy. It promised to transform the energy sector, with an unprecedented investment in clean energy development and efficiency programs. It would finance one of the largest and most ambitious education reform agendas in a generation. It would spur on the transition to electronic medical records, which had the potential to revolutionize America's healthcare system; and it would extend broadband access to classrooms and rural areas that had been previously shut out of the information superhighway.

那还不止。在不失去促進短期刺激和就業創造的重點的同時，复苏法案還將大力實現我為現代化經濟而做出的競選承諾。它承諾通過對清潔能源開發和效率計劃的前所未有的投資來改造能源行業。它將資助一代人中最大和最雄心勃勃的教育改革議程。它將推動電子醫療記錄的轉型，該技術有潛力革新美國的醫療保健系統；並且它將擴展信息高速公路的覆蓋範圍，讓曾被排除在教室和農村地區的人們得到寬帶接入。

Any one of these items, if passed as a stand-alone bill, would qualify as a major achievement for a presidential administration. Taken together, they might represent the successful work of an entire first term.

Still, after I toured the solar panels on the museum's rooftop, stepped up to the podium, and thanked the vice president and my team for making it all happen under extreme pressure; after I expressed my appreciation for those in Congress who'd helped get the bill over the finish line; after I used my multiple pens to sign the Recovery Act into law, shook everybody's hand, and gave a few interviews—after all that, as I finally found myself alone in the back of the Beast, the main emotion I felt was not triumph but deep relief.任何一个单独成为法案通过的项目，都足以成为总统政府的一项重大成就。將它们放在一起，可能代表了整個第一屆任期的成功工作。

然而，在我參觀博物館頂部的太陽能電池板後，走上講台，對副總統和我的團隊在極度壓力下取得的一切表示感謝；在我感謝那些幫助將法案付諸實施的國會議員後；在我使用多支筆簽署《复苏法案》成為法律，和每個人握手，並接受一些採訪——在所有這些之後，當我最終發現自己獨自坐在“野獸”（總統專車）後部時，我感受到的主要情緒不是勝利，而是深深的松了一口氣。

Or, more accurately, relief with a heavy dose of foreboding.

If it was true that we had gotten a couple of years' worth of work done in a month, we had also spent down a couple of years' worth of political capital just as fast. It was hard to deny, for example, that McConnell and Boehner had clobbered us on the messaging front. Their relentless attacks continued to

shape coverage of the Recovery Act, with the press trumpeting every spurious accusation of waste and malfeasance. Some pundits embraced the GOP-driven narratives that I had failed to reach out enough to Republicans in shaping the bill, thereby breaking my promise to govern in a bipartisan fashion. Others suggested that our agreement with Collins, Nelson, Snowe, and Specter represented cynical Washington horse-trading rather than “change we can believe in.”

或者更准确地说，是带着沉重的不安缓解的感觉。

如果说我们在一个月内完成了几年的工作量，那么我们也以同样的速度花掉了几年的政治资本。很难否认，麦康奈尔和博纳在宣传方面击败了我们。他们不屈不挠的攻击继续影响了复苏法案的报道，新闻媒体吹嘘着每一个虚假的浪费和不道德的指控。有些评论家认为，我在制定法案时没有足够地与共和党人沟通，违背了执政时党派间合作的承诺。还有一些人认为，我们与柯林斯、纳尔逊、斯诺和斯佩克特达成的协议代表着华盛顿的狡猾交易，而不是“我们可以相信的变化”。

Public support for the Recovery Act had grown over the weeks it had taken to pass the bill. But soon enough, the noise would have an impact, reversing that trend. Meanwhile, a decent portion of my own Democratic base—still flush with election-night hubris and agitated by Republican unwillingness to roll over and play dead—seemed less content with everything we’d managed to get into the Recovery Act than mad about the much smaller number of things we’d had to give up. Liberal commentators insisted that if I had shown more spine in resisting the Gang of Four’s demands, the stimulus would have been bigger. (This despite the fact that it was twice as big as what many of these commentators had been calling for just a few weeks earlier.) Women’s groups were unhappy about the contraception provisions that had been removed. Transportation groups complained that the increase in mass transit dollars wasn’t all they had sought. Environmentalists seemed to be spending more time objecting to the small fraction of funding that went to clean coal projects than celebrating the Recovery Act’s massive investment in renewable energy.

恢復法案的公眾支持在通過該法案的幾個星期內激增。但很快，輿論影響將扭轉這一趨勢。與此同時，我自己民主黨的一部分支持者-他們仍沉浸在選舉之夜的大氛圍中，並因共和黨不願意倒下來死亡而感到不安-似乎對我們成功納入恢復法案的事情不那麼滿意，而對我們所放棄的事情更為生氣。自由派評論家堅稱，如果我在抵制四人幫的要求方面表現得更有骨氣，刺激措施就會更大。（儘管事實上它比許多這些評論家幾個星期前提出的要求大一倍。）婦女團體對已刪除的避孕條款感到不滿。交通團體抱怨說，增加的大眾運輸貨幣不是他們所追求的全部。環保主義者似乎花更多的時間反對用於清潔煤項目的少量資金，而不是慶祝恢復法案對可再生能源的大規模投資。

Between Republican attacks and Democratic complaints, I was reminded of the Yeats poem “The Second Coming”: My supporters lacked all conviction, while my opponents were full of passionate intensity.

None of this would have worried me if passing the Recovery Act was all we needed to do to get the economy to start working again. I was confident that we could effectively implement the legislation and prove our critics wrong. I knew that Democratic voters would stick with me for the long haul, and my own poll numbers with the general public remained high.

在共和党的攻击和民主党的抱怨之间，我想起了叶芝的诗《第二次降临》：我的支持者缺乏决心，而我的对手则充满激情的热情。

如果通过恢复法案是我们需要做的一切来重新启动经济，那么这一切都不会让我担心。我有信心能够有效地实施立法并证明我们的批评者是错的。我知道，民主党选民会长期支持我，而我的民意调查结果在公众中的得分仍然很高。

The problem was that we still had at least three or four more big moves to make in order to end the crisis, each one just as urgent, each one just as controversial, each one just as hard to pull off. It was as if, having ascended the face of a big mountain, I now found myself looking out over a series of successively more perilous peaks—while realizing that I had twisted an ankle, bad weather was coming, and I’d used up half my supplies.

I didn’t share these feelings with anyone on my team; they were frazzled enough as it was. Suck it up, I told myself. Tighten your laces. Cut your rations.

問題在於，我們還需要至少進行三到四個重大舉措，才能結束危機，每項舉措同樣緊急，同樣有爭議，同樣很難實現。就像是我已經攀登上一座大山，現在又發現眼前還有一系列更危險的山峰，同時我意識到自己扭傷了腳踝，天氣轉壞，而且我已經用掉了一半的補給品。

我沒有向我的團隊成員透露這些感受；他們已經夠疲憊了。我告訴自己，忍耐一下。系緊鞋帶。減少食物配給。

Keep moving.

繼續前進。

## CHAPTER 12

IT SEEMED LIKE I READ two or three letters like this every night. I’d slip them back into the folder they had come in, adding it to the high pile of papers on the desk. On that particular night, the face of the Treaty Room’s grandfather clock read one in the morning. I rubbed my eyes, decided I needed a better reading lamp, and glanced up at the massive oil painting hanging over the heavy leather couch. It depicted a stern, portly President McKinley standing like a bushy-eyebrowed headmaster while a group of mustached men signed the treaty ending the Spanish-American War in 1898, all of them gathered around the very table where I now sat. It was a fine piece for a museum, but less than ideal for what was now my home office; I made a note to myself to have it replaced with something more contemporary.

## 第十二章

每个晚上看似我都要读两到三封这样的信件。我将它们放回原本的文件夹中，加入到桌子上那高高的堆叠文件中。在那个晚上，房间中的Treaty Room 巨型梯钟显示凌晨一点。我揉揉眼睛，决定需要更好的阅读灯，并抬头看向悬挂在重重皮沙发上方的巨幅油画。画中的William McKinley 总统面容严肃，身材魁

梧，宛如个双眉浓密的校长，几个须嘴赛过鸭子的男人站在他的身边，签署了 1898 年结束美西战争的条约，在他们身后就是我此刻所坐的桌子。作为博物馆的收藏品，这幅画很精美，但却并不适合我的家庭办公室；我在心中留下提示，准备用一些更现代的东西来取代它。

Other than the five minutes I'd spent walking across the hall to tuck in the girls and kiss Michelle good night, I'd been planted in my chair since dinnertime, the same way I was just about every night of the week. For me, these were often the quietest and most productive hours of the day, a time when I could catch up on work and prepare myself for whatever was coming next, poring over the stacks of material my staff secretary sent up to the residence for my review. The latest economic data. Decision memos. Informational memos. Intelligence briefings. Legislative proposals. Drafts of speeches. Press conference talking points.除了花了五分鐘的時間走過走廊關好女孩子的燈並吻了米歇爾一晚安之外，從晚餐時間開始，我就坐在椅子上，也幾乎是每天晚上都這樣。對我來說，這些通常是一天中最安靜和最有成效的幾個小時，我可以趕上工作，為即將到來的事情做準備，瀏覽我的秘書送來的各種材料。最新的經濟數據。決策備忘錄。信息備忘錄。情報簡報。立法提案。演講草案。新聞發布會講話要點。

I felt the seriousness of my job most acutely when reading letters from constituents. I received a nightly batch of ten—some written in longhand, others printed-out emails—arranged neatly in a purple folder. They were often the last thing I looked at before going to bed.

It had been my idea, the letters, one that came to me on my second day in office. I figured that taking in a steady dose of constituent mail would be an efficient way for me to reach outside the presidential bubble and hear directly from those I served. The letters were like an IV drip from the real world, an everyday reminder of the covenant I now had with the American people, the trust I carried, and the human impact of each decision I made. I insisted on seeing a representative cross section. ("I don't just want a bunch of happy-talk stuff from supporters," I told Pete Rouse, who was now a senior advisor and the West Wing's resident Yoda.) Other than that, we left it up to our Correspondence Office to choose which of the ten thousand or so letters and emails that flowed into the White House daily went into the folder.

當讀到選民的信時，我最深刻地感受到自己工作的嚴肅性。每晚我都會收到十封信 - 有些是手寫的，有些是打印的電子郵件 - 整齊地排列在紫色的文件夾裡。這些信件通常是我上床前看的最後一件事情。

這些信件是我的主意，在我上任的第二天想到的。我想，接收來自選民的穩定劑量郵件將是一種高效的方式，讓我走出總統的泡泡，直接聽取那些我服務的人的聲音。這些信件像是現實世界的靜脈注射，每一封信都提醒我，我現在與美國人民有著的承諾，我所擔負的信任，以及每個決定所帶來的人類影響。我堅持要看到代表性的樣本。（“我不只希望得到支持者的諂媚言詞，”我告訴現在是高級顧問和西翼的“尤達”的皮特·勞斯。）除此之外，我們讓我們的通訊部門自行選擇每天流入白宮的一萬封信件和電子郵件中的哪些進入這個文件夾中。

For the first week, what I read was mostly feel-good stuff: notes of congratulations, people telling me how inspired they'd been on Inauguration Day, kids with suggestions for legislation ("You should pass a law to cut down on the amount of homework").

But as weeks went by, the letters became more somber. A man who had worked at the same job for twenty years described the shame he felt when he had to tell his wife and kids he'd been laid off. A woman wrote after the bank foreclosed on her home; she was worried that if she didn't get immediate help, she'd end up on the streets. A student had dropped out of college; his financial aid had run out, and he was moving back into his parents' house. Some letters offered detailed policy recommendations. Others were written in anger ("Why hasn't your Justice Department thrown any of these Wall Street crooks in jail?") or with quiet resignation ("I doubt you'll ever read this, but I thought you should know we are hurting out here").

在第一周，我讀到的大部分都是讓人感到愉悅的東西：祝賀的話語，人們告訴我他們在就職日感到多麼振奮，孩子們提出了立法建議（“你應該通過一項法律來減少家庭作業量”）。

但隨著時間的推移，信件變得更加沈重。一個在同一份工作上工作了二十年的男子描述了他失業時告訴妻子和孩子感到的羞恥。一個女人在銀行被強制執行他的房屋貸款後寫信來，她擔心如果她無法立即得到幫助，她將流落街頭。一名學生退學了；他的財政援助用完了，他正在搬回父母的房子。有些信件提供了詳細的政策建議。其他人因憤怒而寫下（“為什麼你的司法部沒有把這些華爾街騙徒中任何一個人關進監獄？”），或者安靜地談論辭職（“我懷疑你永遠不會讀到這封信，但我認為你應該知道我們在這裡受苦了”）。

Most often they were urgent appeals for help, and I would write back on a note card embossed with the presidential seal, explaining the steps we were taking to get the economy moving again, offering whatever encouragement I could. I would then mark the original letter with instructions for my staff. "See if Treasury can check with the bank about a refinancing option," I'd write. Or "Does the VA have a loan program for vets in this situation?" Or simply, "Can we help?"

This would usually be enough to focus the attention of the relevant agency. The letter writer would be contacted. Days or weeks later, I'd receive a follow-up memo explaining the actions taken on their behalf. Sometimes people would get the relief they had sought—their home temporarily saved, a spot in an apprenticeship program.

大多時候，這些信件都是緊急求助信，我會在印有總統徽章的便簽上回信，解釋我們正在採取的促進經濟發展的措施，尽可能給予鼓勵。然後我會在原信上做上我的工作指示。“看看財政部是否可以與銀行聯繫，了解再融資選項”。或者“退伍軍人事務部是否有貸款計劃可以幫助退伍軍人解決問題？”或簡單地說，“我們可以提供幫助嗎？”

這通常足以引起相關機構的注意。寫信的人會受到聯繫。幾天或幾周後，我會收到一份跟進備忘錄，說明他們所採取的行動。有時人們會得到他們所尋求的救濟-暫時拯救了他們的家園，獲得了學徒計劃的機會。

Still, it was hard to take any satisfaction from individual cases. I knew that each letter represented the desperation of millions across the country, people counting on me to save their jobs or their homes, to restore whatever sense of security they had once felt. No matter how hard my team and I worked, no

matter how many initiatives we put into place or how many speeches I gave, there was no getting around the damning, indisputable facts. Three months into my presidency, more people were suffering than when I began, and no one—including me—could be sure relief was in sight.

然而，从个别案例中很难获得满足感。我知道每封信都代表着全国数百万人的绝望，这些人指望我拯救他们的工作或住房，恢复他们曾经感受到的任何安全感。无论我和我的团队多么努力工作，无论我们推行了多少倡议或发表了多少演讲，都无法回避那些毁灭性、无可辩驳的事实。在我当总统的头三个月里，比我上任时更多的人正在遭受苦难，而包括我在内的任何人都无法确定救济是否在望。

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ON FEBRUARY 18, the day after I signed the Recovery Act, I flew to Mesa, Arizona, to announce our plan to deal with the collapsing housing market. Other than job loss, no aspect of the economic crisis had a more direct impact on ordinary people. With more than three million homes having gone into some stage of foreclosure in 2008, another eight million were now at risk. Over the final three months of the year, home prices fell almost 20 percent, meaning that even families who could manage their payments suddenly found themselves “underwater”—their house worth less than they owed, their primary investment and nest egg now a millstone of debt around their necks.

二月十八日，就在我签署“复苏法案”当天，我飞往亚利桑那州梅萨市宣布我们的计划应对崩溃的住房市场。除了失业外，没有哪个方面的经济危机对普通产生了更直接的影响。2008年，已经有超过三百万套住房出现了某种程度的财务问题，另外八百万套住房也面临风险。去年最后三个月，房价下跌了近20%，这意味着即使能够管理他们的付款的家庭也突然发现自己“身负重债”——他们的房子价值低于他们所欠的钱，他们的主要投资和养老金现在成了他们颈上的沉重负担。

The problem was at its worst in states like Nevada and Arizona, two of the epicenters of the subprime-driven housing bubble. There, you could drive through entire subdivisions that looked like ghost towns, with block after block of cookie-cutter houses, many of them newly built but lifeless, properties developed but never sold, or sold and promptly foreclosed upon. Either way, they were empty, some with their windows boarded up. The few homes still occupied stood out like small oases, their postage-stamp lawns green and tended, cars parked in the driveways, lonely outposts against a backdrop of ravaged stillness. I remember talking with a homeowner in one of these developments during a campaign visit to Nevada. He was a sturdy, fortyish man in a white T-shirt who had turned off his lawn mower to shake my hand while a towheaded little boy zipped around behind him on a red tricycle. He was luckier than many of his neighbors, he told me: He’d had enough seniority at the factory where he worked to avoid the first wave of layoffs, and his wife’s nursing job seemed relatively secure. Still, the house they’d paid \$400,000 to purchase at the height of the bubble was now worth half that amount. They had quietly debated whether their best move was to default on their mortgage and walk away. Toward the end of our conversation, the man looked back at his son.

问题在内华达州和亚利桑那州这样的州达到了最严重的程度，它们是次贷驱动房地产泡沫的两个震中之一。在那里，你可以开车穿过整个看起来像幽灵城镇的开发区，一排排的千篇一律的房屋，许多是新建的但无人居住，或者已售出但立即被执行抵押。无论哪种情况，都是空置的，有些还把窗户封起来。少数仍有居民的房屋像小绿洲一样突出，他们的邮票片草坪绿油油的，车停在车道上，孤寂的哨站在一片荒凉的背景下。我记得在一次去内华达州的竞选访问中，在其中一个开发区的居民家中和一名户主交谈。他是一个穿着白T恤的结实四十岁男人，当他关掉割草机和我握手时，一名金发小男孩骑着红色三轮车在他身后飞快地跑着。他告诉我，他比他的邻居幸运，他在他工作的工厂中有足够的资历避免了第一波裁员的浪潮，他妻子的护理工作似乎相对稳定。但是，他们花了40万美元购买的房子已经跌破了一半。他们私下里商量过，他们最好的选择是违约并走人。在我们的谈话快结束时，那个男子回头看了看他的儿子。

“I remember my dad talking about the American Dream when I was a kid,” he said. “How the most important thing was to work hard. Buy a house. Raise a family. Do things right. What happened to that? When did that become just a load of...?” He trailed off, looking pained before wiping the sweat from his face and restarting his mower.

The question was what my administration could do to help a man like that. He hadn’t lost his home, but he’d lost faith in the shared enterprise of our country, its larger ideal.

Affordable-housing advocates and some progressives in Congress were pushing a large-scale government program to not only reduce monthly mortgage payments for people at risk of losing their homes but actually forgive a portion of their outstanding balance. At first blush the idea had obvious appeal: a “bailout for Main Street, not Wall Street,” as proponents suggested. But the sheer scale of lost home equity across the country made such a principal-reduction program cost-prohibitive; our team calculated that even something the size of a second TARP—a political impossibility—would have a limited effect when spread out across the \$20 trillion U.S. real estate market.

“我记得小时候我的父亲谈论美国梦，”他说。“如何勤奋工作是最重要的。买房子。养家糊口。做正确的事。这个理念到底怎么了？什么时候它变成了一堆垃圾？”他停了下来，一脸痛苦，擦了擦脸上的汗，然后重新开始剪草。

问题是，我的政府能做些什么来帮助像他这样的人。他没有失去家园，但他失去了对我们国家的共同事业和更大的理想的信心。

住房费用合理化的倡导者和一些国会的进步人士正在推动一项大规模的政府计划，不仅可以降低那些有风险失去房屋的人的每月房贷支付，而且还可以原谅他们未偿还贷款的一部分。这个想法乍一看具有明显的吸引力：像提倡者所建议的“拯救华尔街，不是主街”的一次“救助”。但是全国范围内失去的房屋市值规模太大，这种主动减少贷款程序是成本禁止的；我们的团队计算过，即使像第二次救市那样大的规模——这在政治上是不可能的——在价值20万亿美元的美国房地产市场上分散，效果也会有限。

We settled on launching two more modest programs, both of which I detailed that day in Mesa: the Home Affordable Modification Program (HAMP), designed to reduce the monthly mortgage payments of eligible homeowners to no more than 31 percent of their income, and the Home Affordable Refinance Program (HARP), which would help borrowers refinance their mortgage at lower rates even if their homes were underwater. By design, not

everyone would be assisted under these programs. They wouldn't help those who, through subprime loans, had bought way more home than their income could support. Nor would they be open to those who had bought real estate as a debt-financed investment, thinking they could flip the property for a profit. Instead, the goal was to target several million families teetering on the edge: those who lived in their homes and had made what had seemed at the time like a responsible purchase, but now needed relief to get them through.

我们决定推出两个更加适中的计划，当天在 Mesa 我详细介绍了这两个计划：Home Affordable Modification Program (HAMP)，旨在将符合条件的房主每月的抵押贷款减少到不超过其收入的 31%；以及 Home Affordable Refinance Program (HARP)，该计划将帮助借款人即使房屋贬值也能以更低的利率重新融资。根据设计，这些计划并不会对每个人都有帮助。它们不会帮助那些通过次贷贷款购买超过其收入的房屋的人。也不会为那些购买房地产以债务为基础的投资者开放，认为他们可以通过升值将该物业翻转出售获利。相反，目标是针对挣扎在边缘的数百万家庭，即那些生活在自己的房子里，并在当时做出了似乎负责任的购买决定，但现在需要救济来帮助他们渡过难关。

Implementing even these limited programs posed all kinds of logistical hurdles. For example, while it was in the interest of mortgage lenders to keep families in their homes (in an already depressed market, foreclosed homes sold at fire-sale prices, resulting in big losses for the lender), mortgages were no longer held by a discrete set of banks that we could pressure into participating. Instead, they'd been securitized, sold in bits and pieces to various investors around the world. The homeowner never dealt directly with these anonymous lenders, instead sending mortgage payments to a servicing company that operated as little more than a glorified bill collector. Without the legal authority to force these servicing companies to do anything, the best we could do was offer incentives for them to offer homeowners a break. We also had to convince the servicing companies to process millions of applications to determine who was or wasn't eligible for a mortgage modification or refinancing, something they were ill-equipped to do.

實施這些有限的計劃帶來了各種物流障礙。例如，儘管讓家庭留在自己的房屋中符合抵押貸款人的利益（在已經萎靡不振的市場中，被強制抵押的房屋以搶購價格出售，這導致貸款人蒙受巨大損失），但抵押貸款已不再是由我們可以施加壓力的一系列銀行持有的。相反，它們已被證券化，以零碎的形式出售給世界各地的各種投資者。房主從未直接與這些匿名貸款人打交道，而是向一家作為高級收費代理的服務公司支付抵押貸款。由於沒有法律權力迫使這些服務公司做任何事情，我們所能做的最好的事情就是為他們提供激勵措施，以便為屋主提供幫助。我們還必須說服服務公司處理數百萬份申請，以確定誰有資格進行抵押貸款修改或再融資，這是他們無法勝任的。

And just who, exactly, was deserving of government assistance? This question would insinuate itself into just about every policy debate we had throughout the economic crisis. After all, as bad as things were in 2009, the vast majority of American homeowners were still figuring out a way, by hook or by crook, to stay current on their mortgages. To do so, many had cut back on eating out, canceled their cable TV, or spent down savings intended for their retirement or for their children's college expenses.

Was it fair to devote the hard-earned tax dollars of those Americans to reducing the mortgage payments of a neighbor who'd fallen behind? What if the neighbor had bought a bigger house than they could really afford? What if they had opted for a cheaper but riskier type of mortgage? Did it matter if the neighbor had been duped by a mortgage broker into thinking they were doing the right thing? What if the neighbor had taken their kids to Disneyland the year before rather than putting that money into a rainy-day fund—did that make them less worthy of help? Or what if they had fallen behind on their payments not because they'd put in a new swimming pool or taken a vacation but because they'd lost their job, or because a family member had gotten sick and their employer didn't offer health insurance, or because they just happened to live in the wrong state—how did that change the moral calculus?

究竟誰是值得政府援助的人？在整個經濟危機期間，這個問題總是潛在地涉及到每一個政策辯論當中。畢竟，即使在2009年情況多麼糟糕，絕大多數美國房主仍在設法掙扎著，採取各種方法來償還他們的抵押貸款。為了實現這一目標，許多人已經削減了外出就餐的頻率，取消了有線電視訂閱，或者使用原本用來儲蓄供孩子上大學或退休金的資金。

用這些人辛苦掙來的稅款來減免落後的鄰居房貸是否公平？如果那個鄰居買了一個他們實際負擔不起的更大的房子會怎麼樣？如果他們選擇了更便宜但風險更高的房貸？如果鄰居被房貸經紀人欺騙以為他們在做正確的事情，那又如何？他們去年是否帶孩子去過迪士尼樂園，而不是將這些錢存入備用基金，是否會減少他們值得獲得援助的程度？或者，如果他們逾期未付貸款款項是因為他們失業、家裡有人生病而雇主又不提供健康保險，或者僅僅因為他們住的洲不同，那這是否改變了道德計算的方式？

For policy makers trying to halt a crisis, none of these questions mattered—at least not in the short term. If your next-door neighbor's house is on fire, you don't want the fire department dispatcher asking whether it was caused by lightning or by someone smoking in bed before agreeing to send a fire truck; you just want the fire put out before it reaches your house. Mass foreclosures were the equivalent of a five-alarm fire that was destroying everyone's home values and taking the economy down with it. And from our perspective, at least, we were the fire department.

對於試圖阻止危機的政策制定者來說，這些問題在短期內都不重要。如果你的隔壁鄰居的房子著火了，你不會希望消防調度員問是否是因為閃電還是有人在床上吸煙才同意派出消防車，你只想讓火災在到達你家之前被撲滅。大規模的貸款违约就像一場五級火災，它正在破壞每個人的房屋價值，并将经济拖入泥潭。至少從我們的角度來看，我們是消防部門。

Still, questions of fairness were very much on the minds of the public. I wasn't surprised when experts reacted critically to our housing package, suggesting that the \$75 billion price tag was too small to address the scale of the problem, or when housing advocates blasted us in the press for not including a means to reduce the overall principal. What my team and I didn't anticipate was the critique that ended up getting the most attention that day in Mesa, maybe because it came from such an unlikely source. The day after the rally, Gibbs mentioned that a CNBC business commentator named Rick Santelli had launched a lengthy on-air rant about our housing plan. Gibbs, whose radar on these things was rarely off, seemed concerned.

然而，公平的问题仍然牵动着公众的心。当专家们对我们的住房计划提出批评时，认为价值750亿美元的价格标签太小，无法解决问题的规模时，我并不感到惊讶；住房倡导者在媒体上猛烈抨击我们，因为我们没有包括减少整体本金的途径。但我和我的团队没有预料到最受关注的批评来自一个这么不可能的来源，也许正是因为这个原因，第二天在梅萨的拉力赛上，吉布斯提到了一个名叫里克·桑特利的 CNBC 商业评论员发表了一段漫长的电视发言，对我们的住房计划进行了抨击。吉布斯对此非常关注。

“It's getting a lot of play,” he said. “And the press pool's asking me about it. You might want to check it out.”

That night I watched the video clip on my laptop. I was familiar with Santelli; he seemed no different from most of the talking heads populating the cable business shows, delivering a mix of market gossip and yesterday's news with the glib conviction of a late-night infomercial host. In this instance, he'd been broadcasting live from the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, charged up with theatrical outrage and surrounded by traders who were smugly cheering from their desks as he regurgitated a bunch of standard Republican talking points, including the (incorrect) claim that we'd be paying off the mortgages of irresponsible spendthrifts and deadbeats—“losers,” Santelli called them—who had gotten in over their heads. “The government is promoting bad behavior!” he shouted. “How many of you people want to pay for your neighbor's mortgage that has an extra bathroom and can't pay their bills?”他说：“这件事引起了很大的轰动，新闻记者正在问我。你可能想要核实一下。”

那晚，我在我的笔记本电脑上观看了视频片段。我很熟悉桑特利，他似乎和大多数充斥着市场八卦和昨日新闻、充满夜间电视购物节目主持人般的快言快语的有线电视商业节目主持人没有什么不同。在这个案例中，他正在从芝加哥商品交易所的交易大厅直播，充满戏剧性的愤怒，周围的交易员在座位上得意地欢呼，而他则重复了一些标准的共和党说辞，包括（不正确的）声称我们将为不负责任的挥霍无度者和死肥宅的抵押贷款付款——桑特利称之为“输家”。他大喊：“政府正在促进不良行为！你们中有多少人想要为你们有额外浴室，却不能付账单的邻居的抵押贷款买单？”

Santelli went on to declare that “our Founding Fathers, people like Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson, what we're doing in this country now is making them roll over in their graves.” Somewhere in mid-monologue, he suggested “a Chicago tea party in July” to put a stop to big-government giveaways. It was hard for me not to dismiss the whole thing for what it was: a mildly entertaining shtick intended not to inform but to fill airtime, sell ads, and make the viewers of Squawk Box feel like they were real insiders—not one of the “losers.” Who, after all, was going to take such half-baked populism seriously? How many Americans considered the traders at the Chicago Merc representative of the country—traders who still had jobs precisely because the government had stepped in to keep the financial system afloat?

桑特利随后宣称，“我们的国父，人们如本杰明·富兰克林和杰斐逊，我们目前在这个国家做的事情让他们在坟墓里打转。”在演讲中的某个时候，他建议“在七月份举行芝加哥茶话会”来制止政府的慷慨。我很难不认为这整件事是一个温和有趣的戏弄，目的不是信息的提供，而是用于填充广告和让Squawk Box的观众感觉自己是真正的内部人士而不是“输家”。毕竟，谁会将这种半熟的民粹主义认真对待呢？又有多少美国人认为芝加哥商品交易所的交易员代表了这个国家呢？这些交易员之所以仍然有工作，正是因为政府出手维持了金融系统的正常运转。

In other words, it was bullshit. Santelli knew it. The CNBC anchors bantering with him knew it. And yet it was clear that the traders, at least, fully embraced what Santelli was peddling. They didn't appear chastened by the fact that the game they played had been rigged up and down the line, if not by them then by their employers, the real high rollers in wood-paneled boardrooms. They didn't seem concerned by the fact that for every “loser” who had bought more house than he could afford, there were twenty folks who had lived within their means but were now suffering the fallout from Wall Street's bad bets.

换句话说，那是胡说八道。桑特利知道这一点。和他一起闲聊的CNBC主持人也知道这一点。然而，显然，至少交易员们完全接受桑特利所宣传的东西。他们似乎并没有因为他们所玩的游戏被摆布了而感到惭愧，即使不是他们，也是他们的雇主——那些真正的高级官员在木制镶板的会议室里摆布了这一切。他们似乎不关心事实，即每个“失败者”买了他负担不起的房子，就有二十个人在他们的能力范围内生活，但现在却遭受了华尔街错误押注的后果。

No, these traders were genuinely aggrieved, convinced that they were about to get screwed at the hands of the government. They thought they were the victims. One had even leaned into Santelli's mic and declared our housing program a “moral hazard”—deploying an economic term that had entered the popular lexicon, used to explain how policies that shielded banks from their mounting losses might end up encouraging even more financial recklessness in the future. Only now the same term was being wielded to argue against help for families who, through no fault of their own, were about to lose their homes.

不，这些交易商確實感到憤怒，他們相信政府將要對他們進行剝削。他們認為自己是受害者。其中一個甚至在桑特利的麥克風前低聲說出我們的住房計劃是“道德風險”，這是一個進入普及辭彙的經濟術語，用於解釋保護銀行免受日益增加的損失可能會在未來鼓勵更多的金融魯莽行為的政策。但現在，同樣的術語被用來反對那些即將失去住房的家庭所需要的幫助，而這是他們無辜遭遇的。

I clicked the video feed off, feeling irritated. It was a familiar trick, I thought to myself, the kind of rhetorical sleight of hand that had become a staple of conservative pundits everywhere, whatever the issue: taking language once used by the disadvantaged to highlight a societal ill and turning it on its ear. The problem is no longer discrimination against people of color, the argument goes; it's “reverse racism,” with minorities “playing the race card” to get an unfair advantage. The problem isn't sexual harassment in the workplace; it's humorless “feminazis” beating men over the head with their political correctness. The problem is not bankers using the market as their personal casino, or corporations suppressing wages by busting unions and offshoring jobs. It's the lazy and shiftless, along with their liberal Washington allies, intent on mooching off the economy's real “makers and the doers.”

我关掉了视频，感到烦躁。我心想这是一种熟悉的把戏，那些保守派评论家已经习惯于采用这种修辞，无论是什么问题：他们把曾经被弱势群体用来强调社会问题的语言扭曲了，把问题变成了反过来的形式。问题不再是针对有色人种的歧视，而是“反向种族主义”，少数族裔为了得到不公正的优势而“打出种族牌”。问题不再是工作场所的性骚扰，而是“毫无幽默感”的“女权主义者”用他们的政治正确教条对男人大加指责。问题不是银行家把市场当作他们的私人赌

场，或者公司通过破坏工会和离岸外包来压制工资。问题是懒惰和无所事事的人，以及他们的自由派华盛顿盟友，想在经济的“制造者和实干家”身上捞一笔。

Such arguments had nothing to do with facts. They were impervious to analysis. They went deeper, into the realm of myth, redefining what was fair, reassigning victimhood, conferring on people like those traders in Chicago that most precious of gifts: the conviction of innocence, as well as the righteous indignation that comes with it.

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I WOULD OFTEN think back to that Santelli clip, which foreshadowed so many of the political battles I'd face during my presidency. For there was at least one sideways truth in what he'd said: Our demands on the government had changed over the past two centuries, since the time the Founders had chartered it. Beyond the fundamentals of repelling enemies and conquering territory, enforcing property rights and policing issues that property-holding white men deemed necessary to maintain order, our early democracy had largely left each of us to our own devices. Then a bloody war was fought to decide whether property rights extended to treating Blacks as chattel. Movements were launched by workers, farmers, and women who had experienced firsthand how one man's liberty too often involved their own subjugation. A depression came, and people learned that being left to your own devices could mean penury and shame.

這些爭論與事實毫不相干。它們無法被分析批判。它們更深入到神話的領域，重新定義了什麼是公平的，重新分配了受害者，賦予像芝加哥那些交易商一樣的人最寶貴的禮物：清白無辜的信念，以及由此而來的正義憤怒。

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我經常回想起那個 Santelli 影片，它預示了我在總統任期中所面臨的許多政治戰鬥。因為他所說的至少有一個橫向的真相：我們對政府的要求在過去兩個世紀中已經改變了，自建國以來的時候就這樣。除了基本原則外，例如擊退敵人和征服領土，強制執行財產權和警察管理財產持有的白人男性認為必要維護秩序之外，我們早期的民主主義基本上讓每個人都自行其是。然後，為了決定財產權是否包括把黑人當作財產，人們發起了運動，工人、農民和女性都曾親身體驗過，一個人的自由往往意味著他們自己的壓制。大蕭條來臨，人們得知自行其是可能意味著貧困和羞辱。

Which is how the United States and other advanced democracies came to create the modern social contract. As our society grew more complex, more and more of the government's function took the form of social insurance, with each of us chipping in through our tax dollars to protect ourselves collectively—for disaster relief if our house was destroyed in a hurricane; unemployment insurance if we lost a job; Social Security and Medicare to lessen the indignities of old age; reliable electricity and phone service for those who lived in rural areas where utility companies wouldn't otherwise make a profit; public schools and universities to make education more egalitarian.

這就是美國和其他先進的民主國家如何創建現代社會契約的方式。隨著我們的社會變得越來越複雜，越來越多的政府職能採取了社會保險形式，我們每個人通過納稅以集體方式貢獻，以保護自己的利益 - 如果我們的房子被颶風摧毀，我們可以獲得災難救援；如果我們失去了工作，我們可以申請失業保險；社會安全和醫療保險可以減少老年人的尊嚴受損；對於居住在沒有利潤的公用事業公司覆蓋的鄉村地區的人們，讓他們得到可靠的電力和電話服務；公立學校和大學可讓教育更具平等性。

It worked, more or less. In the span of a generation and for a majority of Americans, life got better, safer, more prosperous, and more just. A broad middle class flourished. The rich remained rich, if maybe not quite as rich as they would have liked, and the poor were fewer in number, and not as poor as they'd otherwise have been. And if we sometimes debated whether taxes were too high or certain regulations were discouraging innovation, whether the “nanny state” was sapping individual initiative or this or that program was wasteful, we generally understood the advantages of a society that at least tried to offer a fair shake to everyone and built a floor beneath which nobody could sink.

这种方式或多或少起作用了。在一代人的时间里，对大多数美国人来说，生活变得更好、更安全、更繁荣、更公正。广大的中产阶级蓬勃发展。富人依然富有，也许不像他们本来想的那样富有，穷人的数量减少了，也不像他们本来应该那么贫穷。如果我们有时争论税收是否太高或某些法规是否阻碍了创新，或者“保姆国家”是否破坏了个人主动性，或者这个或那个项目是浪费的，那么我们通常理解尽力为每个人提供公平机会和建立一个让任何人都不能沉沦的地板的社会的优势。

Maintaining this social compact, though, required trust. It required that we see ourselves as bound together, if not as a family then at least as a community, each member worthy of concern and able to make claims on the whole. It required us to believe that whatever actions the government might take to help those in need were available to you and people like you; that nobody was gaming the system and that the misfortunes or stumbles or circumstances that caused others to suffer were ones to which you at some point in your life might fall prey.

然而，維持這種社會契約需要信任。這要求我們將自己視為緊密相連的，即使不是作為家庭的成員，至少也是社區的一部分，每個成員值得關注，並能向整個社會提出索求。這要求我們相信，政府為幫助有需要的人所採取的任何行動都可以用於你和像你這樣的人；沒有人在占便宜，造成其他人遭受困境或失敗或其他情況的不幸，也是你在生命中某個時候可能遭受的情況。

Over the years, that trust proved difficult to sustain. In particular, the fault line of race strained it mightily. Accepting that African Americans and other minority groups might need extra help from the government—that their specific hardships could be traced to a brutal history of discrimination rather than immutable characteristics or individual choices—required a level of empathy, of fellow feeling, that many white voters found difficult to muster. Historically, programs designed to help racial minorities, from “forty acres and a mule” to affirmative action, were met with open hostility. Even universal

programs that enjoyed broad support—like public education or public sector employment—had a funny way of becoming controversial once Black and brown people were included as beneficiaries.

多年来，这种信任很难维持。特别是种族的断层极大地加剧了这种状况。接受非裔美国人和其他少数族裔可能需要政府额外的帮助——他们的特定困境可以被追溯到残酷的歧视历史，而不是固有的特征或个人选择——这需要一种同情心和共感，许多白人选民难以获得。历史上，旨在帮助种族少数群体的计划，从“四十英亩和一匹驴”到平权行动，都受到公开敌意的接待。即使是享有广泛支持的普遍计划——如公共教育或公共部门就业——一旦涉及黑人和棕色人种作为受益者，也有一种有趣的争议方式。

And harder economic times strained civic trust. As the U.S. growth rate started to slow in the 1970s—as incomes then stagnated and good jobs declined for those without a college degree, as parents started worrying about their kids doing at least as well as they had done—the scope of people’s concerns narrowed. We became more sensitive to the possibility that someone else was getting something we weren’t and more receptive to the notion that the government couldn’t be trusted to be fair.

Promoting that story—a story that fed not trust but resentment—had come to define the modern Republican Party. With varying degrees of subtlety and varying degrees of success, GOP candidates adopted it as their central theme, whether they were running for president or trying to get elected to the local school board. It became the template for Fox News and conservative radio, the foundational text for every think tank and PAC the Koch Brothers financed: The government was taking money, jobs, college slots, and status away from hardworking, deserving people like us and handing it all to people like them—those who didn’t share our values, who didn’t work as hard as we did, the kind of people whose problems were of their own making.

在經濟困境加劇的情況下，公民信任也受到了考驗。當美國的增長率在1970年代開始減緩，收入停滯，缺乏大學學歷的人難以找到好工作，家長開始擔心他們的孩子是否能至少和他們一樣成功時，人們關心的範圍變得更狹窄。我們變得更敏感於其他人可能得到我們沒有得到的事，更容易接受政府不能公正地被信任的觀念。

推廣這種傳說——一個不是建立在信任而是建立在憤怒之上的故事——已經成為現代共和黨的定義。共和黨的候選人以不同程度的巧妙和成功採用它作為他們的中心主題，不論是競選總統還是競選當地學校委員會。它成為了福克斯新聞和保守派廣播的模板，是柯克兄弟所有智庫和PAC的基礎文本：政府正在從像我們一樣勤奮而有資格的人身上拿走錢、工作、大學學位和地位，然後將它全部交給像他們那樣的人——那些不共享我們價值觀、不像我們一樣努力工作、問題都是他們自己造成的人。

The intensity of these convictions put Democrats on the defensive, making leaders less bold about proposing new initiatives, limiting the boundaries of political debate. A deep and suffocating cynicism took hold. Indeed, it became axiomatic among political consultants of both parties that restoring trust in the government or in any of our major institutions was a lost cause, and that the battle between Democrats and Republicans each election cycle now came down to whether America’s squeezed middle class was more likely to identify the wealthy and powerful or the poor and minorities as the reason they weren’t doing better.

這些信念的強烈程度使民主黨陷入防守，使領導人在提出新舉措方面變得較為謹慎，限制了政治辯論的範圍。一種深深而令人窒息的懷疑主義招搖而來。實際上，這已成為兩黨政治顧問公認的真理，即恢復對政府或我們的主要機構的信任是一個沒有希望的事情，而民主黨和共和黨之間的競爭每個選舉週期現在都取決於美國被擠壓的中產階級更可能將富人和有權有勢的人，還是貧困和少數族裔視為他們未能實現更好的原因。

I didn’t want to believe that this was all our politics had to offer. I hadn’t run simply to fan anger and allocate blame. I had run to rebuild the American people’s trust—not just in the government but in one another. If we trusted one another, democracy worked. If we trusted one another, the social compact held, and we could solve big problems like wage stagnation and declining retirement security. But how could we even begin?

The economic crisis had tipped recent elections in the Democrats’ favor. But far from restoring any sense of common purpose or faith in the government’s capacity to do good, the crisis had also made people more angry, more fearful, more convinced that the fix was in. What Santelli understood, what McConnell and Boehner understood, was how easily that anger could be channeled, how useful fear could be in advancing their cause.

我不希望相信這就是我們政治所能提供的全部。我不是為了激起憤怒和指責而參選。我是為了重建美國人民的信任——不僅對政府，還有彼此。如果我們彼此信任，民主就能運作。如果我們彼此信任，社會契約就能被遵守，我們就能解決諸如工資停滯和退休保障不足等大問題。但我們該如何開始呢？

經濟危機傾向於讓民主黨在最近的選舉中佔優勢。但這危機並沒有恢復任何共同目標的感覺，也沒有恢復人們對政府能夠做出改善的信任。這使人們更加憤怒，更加害怕，更加堅信有陰謀。Santelli、McConnell 和 Boehner 瞭解什麼，他們瞭解到這種憤怒容易被引導，恐懼在推進他們的事業中是有用的。

The forces they represented might have lost the recent battle at the polls—but the larger war, that clash of worldviews, values, and narratives, was the one they would still try to win.

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IF ALL THIS seems obvious to me now, it wasn’t at the time. My team and I were too busy. Passing the Recovery Act and rolling out our housing plan may have been necessary elements in ending the crisis. They weren’t close to being sufficient. In particular, the global financial system was still broken—and the man I was relying on to fix it was not off to a promising start.

他们所代表的力量也许在最近的选举中失利了，但更大的战争，世界观、价值观和叙述的冲突，是他们仍将努力获胜的。——如果现在这一切对我来说似乎很明显，那时候我并不这么认为。我和我的团队太忙了。通过《复苏法案》和推出我们的住房计划可能是结束危机所必需的元素。但它们远远不够。特别是，全球金融系统仍然破碎不堪——我依赖的那个人修复它的开头并不令人鼓舞。

Tim Geithner's problems had begun weeks earlier, during the process to get him confirmed as Treasury secretary. Historically, Senate confirmation of cabinet appointments was a relatively routine affair, with senators from both parties operating on the presumption that presidents were entitled to choose their own teams—even if they considered the men and women the president selected to be scoundrels and fools. But in recent years, the Senate's constitutional mandate to “advise and consent” had become one more weapon in the endless cycle of partisan trench warfare. Senate staffers of the opposing party now scoured the records of nominees, looking for any youthful indiscretion or damaging quote that could then be raised in a hearing or used to make news. The nominees' personal lives became the subject of endless and intrusive public questioning. The point of the exercise was not necessarily to torpedo the appointment—eventually most nominees got confirmed—but to distract and politically embarrass the administration. The hazing quality of the proceedings had another consequence: With increasing frequency, highly qualified candidates for top federal jobs would cite the confirmation ordeal—what it might do to their reputations, how it might affect their families—as a reason to decline a high-profile post.

蒂姆·盖特纳的问题早在数周前开始，在他被确认为财政部长的过程中。历史上，内阁任命的参议员确认通常是一项相对常规的事情，两党的参议员都认为总统有权选择自己的团队，即使他们认为总统选择的人是恶棍和傻瓜。但是近年来，参议院“建议和同意”的宪法职责已成为无休止的党派战争中的又一武器。反对党的参议员现在会搜寻提名人的记录，寻找任何年轻时的失误或有损形象的言论，然后在听证会上提出或用于制造新闻。提名人的个人生活成为了无休止和侵入性的公开质询的主题。这一行动的目的不一定是要阻挠任命——大多数提名人都最终都获得了确认——而是要分散和政治上羞辱政府。这种批斗的特点还有另一个后果：越来越多的高素质人才会因为确认的苦痛——它可能会对他们的声誉产生什么影响，会影响他们的家人——而拒绝高级公职。

Tim's particular problem had to do with taxes: During the three years he'd spent working for the International Monetary Fund, it turned out, neither he nor his accountants had noticed that the organization did not withhold its U.S. employees' payroll taxes. It was an innocent and apparently common mistake, and when an audit surfaced the problem in 2006, a full two years before he was even considered for the Treasury job, Tim amended his returns and paid what the audit said he owed. Yet given the political climate—and the fact that as Treasury secretary, Tim would be overseeing the IRS—the reaction to his error was unforgiving. Republicans suggested that he had purposely committed tax fraud. Late-night comics made jokes at his expense. Tim grew despondent, telling Axe and Rahm that perhaps I should nominate someone else, which led me to call him late one night to buck him up and insist that he was “my guy.”

蒂姆的特别问题与税有关：在为国际货币基金工作的三年中，他和他的会计师没有注意到该组织并没有扣除其美国员工的工资税。这是一个无辜的，显然很常见的错误。当一项审计在2006年揭示这个问题时，离他被考虑为财政部工作还有两年之久，蒂姆修正了他的申报，并交纳审计所说他欠缴的款项。然而，鉴于政治环境以及作为财政部长，蒂姆将会监督国税局，对他的错误的反应是不宽容的。共和党人暗示他故意犯了逃税罪。深夜的喜剧演员拿他开玩笑。蒂姆变得沮丧，告诉Axe和Rahm，也许我应该提名其他人，这促使我在一个晚上打电话给他，鼓励他坚持认为他是“我的人”。

Although he was confirmed a few days later, Tim was aware that it was by the smallest margin of any Treasury nominee in U.S. history, and that his credibility both at home and internationally had been damaged. I wasn't as worried about all that; nobody remembered confirmation votes, and I was certain his credibility would quickly rebound. But the confirmation drama reminded me that Tim was still a civilian, a lifelong technocrat who had always operated behind the scenes. It would take him some time—just as it had taken me—to get accustomed to the glare of the spotlight.

儘管幾天後他被確認了，但蒂姆知道他是美國歷史上任何財政部提名人中得票最少者，而且他的信譽在國內和國際上都遭到了損害。我對此並不那麼擔心；沒有人會記得確認投票，我相信他的信譽很快就會恢復。但這次確認戲劇提醒我，蒂姆仍然是個平民，一個終身的技術專家，一直在幕後運作。他需要一些時間——就像我一樣——去適應聚光燈的照射。

The day after Tim's confirmation, he and Larry came to the Oval Office to brief me on the grim state of the financial system. Credit remained frozen. The markets were precarious. Five massive institutions—“five big bombs,” Tim called them—were in particular peril: Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which had become virtually the only sources of housing finance and were burning through the 200 billion in taxpayer funds Treasury had injected into them the previous year; the insurance giant AIG, which had massive exposure as based derivatives and had required 150 billion in TARP over the previous four months just to stay afloat; and two banks, Citigroup and Bank of America, which together constituted about 14 percent of America's bank deposits and had seen their stock drop 82 percent over the previous four months.

蒂姆被确认后的第二天，他和拉里来到椭圆形办公室向我汇报金融系统的严峻情况。信贷市场依旧冰冻，股市摇摇欲坠。有五个庞大的机构——“五个巨型炸弹”，蒂姆这样称呼他们——处于特别危险之中：房屋金融市场的几乎唯一资金来源、已经燃烧完纳税人注资的2000亿美元的房利美和房地美；保险巨头AIG，由于保险抵押贷款衍生品而面临巨大的风险，过去四个月仅维持业务运营就已经动用了1500亿美元的TARP；此外还有两家银行——花旗银行和美国银行，它们共同占有美国银行存款的约14%，过去四个月中它们的股价下跌了82%。

A renewed run on any one of these five financial institutions could tip it into insolvency, which in turn could trigger a global financial earthquake even bigger than the one we'd just weathered. And despite the hundreds of billions the government had already devoted to their rescue, there was no way that the remaining 300 billion in TARP funds could cover the current pace of losses. A Federal Reserve analysis predicted that, unless the entire system stabilized 300 to 700 billion in government cash infusion—and those numbers didn't include AIG, which would later announce a 62 billion quarterly loss.

任何这五家金融机构之一的再次大规模挤兑都可能导致其破产，进而可能引发比我们刚刚经历的更大规模的全球金融地震。尽管政府已经投入数千亿美元用于救援，但剩下的3000亿美元资金无法覆盖当前损失速度。美联储的分析预测，除非整个系统很快稳定下来，否则银行可能需要另外3000亿至7000亿美元

的政府资金注入，并且这些数字还不包括后来宣布每季度亏损620亿美元的美国国际集团。

Rather than pouring more taxpayer dollars into a leaky bucket, we had to find a way to patch its holes. First and foremost, we needed to restore some semblance of market confidence so that investors who'd fled to safety, pulling trillions of dollars in private capital out of the financial sector, would return from the sidelines and reinvest. When it came to Fannie and Freddie, Tim explained, we had the authority to put more money into them without congressional approval, in part because they'd already been placed in government conservatorship. Right away, we agreed to a new \$200 billion capital commitment. This wasn't a comfortable choice, but the alternative was to let the entire U.S. mortgage market effectively vanish.

不是把更多的納稅人金錢澆進一個漏洞滿佈的水桶裡，我們得找到方法補上洞口。首要的是，我們需要恢復市場信心，以便投資者重返市場，重新投資，因為他們向安全地帶撤回了數萬億美元的私人資本，使金融部門陷入危機。關於房利美和房地美，提姆解釋說，由於它們已經被政府收歸保管，我們有權在不經國會批准的情況下向它們投入更多的資金。我們立刻同意了新的2,000億美元的資本承諾。這不是一個舒適的選擇，但另一種選擇是讓整個美國抵押貸款市場消失。

As for the rest of the financial system, the choices were dicier. A few days later, in another Oval Office meeting, Tim and Larry outlined three basic options. The first, most prominently advocated by FDIC chair and Bush holdover Sheila Bair, involved a reprise of Hank Paulson's original idea for TARP, which was to have the government set up a single "bad bank" that would buy up all the privately held toxic assets, thereby cleansing the banking sector. This would allow investors to feel some form of trust and banks to start lending again.

就其余财务系统而言，选择变得更加困难。数天后，在另一次椭圆形办公室会议上，蒂姆和拉里概述了三个基本选择。首先，最受推崇的是由联邦存款保险公司主席和布什留任者希拉·贝尔提出的一种方案，即重演汉克·保尔森最初提出的TARP想法，即让政府设立一个“坏银行”，收购所有私有持有的有毒资产，从而使银行业清洁。这将使投资者感到一定程度的信任，并使银行重新开始放贷。

Not surprisingly, the markets liked this approach, since it effectively dumped future losses in the lap of taxpayers. The problem with the "bad bank" idea, though, as both Tim and Larry pointed out, was that no one knew how to fairly price all the toxic assets currently on the banks' books. If the government paid too much, it would amount to yet another massive taxpayer bailout with few strings attached. If, on the other hand, the government paid too little—and with an estimated \$1 trillion in toxic assets still out there, fire-sale prices would be all the government could afford—the banks would have to swallow massive losses right away and would almost certainly go belly-up anyway. In fact, it was precisely because of these pricing complications that Hank Paulson had abandoned the idea back at the start of the crisis.

毫不奇怪，市场喜欢这种方法，因为它有效地将未来的损失转嫁给了纳税人。然而，正如Tim和Larry所指出的那样，“坏银行”想法的问题在于，没有人知道如何公正地定价银行目前持有的所有有毒资产。如果政府支付过多，这将再次成为一个无拘束的大规模纳税人救助行动。另一方面，如果政府支付过少——而估计目前仍有1万亿美元的有毒资产在那里，政府所能支付的必然是廉价——那么银行将不得不立即承担巨额损失，并且几乎肯定会破产。实际上，正是因为这些定价问题，汉克·保尔森在危机开始时就放弃了这个想法。

We had a second possibility, one that on the surface seemed cleaner: to temporarily nationalize those systemically significant financial institutions that—based on the current market price of their assets and liabilities—were insolvent and then force them to go through a restructuring similar to a bankruptcy proceeding, including making shareholders and bondholders take "haircuts" on their holdings and potentially replacing both management and boards. This option fulfilled my desire to "tear the Band-Aid off" and fix the system once and for all, rather than letting the banks limp along in what was sometimes referred to as a "zombie" state—technically still in existence but without enough capital or credibility to function. It also had the benefit of satisfying what Tim liked to refer to as "Old Testament justice"—the public's understandable desire to see those who'd done wrong punished and shamed.

我们有第二个选择，表面上看起来更为干净：暂时收归那些有系统重要性的金融机构，并强迫它们进行类似破产程序的重组，包括让股东和债券持有人对其持有的资产进行折价，并有可能替换管理层和董事会。这个选择符合我的愿望，即要“撕掉绷带”——劳永逸地解决问题，而不是让银行在所谓的“僵尸”状态下艰难度日——从技术层面上讲，它们仍然存在，但资本和信誉都不足以发挥作用。它还有一个好处，就是满足了蒂姆所说的“旧约正义”的要求——公众可以理解地希望看到那些做错事的人受到惩罚和羞辱。

As usual, though, what looked like the simplest solution wasn't so simple. Once the government nationalized one bank, stakeholders at every other bank would almost certainly dump their holdings as fast as they could, fearing that their institution would be next. Such runs would likely trigger the need to nationalize the next-weakest bank, and the one after that, and the one after that, in what would become a cascading government takeover of America's financial sector.

Not only would that cost a whole lot of money; it also would require the U.S. government to manage these institutions for as long as it took to eventually sell them off. And while we were busy contending with a million inevitable lawsuits (filed not just by Wall Street types but also by pension funds and small investors angry over the forced "haircut"), the question would be who would we put in charge of these banks—especially given that almost everyone with the requisite experience was likely to be tainted by some involvement with subprime lending? Who would set their salaries and bonuses? How would the public feel if these nationalized banks just kept bleeding money? And to whom could the government ultimately sell these banks, other than to other banks that might have been similarly complicit in creating the mess in the first place?

通常，看起来最简单的解决方案并不那么简单。一旦政府将一家银行国有化，其他每家银行的利益相关者几乎肯定会尽快抛售其持股，担心自己的机构会成为下一个目标。这些抛售可能会引发对下一家最薄弱银行的需要国有化，以及其后的银行，进而导致美国金融部门的政府接管像瀑布一样不断加剧。

这不仅会花费大量资金，还需要美国政府管理这些机构，直至最后将它们出售。而当我们忙于应对数以百万计的不可避免的诉讼（不仅是由华尔街人士提起的，也包括因被强制“削减”而生气的养老金基金和小型投资者），问题是谁来负责这些银行——特别是考虑到几乎每个具备必要经验的人都可能被次贷贷款所涉及的问题所牵涉。谁将设定他们的薪资和奖金？如果这些国有化的银行继续亏损，公众会作何感想？政府最终将这些银行出售给谁，除了可能也曾在创造混乱方面有所涉及的其他银行以外？

In part because there were no good answers to these questions, Tim had cooked up a third option. His theory was this: Although nobody doubted that banks were in bad shape and had a whole bunch of bad assets on their books, the market panic had so deeply depressed all asset prices that their condition might look worse than it really was. After all, the overwhelming majority of mortgages wouldn't end up in default. Not every mortgage-backed security was worthless, and not every bank was awash in bad bets. And yet as long as the market had trouble discerning genuine insolvency from temporary illiquidity, most investors would simply avoid anything related to the financial sector.

由于这些问题都没有好的答案，Tim 想出了第三个选择。他的理论是：虽然没有人怀疑银行处于糟糕状态，并在它们的账面上有大量的坏资产，但市场恐慌已经深深地压低了所有资产价格，以至于它们的状况可能比实际上还要糟糕。毕竟，绝大多数抵押贷款不会违约。不是每个抵押贷款支持的证券都毫无价值，不是每个银行都陷入了糟糕的赌注。然而，只要市场很难分辨出真正的破产与暂时的流动性问题，大多数投资者就会避免与金融行业有关的任何事情。

Tim's proposed solution would come to be known as a "stress test." The Federal Reserve would set a benchmark for how much capital each of the nineteen systemically significant banks needed to survive a worst-case scenario. The Fed would then dispatch regulators to pore over each bank's books, rigorously assessing whether or not it had enough of a financial cushion to make it through a depression; if not, the bank would be given six months to raise that amount of capital from private sources. If it still fell short, the government would then step in to provide enough capital to meet the benchmark, with nationalization coming into play only if the government's infusion exceeded 50 percent. Either way, the markets would finally have a clear picture of each bank's condition. Shareholders would see their shares in a bank diluted, but only in proportion to the amount of capital needed for the bank to get well. And taxpayers would be on the hook only as a last resort.

蒂姆提出的解决方案被称为“压力测试”。美联储将为19个系统性重要银行设置资本存储量的基准，以应对最坏情况。然后，监管机构将调查每个银行的账本，严格评估其是否有足够的财务储备来度过经济大萧条；如果没有，该银行将有六个月的时间从私人来源筹集相应的资本。如果仍然不足，政府将提供足够的资本以满足基准，仅在政府的资本注入超过50%时才会国有化。无论哪种情况，市场终将对每家银行的状况有清晰的了解。股东将看到其持有的银行股份被稀释，但仅按银行康复所需的资本量比例稀释。纳税人只有在最后一种情况下才需要承担责任。

Tim presented this third option more as a framework than a detailed plan, and Larry voiced some skepticism, believing that the banks were irredeemable, that the markets would never believe in the rigors of a government-managed audit, and that the exercise would do little more than delay the inevitable. Tim acknowledged those risks. He added that any stress test would require about three months to complete, during which time the public pressure for us to take more decisive action would only build; in the meantime any number of events could send the markets into an even sharper tailspin.

蒂姆把这个第三个选项呈现得更像一个框架而不是一个详细的计划，而拉里则表达了一些怀疑，认为银行是不可救药的，市场永远不会相信政府管理的审核的严格性，而这个演习只会延迟不可避免的结果。蒂姆承认这些风险。他补充说，任何压力测试都需要大约三个月的时间才能完成，在此期间，公众对我们采取更果断行动的压力只会增加；与此同时，任何事件都可能使市场陷入更加严重的困境。

Larry and Tim stopped talking and waited for my reaction. I sat back in my chair.

"Anything else on the menu?" I asked.

"Not right now, Mr. President."

"Not very appetizing."

"No, Mr. President."

I nodded, pondered the probabilities, and after a few more questions decided that Tim's stress-test approach was our best way forward. Not because it was great—not even because it was good—but because the other approaches were worse. Larry compared it to having a doctor administer a less invasive treatment before opting for radical surgery. If the stress test worked, we could fix the system faster and with less taxpayer money. If it didn't, we'd probably be no worse off and would at least have a better sense of what more radical surgery would entail.

拉里和蒂姆停止交谈并等待我的反应。我坐回椅子上。

"菜单上还有别的吗？"我问道。

"现在没有了，总统先生。"

"不太有食欲。"

"是的，总统先生。"

我点了点头，思索着可能性，在问了几个问题之后，决定采取蒂姆的压力测试方法是我们最好的方法。不是因为它很好，甚至不是因为它好，而是因为其他方法更糟糕。拉里将其比作在采取激进手术之前让医生进行较不侵入性的治疗。如果压力测试起作用，我们可以更快地修复系统并减少纳税人的开支。如果不起作用，我们可能不会更糟糕，但至少会更好地了解更激进的手术需要什么。

Assuming, of course, that the patient didn't die in the meantime.

—

A COUPLE OF weeks later, on February 10, Tim addressed the public for the first time as Treasury secretary, speaking in a grand hall inside the Treasury Building called the Cash Room, which for more than a century following the Civil War had operated as a bank, dispensing currency directly from

government vaults. The idea was that Tim would unveil the framework for the stress test and outline other measures we were taking to stabilize the floundering banks, sending a signal that despite the uncertainty of the times, we were calm and had a credible plan.

假设病人当然没有在其间死亡。——几个星期后的2月10日，蒂姆首次以财政部长的身份向公众发表讲话。他在财政部大楼内的一间名为“现金室”的大厅演讲，这个大厅在南北战争后的一百多年里一直作为银行运作，直接从政府金库发放货币。其想法是，蒂姆将揭示压力测试的框架，并概述我们采取的其他措施来稳定摇摇欲坠的银行，发出一个信号，表明尽管时局不明朗，我们冷静并有可信的计划。

Confidence, of course, is hard to convey if you don't fully feel it. Still bruised by the confirmation hearings, having spent his first few weeks on the job working with only a skeleton staff, and still sorting out the details of how the stress test would work, Tim stepped before a bank of TV cameras and financial journalists that day and promptly tanked.

By every estimation, including his own, the speech was a disaster. He looked nervous, was awkwardly using a teleprompter for the first time, and spoke in only vague terms about the overall plan. The White House communications team had been pressuring him to emphasize our intent to get tough on the banks, even as our economic team emphasized the need to reassure the financial markets that there was no need for panic. Meanwhile, the alphabet soup of independent agencies responsible for regulating the financial system had not coalesced around Tim's proposal, and several agency heads, like Sheila Bair, kept pushing their own pet ideas. The result was a classic speech by committee, full of hedged bets and mixed messages, reflecting all the contradictory pressures. And in the rush to get it finished, Tim—who was running on fumes at this point—had devoted almost no time to practicing his delivery.

自信当然是很难传达的，如果你自己不完全有信心。在确认听证会受伤后，蒂姆只和少数的工作人员度过了他上任的前几个星期，并且还在解决压力测试的详细安排，那一天他来到电视台摆前定格，面对着一排排的摄影机和金融记者，但结果却是糟糕的。按照每个人的估计，包括他自己的，演讲非常失败。他看起来很紧张，第一次笨拙地使用电子提词器，并且只模糊地讲述了整个计划。白宫通讯团队一直在督促他强调我们对银行保持强硬的立场，尽管我们的经济团队强调无需恐慌地向金融市场保证。同时，负责监管金融系统的各个独立机构并没有围绕蒂姆的建议展开一致行动，而一些机构负责人，如希拉贝尔，继续推动他们自己的想法。结果就是一个充满了不确定性和相互矛盾压力的委员会式演讲。在匆忙完成时，蒂姆此时已经精疲力尽，几乎没有花时间练习他的表达能力。

As he was speaking, the stock market dropped by more than 3 percent. By day's end, it was down almost 5 percent, with financial stocks falling a full 11 percent. Tim's speech was all over the news, being parsed every which way. As Larry had predicted, many analysts viewed the stress test as nothing more than an elaborate whitewash, a new string of bailouts. Commentators across the political spectrum were now openly wondering whether Tim's tenure, my presidency, and the global financial system were headed for the dumpster.

當他講話的時候，股市下跌了超過3%。到了一天結束時，它下跌了近5%，金融股下跌了整整11%。蒂姆的演講成為新聞熱點，被解讀成很多種。正如拉里所預測的那樣，許多分析師將壓力測試視為一個謊話，一個新的救援計畫。跨越政治譜系的評論家們現在公開地懷疑蒂姆的任期、我的總統職位和全球金融體系是否正在走向垃圾場。

As much as Tim blamed himself during the next morning's postmortem, I recognized it as a systems failure—and a failure on my part to put those who worked under me in a position to succeed. A day earlier, speaking at a press conference of my own, I'd unthinkingly and unfairly put a good deal of advance hype on Tim's speech, telling reporters that he'd be announcing "clear and specific plans" and was set to have "his moment in the sun." The lessons all around were painful but useful. In the months that followed, I'd drive our team to run a tighter process, with better communications between relevant parts of the administration; to anticipate problems and resolve disputes before we took any plans public, allowing our ideas appropriate time and space to germinate regardless of external pressure; to pay careful attention to how big projects were staffed; and to sweat the details not just of substance but of stagecraft as well.

盡管蒂姆在隔天的檢討中歸咎自己，但我認為這是系統故障，而且是我未能讓在我領導下工作的人能夠成功的失敗。一天前，在自己的新聞發布會上，我無意間不公平地炒作了蒂姆的演講，告訴記者他將宣布“明確具體的計劃”，並準備好“獲得迎光燈的時刻”。

所有的教訓都是痛苦而有用的。在接下來的幾個月中，我們的團隊努力推行更嚴格的流程，改善政府相關部門之間的溝通；在公開計劃之前預見問題並解決爭端，讓我們的想法有適當的時間和空間發芽，而不受外部壓力的影響；仔細關注大型項目的人員配備；不僅關注實質問題，也注意舞台效果的細節。

And one more thing: I told myself not to ever open my big mouth again to set up expectations that, given the circumstances, could not possibly be met. Still, the damage was done. The world's first impression of my hardworking, all-star economic team was that of a gang that couldn't shoot straight. Republicans crowded. Rahm fielded calls from nervous Democrats. About the only positive thing I could draw from the fiasco was Tim's reaction to it. His spirit could have been crushed, but it wasn't. Instead, he had the resigned air of someone who would take his punishment for the poor speech performance but at the same time was confident that on the bigger stuff, he was right.

還有一件事：我對自己說過，不再張口設立無法實現的期望。然而，損害已經造成。我努力工作的經濟團隊給世人第一印象是一群亂槍打鳥的人。共和黨人沾沾自喜，拉姆接到了緊張的民主黨人的電話。我所能從這次醜聞中獲得的唯一正面收穫是蒂姆對此的反應。他的士氣可能已被打垮，但並非如此。相反，他有著一種順從的姿態，他正確地執行落選演講並且有信心，在更重要的問題上，他是正確的。

I liked that in him. He was still my guy. The best we could do now was hunker down, execute, and hope that our damn plan actually worked.

—

“MADAM SPEAKER...the President of the United States!”

For reasons that still aren't entirely clear to me, a newly elected president's first speech before a joint session of Congress isn't technically considered a State of the Union address. But for all intents and purposes, that's exactly what it is—the first of that annual ritual in which a president has the chance to speak directly to tens of millions of fellow Americans.

我喜欢他身上的那个特点。他仍然是我的人。现在我们能做的最好的事情就是蜷缩在原地，执行计划，并希望我们该死的计划真的能奏效。

—

“女议长……美国总统！”

对我来说，一个新当选的总统在国会联席会议上的第一次讲话，原因仍然不是很清楚。但实际上，这正是那个每年例行的背景下，总统有机会直接与数以千万计的美国人民交流的机会。

My own first address was scheduled for February 24, which meant that even as we were scrambling to get our economic rescue plan in place, I had to steal whatever scraps of time I could to review the drafts Favs worked up. It wasn't an easy assignment for either of us. Other speeches could traffic in broad themes or focus narrowly on a single issue. In the SOTU, as West Wing staffers called it, the president was expected to outline both domestic and foreign policy priorities for the coming year. And no matter how much you dressed up your plans and proposals with anecdotes or catchy phrases, detailed explanations of Medicare expansion or tax credit refundability rarely stirred the heartstrings.

我的首次演讲定于2月24日，这意味着即使我们在匆忙地落实经济救援计划，我也得偷取任何一点时间，审查Favs起草的稿件。这对我们俩来说都不是容易的任务。其他演讲可能会涉及广泛的主题，或者把注意力集中在一个问题上。在白宫工作人员所称的国情咨文演说中，总统被期望为即将到来的一年概述国内和外交政策的优先事项。无论你用多少轶事或流行语装扮你的计划和提议，详细解释医疗保险扩展或税收抵免的细节很少会引起人们的共鸣。

Having been a senator, I was well versed in the politics of standing ovations at the SOTU: the ritualized spectacle in which members of the president's party leapt to their feet and cheered to the rafters at practically every third line, while the opposition party refused to applaud even the most heartwarming story for fear that the cameras might catch them consorting with the enemy. (The sole exception to this rule was any mention of troops overseas.) Not only did this absurd bit of theater highlight the country's divisions at a time when we needed unity; the constant interruptions added at least fifteen minutes to an already long speech. I had considered beginning my address by asking all those in attendance to hold their applause, but unsurprisingly, Gibbs and the comms team had nixed the idea, insisting that a silent chamber would not play well on TV.

作为一名参议员，我对国情咨文演说中的起立鼓掌政治非常熟悉：在这场权衡考虑演出中，总统的党派成员几乎每三行就要跳起来鼓掌欢呼，而反对党则担心摄像机捕捉到他们与敌人合作甚至对最温馨的故事也不鼓掌。（唯一的例外是对海外军队的提及。）这种荒谬的演戏不仅突出了国家在需要团结时的分歧，还使本来就很长的演说时间增加了至少15分钟。我曾考虑一开始就要求所有在场的人不要鼓掌，但毫不意外的是，吉布斯和通讯团队否决了这个想法，坚称一个寂静的议院在电视上不会受欢迎。

But if the process ahead of the SOTU left us feeling harried and uninspired—if at various points I told Favs that after an election night speech, an inauguration speech, and nearly two years of nonstop talking I had absolutely nothing new to say and would be doing the country a favor by emulating Thomas Jefferson and just dropping off my remarks to Congress for the people to read at their leisure—it all vanished the instant I arrived at the threshold of the ornate House chamber and heard the sergeant at arms announce my entrance onto the floor.

但是，如果国情咨文发表前的进程让我们感到心烦意乱和缺乏灵感—如果在不同的时刻我告诉 Favs，在一次竞选夜演讲、一次就职演讲和近两年的不断讲话后，我绝对没有什么新东西要说，并且通过效仿托马斯·杰斐逊，将我的讲话留给国会供人们慢慢阅读，这将对国家有所裨益—但是当我到达华丽的众议院大厅门口，听到军士长宣布我的入场时，这一切都烟消云散了。

“Madam Speaker…” Perhaps more than any others, those words and the scene that followed made me conscious of the grandeur of the office I now occupied. There was the thundering applause as I stepped into the chamber; the slow walk down the center aisle through outstretched hands; the members of my cabinet arrayed along the first and second rows; the Joint Chiefs in their crisp uniforms and the Supreme Court justices in their black robes, like members of an ancient guild; the greetings from Speaker Pelosi and Vice President Biden, positioned on either side of me; and my wife beaming down from the upper gallery in her sleeveless dress (that was when the cult of Michelle's arms truly took off), waving and blowing a kiss as the Speaker lowered her gavel and the proceedings commenced.

“女议长……”或许比其他任何词语和随之而来的景象更让我意识到我现在担任的这个职位的伟大。当我走进议院时，掌声如雷地响起；然后缓缓走下中间的走廊，手伸向我；我的内阁成员们站在第一和第二排；联合参谋长们穿着整洁的军服，最高法院法官则穿着黑袍，就像古老行会的成员一样；演讲结束，议长低下他的槌子，我在两旁的佩洛西女议长和拜登副总统的问候中站着；而我的妻子在上方的观众席上穿着无袖连衣裙（那时候，米歇尔的臂匠之风真正兴起），向下挥手并吹了个吻。

Although I spoke about my plans to end the war in Iraq, fortify U.S. efforts in Afghanistan, and prosecute the fight against terrorist organizations, the bulk of my address was devoted to the economic crisis. I went over the Recovery Act, our housing plan, the rationale behind the stress test. But there was also a bigger point I wanted to make: that we needed to keep reaching for more. I didn't just want to solve the emergencies of the day; I felt we needed to make a bid for lasting change. Once we'd restored growth to the economy, we couldn't be satisfied with simply returning to business as usual. I made clear that night that I intended to move forward with structural reforms—in education, energy, and climate policy, in healthcare and financial regulation—that would lay the foundation for long-term and broad-based prosperity in America.

雖然我談到了結束伊拉克戰爭、強化美國在阿富汗的努力以及打擊恐怖組織的計劃，但我的演講大部分是關於經濟危機。我講解了《經濟振興法案》、我們的住房計劃以及應對壓力測試的原因。但還有更重要的一點，我想要強調：我們需要不斷追求更多。我不只是想解決當下的危機；我認為我們需要爭取持久的改變。一旦我們恢復了經濟的增長，我們不能滿足於回歸以往的慣例。當晚我明確表示，我打算推進結構性改革，包括教育、能源和氣候政策、醫療保健和金融監管，這將為美國的長期和廣泛繁榮奠定基礎。

The days had long passed since I got nervous on a big stage, and considering how much ground we had to cover, the speech went about as well as I could have hoped. According to Axe and Gibbs, the reviews were fine, the talking heads deeming me suitably “presidential.” But apparently they’d been surprised by the boldness of my agenda, my willingness to forge ahead with reforms beyond those that addressed the central business of saving the economy.

It was as if nobody had been listening to the campaign promises I’d made—or as if they assumed that I hadn’t actually meant what I’d said. The response to my speech gave me an early preview of what would become a running criticism during my first two years in office: that I was trying to do too much, that to aspire to anything more than a return to the pre-crisis status quo, to treat change as more than a slogan, was naïve and irresponsible at best, and at worst a threat to America.

自從我在大舞臺上感到緊張的日子已經過去了很長一段時間，考慮到我們需要涵蓋多少內容，演講的效果已經達到了我所希望的。根據艾克斯和吉布斯的報告，評論都很好，談話者認為我相當符合“總統”的形象。但顯然他們對我的議程的大膽性感到驚訝，對於我願意推進超越解決經濟中心問題的改革感到意外。

就像沒有人在聆聽我競選承諾一樣，或者他們認為我並沒有真正意味著我所說的話。我的演講反應給了我一個早期預覽，這在我任職首兩年期間將成為一項持續的批評：我試圖做太多事情，渴望實現超越恢復危機前現狀的目標被視作是天真和不負責任，最糟糕的是對美國構成威脅。

—

AS ALL-CONSUMING AS the economic crisis was, my fledgling administration didn’t have the luxury of putting everything else on hold, for the machinery of the federal government stretched across the globe, churning every minute of every day, indifferent to overstuffed in-boxes and human sleep cycles. Many of its functions (generating Social Security checks, keeping weather satellites aloft, processing agricultural loans, issuing passports) required no specific instructions from the White House, operating much like a human body breathes or sweats, outside the brain’s conscious control. But this still left countless agencies and buildings full of people in need of our daily attention: looking for policy guidance or help with staffing, seeking advice because some internal breakdown or external event had thrown the system for a loop. After our first weekly Oval Office meeting, I asked Bob Gates, who’d served under seven previous presidents, for any advice he might have in managing the executive branch. He gave me one of his wry, crinkly smiles.社会经济危机虽然如此严重，但初创的政府管理团队没有将所有事情搁置的奢侈，因为联邦政府的机构遍及全球，每天每分钟都在运转，不受堆积如山的电子邮件和人类的睡眠周期所影响。其中许多功能（发放社会保障支票、维持气象卫星运作、处理农业贷款、发放护照）不需要白宫的具体指示，就像人体呼吸或出汗一样，在大脑无意识控制下运作。但这仍然留下了无数机构和建筑物需要我们每天关注：寻求政策指导或人力配备的帮助，因一些内部故障或外部事件而导致整个系统瘫痪而寻求建议。在我们的第一次每周圆形办公室会议之后，我问曾在七位前任总统的任期下担任过职位的鲍勃·盖茨有什么关于管理行政部门的建议。他给了我一个诙谐、皱巴巴的微笑。

“There’s only one thing you can count on, Mr. President,” he said. “On any given moment in any given day, somebody somewhere is screwing up.” We went to work trying to minimize screw-ups.

In addition to my regular meetings with the Treasury, state, and defense secretaries and the daily briefings I got from my national security and economic teams, I made a point of sitting down with each member of my cabinet to go over strategic plans for their departments, pushing them to identify roadblocks and set priorities. I visited their respective agencies, often using the occasion to announce a new policy or government practice, and spoke to large gatherings of career government staffers, thanking them for their service and reminding them of the importance of their missions.

他说，“总统先生，你唯一能确定的事情就是，在任何时间的任何地点，总会有人搞砸。”

我们开始工作，尽最大努力减少失误。

除了与财政、国防和国务卿的定期会议，以及我从国家安全和经济团队获得的每日简报外，我还亲自与内阁的每个成员会面，共同规划他们部门的战略计划，督促他们识别路障并确定优先事项。我还造访了他们各自的机构，常常利用这个场合宣布新的政策或政府行为，并向大型政府工作人员团体发表讲话，感谢他们的服务，提醒他们的使命的重要性。

There was an endless flow of meetings with various constituency groups—the Business Roundtable, the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, veterans’ services organizations—to address their concerns and solicit their support. There were big set pieces that absorbed enormous amounts of time (like the presentation of our first federal budget proposal) and innovative public events designed to increase government transparency (like our first-ever live-streamed town hall). Each week I delivered a video address. I sat down for interviews with various print reporters and TV anchors, both national and local. I gave remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast and threw a Super Bowl party for members of Congress. By the first week of March, I’d also held two summits with foreign leaders—one in D.C. with British prime minister Gordon Brown, the other in Ottawa with Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper—each involving its own policy objectives and diplomatic protocols.有各种选区团体的无穷无尽的会议——商业圆桌会议、美国劳工联合会、美国市长会议、退伍军人服务组织——以解决他们的关切并获得他们的支持。有巨大的节目需要大量时间（如我们的第一个联邦预算提案），也有旨在增加政府透明度的创新公共活动（如我们有史以来第一次的现场网络直播城镇大会）。每周我都会发表视频讲话。我与各种印刷媒体和电视记者进行了采访，包括国内

和本地的。我在国家祷告早餐上发表讲话，还为国会议员举办了超级杯派对。到三月的第一周，我还与外国领导人举行了两次峰会——一次在华盛顿与英国首相戈登·布朗，另一次在渥太华与加拿大总理斯蒂芬·哈珀——每一次都涉及其自身的政策目标和外交协议。

For every event, meeting, and policy rollout, a hundred people or more might be frantically working behind the scenes. Every document issued was fact-checked, every person who showed up for a meeting was vetted, every event was planned to the minute, and every policy announcement was carefully scrubbed to make sure it was achievable, affordable, and didn't carry the risk of unforeseen consequences.

This kind of focused industriousness extended to the East Wing, where the First Lady had a small suite of offices and a busy schedule of her own. From the moment we'd arrived at the White House, Michelle had thrown herself into her new job while also making a home for our family. Thanks to her, Malia and Sasha seemed to be taking the transition to our strange new life completely in stride. They tossed balls in the long hallway that ran the length of the residence and made cookies with the White House chefs. Their weekends were filled with playdates and birthday parties with new friends, rec basketball, soccer leagues, tennis lessons for Malia, dance classes and tae kwon do for Sasha. (Much like her mother, Sasha was not to be messed with.) Out in public, Michelle sparkled with charm, her fashion choices attracting favorable notice. Tasked with hosting the annual Governors Ball, Michelle had shaken up tradition by arranging to have Earth, Wind & Fire provide the entertainment, their horn-blasting R&B funk generating moves on the dance floor that I'd never thought I'd see out of a bipartisan gathering of middle-aged public officials.每一项活动、会议和政策推出，可能都有一百多人在幕后紧张工作。每份文书都经过事实核实，每个参加会议的人都经过认证，每个事件都精心计划，每个政策公告都仔细审查，以确保它是可行、负担得起，并且不会带来意想不到的后果。

这种专注的勤奋也延伸到东侧的东厅，那里是第一夫人的一组小办公室和繁忙的日程表。从我们到达白宫的那一刻起，米歇尔就全身心投入了她的新工作，同时为我们的家庭安家落户。由于她的帮助，玛莉亚和萨沙似乎完全适应了我们这个奇怪的新生活。他们在住所全长的长廊上扔球，与白宫的大厨们做饼干。他们的周末充满了新朋友的玩伴、生日派对、篮球比赛、足球联赛、给玛莉亚上网球课、给萨沙上舞蹈课和跆拳道课程。（萨沙很像她的母亲，绝不好惹。）在公共场合，米歇尔充满魅力，她的时尚选择引起了赞赏的注意。米歇尔负责主持年度州长晚宴，打破传统，安排让地球、风和火提供娱乐，他们的喇叭声爆发式的节奏布鲁斯，在反对党的政治官员聚会上的跳舞活动中，做出了我认为我永远不会看到的舞蹈动作。

Look beautiful. Care for your family. Be gracious. Support your man. For most of American history, the First Lady's job had been defined by these tenets, and Michelle was hitting all the marks. What she hid from the outside world, though, was the way her new role initially chafed, how fraught with uncertainty it felt.

Not all her frustrations were new. For as long as we'd been together, I'd watched my wife struggle the way many women did, trying to reconcile her identity as an independent, ambitious professional with a desire to mother our girls with the same level of care and attentiveness that Marian had given her. I had always tried to encourage Michelle in her career, never presuming that household duties were her province alone; and we'd been lucky that our joint income and a strong network of close-by relatives and friends had given us advantages that many families didn't have. Still, this wasn't enough to insulate Michelle from the wildly unrealistic and often contradictory social pressures that women with children absorbed from the media, their peers, their employers, and, of course, the men in their lives.

美麗動人，照顧家人，優雅大方，支持男人。美國歷史上，第一夫人的工作一直被這些原則所定義，而米歇爾正打著所有的分數。然而，她從外界隱藏的是，這個新角色最初使她感到不自在，充滿不確定性。不是所有的挫折都是新的。自從我們在一起以來，我一直看著我的妻子像許多女性一樣掙扎，試圖將她獨立、有雄心壯志的職業身份與像瑪麗安給予她的同樣關心細心的母親身份調和一致。我一直試圖鼓勵米歇爾的職業生涯，從不認為家務事只是她的職責；我們幸運地擁有聯合收入和一個強大的附近親戚和朋友網絡，這給了我們許多家庭所沒有的優勢。然而，這些仍然不足以使米歇爾免於來自媒體、同輩、雇主和當然是生活中男人所吸收的極度不切實際和常常矛盾的社會壓力。

My career in politics, with its prolonged absences, had made it even tougher. More than once Michelle had decided not to pursue an opportunity that excited her but would have demanded too much time away from the girls. Even in her last job at the University of Chicago Medical Center, with a supportive boss and the ability to make her own schedule, she'd never fully shaken the sense that she was shortchanging the girls, her work, or both. In Chicago, she had at least been able to avoid being in the public eye and manage the everyday push and pull on her own terms. Now all that had changed. With my election, she'd been forced to give up a job with real impact for a role that—in its original design, at least—was far too small for her gifts. Meanwhile, mothering our kids involved a whole new set of complications—like having to call a parent to explain why Secret Service agents needed to survey their house before Sasha came for a playdate or working with staffers to press a tabloid not to print a picture of Malia hanging out with her friends at the mall.

我的政治生涯，经常的离家，让事情变得更加艰难。有多次，米歇尔已决定不接受一些令她兴奋的机会，但那会在太多时间上让她离开女儿们。即使在芝加哥大学医学中心的最后一份工作中，她有一个支持她的老板和自己安排时间的能力，她从来没有完全摆脱一个感觉——她在短时间内无法照顾好女儿和自己的工作。至少在芝加哥，她可以避免被公众关注，并按照自己的条件处理日常的推拉。现在这一切都改变了。随着我的当选，她被迫放弃了一份拥有实际影响力的工作，去从事一个设计上来说，太小了的职位，与她的才华不相符。同时，照顾孩子还涉及到一整套新的复杂问题——比如需要致电父母来解释为什么特勤局需要在莎莎前来玩耍前勘查他们的房子，或是与工作人员合作，要求一个无聊的小报不要刊登玛丽亚和她的朋友在商场里逛街的照片。

On top of these things, Michelle suddenly found herself drafted as a symbol in America's ongoing gender wars. Each choice she made, each word she uttered, was feverishly interpreted and judged. When she lightheartedly referred to herself as a "mom in chief," some commentators expressed disappointment that she wasn't using her platform to break down stereotypes about a woman's proper place. At the same time, efforts to stretch the boundaries of what a First Lady should or should not do carried their own peril: Michelle still smarted from the viciousness of some of the attacks leveled at her during the campaign, and one had only to look at Hillary Clinton's experience to know how quickly people could turn on a First Lady who engaged in anything resembling policy making.

除了这些，米歇尔突然发现自己成为了美国持续进行的性别战争中的象征。她所做的每一个选择，每一个说出的话语，都被狂热地解释和评判。当她轻松地称自己为“总统夫人中的母亲”时，一些评论员对此表示失望，认为她没有利用她的平台来打破有关女性适当位置的刻板印象。与此同时，试图扩展第一夫人应该或不应该做的事情的界限也带来了自身的危险：米歇尔仍然对竞选期间对她发起的一些攻击感到痛苦，只需看看希拉里·克林顿的经历，就知道人们会多快地对涉及任何类似政策制定的第一夫人产生反感。

Which is why, in those early months, Michelle took her time deciding how she'd use her new office, figuring out how and where she might exert an influence while carefully and strategically setting the tone for her work as First Lady. She consulted with Hillary and with Laura Bush. She recruited a strong team, filling her staff with seasoned professionals whose judgment she trusted. Eventually she decided to take on two causes that were personally meaningful: the alarming jump in America's childhood obesity rates and the embarrassing lack of support for America's military families.

因此，在那些早期的月份里，米歇尔花了很多时间决定如何使用她的新办公室，同时仔细并有策略地设置了作为第一夫人的工作基调，探索如何施加影响力以及何处施加影响力。她咨询了希拉里和劳拉·布什。她招募了一支强大的团队，将资深专业人士加入她的工作人员中，她信任他们的判断力。最终，她决定承担两个个人意义重大的事业：应对美国儿童肥胖率惊人的增长和美国军人家庭缺乏支持的尴尬情况。

It wasn't lost on me that both issues tapped into frustrations and anxieties that Michelle herself sometimes felt. The obesity epidemic had come to her attention a few years earlier when our pediatrician, noticing that Malia's body mass index had increased somewhat, identified too many highly processed "kid-friendly" foods as the culprit. The news had confirmed Michelle's worries that our harried, overscheduled lives might be adversely impacting the girls. Similarly, her interest in military families had been sparked by emotional roundtable discussions she'd had during the campaign with the spouses of deployed service members. As they'd described feeling a mixture of loneliness and pride, as they'd admitted to occasional resentment at being treated as an afterthought in the larger cause of defending the nation, as they expressed reluctance to ask for help for fear of seeming selfish, Michelle had heard echoes of her own circumstances.

我深知这两个问题都触及米歇尔自己有时感到的挫折和焦虑。几年前，我们的儿科医生注意到玛莉亚的身体质量指数有所上升，将超过度加工的“儿童友好”食品当作元凶，使肥胖疫情受到了她的关注。这个消息证实了米歇尔的担忧，即我们匆忙、过度安排的生活方式可能对女孩子产生不良影响。同样地，她对军人家属的关注是由她在竞选期间与派驻现役人员的配偶们进行的情感圆桌讨论激发的。当他们描述了自己感到孤独和骄傲的混合情绪时，当他们承认有时会因为在保卫国家的更大事业中作为后勤而受到冷落而表示不情愿寻求帮助，因为担心看上去自私，米歇尔听到了自己情况的回声。

Precisely because of these personal connections, I was sure her impact on both issues would be substantial. Michelle was someone who started from the heart and not the head, from experience rather than abstractions. I also knew this: My wife didn't like to fail. Whatever ambivalence she felt about her new role, she was nonetheless determined to carry it out well.

As a family, we were adapting week by week, each of us finding means to adjust to, cope with, and enjoy our circumstances. Michelle turned to her unflappable mother for counsel anytime she felt anxious, the two of them huddling together on the couch in the solarium on the third floor of the White House. Malia threw herself into her fifth-grade homework and was lobbying us to deliver on our personal campaign promise to get a family dog. Sasha, just seven, still fell asleep at night clutching the frayed chenille blankie she'd had since she was a baby, her body growing so fast you could almost see the difference each day.

正是因为这些个人关系，我确信她对这两个问题的影响将是重大的。米歇尔是一个从心脏开始而非头脑、从经验而非抽象开始的人。我也知道这一点：我的妻子不喜欢失败。无论她对新角色感觉如何矛盾，她都决心要好好地履行它。

作为一个家庭，我们每周都在适应，每个人都想出方法来适应、应对和享受我们的环境。每当米歇尔感到焦虑时，她就会向她镇定自若的母亲征求意见，两人在白宫三楼的阳光房里一起蜷缩在沙发上。玛莉亚投入了她的五年级家庭作业，一直在游说我们兑现我们的个人竞选承诺，养一只家庭狗。年仅七岁的萨沙仍然会在夜里抱着她自己从婴儿时期就有的磨损的缎绒毯子入睡，身体在迅速长大，几乎每天都能看出不同。

Our new housing arrangement brought one especially happy surprise: Now that I lived above the store, so to speak, I was home basically all the time. On most days, the work came to me, not the other way around. Unless I was traveling, I made a point of being at the dinner table by six-thirty each night, even if it meant that later I needed to go back downstairs to the Oval Office.

What a joy that was, listening to Malia and Sasha talk about their days, narrating a world of friend drama, quirky teachers, jerky boys, silly jokes, dawning insights, and endless questions. After the meal was over and they bounded off to do homework and get ready for bed, Michelle and I would sit and catch up for a time, less often about politics and more about news of old friends, movies we wanted to see, and most of all the wondrous process of watching our daughters grow up. Then we'd read the girls bedtime stories, hug them tightly, and tuck them in—Malia and Sasha in their cotton pajamas smelling of warmth and life. In that hour and a half or so each evening, I found myself replenished—my mind cleansed and my heart cured of whatever damage a day spent pondering the world and its intractable problems may have done.

我们的新住房安排带来了一个特别愉快的惊喜：现在我就像住在店上面一样，基本上整天都在家。大多数日子，工作来找我，而不是我去找工作。除非我在旅行，否则我会约定在晚上六点半之前到餐桌上，即使这意味着晚些时候我需要回到楼下的椭圆办公室。

那是多么的快乐，听着Malia和Sasha谈论他们的一天，讲述朋友之间的戏剧冲突、怪异的老师、傲慢的男孩、愚蠢的笑话、显然的领悟和无尽的问题。晚餐结束后，她们就会跑去做作业准备睡觉，米歇尔和我会坐下来聊上一会儿，话题不太涉及政治，而是聊旧朋友的消息、我们想看的电影，最重要的是观察我们的女儿们成长的奇妙过程。然后我们会为女孩们读睡前故事，紧紧地拥抱她们，褪去她们身上散发着温暖和生命气息的棉质睡衣。每个晚上的那个半小时左右，我感到自己被充能了——我的思维被清理，我的内心被治愈了，无论日复一日地思考这个世界和它的不可化解的问题对我造成了多大的伤害。

If the girls and my mother-in-law were our anchors in the White House, there were others who helped me and Michelle manage the stress of those early months. Sam Kass, the young man we'd hired to cook for us part-time back in Chicago as the campaign got busy and our worries about the kids' eating habits peaked, had come with us to Washington, joining the White House not just as a chef but also as Michelle's point person on the childhood obesity issue. The son of a math teacher at the girls' old school and a former college baseball player, Sam had an easygoing charm and compact good looks that were enhanced by a shiny, clean-shaven head. He was also a genuine food policy expert, conversant in everything from the effects of monoculture farming on climate change to the links between eating habits and chronic disease. Sam's work with Michelle would prove invaluable; it was brainstorming with him, for example, that gave Michelle the idea to plant a vegetable garden in the South Lawn. But what we got in the bargain was a fun-loving uncle to the girls, a favorite younger brother to Michelle and me, and—along with Reggie Love—someone I could shoot hoops or play a game of pool with anytime I needed to blow off a little steam.

如果說女兒和岳母在白宮是我們的錨，那麼還有其他人幫助我和米歇爾度過那些壓力巨大的早期時光。我們曾在芝加哥僱傭了一位年輕廚師山姆·卡斯，當經歷競選活動和擔心孩子的飲食習慣時，他曾幫助我們煮飯。山姆隨著我們來到華盛頓，成為了白宮廚師，同時也是米歇爾關注的兒童肥胖問題的負責人。他是孩子們之前學校的數學老師的兒子，是一位曾經的大學棒球選手。他有著輕鬆風趣的魅力和俊俏而整潔光頭的外表。同時，他也是一位真正的食品政策專家，熟悉從單一種類農業對氣候變化的影響到飲食習慣和慢性疾病之間的關聯。山姆和米歇爾的合作對我們來說非常寶貴；例如，正是和他一起頭腦風暴，米歇爾才有了在南草坪種植蔬菜園的想法。但在這筆交易中，我們也得到了一個對孩子們來說熱愛玩樂、是米歇爾和我們的最愛的小弟弟，而且——除了雷吉·洛夫——他也是我需要時隨便喊來陪我玩籃球或打台球的人。

We found similar support from our longtime athletic trainer, Cornell McClellan, a former social worker and martial arts expert who owned his own gym in Chicago. Despite his imposing frame, Cornell was kind and good-humored when he wasn't torturing us with squats, deadlifts, burpees, and lunge walks, and he'd decided that it was his duty to start splitting his time between D.C. and Chicago to make sure the First Family stayed in shape.

Each morning, Monday through Thursday, Michelle and I began our days with both Cornell and Sam, the four of us gathering in the small gym on the third floor of the residence, its wall-mounted television reliably set to ESPN's SportsCenter. There was no disputing that Michelle was Cornell's star pupil, powering through her workouts with unerring focus, while Sam and I were decidedly slower and given to taking longer breaks between sets, distracting Cornell with heated debates—Jordan versus Kobe, Tom Hanks versus Denzel Washington—anytime the regimen got too intense for our liking. For both Michelle and me, that daily hour in the gym became one more zone of normalcy, shared with friends who still called us by our first names and loved us like family, who reminded us of the world we'd once known—and the version of ourselves that we hoped always to inhabit.

我们的长期运动训练师康奈尔·麦克莱伦（Cornell McClellan）也一直给我们提供类似的支持。他曾是社工和武术专家，拥有自己的健身房在芝加哥。尽管他身材魁梧，但当他不在用深蹲、硬拉、深蹲跳和弓步行走等折磨我们时，他是一位友善和幽默的人。他决定把时间分配在华盛顿和芝加哥之间，确保第一家庭保持健康。

周一到周四的每个早上，米歇尔和我都会和康奈尔和山姆一起在住所的三楼的小健身房里锻炼，电视机上播放一贯的ESPN SportsCenter。毫无疑问，米歇尔是康奈尔的优秀学生，她专注投入地完成锻炼，而山姆和我则相对缓慢，有时需要在组与组之间休息更久。当锻炼计划变得太过强烈时，我们会分心去参与激烈的辩论——比如迈克尔·乔丹和科比·布莱恩，汤姆·汉克斯和丹泽尔·华盛顿之类。对于米歇尔和我来说，每天在健身房度过的一小时，成为我们日常生活中更多的正常区域之一，与朋友一起分享，他们仍然叫我们的名字，像家人一样爱我们，他们让我们想起了我们曾经熟悉的世界，我们希望一直保持自己的样子。

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THERE WAS A final stress reliever that I didn't like to talk about, one that had been a chronic source of tension throughout my marriage: I was still smoking five (or six, or seven) cigarettes a day.

It was the lone vice that had carried over from the rebel days of my youth. At Michelle's insistence, I had quit several times over the years, and I never smoked in the house or in front of the kids. Once elected to the U.S. Senate, I had stopped smoking in public. But a stubborn piece of me resisted the tyranny of reason, and the strains of campaign life—the interminable car rides through cornfields, the solitude of motel rooms—had conspired to keep me reaching for the pack I kept handy in a suitcase or drawer. After the election, I'd told myself it was as good a time as any to stop—by definition, I was in public just about anytime I was outside the White House residence. But then things got so busy that I found myself delaying my day of reckoning, wandering out to the pool house behind the Oval Office after lunch or up to the third-floor terrace after Michelle and the girls had gone to sleep, taking a deep drag and watching the smoke curl toward the stars, telling myself I'd stop for good as soon as things settled down.

有一個壓力釋放的方案我不喜歡談論，它是我婚姻中一個經常讓我疲憊不堪的來源：我每天仍在抽五支（或六支、七支）香煙。

這是我年輕時反叛的惟一惡習。米歇爾多次要求我戒菸，多年來我也曾戒過幾次，而且我從不在家裡或孩子面前吸煙。自從我當選為美國參議員後，我已停止在公共場合吸煙。但我固執的一面仍抗拒理性的統治，而競選生活的壓力——穿越玉米田的無盡汽車旅行、旅館房間的孤獨——共謀讓我頻頻摸進我在行李箱或抽屜裡準備好的香煙包。選舉後，我告訴自己任何時候都是戒煙的好時機——從定義上講，我在白宮外面幾乎任何時候都處於公眾場合。但事情變得如此繁忙，以至於我一直拖延著正面迎接的那一天，午餐後走出橢圓形辦公室后面的池屋或上到三樓的露台，在深深地吸一口煙並看著煙霧卷向星空，告訴自己一旦事情平息下來就會戒煙。

Except things didn't settle down. So much so that by March my daily cigarette intake had crept up to eight (or nine, or ten).

That month, another estimated 663,000 Americans would lose their jobs, with the unemployment rate shooting up to 8.5 percent. Foreclosures showed no signs of abating, and credit remained frozen. The stock market hit what would be its lowest point of the recession, down 57 percent from its peak, with shares of Citigroup and Bank of America approaching penny-stock status. AIG, meanwhile, was like a bottomless maw, its only apparent function being to gobble up as much TARP money as possible.

除非事情平息下来。以至于到3月，我的日常香烟摄入已经上升到八支（或九支、十支）。

那个月，另有大约663,000名美国人失去了工作，失业率飙升至8.5%。被取消抵押赎回权的房产数量没有任何迹象减少，还有信用被冻结的情况。股市达到了经济衰退的最低点，跌幅达到顶峰的57%，花旗集团和美国银行的股票接近一美分。与此同时，AIG就像一个无底洞，其唯一的明显功能就是尽可能地吞噬TARP资金。

All this would have been more than enough to keep my blood pressure rising. What made it worse was the clueless attitude of the Wall Street executives whose collective asses we were pulling out of the fire. Just before I took office, for example, the leaders of most of the major banks had gone ahead and authorized more than a billion dollars in year-end bonuses for themselves and their lieutenants, despite having already received TARP funds to prop up their stock prices. Not long after, Citigroup execs somehow decided it was a good idea to order a new corporate jet. (Because this happened on our watch, someone on Tim's team was able to call the company's CEO and browbeat him into canceling the order.)

所有这一切已足以使我的血压上升。更糟糕的是，华尔街高管无知的态度，我们正从火中拯救他们。举个例子，在我上任之前，大多数主要银行的领导人已授权为自己和其手下发放超过十亿美元的年终奖金，尽管已经收到了TARP资金来支撑他们的股票价格。不久之后，花旗集团的高管们竟然认为订购新的公司飞机是个好主意。（因为这件事发生在我们的监督期间，蒂姆的团队中有人能够打电话给公司的CEO，要求取消该订单。）

Meanwhile, bank executives bristled—sometimes privately, but often in the press—at any suggestion that they had in any way screwed up, or should be subject to any constraints when it came to running their business. This last bit of chutzpah was most pronounced in the two savviest operators on Wall Street, Lloyd Blankfein of Goldman Sachs and Jamie Dimon of JPMorgan Chase, both of whom insisted that their institutions had avoided the poor management decisions that plagued other banks and neither needed nor wanted government assistance. These claims were true only if you ignored the fact that the solvency of both outfits depended entirely on the ability of the Treasury and the Fed to keep the rest of the financial system afloat, as well as the fact that Goldman in particular had been one of the biggest peddlers of subprime-based derivatives—and had dumped them onto less sophisticated customers right before the bottom fell out.與此同時，銀行高管們對任何暗示他們有任何關聯的錯誤或被限制經營業務感到不悅-有時是私下表達，但更多時候是在媒體中。在華爾街上，這種最後一點驕傲最為明顯，高盛的洛伊德·布蘭克菲恩和摩根大通的傑米·戴蒙都是最熟練的操作者，他們都堅稱自己的機構已避免了困擾其他銀行的糟糕管理決策，既不需要也不想得到政府的援助。只有忽略這樣一個事實，即這兩家公司的償債能力完全依賴於財政部和聯邦儲備系統繼續支撐整個金融系統，以及高盛特別是成為次級按揭衍生品的最大推銷商而被迫把它們轉嫁到不太成熟的客戶手中，而在市場崩潰之前的情況下，這些主張才是真實的。

Their obliviousness drove me nuts. It wasn't just that Wall Street's attitude toward the crisis confirmed every stereotype of the über-wealthy being completely out of touch with the lives of ordinary people. Each tone-deaf statement or self-serving action also made our job of saving the economy that much harder.

Already, some Democratic constituencies were asking why we weren't being tougher on the banks—why the government wasn't simply taking them over and selling off their assets, for example, or why none of the individuals who had caused such havoc had gone to jail. Republicans in Congress, unburdened by any sense of responsibility for the mess they'd help create, were more than happy to join in on the grilling. In testimony before various congressional committees, Tim (who was now routinely labeled as a "former Goldman Sachs banker" despite having never worked for Goldman and having spent nearly his entire career in public service) would explain the need to wait for the stress-test results. My attorney general, Eric Holder, would later point out that as egregious as the behavior of the banks may have been leading up to the crisis, there were few indications that their executives had committed prosecutable offenses under existing statutes—and we were not in the business of charging people with crimes just to garner good headlines.

他们的无知让我发疯。不仅是因为华尔街对危机的态度证实了这样一个刻板印象：极度富有的人完全无法理解普通人的生活。每一次明显的不合时宜的语言或自私自利的行为都使我们挽救经济的工作更加艰巨。

一些民主党政选民已经在问我们为什么不更加强硬地对待银行，为什么政府不仅仅接管它们并出售它们的财产，或者为什么造成如此严重后果的人员没有一个获得监禁。在国会的共和党人心安理得地参与审问。在前来参加各种国会委员会的听证会时，蒂姆（现在常常被标记为“前高盛银行家”，尽管他从未在高盛工作，在公共服务领域工作了几乎全部的职业生涯）会解释等待压力测试结果的必要性。我的总检察长埃里克·霍尔德（Eric Holder）之后指出，尽管这些银行的行为可能是令人震惊的，但并没有迹象表明他们的高管在现行法规下犯有可以起诉的罪行。我们不是为了取得好的头条而起诉人。

But to a nervous and angry public, such answers—no matter how rational—weren't very satisfying. Concerned that we were losing the political high ground, Axe and Gibbs urged us to sharpen our condemnations of Wall Street. Tim, on the other hand, warned that such populist gestures would be counterproductive, scaring off the investors we needed to recapitalize the banks. Trying to straddle the line between the public's desire for Old Testament justice and the financial markets' need for reassurance, we ended up satisfying no one.

對於一個緊張且憤怒的大眾而言，這樣的回答－不論多麼合理－並不令人滿意。Axe和Gibbs擔心我們正在失去政治制高點，敦促我們加強對華爾街的譴責。而Tim則警告說，這樣的民粹主義姿態是會產生反效果的，會嚇跑我們需要用來重新注資的投資者。在試圖平衡公眾對舊約正義的渴望和金融市場對安慰的需求之間，我們最終沒有滿足任何一方。

"It's like we've got a hostage situation," Gibbs said to me one morning. "We know the banks have explosives strapped to their chests, but to the public it just looks like we're letting them get away with a robbery."

With tensions growing inside the White House and me wanting to make sure everyone remained on the same page, in mid-March I called together my economic team for a marathon Sunday session in the Roosevelt Room. For several hours that day, we pressed Tim and his deputies for their thoughts on the ongoing stress test—whether it would work, and whether Tim had a Plan B if it didn't. Larry and Christy argued that in light of mounting losses at

Citigroup and Bank of America, it was time for us to consider preemptive nationalization—the kind of strategy that Sweden had ultimately pursued when it went through its own financial crisis in the 1990s. This was in contrast, they said, to the “forbearance” strategy that had left Japan in a lost decade of economic stagnation. In response, Tim pointed out that Sweden—with a much smaller financial sector, and at a time when the rest of the world was stable—had nationalized only two of its major banks as a last resort, while providing effective guarantees for its remaining four. An equivalent strategy on our part, he said, might cause the already fragile global financial system to unravel, and would cost a minimum of 200 to 400 billion. (“The chances of getting an additional dime of TARP money from this Congress are somewhere between zero and zero!” Rahm shouted, practically jumping out of his chair.) Some on the team suggested that we at least take a more aggressive posture toward Citigroup and Bank of America—forcing out their CEOs and current boards, for example, before granting more TARP money. But Tim said such steps would be wholly symbolic—and, further, would make us responsible for finding immediate replacements capable of navigating unfamiliar institutions in the midst of the crisis. “吉布斯早上对我说，这就像我们面临了一场人质危机。我们知道银行已经绑着炸药带在胸前，但在公众看来，我们只是让他们逃脱了抢劫的罪名。”

由于白宫内部的紧张局势，我想确保每个人都在同一页面上，于三月中旬，我召集了我的经济团队在罗斯福会议室进行了一次马拉松式的星期天会议。那一天，我们花费了几个小时询问蒂姆和他的副手对持续的压力测试的看法——是否有效，如果不起作用，蒂姆是否有备用计划。

拉里和克里斯蒂认为，在花旗银行和美国银行日益增加的亏损情况下，我们应该考虑采取先发制人的国有化策略——这是瑞典在上世纪九十年代经历金融危机时采取的策略。他们说，这与“宽容”策略形成鲜明对比，该策略让日本经历了经济停滞的失落十年。

作为回应，蒂姆指出，瑞典的金融业规模要小得多，在全球其他地区稳定的时候，仅在最后一刻国有化了其两家主要银行，同时为其剩下的四家银行提供了有效的保障。他说，我们采取相等的策略可能会导致已经脆弱的全球金融系统解体，并将造成至少2000到4000亿美元的损失。（“从这个国会得到额外的TARP资金的机会在零和零之间！”拉姆大叫着，几乎跳出了椅子。）团队中的一些人建议我们对花旗银行和美国银行采取更积极的立场，例如在授予更多的TARP资金之前迫使他们的首席执行官和董事会下台。但是蒂姆说，这样的步骤将完全是象征性的，并且会使我们负责寻找能够在危机期间驾驭不熟悉机构的新接班人。

It was an exhausting exercise, and as the session ran into the evening hours, I told the team that I was going up to the residence to have dinner and get a haircut and would expect them to have arrived at a consensus by the time I got back. In truth, I'd already gotten what I wanted out of the meeting: confirmation in my own mind that, despite the legitimate issues Larry, Christy, and others had raised about the stress test, it continued to be our best shot under the circumstances. (Or as Tim liked to put it, “Plan beats no plan.”)

這是一個令人筋疲力盡的運動，隨著會議時間延長至晚上，我告訴團隊我要去住所吃晚餐並理髮，期望他們在我回來之前達成一致。事實上，我已經從會議中得到了我想要的：在正式問題被Larry、Christy和其他人提出的情況下，在這種情況下繼續進行壓力測試仍然是我們最好的選擇。（或者正如Tim所說的那樣，“計劃勝過沒有計劃。”）

Just as important, I felt assured that we'd run a good process: that our team had looked at the problem from every conceivable angle; that no potential solution had been discarded out of hand; and that everyone involved—from the highest-ranking cabinet member to the most junior staffer in the room—had been given the chance to weigh in. (For these same reasons, I would later invite two groups of outside economists—one left-leaning, the other conservative—who'd publicly questioned our handling of the crisis to meet me in the Oval, just to see if they had any ideas that we hadn't already considered. They didn't.)

同等重要的是，我感到放心的是我们进行了良好的过程：我们的团队从各种可能的角度来看待这个问题；没有一个潜在的解决方案被轻率地丢弃；从最高级别的内阁成员到会议室里最年轻的员工，每个人都有机会发表自己的看法。（出于同样的原因，稍后我邀请两组公开质疑我们处理危机的左翼和保守派的外部经济学家小组到椭圆形办公室与我会面，只是为了看看他们是否有任何我们还没有考虑过的想法。他们没有。）

My emphasis on process was born of necessity. What I was quickly discovering about the presidency was that no problem that landed on my desk, foreign or domestic, had a clean, 100 percent solution. If it had, someone else down the chain of command would have solved it already. Instead, I was constantly dealing with probabilities: a 70 percent chance, say, that a decision to do nothing would end in disaster; a 55 percent chance that this approach versus that one might solve the problem (with a 0 percent chance that it would work out exactly as intended); a 30 percent chance that whatever we chose wouldn't work at all, along with a 15 percent chance that it would make the problem worse.

我强调过程，是出于必要性。我很快发现的是，无论是国内问题还是外交问题，没有一个完美的、100%的解决方案。如果有的话，下级指挥官早就解决了。相反，我不断地面对可能性：比如说，不采取任何措施可能会以70%的概率导致灾难；采取这种方法和采取那种方法相比，有55%的概率能够解决问题（但有0%的概率能够完美地解决问题）；无论我们选择什么，都有30%的概率一无所获，同时还有15%的概率会使问题变得更糟。

In such circumstances, chasing after the perfect solution led to paralysis. On the other hand, going with your gut too often meant letting preconceived notions or the path of least political resistance guide a decision—with cherry-picked facts used to justify it. But with a sound process—one in which I was able to empty out my ego and really listen, following the facts and logic as best I could and considering them alongside my goals and my principles—I realized I could make tough decisions and still sleep easy at night, knowing at a minimum that no one in my position, given the same information, could have made the decision any better. A good process also meant I could allow each member of the team to feel ownership over the decision—which meant better execution and less relitigation of White House decisions through leaks to The New York Times or The Washington Post.

在这种情况下，追求完美的解决方案会导致瘫痪。另一方面，过于倚重直觉往往意味着让预先设定的概念或选择政治上最少抵触的路线来指导决策，并使用挑选出的事实来为其辩护。但是，拥有一个良好的流程意味着我能够排除自我，真正倾听，尽我所能地按照事实和逻辑来考虑，并将它们与我的目标和原则相结合。我意识到我可以做出艰难的决定，并且晚上可以安心入眠，至少知道在同等信息下，任何一个处在我位置上的人都无法做出更好的决定。一个好的

流程还意味着我可以允许团队中的每个成员感到对决策有所有权，这意味着更好的执行和更少的关于白宫决策重提的泄漏给《纽约时报》或《华盛顿邮报》。

Returning from my haircut and dinner that night, I sensed that things had played out the way I had hoped. Larry and Christy agreed that it made sense for us to wait and see how the stress test went before taking more drastic action. Tim accepted some useful suggestions about how to better prepare for possibly bad results. Axe and Gibbs offered ideas about improving our communications strategy. All in all, I was feeling pretty good about the day's work. Until, that is, someone brought up the issue of the AIG bonuses.

從剪髮和晚餐回來那個晚上，我感覺事情進展得像我所希望的那樣。Larry 和 Christy 同意，在進行更嚴厲的行動之前，等待並觀察應激測試的結果才是有意義的。Tim 接受了一些有用的建議，關於如何更好地為可能的壞結果做好準備。Axe 和 Gibbs 提供了有關改進我們通訊策略的想法。總的來說，我對當天的工作感到相當滿意。直到有人提出了 AIG 獎金的問題。

It seemed that AIG—which had thus far taken more than 170 billion in TARP funds and still needed more—was paying its employees 165 million in contractually obligated bonuses. Worse yet, a big chunk of the bonuses would go to the division directly responsible for leaving the insurance giant wildly overexposed in the subprime derivative business. AIG's CEO, Edward Liddy (who himself was blameless, having only recently agreed to take the helm at the company as a public service and was paying himself just a dollar a year), recognized that the bonuses were unseemly. But according to Tim, Liddy had been advised by his lawyers that any attempt to withhold the payments would likely result in successful lawsuits by the AIG employees and damage payments potentially coming in at three times the original amount. To cap it off, we didn't appear to have any governmental authority to stop the bonus payments—in part because the Bush administration had lobbied Congress against the inclusion of “claw-back” provisions in the original TARP legislation, fearing that it would discourage financial institutions from participating.

AIG此前已经拿到逾1700亿美元的 TARP 资助金，但仍需要更多，而此时却决定支付 1.65 亿美元契约性奖金，令人匪夷所思。更糟的是，这笔奖金中有很大一部分将流向直接导致 AIG 在次贷衍生品市场上过度曝险的分部门。AIG 的 CEO Edward Liddy 虽然认为这笔奖金很不得人心，但他的律师告诫他，直接取消将可能导致 AIG 员工赢得诉讼，同时引发高达原来金额三倍的损害赔偿金。更让人无力的是，当时似乎没有政府机构有权停止这笔奖金支付，部分原因是布什政府曾游说国会反对在原始 TARP 立法中加入“追回”条款，因为担心这会阻碍金融机构参与。

I looked around the room. “This is a joke, right? You guys are just messing with me.”

Nobody laughed. Axe started arguing that we had to try to stop the payments, even if our efforts were unsuccessful. Tim and Larry began arguing back, acknowledging the whole thing was terrible but saying that if the government forced a violation of contracts between private parties, we'd do irreparable damage to our market-based system. Gibbs chimed in to suggest that morality and common sense trumped contract law. After a few minutes, I cut everyone off. I instructed Tim to keep looking at ways we might keep AIG from dispensing the bonuses (knowing full well he'd probably come up empty). Then I told Axe to prepare a statement condemning the bonuses that I could deliver the next day (knowing full well that nothing I said would help lessen the damage).

我环顾室内。“这是个玩笑，对吧？你们只是跟我开玩笑吧。”没人笑。Axe开始争论我们必须试着停止支付，即使我们的努力是没有成功的。Tim和Larry开始反驳，承认整件事情是可怕的，但是如果政府强制违反私人合同之间的条款，我们将对我们的市场制度造成不可挽回的损害。Gibbs插话建议道德和常识胜过合同法。几分钟后，我把大家都打断了。我叫Tim继续寻找让AIG不支付奖金的方法（完全知道他可能会一无所获）。然后我告诉Axe准备一份谴责奖金的声明，我可以在第二天发表（完全知道我说的话不会减轻损害）。

Then I told myself that it was still the weekend and I needed a martini. That was another lesson the presidency was teaching me: Sometimes it didn't matter how good your process was. Sometimes you were just screwed, and the best you could do was have a stiff drink—and light up a cigarette.

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THE NEWS OF the AIG bonuses brought the pent-up anger of several months to an uncontrolled boil. Newspaper editorials were scathing. The House quickly passed a bill to tax Wall Street bonuses at 90 percent for people making over 250,000, only to watch it die in the Senate. In the White House briefing room, it seemed like Gibbs fielded questions on no other topic. Code P shirts, pink hats, and the occasional pink boa, ramped up protests outside various government buildings and surfaced at hearings where T \$\$\$ BACK, clearly unimpressed by any argument about the sanctity of contracts.

然后我告诉自己，现在还是周末，我需要喝一杯马提尼鸡尾酒。这是总统任期教给我的另一个教训：有时候即使你的流程再好，也不一定能解决问题。有时候你只能喝一杯浓烈的酒，抽一支香烟来缓解压力。

AIG红利的消息引发了几个月的愤怒情绪，让人们的情绪已经无法控制。报纸社论非常刻薄。众议院迅速通过了一个法案，对那些年收入在25万美元以上的华尔街红利征收90%的税，但在参议院中失败了。在白宫新闻发布厅里，吉布斯似乎只回答了关于这个话题的问题。Code Pink是一个古怪的反战组织，成员主要是穿着粉红色T恤，粉红色帽子和偶尔的粉红色蛇皮装，组织了多次抗议活动，在各个政府大楼外面出现，在蒂姆出席听证会时出现，高举着带有“将我们的\$\$\$\$还给我们”的口号横幅，对任何关于合同保密的说法显然不屑一顾。

The following week, I decided to convene a White House meeting with the CEOs of the top banks and financial institutions, hoping to avoid any further surprises. Fifteen of them showed up, all men, all looking dapper and polished, and they all listened with placid expressions as I explained that the public

had run out of patience, and that given the pain the financial crisis was causing across the country—not to mention the extraordinary measures the government had taken to support their institutions—the least they could do was show some restraint, maybe even sacrifice.

接下來的一周，我決定召開一個白宮會議，與頂尖銀行和金融機構的CEO們進行會談，希望避免任何進一步的驚喜。其中15位男性出現了，他們都穿著得體，看起來很有禮貌，並且當我向他們解釋公眾已經失去耐心時，他們都表現得很平靜。考慮到金融危機正在全國範圍內引起的痛苦，更不用說政府已經採取了支持他們機構的非凡措施，他們至少應該表現出一些節制，甚至可能做出一些犧牲。

When it was the executives' turn to respond, each one offered some version of the following: (a) the problems with the financial system really weren't of their making; (b) they had made significant sacrifices, including slashing their workforces and reducing their own compensation packages; and (c) they hoped that I would stop fanning the flames of populist anger, which they said was hurting their stock prices and damaging industry morale. As proof of this last point, several mentioned a recent interview in which I'd said that my administration was shoring up the financial system only to prevent a depression, not to help a bunch of "fat cat bankers." When they spoke, it sounded like their feelings were hurt.

當高管們輪到回答時，每個人都提供了以下類似的說法：(a)財務系統的問題實際上不是他們造成的；(b)他們做出了重大犧牲，包括裁員和削減自己的薪酬福利；以及(c)他們希望我停止煽風點火般地宣傳大眾憤怒，他們說這損害了他們的股價和行業士氣。為了證明這一點，有幾個人提到了我最近的一次採訪，我在其中說過，我們的政府只是在支持金融系統，以防止經濟蕭條，而不是要幫助一群“富豪銀行家”。當他們發言時，聽起來他們的感覺受到了傷害。

"What the American people are looking for in this time of crisis," one banker said, "is for you to remind them that we're all in this together." I was stunned. "You think it's my rhetoric that's made the public angry?" Taking a deep breath, I searched the faces of the men around the table and realized they were being sincere. Much like the traders in the Santelli video, these Wall Street executives genuinely felt picked on. It wasn't just a ploy. I tried then to put myself in their shoes, reminding myself that these were people who had no doubt worked hard to get where they were, who had played the game no differently than their peers and were long accustomed to adulation and deference for having come out on top. They gave large sums to various charities. They loved their families. They couldn't understand why (as one would later tell me) their children were now asking them whether they were "fat cats," or why no one was impressed that they had reduced their annual compensation from 50 or 60 million to \$2 million, or why the president of the United States wasn't treating them as true partners and accepting, just to take one example, Jamie Dimon's offer to send over some of JPMorgan's top people to help the administration design our proposed regulatory reforms.

“美国人民在这个危机时期所期待的是，你要提醒他们我们都在同一条船上。”一位银行家说道，我感到非常震惊。“你认为是我的言辞引起了公众的愤怒？”我深吸了一口气，环视着桌前的人，意识到他们是真诚的。与桑泰利视频中的交易员一样，这些华尔街高管们真正感到被选中了。这不仅仅是一个骗局。我尝试着站在他们的角度思考，提醒自己这些人毫无疑问是通过辛勤工作才获得了他们的地位，他们并没有和同行以不同的方式玩这场游戏，并且长期以来一直因为出类拔萃而受到崇拜和尊重。他们为各种慈善事业捐了很多款。他们爱他们的家人。他们无法理解为什么（就像其中一位后来告诉我的那样）他们的孩子现在问他们是否是“肥猫”，或者为什么没有人对他们的年薪从5000-6000万美元降为200万美元的成果感到印象深刻，或者为什么美国总统不认为他们是真正的伙伴，并接受例如Jamie Dimon提供的派遣JP Morgan的最高人员来帮助政府设计我们提出的监管改革计划的建议。

I tried to understand their perspective, but I couldn't. Instead, I found myself thinking about my grandmother, how in my mind her Kansas prairie character represented what a banker was supposed to be: Honest. Prudent. Exacting. Risk-averse. Someone who refused to cut corners, hated waste and extravagance, lived by the code of delayed gratification, and was perfectly content to be a little bit boring in how she did business. I wondered what Toot would make of the bankers who now sat with me in this room, the same kind of men who'd so often been promoted ahead of her—who in a month made more than she'd made in her entire career, at least in part because they were okay with placing billion-dollar bets with other people's money on what they knew, or should have known, was a pile of bad loans.

我試圖理解他們的觀點，但我無法。相反，我想起了我的祖母，她堪薩斯州的性格在我心中代表了一個銀行家應該有的品質：誠實，審慎，嚴格，風險敏感，拒絕走捷徑，厭惡浪費和奢侈，堅守延遲滿足的理念，在做生意方面願意顯得有點無聊。我想知道Toot會對現在和我坐在這個房間裡的銀行家有何看法，這些人經常比她升職——他們在一個月內就賺了她整個職業生涯所賺的錢，至少部分原因是他們願意冒險，用別人的錢下注於他們知道或應該知道是一堆壞貸款的地方。

Finally I let out something between a laugh and a snort. "Let me explain something, gentlemen," I said, careful not to raise my voice. "People don't need my prompting to be angry. They've got that covered all on their own. The fact is, we're the only ones standing between you and the pitchforks."

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I CAN'T SAY my words that day had much impact—other than reinforcing the view on Wall Street that I was anti-business. Ironically, the same meeting would later be cited by critics on the left as an example of how, in my general fecklessness and alleged chumminess with Wall Street, I had failed to hold the banks accountable during the crisis. Both takes were wrong, but this much was true: By committing to the stress test and the roughly two-month wait for its preliminary results, I'd placed on hold whatever leverage I had over the banks. What was also true was that I felt constrained from making any rash moves while I still had so many fronts of the economic crisis to deal with—including the need to keep the U.S. auto industry from driving over a cliff.

最终，我发出了介于笑声和哼声之间的声音。“让我解释一下，先生们，”我小心地不提高声音说道，“人们不需要我的激将，他们自己就已经处理好了愤怒情绪。事实是，我们是唯一一道可以防止你们被愤怒人群举起的草叉的阻拦。”

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我那天说的话并没有产生太大的影响——除了加强了华尔街对我的反商业观点的看法。具有讽刺意味的是，左派的批评家后来引用了同样的会议，声称我在危机期间没有对银行负责的“搞好基”和“沉迷华尔街”的例子。这两种看法都是错误的，但真实情况是：通过承诺进行压力测试和大约两个月的初步结果等

待，我将暂时停止了对银行的任何影响力。同样真实的是，我感到局限性在于，我仍然需要处理许多经济危机的方面，包括保持美国汽车工业不会跌入悬崖。

Just as the Wall Street implosion was a culmination of long-standing structural problems in the global financial system, what ailed the Big Three automakers—bad management, bad cars, foreign competition, underfunded pensions, soaring healthcare costs, an overreliance on the sale of high-margin, gas-guzzling SUVs—had been decades in the making. The financial crisis and the deepening recession had only hastened the reckoning. By the autumn of 2008, auto sales had plunged 30 percent to their lowest level in more than a decade, and GM and Chrysler were running out of cash. While Ford was in slightly better shape (mainly due to a fortuitous restructuring of its debt just before the crisis hit), analysts questioned whether it could survive the collapse of the other two, given the reliance of all three automakers on a common pool of parts suppliers across North America. Just before Christmas, Hank Paulson had used a creative reading of the TARP authorization to provide GM and Chrysler with more than \$17 billion in bridge loans. But without the political capital to force a more permanent solution, the Bush administration had managed only to kick the can down the road until I took office. Now that the cash was about to run out, it was up to me to decide whether to put billions more into the automakers in order to keep them afloat.

正如华尔街崩溃是全球金融体系长期结构性问题的高潮，困扰三大汽车制造商的——糟糕的管理、劣质的汽车、外国竞争、养老金不足、飞涨的医疗保健成本、过度依赖销售高利润和耗油的SUV等问题已经酝酿数十年。金融危机和深刻的经济衰退只是加速了这个过程。到了2008年秋季，汽车销售下跌了30%，降至10多年来的最低水平，通用和克莱斯勒的现金已经所剩无几。虽然福特状况稍微好一点（主要是因为在危机来临之前幸运地对其债务进行了重组），但分析师们质疑，在北美国家共同零部件供应商的普遍依赖下，它是否能够承受其他两个公司的垮台。就在圣诞节前，汉克·保尔森成功地以对TARP授权的创造性解读为通用和克莱斯勒提供了超过170亿美元的桥梁贷款。但是，由于政治资本不够，布什政府只能把问题拖延到我上任之前。现在现金即将用完，我需要决定是否再投入数十亿美元来保持汽车制造商的生存。

Even during the transition, it had been clear to everyone on my team that GM and Chrysler would have to go through some sort of court-structured bankruptcy. Without it, there was simply no way that they could cover the cash they were burning through each month, no matter how optimistic their sales projections. Moreover, bankruptcy alone wouldn't be enough. To justify further government support, the automakers would also have to undergo a painstaking, top-to-bottom business reorganization and find a way to make cars that people wanted to buy. ("I don't understand why Detroit can't make a damn Corolla," I muttered more than once to my staff.)

即使在过渡期间，我的团队中的每个人都清楚，通用汽车和克莱斯勒必须经历某种法院结构化破产。没有它，无论他们的销售预测多么乐观，他们都无法支付每月燃烧的现金。此外，单凭破产是不够的。为了证明进一步的政府支持，汽车制造商还必须经历繁琐的全面业务重组，并找到一种方法来制造人们想要购买的汽车。（“我不懂为什么底特律不能制造一辆该死的卡罗拉，”我曾多次喃喃自语给我的员工。）

Both tasks were easier said than done. For one thing, GM's and Chrysler's top management made the Wall Street crowd look positively visionary. In an early discussion with our transition economic team, GM CEO Rick Wagoner's presentation was so slapdash and filled with happy talk—including projections for a 2 percent increase in sales every year, despite having seen declining sales for much of the decade preceding the crisis—that it rendered even Larry temporarily speechless. As for bankruptcy, the process for both GM and Chrysler would likely be similar to open-heart surgery: complicated, bloody, fraught with risk. Just about every stakeholder (management, workers, suppliers, shareholders, pensioners, distributors, creditors, and the communities in which the manufacturing plants were located) stood to lose something in the short term, which would be cause for prolonged, bare-knuckle negotiations when it became unclear whether the two companies would even survive another month.

這兩項任務說起來容易做起來難。首先，通用汽車和克萊斯勒的高層讓華爾街群眾看起來實在是缺乏遠見。在與我們的轉型經濟小組的早期討論中，通用汽車的CEO Rick Wagoner的演講非常草率，充滿著虛言和樂觀主義，包括預測每年銷售額將增長2%，盡管在危機爆發前十年中銷售額一直不斷下降，這使得甚至是Larry暫時說不出話來。至於破產，通用汽車和克萊斯勒的程序可能類似於心臟手術：複雜、血腥、充滿風險。每一個利益相關方（管理層、工人、供應商、股東、養老金受益人、分銷商、債權人以及製造廠所在的社區）短期內都有可能損失一些東西，當兩家公司甚至還能否生存下一個月變得不明確時，將導致延長、光禿禿的談判。

We did have a few things going for us. Unlike the situation with the banks, forcing GM and Chrysler to reorganize wasn't likely to trigger widespread panic, which gave us more room to demand concessions in exchange for continued government support. It also helped that I had a strong personal relationship with the United Auto Workers, whose leaders recognized that major changes needed to be made in order for its members to hold on to their jobs.

Most important, our White House Auto Task Force—led by Steve Rattner and Ron Bloom and staffed by a brilliant thirty-one-year-old policy specialist named Brian Deese—was turning out to be terrific, combining analytical rigor with an appreciation for the human dimensions of the million-plus jobs at stake in getting this right. They had begun negotiations with the carmakers well before I was even sworn in, giving GM and Chrysler sixty days to come up with formal reorganization plans to demonstrate their viability. To make sure the companies didn't collapse during this period, they'd designed a series of incremental but critical interventions—such as quietly guaranteeing both companies' receivables with suppliers so that they didn't run out of parts.

我們確實有一些優勢。與銀行的情況不同，強迫通用汽車和克萊斯勒進行重組不太可能引發普遍恐慌，這給了我們更多的空間，以便在繼續得到政府支持的情況下要求讓步。我與聯合汽車工人工會有著強烈的私人關係，他們的領導人認識到需要進行重大變革，以便讓其成員保住工作。

最重要的是，我們的白宮汽車特別工作小組，由史蒂夫·拉特納和朗·布盧姆領導，以及由一位名為布賴恩·迪斯的優秀31歲政策專家所構成，這些人將嚴謹的分析與欣賞數百萬人工作所面臨的人性層面相結合。他們早在我宣誓就職之前就開始與汽車製造商進行談判，給通用汽車和克萊斯勒60天的時間來提出正式

的重組計劃以證明它們的可行性。為了確保這段時間內公司不會崩潰，他們設計了一系列的增量但關鍵的介入措施——例如在保證供應商的應收賬款方面默默地保證兩家公司，以便它們不會耗盡零件。

In mid-March, the Auto Task Force came to the Oval Office to give me their assessment. Neither of the plans that GM and Chrysler had submitted, they said, passed muster; both companies were still living in a fantasy world of unrealistic sales projections and vague strategies for getting costs under control. The team felt that with an aggressive structured bankruptcy, though, GM could get back on track, and recommended that we give the company sixty days to revise its reorganization plan—provided it agreed to replace both Rick Wagoner and the existing board of directors.

三月中旬，汽车特别工作组来到椭圆形办公室向我报告了他们的评估。他们表示，通用汽车和克莱斯勒提交的两个计划都没有通过审核；两家公司仍然生活在不切实际的销售预测和模糊的控制成本策略的幻想世界中。然而，该团队认为，通过积极的有结构的破产重组，通用汽车可以重新回到正轨，并建议我们给予该公司六十天来修订其重组计划——前提是同意更换里克·瓦格纳和现有董事会。

When it came to Chrysler, though, our team was split. The smallest of the Big Three, Chrysler was also in the worst financial shape and—outside of its Jeep brand—had what looked to be an unsalvageable product line. Given our limited resources and the perilous state of auto sales more generally, some on the team argued that we'd have a better chance of saving GM if we let Chrysler go. Others insisted that we shouldn't underestimate the potential economic shock of allowing an iconic American company to collapse. Either way, the task force let me know, the situation at Chrysler was deteriorating fast enough that I needed to make my decision right away.

然而当涉及克莱斯勒时，我们的团队分裂了。克莱斯勒是三大汽车巨头中最小的，财务状况也是最糟糕的，在其Jeep品牌以外，产品线看起来毫无挽救的余地。鉴于我们有限的资源和整体汽车销售的危险状态，团队中的一些人认为，如果我们放弃克莱斯勒，我们就有更好的机会拯救通用汽车。其他人坚称我们不应低估允许一家标志性美国公司崩溃所产生的潜在经济冲击。无论哪种方式，特别工作组让我知道，克莱斯勒的情况恶化得足以让我马上做出决定。

At this point, my assistant Katie poked her head into the Oval Office, telling me I needed to get to the Situation Room for a meeting with my national security team. Figuring I should probably take more than a half hour to decide the fate of the American auto industry, I asked Rahm to reconvene the task force along with my three senior advisors—Valerie, Pete, and Axe—in the Roosevelt Room later that afternoon so I could hear from both sides (more process!). At that meeting, I listened to Gene Sperling make a pitch for saving Chrysler and Christy Romer and Austan Goolsbee explain why continued support of the company likely amounted to throwing good money after bad. Rahm and Axe, ever sensitive to the politics of the situation, pointed out that the country opposed—by a stunning two-to-one margin—any further auto bailouts. Even in Michigan, support barely reached a majority.

在这个时候，我的助手凯蒂把头探进了椭圆形办公室，告诉我需要前往情报室与我的国家安全团队开会。考虑到我可能需要超过半个小时来决定美国汽车工业的命运，我要求拉姆与我的三位高级顾问——瓦莱丽、皮特和艾克斯，在当天下午重新召开任务小组，以便我可以听取双方的意见（更多的流程！）。在那次会议上，我听取了吉恩·斯佩林提出拯救克莱斯勒的理由，以及克里斯蒂·罗默和奥斯汀·古斯比解释为什么继续支持该公司可能等同于徒劳浪费。拉姆和艾克斯致力于政治形势的敏感度，指出该国以惊人的2比1的优势反对进一步的汽车救助计划，即使在密歇根州，支持的人数也仅达到了半数。

Rattner noted that Fiat had recently expressed an interest in buying a significant stake in Chrysler and that its CEO, Sergio Marchionne, had taken over that faltering company in 2004 and, impressively, made it profitable within a year and a half. The discussions with Fiat, however, were still tentative, and nobody could guarantee that any intervention would be enough to get Chrysler back on track. A 51–49 decision, Rattner called it—with a strong likelihood that the odds of success would seem bleaker once the company went into bankruptcy and we had a better look under the hood.

拉特纳指出菲亞特最近表達了對收購克萊斯勒重要股份的興趣，其首席執行官塞爾吉奧·馬爾基翁內於2004年接手了這個失勢公司，並在一年半內使其盈利，給人留下了深刻印象。然而，與菲亞特的討論仍然只屬於初步階段，沒有人能保證任何干預措施足以使克萊斯勒重新回到正軌。如拉特納所稱，這是一個51-49決定 - 似乎隨著公司進入破產，一旦我們更深入地瞭解其內部運作，成功的可能性似乎會變得更加渺茫。

I was thumbing through the charts, scrutinizing numbers, occasionally glancing up at the portraits of Teddy and FDR hanging on the wall, when it came time for Gibbs to speak. He had previously worked on U.S. senator Debbie Stabenow's campaign, in Michigan, and he now pointed to a map in the slide deck that showed every Chrysler plant across the Midwest.

“Mr. President,” he said, “I’m not an economist, and I don’t know how to run a car company. But I do know we’ve spent the last three months trying to prevent a second Great Depression. And the thing is, in a lot of these towns that depression has already arrived. We cut Chrysler off now and we might as well be signing a death warrant for every spot you see on the map. Each one has thousands of workers counting on us. The kind of people you met on the campaign trail...losing their healthcare, their pensions, too old to start over. I don’t know how you walk away from them. I don’t think that’s why you ran for president.”

當我瀏覽圖表、仔細查看數字時，時不時看著掛在牆上的泰迪和富蘭克林·羅斯福的肖像，吉布斯輪到發言了。他以前曾參與密歇根州參議員黛比·史達本諾的競選活動，現在他指著幻燈片中顯示中西部所有克萊斯勒工廠的地圖。

「總統先生，」他說，「我不是經濟學家，我也不知道如何經營汽車公司。但我知道，在過去三個月中，我們一直在努力防止第二次大蕭條。事實上，在許多這些城鎮，大蕭條已經到來了。如果我們現在停止支持克萊斯勒，我們可能也就是在對地圖上你看到的每個地方簽署死亡判決。每一個地方都有成千上萬的工人指望著我們。這些是你在競選活動中遇到的人們，他們失去了保健、失去了退休金，太老了重新開始。我不知道你怎麼能離開他們。我不認為這就是你競選總統的原因。」

I stared at the points on the map, more than twenty in all, spread across Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, my mind wandering back to my earliest days as an organizer in Chicago, when I’d meet with laid-off steelworkers in cold union halls or church basements to discuss their community concerns. I could

remember their bodies heavy under winter coats, their hands chapped and callused, their faces—white, Black, brown—betraying the quiet desperation of men who'd lost their purpose. I hadn't been able to help them much then; their plants had already closed by the time I'd arrived, and people like me had no leverage over the distant executives who'd made those decisions. I'd entered politics with the notion that I might someday be able to offer something more meaningful to those workers and their families.

我凝视着地图上的点，总共超过二十个，散布在密歇根州、印第安纳州和俄亥俄州，我的思绪回到我在芝加哥担任组织者的早期，当时我会与失业的钢铁工人在寒冷的工会大厅或教堂地下室会面，讨论他们关注的社区问题。我还能记得他们穿着厚重的冬衣，手部干燥粗糙，脸色苍白、黑、棕色不等，流露出失去目标的静谧绝望。那时我无法为他们提供太多帮助；他们的工厂已经关闭了，当我到达时，像我这样的人对远程决策的执行人没有太多的影响力。我进入政治领域的初衷是希望将来能够为这些工人及其家庭提供更有意义的东西。

And now here I was. I turned to Rattner and Bloom and told them to get Chrysler on the phone. If, with our help, the company could negotiate a deal with Fiat, I said, and deliver a realistic, hardheaded business plan to emerge from a structured bankruptcy within a reasonable time frame, we owed those workers and their communities that chance.

It was getting close to dinnertime and I still had several calls to make in the Oval. I was about to adjourn the meeting when I noticed Brian Deese tentatively raising his hand. The youngest member of the task force, he'd barely spoken during the discussion, but unbeknownst to me, he'd actually been the one to prepare the map and brief Gibbs on the human costs involved in letting Chrysler go under. (Years later, he'd tell me that he felt the arguments would carry more weight coming from a senior staff member.) Having seen his side prevail and feeling swept up in the moment, though, Deese started pointing out all the potential upsides of the decision I'd just made—including that a Chrysler-Fiat tandem could end up being the first U.S.-based operation to produce cars capable of getting forty miles to the gallon. Except in his nervousness, he said “the first U.S.-produced cars that can go forty miles an hour.”

现在我在这里。我转向Rattner和Bloom，告诉他们给克莱斯勒打电话。如果在我们的帮助下，公司能够与菲亚特谈判达成协议，并提出一个现实的、理智的业务计划，在合理的时间范围内从结构性破产中走出来，我们应该给予那些工人和他们的社区这样的机会。

已经接近晚饭时间了，我还有几个电话要在总统办公室打。当我注意到布莱恩·迪斯有些犹豫地举起手时，我即将结束会议。这位小组中最年轻的成员，在讨论中几乎没有说话，但我没有意识到，事实上，正是他准备了地图，并向吉布斯介绍了让克莱斯勒破产的人力成本。（多年后，他会告诉我，他觉得这些论点来自一位高级工作人员会更有分量。）然而，在看到他的一方取得胜利并感到沉浸在这刻的同时，Deese开始指出我刚刚做出的决定可能会带来所有潜在的好处，其中包括克莱斯勒-菲亚特联合可能会成为第一家生产可行驶40英里的美国车辆的公司。但由于紧张，他说了“第一辆能以40英里的时速行驶的美国制造汽车”。

The room was quiet for a moment, then broke into laughter. Realizing his mistake, Deese's face, cherubic beneath his mustache and beard, turned bright red. I smiled and rose from my chair.

“You know, it just so happens my first car was a '76 Fiat,” I said, gathering up the papers in front of me. “Bought it used, my freshman year of college. Red, five-speed stick. As I remember, it went over forty miles an hour...when it wasn't in the shop. Worst car I ever owned.” I walked around the table, patted Deese on the arm, and turned back as I was heading out the door. “The people at Chrysler thank you,” I said, “for not making that particular argument until after I made my decision.”

房间安静了一会儿，然后爆发出笑声。德尼斯意识到自己犯了错，他那蓬松的胡子下面的天真面容变得通红。我微笑着从椅子上站起来。

“你知道吗，我第一辆车就是一辆76年的菲亚特。”我收拾了桌前的文件，“我大学一年级的时候买的二手车，是红色的，五档手动变速器。据我记得，它最快只能跑到40英里每小时……除非它不在修车厂里修理。那是我拥有的最糟糕的车。”我走到桌子旁边，拍了拍德尼斯的胳膊，然后在走出门时回头说：“克莱斯勒的人感谢你，因为你直到我做出决定之后才放出了这个论点。”

IT'S OFTEN SAID that a president gets too much credit when the economy is doing well, and too much blame when it slumps. In normal times, that's true. All kinds of factors—from a decision by the Fed (over which a president by law has no authority) to raise or lower interest rates, to the vicissitudes of the business cycle, to bad weather delaying construction projects or a sudden spike in commodity prices brought on by some conflict on the other side of the world—are likely to have a bigger impact on the day-to-day economy than anything the president does. Even major White House initiatives, like a big tax cut or a regulatory overhaul, don't tend to produce any sort of measurable influence on GDP growth or unemployment rates for months or even years.

通常人们说，当经济情况好的时候总统得到太多的赞扬，经济低迷时又被批评过分。在正常情况下，这是正确的。各种因素，从美联储（根据法律，总统没有任何权力）决定提高或降低利率，到商业周期的波动，到因世界上某些冲突导致的商品价格突然上涨，都可能对日常经济产生更大的影响，超过总统所做的一切。即使像大规模减税或监管改革这样的重大白宫举措，也不太可能在几个月甚至几年内对GDP增长或失业率产生任何可衡量的影响。

As a result, most presidents labor without knowing the economic impact of their actions. Voters can't gauge it either. There's an inherent unfairness to this, I suppose: Depending on accidents of timing, a president can be punished or rewarded at the polls for things entirely beyond his or her control. At the same time, this also offers an administration a certain margin for error, allowing leaders to set policy while feeling secure in the knowledge that not everything depends on them getting things right.

因此，大多数总统在不了解其行动的经济影响的情况下进行劳动。选民也无法评估其影响。我想这种情况本身就存在不公平性：根据时间上的偶然性，总统可以因完全不受其控制的事情而在选举中受到惩罚或奖励。同时，这也为政府提供了一定的错误容忍度，使领导人能够制定政策，同时感到安全，因为并非

所有事情都取决于他们做得正确。

In 2009, however, the situation was different. In the first hundred days of my administration, no margin for error existed. Every move we made counted. Every American was paying attention. Had we restarted the financial system? Had we ended the recession? Put people back to work? Kept people in their homes? Our scorecard was posted daily for everyone to see, with each new fragment of economic data, each news report or anecdote becoming an opportunity for judgment. My team and I carried that knowledge with us the minute we woke up, and it stayed with us until we went to bed.

然而，2009年的情况是不同的。在我执政的头一百天，我们没有容错的余地。我们所做的每一步都很重要。每个美国人都在关注。我们重新启动了金融系统吗？我们结束了经济衰退吗？我们让人们回归工作了吗？我们让人们留在家里了吗？我们的得分牌每天都会张贴在每个人的面前，每一条新的经济数据、每一条新闻报道或者轶事都成为了一个判断的机会。我和我的团队从起床开始就把这个认识带在身边，直到睡觉的时候才放下。

Sometimes I think it was only the sheer busyness of those months that kept us from succumbing to the overall stress. After the GM and Chrysler decisions, the main pillars of our strategy were basically in place, which meant we could turn our focus to implementation. The Auto Task Force negotiated a change in GM management, brokered Fiat's stake in Chrysler, and helped put together a plausible plan for the structured bankruptcies and reorganization of both car companies. The housing team, meanwhile, hammered together the framework for the HAMP and HARP programs. The Recovery Act's tax cuts and grants to states began to flow, with Joe Biden, together with his able chief of staff Ron Klain, in charge of overseeing the billions of dollars in infrastructure projects with an eye toward minimizing waste or fraud. And Tim and his still-skeletal staff at Treasury, along with the Fed, continued to put out fires across the financial system.

有时候我想，只有那些繁忙的月份才阻挡了我们被整个的压力所击倒。在通用汽车和克莱斯勒的决策之后，我们的主要战略已经基本确立，这意味着我们可以把重点转向实施。汽车小组协商更改了通用汽车的管理层，斡旋了菲亚特对克莱斯勒的股份，并帮助制定了两家汽车公司的有计划的破产重组方案。与此同时，住房小组制定了HAMP和HARP计划的框架。复苏法案的减税和对州的拨款开始流动，乔·拜登和他能干的办公室主任罗恩·科林负责监督数十亿美元的基础设施项目，以最大限度地减少浪费或欺诈。而财政部的蒂姆和他仍处于萌芽状态的团队以及联邦储备系统继续在整个金融系统中应对各种危机。

The pace was relentless. When I met with my economic team for our regular morning briefing, the faces of those arrayed in a horseshoe of chairs and couches around the Oval told a tale of exhaustion. Later, I would hear secondhand accounts of how folks had sometimes yelled at one another during staff meetings, the result of legitimate policy disputes, bureaucratic turf battles, anonymous leaks to the press, the absence of weekends, or too many late-night meals of pizza or chili from the Navy Mess on the ground floor of the West Wing. None of this tension spilled into real rancor or kept the work from getting done. Whether due to professionalism, or respect for the presidency, or awareness of what failure might mean for the country, or a solidarity forged from being a collective target for the escalating attacks from all quarters, everyone more or less held it together as we waited for some sign, any sign, that our plans for ending the crisis were in fact going to work.

节奏是毫不停歇的。當我與經濟團隊進行常規的早間簡報時，居中擺放椅子和沙發的人們的臉上盡是疲乏。後來，我聽說在工作會議期間，人們有時會彼此怒吼，這是由於合法的政策爭論、官僚作風之爭、匿名的洩漏聞于媒體、缺少周末或過多從西翼樓下海軍大樓的比薩餅或辣椒來的夜宵。這些緊張局勢都沒有漫延到真正的敵對情緒，也沒有阻礙工作的進行。不管是出於職業素養，還是對總統的尊重，或是意識到失敗可能會對國家造成什麼樣的影響，或是在不斷增加的來自各個角落的攻擊中被迫形成的團結，每個人都比較冷靜地等待著某些跡象，任何跡象都表明我們結束危機的計劃實際上將會有效。

And finally, in late April, it came. Tim dropped by the Oval one day to tell me that the Federal Reserve, which had remained tight-lipped throughout its review of the banks, had at long last given Treasury a preliminary look at the stress-test results.

“So?” I said, trying to read Tim's expression. “How does it look?”

“Well, the numbers are still subject to some revisions...”

I threw up my hands in mock exasperation.

“Better than expected, Mr. President,” Tim said.

“Meaning?”

“Meaning we may have turned the corner.”

最后，在四月末，它来了。一天，Tim来到椭圆形办公室告诉我，联邦储备系统在审查银行时始终不发表言论，但已经向财政部初步展示了压力测试结果。

“那么呢？”我试着读懂Tim的表情，“结果怎么样？”

“嗯，这些数字仍然可能会有一些修改...”

我摆了摆手，作出了假装恼怒的样子。

“总统先生，比预期的好。”Tim说。

“意味着？”

“意味着我们可能已经转过弯了。”

Of the nineteen systemically significant institutions subjected to the stress test, the Fed had given nine a clean bill of health, determining that they wouldn't need to raise more capital. Five other banks required more capital to meet the Fed's benchmark but nonetheless appeared sturdy enough to raise it from private sources. This left five institutions (including Bank of America, Citigroup, and GMAC, the financing arm of General Motors) that were likely to need additional government support. According to the Fed, the collective shortfall looked to be no more than \$75 billion—an amount that our remaining TARP funds could comfortably cover if required.

在接受压力测试的19家系统性重要机构中，美联储已经认为有9家健康无忧，认定它们不需要再筹集资金。另外5家银行需要更多资金以满足美联储的基准，但仍然足够强大，可以从私人渠道筹集资金。这样就有5家机构（包括美国银行、花旗集团和通用汽车的融资部门GMAC）可能需要额外的政府支持。根据美联储的说法，这些缺口看起来不会超过750亿美元，如果需要的话，我们仍有足够的TARP剩余资金来覆盖。

“Never a doubt,” I said, deadpan, when Tim was finished briefing me.

It was the first smile I’d seen on his face in weeks.

If Tim felt vindicated by the results of the stress test, he didn’t let it show. (He did admit several years later that hearing Larry Summers utter the words “You were right” was pretty satisfying.) As it was, we kept the early information within our tight circle; the last thing we needed was premature celebration. But when the Fed released its final report two weeks later, its conclusions hadn’t changed, and despite some continued skepticism from political commentators, the audience that mattered—the financial markets—found the audit rigorous and credible, inspiring a new rush of confidence. Investors began pumping cash back into financial institutions almost as fast as they’d pulled it out. Corporations found they could borrow again to finance their day-to-day operations. Just as fear had compounded the very real losses the banks had suffered from the subprime lending binge, the stress test—along with massive assurances from the U.S. government—had jolted markets back into rational territory. By June, the ten troubled financial institutions had raised over 66 billion in private capital, leaving only a 9 billion shortfall. The Fed’s emergency liquidity fund was able to cut its investment in the financial system by more than two-thirds. And the country’s nine largest banks had paid back the U.S. Treasury, returning the \$67 billion in TARP funds they’d received—with interest.

“绝不怀疑，”我坚定地说道，当蒂姆向我汇报完毕时。这是我几周来第一次见到他笑了。

如果蒂姆对压力测试的结果感到满意，他并没有表现出来。（他几年后才承认，听到拉里·萨默斯说出“你是正确的”这句话还是让他很有成就感的）事实上，我们一直将早期信息保密在我们的小圈子里，最不需要的就是过早地庆祝。但是，两周后联邦储备银行发布其最终报告，其结论没有改变，尽管一些政治评论家仍然持有怀疑态度，但真正关键的听众——金融市场——认为审计是严密且可信的，这激发了一股新的信心。投资者开始将资金迅速注入金融机构，几乎与他们从中撤出的速度一样快。公司发现他们可以再次借款来为日常运营提供资金。正如恐惧增强了银行在次贷信贷狂热中遭受的实际损失一样，压力测试——以及美国政府的大量保证——已经将市场推回理性的领域。到6月份，十个陷入困境的金融机构筹集了超过660亿美元的私人资本，只剩下90亿不足。联邦储备银行的紧急流动性基金能够将其对金融系统的投资减少三分之二以上。而美国最大的九家银行已经偿还了美国财政部，归还了他们收到的670亿美元的TARP资金，并支付了利息。

Almost nine months after the fall of Lehman Brothers, the panic appeared to be over.

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MORE THAN A DECADE has passed since those perilous days at the start of my presidency, and although the details are hazy for most Americans, my administration’s handling of the financial crisis still generates fierce debate. Viewed narrowly, it’s hard to argue with the results of our actions. Not only did the U.S. banking sector stabilize far sooner than any of its European counterparts; the financial system and the overall economy returned to growth faster than those of just about any other nation in history after such a significant shock. If I had predicted on the day of my swearing in that within a year the U.S. financial system would have stabilized, almost all TARP funds would be fully repaid (having actually made rather than cost taxpayers money), and the economy would have begun what would become the longest stretch of continuous growth and job creation in U.S. history, the majority of pundits and experts would have questioned my mental fitness—or assumed I was smoking something stronger than tobacco.

## 在雷曼兄弟倒闭将近九个月后，恐慌似乎已经结束。

距离我担任总统时的那些危急时刻已经过去了十多年，虽然对于大多数美国人来说细节模糊不清，但我的政府处理金融危机的方式仍然引发激烈的争论。从狭义的角度来看，我们的行动成果难以置疑。美国银行业不仅比欧洲同行稳定得快得多，金融系统和整体经济也回到了增长状态，比历史上任何其他国家经历如此重大冲击后恢复得更快。如果我在就职典礼的那天预测，在一年内美国金融系统将稳定下来，几乎所有的TARP基金都将被充分偿还（实际上赚而不是花费纳税人的钱），而经济将开始成为美国历史上持续增长和创造就业机会最长的时期，大多数评论员和专家都会怀疑我的精神健康或认为我吸食了比烟草更强烈的东西。

For many thoughtful critics, though, the fact that I had engineered a return to pre-crisis normalcy is precisely the problem—a missed opportunity, if not a flat-out betrayal. According to this view, the financial crisis offered me a once-in-a-generation chance to reset the standards for normalcy, remaking not just the financial system but the American economy overall. If only I had broken up the big banks and sent some white-collar culprits to jail; if only I had put an end to outsized pay packages and Wall Street’s heads-I-win, tails-you-lose culture, then maybe today we’d have a more equitable system that served the interests of working families rather than a handful of billionaires.

對於許多深思熟慮的批評家而言，我經營回到危機前的正常狀態，正是問題的所在——前所未有的機會被錯過了，甚至是一種背叛。據此觀點，金融危機本應是我重置正常標準的一次千載難逢的機會，不僅需要重塑金融體系，更要重新塑造美國整體經濟。如果當初我能夠拆散大型銀行、送一些白領罪犯進監獄；如果當初我能夠結束超額薪酬、對沃爾街的不勝利、必敗的文化予以制止，那麼今天我們或許擁有一個更公平公正的體系，符合工薪家庭的利益，而非少數的億萬富翁。

I understand such frustrations. In many ways, I share them. To this day, I survey reports of America’s escalating inequality, its reduced upward mobility and still-stagnant wages, with all the consequent anger and distortions such trends stir in our democracy, and I wonder whether I should have been bolder in those early months, willing to exact more economic pain in the short term in pursuit of a permanently altered and more just economic order.

The thought nags at me. And yet even if it were possible for me to go back in time and get a do-over, I can't say that I would make different choices. In the abstract, all the various alternatives and missed opportunities that the critics offer up sound plausible, simple plot points in a morality tale. But when you dig into the details, each of the options they propose—whether nationalization of the banks, or stretching the definitions of criminal statutes to prosecute banking executives, or simply letting a portion of the banking system collapse so as to avoid moral hazard—would have required a violence to the social order, a wrenching of political and economic norms, that almost certainly would have made things worse. Not worse for the wealthy and powerful, who always have a way of landing on their feet. Worse for the very folks I'd be purporting to save. Best-case scenario, the economy would have taken longer to recover, with more unemployment, more foreclosures, more business closures. Worst-case scenario, we might have tipped into a full-scale depression.

我理解这种挫折感。从许多方面来说，我也有同感。直到今天，我浏览美国不断加剧的不平等、减少的上升机会和仍然停滞不前的工资报告，感到它们对我们的民主产生的愤怒和扭曲，我不禁想知道我是否应该在那些早期更加大胆，愿意在追求永久改变和更公正的经济秩序中在短期内付出更多的经济痛苦。

这个想法一直在我心头萦绕。但即使我能回到过去重新来过，我也不能说我会作出不同的选择。抽象地说，评论家提供的各种各样的选择和错过的机会听起来像是一个道德故事中的简单情节。但是当你深入细节时，他们提出的每个选项—无论是银行的国有化、扩大刑事规定的定义以起诉银行高管、还是简单地让一部分银行系统崩溃以避免道德风险—都需要对社会秩序进行暴力冲击，扭曲政治和经济规范，这几乎肯定会使情况变得更糟。这不会对富有和有权力的人造成更糟的影响，因为他们总有办法站稳脚跟。这会对我要试图拯救的人民群众造成更糟的影响。在最好的情况下，经济复苏需要更长的时间，失业率、财产抵押与关闭的业务会更多。在最坏的情况下，我们可能会陷入全面性的萧条。

Someone with a more revolutionary soul might respond that all this would have been worth it, that you have to break eggs to make an omelet. But as willing as I had always been to disrupt my own life in pursuit of an idea, I wasn't willing to take those same risks with the well-being of millions of people. In that sense, my first hundred days in office revealed a basic strand of my political character. I was a reformer, conservative in temperament if not in vision. Whether I was demonstrating wisdom or weakness would be for others to judge.

具有更具革命精神的人可能会回应说，所有这一切将是值得的，为了制作煎蛋卷必须打破鸡蛋。但是，尽管我一直愿意为了一个想法破坏自己的生活，但我不愿意冒着危及数百万人民福祉的同样风险。从这个意义上说，我上任的前100天揭示了我的政治性格的基本特质。我是一个改革者，性情保守而不是愿景和愿望。无论我是展示了智慧还是软弱都将由他人来评判。

And anyway, such ruminations came later. In the summer of 2009, the race had only just started. Once the economy was stabilized, I knew I'd have more time to push through the structural changes—in taxes, education, energy, healthcare, labor law, and immigration—that I had campaigned on, changes that would make the system fundamentally more fair and expand opportunity for ordinary Americans. Already, Tim and his team were preparing options for a comprehensive Wall Street reform package that I would later present to Congress.

反正，这样的深思熟虑是后来才有的。在2009年的夏天，这场竞赛才刚刚开始。一旦经济稳定下来，我知道我会有很多时间推动结构性变革——在税收、教育、能源、医疗保健、劳动法和移民方面——这些变革将使系统根本上更加公平，并扩大普通美国人的机会。已经，蒂姆和他的团队正在准备一套综合的华尔街改革方案，我以后会提交给国会。

In the meantime, I tried to remind myself that we had steered the nation away from disaster, that our work was already providing some form of relief. Expanded unemployment insurance payments were keeping families across the country afloat. Tax cuts for small businesses were allowing a few more workers to stay on the payroll. Teachers were in classrooms, and cops were on the beat. An auto factory that had threatened to close was still open, while a mortgage refinancing was keeping someone out there from losing a home.

在此期间，我试着提醒自己，我们已经将国家从灾难中引领出来，我们的工作已经带来了某种程度的救济。扩大的失业保险支付正在维持全国各地的家庭生计。针对小企业的减税措施让更多的工人能够留在了工作岗位上。老师在教室里，警察在巡逻。一家原本要关闭的汽车工厂仍然开著，而一次房屋抵押再融资正在阻止某些人失去住所。

The absence of catastrophe, the preservation of normalcy, wouldn't attract attention. Most of the people impacted wouldn't even know how our policies had touched their lives. But every so often, while reading in the Treaty Room late at night, I'd come across a letter in my purple folder that began with something like this:

I'd set down the letter after reading it and pull out a note card to write the person a brief response. I imagined them getting the official envelope from the White House and opening it up with a look of puzzlement, then a smile. They'd show it to their family, maybe even take it to work. Eventually the letter would fall into a drawer somewhere, forgotten under the accumulation of the new joys and pains that make up a life. That was okay. I couldn't expect people to understand how much their voices actually meant to me—how they had sustained my spirit and beat back whispering doubts on those late, solitary nights.缺乏灾难，维持常态，并不会引起注意。大多数受影响的人甚至不知道我们的政策如何触及他们的生活。但是，每当我在晚上在条约室阅读时，我会遇到一封起始如下的信件：

读完信后，我会放下它，拿出一张便签写下简短的回复。我想象着他们收到来自白宫的官方信封，打开它时会有些困惑，然后微笑。他们会向家人展示它，甚至可能带到工作中。最终，这封信将被遗忘在抽屉里，被新的喜乐和痛苦所淹没，构成一个生命。这没关系。我不能期望人们理解他们的声音实际上对我意味着多少-在那些晚上的孤独时刻，他们如何支持着我的精神并击败了窃窃私语的怀疑。

## CHAPTER 13

BEFORE I WAS INAUGURATED, Denis McDonough, my senior campaign foreign policy staffer and soon-to-be head of strategic communications for the National Security Council, insisted that I carve out thirty minutes for what he considered a top-tier priority.

“We need to make sure you can deliver a proper salute.”

Denis himself had never served in the military, although there was an order to his movements, a deliberateness and focus, that made some people assume he had. Tall and angular, with a jutting jaw, deep-set eyes, and graying hair that made him appear older than his thirty-nine years, he'd grown up in the small town of Stillwater, Minnesota, one of eleven children in a working-class Irish Catholic family. After graduating from college, he'd traveled through Latin America and taught high school in Belize, gone back to get his master's degree in international affairs, and worked for Tom Daschle, then the Democratic leader in the Senate. In 2007, we'd recruited Denis to serve as a foreign policy staffer in my Senate office, and over the course of the campaign Denis had assumed more and more responsibility—helping me prepare for debates, putting together briefing books, organizing every aspect of my preconvention foreign tour, and endlessly jousting with the traveling press corps.

### 第十三章

在我就职之前，我的资深竞选外交政策顾问和即将成为国家安全顾问战略沟通主管的丹尼斯·麦克唐纳认为有一件头号优先事项我必须要花半个小时去做。“我们需要确保你可以适当地行军敬礼。”

丹尼斯本人从未在军队服役过，尽管他的动作有着一定的秩序、沉着决断和专注，使得有些人认为他有军人出身。他身材高大瘦削，下颚前突，眼眶深陷，头发变成灰白色使得他看起来比实际年龄的三十九岁更老。他在明尼苏达州小镇斯蒂尔沃特长大，是一个工薪阶层的爱尔兰天主教家庭的十一个孩子之一。大学毕业后，他曾在拉丁美洲旅行，并在伯利兹教授高中课程，然后回去获得国际事务硕士学位，并为时任参议院民主党领袖的汤姆·达斯克尔工作。在2007年，我们招募丹尼斯在我的参议院办公室担任外交政策助手，随着竞选的进行，丹尼斯承担了越来越多的责任——帮助我准备辩论、编制简报、组织我的党内选举前公开演讲，以及与旅行记者团队的不断交锋。

Even in a team full of type A personalities, Denis stood out. He sweated the details; volunteered for the most difficult, thankless tasks; and could not be outworked: During the Iowa campaign, he spent what little spare time he had canvassing door-to-door, famously shoveling snow for folks after a particularly bad storm, hoping to win their commitment to caucus for me. The same disregard for his own physical well-being that had helped him make his college football team as an undersized strong safety could lead to problems—in the White House, I once had to order him to go home after learning that he'd worked twelve straight hours with a bout of the flu. I came to suspect a religious aspect to this intensity, and though an iconoclastic streak (as well as an adoration of his wife, Kari) led him to steer clear of the collar, he approached his work both as a form of service and as self-abnegation.

即使在一个充满A型人格的团队中，丹尼斯也脱颖而出。他注重细节，自愿承担最困难、最没有回报的任务，而且不可能被打败：在爱荷华州竞选期间，他利用他那些寥寥无几的空闲时间挨家挨户地拜访选民，甚至在特别恶劣的暴风雪过后为人们铲雪，希望赢得他们的投票。这种对自己身体健康的漠视曾经帮助他成为一个体型偏小的强力安全员的问题——在白宫，当我得知他患了流感并已经连续工作了十二个小时时，我不得不命令他回家休息。我开始怀疑这种强度里面有一种宗教意味，虽然他因为反传统和对妻子卡丽（Kari）的崇拜而避开了神职人员，但他把自己的工作看作一种服务和自我克制。

Now, as part of his good works here on earth, Denis had taken it upon himself to get me ready for my first day as commander in chief. On the eve of my inauguration, he invited two military guys—including Matt Flavin, a young navy veteran who would serve as my White House veterans affairs staffer—to the transition office to put me through my paces. They started by showing me a bunch of photos of previous presidential salutes that did not make the grade—weak wrists, curled fingers, George W. Bush trying to salute while carrying his dog under his arm. They then evaluated my own form, which was apparently not stellar.

現在，作為他此處在地球上的好事的一部分，丹尼斯已經承擔起讓我成為指揮官的第一天做好準備的任務。在就職典禮前夕，他邀請了兩名軍事人員，包括馬特·弗拉文（Matt Flavin），一位年輕的海軍退伍軍人，他將擔任我的白宮退伍軍人事務助理，到過渡辦公室為我做好準備。他們首先展示了一堆沒有達到標準的前總統敬禮的照片—手腕虛弱，手指捲曲，喬治·W·布什在腋下攜帶狗時嘗試行禮敬敬毫無章法。然後，他們評估了我的形態，顯然不是很優秀。

“Elbow a little farther out, sir,” said one.

“Fingers tighter, sir,” said the other. “The tips should be right at your eyebrow.”

After twenty minutes or so, though, my tutors seemed satisfied. Once they'd left, I turned to Denis.

“Anything else you're nervous about?” I teased.

Denis shook his head unconvincingly. “Not nervous, Mr. President-Elect. Just want us to be prepared.”

“For what?”

Denis smiled. “For everything.”

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IT'S A TRUISM that a president's single most important job is to keep the American people safe. Depending on your political predispositions and electoral mandate, you may have a burning desire to fix public education or restore prayer in schools, raise the minimum wage or break the power of public sector unions. But whether Republican or Democrat, the one thing every president must obsess over, the source of chronic, unrelenting tension that burrows deep inside you from the moment you're elected, is the awareness that everybody is depending on you to protect them.

“伸直肘稍微往外点，先生，”一个人说。

“手指收紧，先生，”另一个人说。“指尖应该正好在你的眉毛处。”

然而，大约20分钟后，我的导师似乎非常满意了。他们离开后，我转向丹尼斯。

“你还有什么担心的事吗？”我开玩笑地问。

丹尼斯不太确定地摇了摇头。“不担心，当选总统先生。只是想让我们做好准备。”

“准备什么？”

丹尼斯微笑着说：“准备好应对一切。”

一个非常重要的真理是：总统最重要的职责是确保美国人民的安全。根据您的政治偏好和选举任务，您可能非常渴望改善公共教育或恢复学校的祈祷，提高最低工资标准或打破公共部门工会的权力。但无论是共和党还是民主党，每位总统必须痴迷于保护人民这一点，从当选之日起，这种慢性、不可缓解的紧张感会深深地固定在你内心，因为每个人都依赖您来保护他们的安全。

How you approach the task depends on how you define the threats that the country faces. What do we fear most? Is it the possibility of a Russian nuclear attack, or that a bureaucratic miscalculation or glitch in the software launches one of our warheads by mistake? Is it some fanatic blowing himself up on a subway, or the government, under the guise of protecting you from fanatics, tapping into your email account? Is it a gas shortage caused by disruptions to foreign oil supplies, or the oceans rising and the planet frying? Is it an immigrant family sneaking across a river in search of a better life, or a pandemic disease, incubated by poverty and a lack of public services in a poor country overseas, drifting invisibly into our homes?

你面对这项任务的方式取决于你如何定义这个国家面临的威胁。我们最害怕的是什么？是俄罗斯的核攻击可能，还是行政失误或软件故障导致我们的导弹错误发射？是某些狂热分子在地铁上炸死自己，还是政府在保护你免受狂热分子的幌子下，侵犯你的电子邮箱？是由于外国石油供应中断引起的燃气短缺，还是海平面上升和地球变暖？是一个移民家庭潜入河流寻找更好的生活，还是在一个贫穷的国家，由于贫困和缺乏公共服务而孕育的流行病毒，隐形地漂流进入我们的家中？

For most of the twentieth century, for most Americans, the what and why of our national defense seemed pretty straightforward. We lived with the possibility of being attacked by another great power, or being drawn into a conflict between great powers, or having America's vital interests—as defined by the wise men in Washington—threatened by some foreign actor. After World War II, there were the Soviets and the Communist Chinese and their (real or perceived) proxies, ostensibly intent on world domination and threatening our way of life. And then came terrorist attacks emanating from the Middle East, at first on the periphery of our vision, scary but manageable, until just months into a brand-new century, the sight of the Twin Towers crumbling to dust made our worst fears manifest.在 20 世紀的大部分時間，對大多數美國人來說，我們國家的防禦是什麼以及為什麼這樣做似乎相當簡單明確。我們時刻生活在可能被其他超級大國攻擊的可能性之下，或者被捲入大國之間的衝突，或者被某些外國力量威脅到美國的重要利益 - 由智囊團在華盛頓定義。二戰之後，有蘇聯和中共以及他們的（真實或虛構的）代理人，聲稱要實現世界統治並威脅我們的生活方式。然後是源自中東的恐怖襲擊，起初在我們的視野之外，可怕但可控，直到在全新的一世紀剛過數月，雙子塔灰飛煙滅的畫面成為了我們最壞的恐懼的實現。

I grew up with many of these fears imprinted on me. In Hawaii, I knew families who'd lost loved ones at Pearl Harbor. My grandfather, his brother, and my grandmother's brother had all fought in World War II. I was raised believing that nuclear war was a very real possibility. In grade school, I watched coverage of Olympic athletes being slaughtered by masked men in Munich; in college, I listened to Ted Koppel marking the number of days Americans were being held hostage in Iran. Too young to have known the anguish of Vietnam firsthand, I had witnessed only the honor and restraint of our service members during the Gulf War, and like most Americans I viewed our military operations in Afghanistan after 9/11 as both necessary and just.我成长的时候，许多这样的恐惧都深深地印刻在我的心里。在夏威夷，我认识一些失去亲人的家庭，这些亲人都在珍珠港事件中丧生。我的祖父、他的兄弟以及我的祖母的兄弟都曾参加过二战。我被教育认为核战争是非常有可能发生的。在小学期间，我看报道奥林匹克运动员在慕尼黑被蒙面人杀害的事件；在大学期间，我听到了泰德·科普尔报导美国人在伊朗被扣押的天数。我太年轻了，没有亲身经历越战的痛苦，我看到的只有海湾战争中我们军人的荣誉和克制，和大多数美国人一样，我认为911后的阿富汗军事行动是必要的和正义的。

But another set of stories had also been etched into me—different though not contradictory—about what America meant to those living in the world beyond it, the symbolic power of a country built upon the ideals of freedom. I remember being seven or eight years old and sitting on the cool floor tiles of our house on the outskirts of Jakarta, proudly showing my friends a picture book of Honolulu with its high-rises and city lights and wide, paved roads. I would never forget the wonder in their faces as I answered their questions about life in America, explaining how everybody got to go to a school with plenty of books, and there were no beggars because most everyone had a job and enough to eat. Later, as a young man, I witnessed my mother's impact as a contractor with organizations like USAID, helping women in remote Asian villages get access to credit, and the lasting gratitude those women felt that Americans an ocean away actually cared about their plight. When I first visited Kenya, I sat with newfound relatives who told me how much they admired American democracy and rule of law—a contrast, they said, to the tribalism and corruption that plagued their country.

还有一组故事也深深地印在我的心中——虽然与前者不同，但并不矛盾——这些故事讲述了美国对于那些生活在它之外的世界的人来说意味着什么，讲述了以自由为理想建立的国家的象征性力量。我还记得自己七八岁时，坐在雅加达城外的家里凉爽的地砖上，自豪地给朋友们展示一本描绘檀香山高楼大厦、城市灯光和宽阔铺设的道路的图片书。我永远不会忘记他们脸上的惊奇表情，以及我回答他们有关美国生活的问题时，解释了每个人都有机会到一所有大量书籍的学校上学的情况，以及没有乞丐的原因是因为几乎每个人都有工作和足够的食物。稍后，作为一个年轻人，我目睹了我母亲作为美国国际开发署等组织的承包商对遥远亚洲村庄中的妇女们帮助获取信贷的影响，以及那些妇女对于远在大洋彼岸的美国人实际关心她们的困境所感到的持久感激之情。当我第一次访问肯尼亚时，我和新找到的亲戚坐在一起，他们告诉我，他们非常钦佩美国的民主和法治——他们说，这与席卷他们的部族主义和腐败形成鲜明对比。

Such moments taught me to see my country through the eyes of others. I was reminded of how lucky I was to be an American, to take none of those blessings for granted. I saw firsthand the power our example exerted on the hearts and minds of people around the world. But with that came a corollary lesson: an awareness of what we risked when our actions failed to live up to our image and our ideals, the anger and resentment this could breed, the damage that was done. When I heard Indonesians talk about the hundreds of thousands slaughtered in a coup—widely believed to have CIA backing—that had brought a military dictatorship to power in 1967, or listened to Latin American environmental activists detailing how U.S. companies were befouling their countryside, or commiserated with Indian American or Pakistani American friends as they chronicled the countless times that they'd been

pulled aside for “random” searches at airports since 9/11, I felt America’s defenses weakening, saw chinks in the armor that I was sure over time made our country less safe.

这些时刻让我透过其他人的眼睛看到了自己的国家。我意识到自己很幸运，身为美国人，不会把这些幸福视为理所当然。我亲眼见证了我们的示范对世界各地人心与思想的影响力。但这同时也教会了我另一个教训：我们的行为不能不符合我们一贯秉持的形象和理念，否则要面对种种风险，包括愤怒和不满的积聚，以及造成的伤害。当我听到印尼人谈起1967年那次被广泛认为是由中央情报局支持的政变导致数十万人被屠杀，使得军事独裁政权上台；或者听着拉丁美洲环保人士讲述美国公司如何污染了他们的乡村；或者和印度裔或巴基斯坦裔的朋友感叹在9/11事件后，因“随机”检查被拉走的次数过多，那时我感到美国的防线正在被削弱，我们的盔甲有了许多缺口，我相信这必将导致我们国家的不安全。

That dual vision, as much as my skin color, distinguished me from previous presidents. For my supporters, it was a defining foreign policy strength, enabling me to amplify America’s influence around the world and anticipate problems that might arise from ill-considered policies. For my detractors, it was evidence of weakness, raising the possibility that I might hesitate to advance American interests because of a lack of conviction, or even divided loyalties. For some of my fellow citizens, it was far worse than that. Having the son of a black African with a Muslim name and socialist ideas ensconced in the White House with the full force of the U.S. government under his command was precisely the thing they wanted to be defended against.

那双重视角，以及我的肤色，都让我与前任总统不同。对于我的支持者，这是一个至关重要的外交政策优势，使我能够扩大美国在世界上的影响力，并预见可能由于未经思考的政策而引起的问题。对于我的反对者来说，这是软弱的证据，引起了我可能因为缺乏信念或甚至是分裂的忠诚而犹豫推进美国的利益的可能性。对于我的一些同胞来说，情况比这更糟糕。白宫里有一个黑非洲人的儿子，名字听上去像是个穆斯林，还有社会主义的想法，拥有美国政府的全部力量的掌握，这正是他们想要抵御的东西。

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AS FOR THE senior ranks of my national security team, they all considered themselves internationalists to one degree or another: They believed that American leadership was necessary to keep the world moving in a better direction, and that our influence came in many forms. Even the more liberal members of my team, like Denis, had no qualms about the use of “hard power” to go after terrorists and were scornful of leftist critics who made a living blaming the United States for every problem around the globe. Meanwhile, the most hawkish members of my team understood the importance of public diplomacy and considered the exercise of so-called soft power, like foreign aid and student exchange programs, to be essential ingredients in an effective U.S. foreign policy.

我的國家安全團隊高層各自都認為自己是國際主義者的某種程度：他們相信美國的領導力對於讓世界往更好的方向前進是必要的，而且我們的影響力以多種形式呈現。即使像丹尼斯這樣的更自由派成員也對利用“硬實力”去打擊恐怖分子毫不猶豫，並且輕視那些靠指責美國為全球各種問題賺錢的左派批評家。與此同時，我團隊中最鷹派成員也明白公共外交的重要性，并認為所謂的“軟實力”，比如外援和學生交流計劃，在有效的美國外交政策中是必不可少的因素。

The question was one of emphasis. How much concern did we have for the people beyond our borders, and how much should we simply worry about our own citizens? How much was our fate actually tied to the fate of people abroad? To what extent should America bind itself to multilateral institutions like the United Nations, and to what extent should we go it alone in pursuit of our own interests? Should we align ourselves with authoritarian governments that help keep a lid on possible chaos—or was the smarter long-term play to champion the forces of democratic reform?

這個問題是關注重點的問題。我們對邊境以外的人有多少關心，又應該有多少擔心我們自己的公民？我們的命運究竟與海外人民的命運有多大關聯？美國應該在多邊機構（如聯合國）與多少程度上約束自己，而在追求自身利益時應該多大程度上獨自行動？我們應該與幫助保持秩序的獨裁政府結盟嗎，還是更聰明的長期策略是支持民主改革的力量呢？

How members of my administration lined up on these issues wasn’t always predictable. But in our internal debates, I could detect a certain generational divide. With the exception of Susan Rice, my youthful U.N. ambassador, all of my national security principals—Secretaries Gates and Clinton, CIA director Leon Panetta, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as my national security advisor, Jim Jones, and my director of national intelligence, Denny Blair—had come of age during the height of the Cold War and had spent decades as part of Washington’s national security establishment: a dense, interlocking network of current and former White House policy makers, congressional staffers, academics, heads of think tanks, Pentagon brass, newspaper columnists, military contractors, and lobbyists. For them, a responsible foreign policy meant continuity, predictability, and an unwillingness to stray too far from conventional wisdom. It was this impulse that had led most of them to support the U.S. invasion of Iraq; and if the resulting disaster had forced them to reconsider that particular decision, they were still not inclined to ask whether the bipartisan rush into Iraq indicated the need for a fundamental overhaul of America’s national security framework.

我的政府成员在这些问题上的立场并不总是可预测的。但在我们的内部辩论中，我能感觉到某种代际差异。除了我的年轻的联合国大使苏珊·赖斯之外，所有的国家安全负责人——盖茨和克林顿国务卿、中央情报局长莱昂·潘内塔、联合参谋军成员以及我的国家安全顾问吉姆·琼斯和国家情报总监丹尼·布莱尔——都是在冷战高峰期成长起来的，并且在华盛顿的国家安全机构中度过了几十年：这是一种密集、错综复杂的网络，由现任和前任白宫政策制定者、国会工作人员、学者、智囊团主任、五角大楼高层军官、报纸专栏作家、军事承包商和游说者组成。对他们来说，负责任的外交政策意味着连续性、可预测性和不惑过分偏离传统智慧。正是这种冲动让他们中的大多数人支持美国入侵伊拉克；如果结果是一场灾难迫使他们重新考虑这个特定的决定，他们仍然不倾向于问，这种两党追求进入伊拉克是否表明需要对美国的国家安全框架进行根本性改革。

The younger members of my national security team, including most of the NSC staff, had different ideas. No less patriotic than their bosses, seared by both the horrors of 9/11 and the images of Iraqi prisoners abused by U.S. military personnel at Abu Ghraib, many of them had gravitated to my campaign precisely because I was willing to challenge the assumptions of what we often referred to as “the Washington playbook,” whether it was on Middle East

policy, our posture on Cuba, our unwillingness to engage adversaries diplomatically, the importance of restoring legal guardrails in the fight against terror, or the elevation of human rights, international development, and climate change from acts of altruism to central aspects of our national security. None of these younger staffers were firebrands, and they respected the institutional knowledge of those with deep foreign policy experience. But they made no apologies for wanting to break from some of the constraints of the past in pursuit of something better.

我的國家安全團隊年輕成員，包括大多數國家安全委員會(NSC)的工作人員，持有不同的想法。這些年輕人和他們的老板一樣愛國，在9/11恐怖事件和美國軍隊在阿布格萊布對伊拉克囚犯的虐待影像中深受煎熬。其中許多人支持我的競選，正是因為我願意挑戰“華盛頓紅皮書”所拘束的想法，無論是在中東政策、古巴問題上的立場，還是在外交上與對手接觸的問題上，以及在反恐中恢復法律限制、將人權、國際發展和氣候變化提升為我們國家安全的核心方面。這些年輕的工作人員中沒有一個是火藥桶，他們尊重那些具有深厚外交經驗的人的機構知識。但是，他們沒有為了追求更好的東西而對過去的某些束縛道歉。

At times, friction between the new and the old guard inside my foreign policy team would spill into the open. When it did, the media tended to attribute it to a youthful impertinence among my staff and a lack of basic understanding about how Washington worked. That wasn't the case. In fact, it was precisely because staffers like Denis did know how Washington worked—because they'd witnessed how the foreign policy bureaucracy could slow-walk, misinterpret, bury, badly execute, or otherwise resist new directions from a president—that they would often end up butting heads with the Pentagon, State Department, and CIA.

有时候，我团队内部新旧派之间的摩擦会公开化。当这种情况发生时，媒体通常会将其归因于我的团队年轻不懂事和不理解华盛顿如何运作。但事实并非如此。事实上，正是因为像丹尼斯这样的员工知道华盛顿的运作方式——因为他们曾经目睹过外交政策官僚体系如何阻碍、错误解读、掩盖、执行不佳或以其他方式反对总统的新指令——他们常常会与五角大楼、国务院和中央情报局产生冲突。

And in that sense, the tensions that emerged within our foreign policy team were a product of my own design, a way for me to work through the tensions in my own head. I imagined myself on the bridge of an aircraft carrier, certain that America needed to steer a new course but entirely dependent on a more seasoned and sometimes skeptical crew to execute that change, mindful that there were limits to what the vessel could do and that too sharp a turn could lead to disaster. With the stakes as high as they were, I was coming to realize that leadership, particularly in the national security arena, was about more than executing well-reasoned policy. Awareness of custom and ritual mattered. Symbols and protocol mattered. Body language mattered.

因此，外交政策团队内部出现的紧张情绪是我自己设计的产物，是我解决内心紧张情绪的一种方式。我想象自己站在一艘航空母舰的舰桥上，确信美国需要改变航向，但完全依赖于更有经验且有时持怀疑态度的船员来执行这种变革，同时也知道这艘船能做到的有限，并且太过急转弯可能会导致灾难。由于形势严峻，我开始认识到，领导力，特别是在国家安全领域，不仅仅关乎执行合理的政策。了解惯例和仪式的重要性。符号和礼仪的重要性。身体语言的重要性。

## I worked on my salute.

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**AT THE START of each day of my presidency, I would find a leather binder waiting for me at the breakfast table. Michelle called it “The Death, Destruction, and Horrible Things Book,” though officially it was known as the President's Daily Brief, or PDB. Top secret, usually about ten to fifteen pages in length, and prepared overnight by the CIA in concert with the other intelligence agencies, the PDB was intended to provide the president a summary of world events and intelligence analysis, particularly anything that was likely to affect America's national security. On a given day, I might read about terrorist cells in Somalia or unrest in Iraq or the fact that the Chinese or Russians were developing new weapons systems. Nearly always, there was mention of potential terrorist plots, no matter how vague, thinly sourced, or unactionable—a form of due diligence on the part of the intelligence community, meant to avoid the kind of second-guessing that had transpired after 9/11. Much of the time, what I read in the PDB required no immediate response. The goal was to have a continuously up-to-date sense of all that was roiling in the world, the large, small, and sometimes barely**

## perceptible shifts that threatened to upset whatever equilibrium we were trying to maintain.我努力地擺出敬禮的姿勢。

在我的總統任期每一天開始之際，我會在早餐桌上找到一本皮革筆記本。米歇爾稱之為“死亡，破壞和恐怖的事物書”，其正式名稱為總統每日簡報，或稱PDB。這份極機密、通常有十到十五頁篇幅，由CIA與其他情報機構在夜間準備，旨在為總統提供世界事件和情報分析的摘要，特別是任何可能對美國國家安全產生影響的內容。在某一天，我可能會讀到索馬里的恐怖組織，伊拉克的動盪，中國或俄羅斯開發新武器系統的事實等。幾乎總是提到潛在的恐怖主義陰謀，無論多麼模糊、來源稀少或無法採取行動，這是情報界盡職的一種形式，旨在避免9/11事件之後發生的第二次猜疑。大多數情況下，我在PDB中閱讀的內容不需要立即回應。目標是始終保持對世界上所有激變的了解，包括可能威脅到我們試圖維持的任何平衡的大、小和有時幾乎不可察覺的轉變。

After reading the PDB, I'd head down to the Oval for a live version of the briefing with members of the NSC and national intelligence staffs, where we'd go over any items considered urgent. The men running those briefings—Jim Jones and Denny Blair—were former four-star officers I'd first met while serving in the Senate (Jones had been Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, while Blair had recently retired from his role as navy admiral in charge of Pacific Command). They looked the part—tall and fit, with close-cropped graying hair and ramrod straight bearings—and although I had originally consulted with them on military matters, both prided themselves on having an expansive view of what constituted national security priorities. Jones, for example, cared deeply about Africa and the Middle East, and following his military retirement he had been involved in security efforts in the West Bank and Gaza. Blair had written extensively on the role of economic and cultural diplomacy in managing a rising China. As a result, the two of them would occasionally arrange for analysts and experts to attend morning PDB sessions and brief me on big-picture, long-term topics: the implications of economic growth in sustaining democratization in sub-Saharan Africa, say, or the possible effects of climate change on future regional conflicts.

閱讀完PDB後，我會前往橢圓形辦公室與國家安全委員會和國家情報人員進行現場簡報，並討論任何被視為緊急的事項。負責簡報的人—Jim Jones和Denny Blair—是我在參議院服務時首次遇到的前四星將領（Jones曾擔任歐洲最高盟軍司令，而Blair則最近卸下自己在太平洋指揮下的海軍上將角色）。他們看起來很有質感—身材高大健壯，短髮灰髮，站姿挺拔，雖然我最初跟他們諮詢軍事事務，但兩人都以擁有闊綽的國家安全優先事項觀點而自豪。例如，Jones非常關心非洲和中東地區，在退役後，他曾參與西岸和加薩地帶的安全工作。Blair曾廣泛地寫作關於經濟和文化外交在管理崛起中國方面的角色。因此，他們兩人偶爾會安排分析師和專家參加早上的PDB會議，並向我介紹有關大局、長期的話題：例如經濟增長對非撒哈拉地區民主化的維持所帶來的影響，或是氣候變化可能對未來區域衝突產生的影響。

More often, though, our morning discussions focused on current or potential mayhem: coups, nuclear weapons, violent protests, border conflicts, and, most of all, war.

The war in Afghanistan, soon to be the longest in American history.

The war in Iraq, where nearly 150,000 American troops were still deployed.

The war against al-Qaeda, which was actively recruiting converts, building a network of affiliates, and plotting attacks inspired by the ideology of Osama bin Laden.

The cumulative costs of what both the Bush administration and the media described as a single, comprehensive “war against terrorism” had been staggering: almost a trillion dollars spent, more than three thousand U.S. troops killed, as many as ten times that number wounded. The toll on Iraqi and Afghan civilians was even higher. The Iraq campaign in particular had divided the country and strained alliances. Meanwhile, the use of extraordinary renditions, black sites, waterboarding, indefinite detention without trial at Guantánamo, and expanded domestic surveillance in the broader fight against terrorism had led people inside and outside the United States to question our nation’s commitment to the rule of law.

然而，我們早上的討論更多地集中于當前或潛在的混亂：政變，核武器，暴力抗議，邊境衝突，尤其是戰爭。

阿富汗戰爭，即將成為美國歷史上長戰。

伊拉克戰爭，仍有近15萬名美軍部隊駐扎。

針對基地組織的戰爭，其正積極招募信徒，建立分支機構，並策劃受奧薩馬·本·拉登意識形態啟發的襲擊。

无论是在布什政府还是媒体中，所谓的单一、全面的“反恐战争”的累计成本都是惊人的：花费了近1万亿美元，超过3千名美军士兵牺牲，伤亡人数可能达到其数十倍。伊拉克和阿富汗平民的伤亡更是高得多。特别是伊拉克战争，分裂了该国，拉紧了联盟。同时，为了打击恐怖主义，特别是使用非常规的引渡、黑监狱、水刑、长期羁押但没有受到审判在关塔那摩的扩大国内监视，已经引起美国国内外的人们对我国对法治承诺的质疑。

I'd put forward what I considered to be clear positions on all these issues during the campaign. But that had been from the cheap seats, before I had hundreds of thousands of troops and a sprawling national security infrastructure under my command. Any terrorist attack would now happen on my watch. Any American lives lost or compromised, at home or abroad, would weigh uniquely on my conscience. These were my wars now.

My immediate goal was to review each aspect of our military strategy so that we could take a thoughtful approach to what came next. Thanks to the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) that President Bush and Prime Minister Maliki had signed about a month before my inauguration, the broad outlines of a U.S. withdrawal from Iraq had largely been settled. American combat forces needed to be out of Iraqi cities and villages by the end of June 2009, and all U.S. forces would leave the country by the end of 2011. The only question remaining was whether we could or should move faster than that. During the campaign, I had committed to withdrawing U.S. combat forces from Iraq within sixteen months of taking office, but after the election I had told Bob Gates that I'd be willing to show flexibility on the pace of withdrawal so long as we stayed within the SOFA parameters—an acknowledgment that ending a war was an imprecise business, that commanders who were knee-deep in the fighting deserved some deference when it came to tactical

decisions, and that new presidents couldn't simply tear up agreements reached by their predecessors.我在竞选期间已经提出了我认为在所有这些问题上的清晰立场。但那是在我还只是从廉价的位置上观察，没有成为统领数十万军队和一个庞大国家安全基础设施的总统。任何恐怖袭击现在都会在我的任期内发生。任何在国内或国外失去或受到威胁的美国人的生命都将独特地落在我的良心上。这些都是我的战争了。

我立即的目标是审查我们军事战略的各个方面，以便我们可以对接下来要发生的事情采取慎重的方法。由于布什总统和马利基总理在我就职前大约一个月签署的《部队地位协议》，美国从伊拉克撤军的广泛轮廓已经基本确定。美国战斗部队需要在2009年6月底之前撤离伊拉克城市和村庄，而所有美国军队将在2011年底之前离开该国。唯一的问题是我们是否能够或应该比这更快地行动。在竞选期间，我承诺在就职后16个月内从伊拉克撤出美国战斗部队，但在选举后，我告诉鲍勃·盖茨（Bob Gates），只要我们在《部队地位协议》的参数内保持灵活性，我愿意在撤军速度上展示灵活性——这是承认结束战争是一项不精确的业务，当涉及到战术决策时，陷入战斗的指挥官应该得到一些尊重，并且新总统不能简单地撕毁前任达成的协议。

In February, Gates and our newly installed commander in Iraq, General Ray Odierno, presented me with a plan that withdrew U.S. combat forces from the country in nineteen months—three months later than I had proposed during the campaign but four months sooner than what military commanders were asking for. The plan also called for maintaining a residual force of fifty to fifty-five thousand noncombat U.S. personnel, which would remain in the country till the end of 2011, to train and assist the Iraqi military. Some in the White House questioned the necessity of the extra three months and the large residual force, reminding me that both congressional Democrats and the American people strongly favored an accelerated exit, not a delay.

二月份，蓋茨和我們新上任的伊拉克指揮官雷·奧迪爾諾將一項計劃呈交給我們，該計劃將美國戰鬥部隊從伊拉克撤離，共耗時十九個月——比我在競選期間提出的計劃多三個月，但比軍事指揮官要求的要早四個月。該計劃還提出，保留五萬至五萬五千名非作戰美國人員作為殘留部隊，直到2011年底留在伊拉克，協助訓練伊拉克軍隊。白宮的有些人質疑多出的三個月和大量殘留部隊的必要性，提醒我，國會民主黨人和美國民眾都強烈支持加快撤軍，而不是延遲。

I approved Odierno's plan anyway, traveling to Camp Lejeune, in North Carolina, to announce the decision before several thousand cheering Marines. As firmly as I had opposed the original decision to invade, I believed America now had both a strategic and a humanitarian interest in Iraq's stability. With combat troops scheduled to leave Iraq's population centers in just five months per the SOFA, our service members' exposure to heavy fighting, snipers, and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) would be greatly diminished as we progressed with the rest of the drawdown. And given the fragility of Iraq's new government, the ragged state of its security forces, the still-active presence of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), and the sky-high levels of sectarian hostility sizzling inside the country, it made sense to use the presence of residual forces as a kind of insurance policy against a return to chaos. "Once we're out," I told Rahm, explaining my decision, "the last thing I want is for us to have to go back in."

我最终批准了奧迪爾諾的计划，前往北卡罗来纳州的勒津军营，在数千名欢呼雀跃的海军陆战队员面前宣布此决定。与我当初反对入侵的态度一样，我相信美国现在在伊拉克的稳定方面既有战略又有人道利益。根据“地位协议”，作战部队将在五个月内离开伊拉克的人口中心，我们的军人将不再像之前那样暴露于激烈的战斗、狙击手和简易爆炸装置(IED)之下，这将使得我们和其他部队的撤军进程大大加快。鉴于伊拉克新政府的脆弱性、安全力量的状况、基地组织在伊拉克的仍然活跃、以及在国内蔓延的高度的宗派敌意，利用残留部队存在一种强有力的保险策略，以防止激变的重新发生。我向拉姆解释了我的决定：“一旦我们退出，我最不想看到的是我们必须再次重返伊拉克。”

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IF ARRIVING AT a plan for Iraq was relatively straightforward, finding our way out of Afghanistan was anything but.

Unlike the war in Iraq, the Afghan campaign had always seemed to me a war of necessity. Though the Taliban's ambitions were confined to Afghanistan, their leadership remained loosely allied to al-Qaeda, and their return to power could result in the country once again serving as a launching pad for terrorist attacks against the United States and its allies. Moreover, Pakistan had shown neither the capacity nor the will to dislodge al-Qaeda's leadership from its current sanctuary in a remote, mountainous, and barely governed region straddling the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. This meant that our ability to pin down and ultimately destroy the terrorist network depended on the Afghan government's willingness to let U.S. military and intelligence teams operate in its territory.

如果說對伊拉克制定計劃相對簡單，那麼從阿富汗撤軍則完全不是這樣。

與伊拉克戰爭不同，阿富汗戰爭一直被我認為是一場必要的戰爭。塔利班的野心僅限於阿富汗，但他們的領導人仍然鬆散地與基地組織聯盟，他們重新回到權力中心可能會使這個國家再次成為恐怖襲擊發動基地。

此外，巴基斯坦既沒有能力也沒有意願從阿富汗-巴基斯坦邊界地區一個偏遠，多山，幾乎無法管理的地區驅逐基地組織的領導。這意味著我們針對和最終摧毀恐怖分子網絡的能力依賴於阿富汗政府願意讓美國軍隊和情報團隊在其領土上操作的程度。

Unfortunately the six-year diversion of U.S. attention and resources to Iraq had left the situation in Afghanistan more perilous. Despite the fact that we had more than thirty thousand U.S. troops on the ground and an almost equal number of international coalition troops there, the Taliban controlled large swaths of the country, particularly in the regions along the border with Pakistan. In places where U.S. or coalition forces weren't present, Taliban fighters overwhelmed a far larger but badly trained Afghan army. Meanwhile, mismanagement and rampant corruption inside the police force, district governorships, and key ministries had eroded the legitimacy of Hamid Karzai's government and siphoned off foreign aid dollars desperately needed to improve living conditions for one of the world's poorest populations.

不幸的是，美國將近六年的注意力和資源集中在伊拉克，使阿富汗的局勢更加危險。儘管我們擁有三萬多名美國軍隊和幾乎同樣數量的國際聯盟軍隊，但塔利班仍控制了該國大片土地，特別是沿巴基斯坦邊境的地區。在美國或聯盟軍隊不存在的地方，塔利班戰士壓倒性地擊敗了一支訓練不足的阿富汗軍隊。與

此同時，警察局、區長官職位和關鍵部門的管理不善和猖獗的腐敗破壞了哈米德·卡爾扎伊政府的合法性，並分流了急需改善全球最貧困人口生活條件的外援資金。

The lack of a coherent U.S. strategy didn't help matters. Depending on who you talked to, our mission in Afghanistan was either narrow (wiping out al-Qaeda) or broad (transforming the country into a modern, democratic state that would be aligned with the West). Our Marines and soldiers repeatedly cleared the Taliban from an area only to see their efforts squandered for lack of even halfway-capable local governance. Whether because of overambition, corruption, or lack of Afghan buy-in, U.S.-sponsored development programs often failed to deliver as promised, while the issuance of massive U.S. contracts to some of Kabul's shadiest business operators undermined the very anti-corruption efforts designed to win over the Afghan people.

美國缺乏一致的戰略並沒有幫上忙。根據你談話對象的不同，我們在阿富汗的使命要麼是狹義的（清除基地組織），要麼是廣義的（將該國變成一個現代化的民主國家，與西方聯盟）。我們的海軍陸戰隊和士兵們多次從一個地區清除塔利班，卻由於當地政府的能力並不足，他們的努力顯得十分徒勞。無論是由於過度野心、腐敗還是阿富汗人缺乏參與感，美國贊助的發展項目經常無法如宣傳的那樣成功，同時將大量的美國合同發給一些喀布爾最陰暗的商人，從而破壞了旨在贏得阿富汗人民心的反腐行動。

In light of all this, I told Gates that my first priority was to make sure our agencies, both civilian and military, were aligned around a clearly defined mission and a coordinated strategy. He didn't disagree. As a CIA deputy director in the 1980s, Gates had helped oversee the arming of the Afghan mujahideen in their fight against the Soviet occupation of their country. The experience of watching that loosely organized insurgency bleed the mighty Red Army into retreat—only to have elements of that same insurgency later evolve into al-Qaeda—had made Gates mindful of the unintended consequences that could result from rash actions. Unless we established limited and realistic objectives, he told me, "we'll set ourselves up for failure."

鑑於這一切，我告訴蓋茨，我的首要任務是確保我們的機構，包括文職和軍事部門，圍繞著明確的使命和協調一致的戰略進行對齊。他並未反對。作為1980年代的CIA副局長，蓋茨曾協助監督阿富汗民兵反抗蘇聯占領的行動。觀察到那場松散組織的叛亂使強大的紅軍損失慘重，只為日後那場叛亂的部分成員逐漸演變成為基地組織，這個經驗使蓋茨更加注意到草率行動所可能帶來的意外後果。他告訴我，除非我們確立有限且現實的目標，“否則，我們會為自己設下失敗的陷阱。”

The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, also saw the need for a revamped Afghan strategy. But there was a catch: He and our military commanders first wanted me to authorize the immediate deployment of an additional thirty thousand U.S. troops.

In fairness to Mullen, the request, which had come from the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) commander in Afghanistan, General Dave McKiernan, had been pending for several months. During the transition, President Bush had put out feelers to see if we wanted him to order the deployment before I took office, but we'd indicated that our preference was to hold off until the incoming team had fully assessed the situation.

According to Mullen, McKiernan's request could no longer wait.參謀長聯席會議主席麥克門恩上將（Mike Mullen）也認為需要重新制定阿富汗戰略。但是有一個問題：他和我們的軍事指揮官首先要求我授權立即部署額外三萬名美國士兵。

公平地說，這個要求來自阿富汗國際安全支援部隊（ISAF）指揮官麥基爾南將軍，已經待了幾個月。在交接期間，布什總統已經探聽我們是否希望在我就職之前下令部署，但我們表示希望等到新任團隊全面評估情況。根據Mullen的說法，麥基爾南的要求不能再等待了。

At our first full NSC meeting, held in the White House Situation Room (often referred to as "the Sit Room") just two days after my inauguration, Mullen had explained that the Taliban were likely to mount a summer offensive and we'd want additional brigades on the ground in time to try to blunt it. He reported that McKiernan was also worried about providing adequate security for the presidential election, which was originally scheduled for May but would be postponed until August. If we wanted to get troops there in time to achieve those missions, Mullen told me, we needed to put things in motion immediately.

在我就任總統兩天後的第一次全體國家安全會議上，會議在白宮“Sit Room”（常被称为“Sit Room”）舉行。馬倫向我們解釋，塔利班可能會發起夏季攻勢，我們需要在時間上增加部隊以試圖抑制。他報告說，麥基爾南也擔心要為總統選舉提供足夠的安全保障。選舉最初計劃在五月舉行，但將推遲到八月。如果我們想要在時間上讓部隊實現這些任務，馬倫告訴我，我們需要立即開始行動。

Thanks to the movies, I'd always imagined the Sit Room as a cavernous, futuristic space, ringed by ceiling-high screens full of high-resolution satellite and radar images and teeming with smartly dressed personnel manning banks of state-of-the-art gizmos and gadgets. The reality was less dazzling: just a small, nondescript conference room, part of a warren of other small rooms wedged into a corner of the West Wing's first floor. Its windows were sealed off with plain wooden shutters; its walls were bare except for digital clocks showing the time in various world capitals and a few flat-screens not much bigger than those found in a neighborhood sports bar. Quarters were close. The principal council members sat around a long conference table, with various deputies and staff crammed into chairs lining the sides of the room.由於電影的影響，我一直想像Sit Room是一個巨大、未來感十足的空間，由天花板高的屏幕環繞，滿載高解析度的衛星和雷達影像，並有著穿著得體的人員操作最先進的儀器和設備。現實卻不那麼璀璨：只不過是一個小小而普通的會議室，是西翼一樓角落裏一系列小房間之一。它的窗戶被簡單的木質百葉窗封閉，牆壁上除了顯示各國首都時間的數字時鐘和幾個不比附近運動酒吧的小型平板電視之外，沒有任何裝飾。空間緊湊。主要的委員會成員坐在一個長長的會議桌周圍，各部門和員工擠在房間的兩邊。

"Just so I understand," I said to Mullen, trying not to sound too skeptical, "after almost five years where we managed with twenty thousand or fewer U.S. troops, and after adding another ten thousand over the past twenty months or so, it's the Pentagon's assessment that we can't wait another two months before deciding to double our troop commitment?" I pointed out that I wasn't averse to sending more troops—during the campaign, I had pledged an additional two brigades for Afghanistan once the Iraq withdrawal was under way. But given that everyone in the room had just agreed that we should

bring in a well-regarded former CIA analyst and Middle East expert named Bruce Riedel to lead a sixty-day review meant to shape our Afghan strategy going forward, sending another thirty thousand U.S. troops to Afghanistan before the review was complete felt like a case of putting the cart before the horse. I asked Mullen whether a smaller deployment could serve as a sufficient bridge.“只是我想明白，”我对慕伦说，试图不要听起来太怀疑，“在近五年的时间里，我们管理了两万名或更少的美国部队，过去二十个月左右又增加了一万名，五角大楼的评估是在我们决定增加军队之前不能再等两个月？”我指出，我不反对派遣更多的部队-在竞选期间，我曾承诺一旦伊拉克撤军开始，将为阿富汗增加两个旅。但考虑到房间里的每个人刚刚都同意我们应该引进一位备受尊敬的前中央情报局分析师和中东专家布鲁斯·里德尔（Bruce Riedel）来领导一项为期六十天的审查，以制定我们未来的阿富汗战略，未经审查就将另外三万名美国部队派往阿富汗，感觉就像是把车放在马前面。我问慕伦是否较小的部署可以作为足够的桥梁。

He told me that ultimately it was my decision, adding pointedly that any reduction in the number or further delay would substantially increase risk. I let others chime in. David Petraeus, who was coming off his success in Iraq and had been elevated to the head of Central Command (which oversaw all military missions in the Middle East and Central Asia, including Iraq and Afghanistan), urged me to approve McKiernan's request. So did Hillary and Panetta, which didn't surprise me: As effective as the two of them would turn out to be in managing their agencies, their hawkish instincts and political backgrounds left them perpetually wary of opposing any recommendation that came from the Pentagon. In private, Gates had expressed to me that he felt some ambivalence about such a significant increase to our Afghan footprint. But given his institutional role, I didn't expect him to directly countermand a recommendation from the chiefs.

他告诉我最终决定是我自己的，特别指出缩减或进一步延迟将大幅增加风险。我让其他人参与讨论。戴维·彼得雷乌斯，刚从伊拉克成功归来，被提升为中央司令部的负责人（监督中东和中亚地区的所有军事任务，包括伊拉克和阿富汗），敦促我批准麦基尔南的请求。希拉里和帕内塔也是这样，这并不让我惊讶：尽管他们在管理机构方面非常有效，但鹰派的本性和政治背景使他们永远不敢反对来自五角大楼的任何建议。在私下里，盖茨对这样一个对我们阿富汗影响如此重大的增援表示了一些矛盾心情。但考虑到他的机构角色，我没有期望他直接违抗军队领导的建议。

Among the principals, only Joe Biden voiced his misgivings. He had traveled to Kabul on my behalf during the transition, and what he saw and heard on the trip—particularly during a contentious meeting with Karzai—had convinced him that we needed to rethink our entire approach to Afghanistan. I knew Joe also still felt burned by having supported the Iraq invasion years earlier. Whatever the mix of reasons, he saw Afghanistan as a dangerous quagmire and urged me to delay a deployment, suggesting it would be easier to put troops in once we had a clear strategy as opposed to trying to pull troops out after we'd made a mess with a bad one.

在这些领导人中，只有乔·拜登表达了他的疑虑。他曾代表我前往喀布尔进行过过渡期间的访问，他在这次访问中所看到和听到的特别是在与卡尔扎伊的争论会议期间，使他相信我们需要重新思考我们对阿富汗的整体战略。我知道乔还因为多年前支持入侵伊拉克而感到痛心。不管原因混合成分如何，他认为阿富汗是一个危险的泥潭，并敦促我推迟部署，建议在我们有清晰的战略之后再派遣军队，这比在采用糟糕的战略造成混乱之后撤军要容易得多。

Rather than deciding on the spot, I assigned Tom Donilon to convene the NSC deputies over the course of the following week to determine more precisely how additional troops would be used and whether deploying them by summer was even possible logistically. We'd revisit the issue, I said, once we had the answer. With the meeting adjourned, I headed out the door and was on my way up the stairs to the Oval when Joe caught up to me and gripped my arm.

“Listen to me, boss,” he said. “Maybe I've been around this town for too long, but one thing I know is when these generals are trying to box in a new president.” He brought his face a few inches from mine and stage-whispered, “Don't let them jam you.”

我并未即时决定，而是指定汤姆·多尼伦在随后的一周内召集国家安全会议代表，以更准确地确定如何使用额外的军队，以及在物流上是否可能在夏季部署它们。我说，一旦我们得到答案，就会重新审查这个问题。会议结束后，我走出门，正要上楼梯走向椭圆形办公室，乔赶上我，抓住了我的胳膊。

“听我说，老板，”他说。“也许我在这个城镇呆得太久了，但我知道的一件事是，当这些将军们试图限制新总统时。”他把脸贴在我的几英寸远，小声说，“不要让他们困住你。”

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IN LATER ACCOUNTS of our Afghanistan deliberations, Gates and others would peg Biden as one of the ringleaders who poisoned relations between the White House and the Pentagon. The truth was that I considered Joe to be doing me a service by asking tough questions about the military's plans. Having at least one contrarian in the room made us all think harder about the issues—and I noticed that everyone was a bit freer with their opinions when that contrarian wasn't me.

I never questioned Mullen's motives, or those of the other chiefs and combatant commanders who made up the military's leadership. I found Mullen—a Los Angeles native whose parents had worked in the entertainment business—to be consistently affable, prepared, responsive, and professional. His vice chairman, Marine four-star general James “Hoss” Cartwright, had the sort of self-effacing, pensive manner you wouldn't associate with a former fighter pilot, but when he did speak up, he was full of detailed insights and creative solutions across a whole set of national security problems. Despite differences in temperament, both Mullen and Cartwright shared attributes I found common among the top brass: white men (the military had just one woman and one Black four-star general when I took office) in their late fifties or early sixties who had spent decades working their way up the ranks, amassing stellar service records and, in many cases, advanced academic degrees. Their views of the world were informed and sophisticated, and contrary to the stereotypes, they understood all too well the limits of military action, because of and not despite the fact that they had commanded troops under fire. In fact, during my eight years as president, it was often the generals, rather than civilians, who counseled restraint when it came to the use of force.

在我们讨论阿富汗问题的后续账户中，盖茨和其他人总是将拜登视为毒害白宫和五角大楼关系的头目之一。事实上，我认为拜登在质疑军方计划方面为我提供了服务。有至少一个反对者在房间里让我们更深入地思考问题，当那个反对者不是我时，我注意到每个人都更加自由地表达了自己的意见。

我从未质疑马伦及其他军队领导人的动机。我发现马伦 - 洛杉矶本地的父母在娱乐业工作过 - 总是温和、准备充分、反应迅速、专业。他的副主席，海军四星将军詹姆斯“霍斯”卡特赖特，有着一种谦逊、深思熟虑的性格，你不会把它与一名前战斗机飞行员联系起来，但当他表达意见时，他会给出详细的见解和创造性的解决方案，涵盖了整个国家安全问题。尽管性情不同，马伦和卡特赖特都有我在最高层看到的共同特点：白人男性（当我上任时，军队只有一名女将军和一名黑人四星将军），他们在五十多岁或六十多岁时已经在军队中工作了几十年，积累了卓越的服务记录，而且在很多情况下，他们获得了高级学位。他们对世界的看法是有深度、有见解的，与成见相反，他们非常了解军事行动的局限性，因为他们亲自指挥部队在战火中。事实上，在我担任总统的八年中，经常是将军们而不是文官们，在使用武力方面提出节制的建议。

Still, men like Mullen were creatures of the system to which they'd devoted their entire adult lives—a U.S. military that prided itself on accomplishing a mission once started, without regard to cost, duration, or whether the mission was the right one to begin with. In Iraq, that had meant an escalating need for more of everything: more troops, more bases, more private contractors, more aircraft, and more intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR). More had not produced victory, but it had at least avoided humiliating defeat and had salvaged the country from total collapse. Now, with Afghanistan looking like it, too, was sliding into a sinkhole, it was perhaps natural that the military leadership wanted more there as well. And because until recently they'd been working with a president who had rarely questioned their plans or denied their requests, it was probably inevitable that the debate over “how much more” would become a recurring source of strife between the Pentagon and my White House.

然而，像穆伦这样的人，是系统的产物，他们把整个成年期都奉献给了一个以完成使命为傲的美国军队，不顾代价、时长或是否应该开始这项任务。在伊拉克，这意味着需要更多一切：更多的部队、更多的基地、更多的私人承包商、更多的飞机，以及更多的情报、监视和侦察。更多并没有带来胜利，但至少避免了耻辱的失败，并挽救了国家免于彻底的崩溃。现在，阿富汗看起来也陷入了泥潭，军方领导人希望在那里增加资源也是很自然的。由于直到最近他们一直与一个几乎没有质疑他们计划或拒绝他们请求的总统合作，因此“多少”之争可能不可避免地成为五角大楼和我的白宫之间的反复冲突的源泉。

In mid-February, Donilon reported that the deputies had scrubbed General McKiernan's request and concluded that no more than seventeen thousand troops, along with four thousand military trainers, could be deployed in time to have a meaningful impact on the summer fighting season or Afghan election security. Although we were still a month away from completing our formal review, all the principals except Biden recommended that we deploy that number of troops immediately. I gave the order on February 17, the same day I signed the Recovery Act, having determined that even the most conservative strategy we might come up with would need the additional manpower, and knowing that we still had ten thousand troops in reserve if circumstances required their deployment as well.

二月中旬，唐尼隆报告称，副手们已经审查了麦基尔南将军的请求，并得出结论，除了四千名军事训练师外，最多只能部署一万七千名部队，以在夏季战斗季或阿富汗选举安全方面产生意义深远的影响。虽然我们距离完成正式审查还有一个月，但除了拜登外，所有负责人都建议我们立即部署这些部队。我于2月17日下令，就在同一天我签署了恢复法案，我确定即使我们提出最保守的策略，也需要额外的人力，而且我们仍有一万名预备役士兵，如果情况需要，也可以派遣他们。

A month later, Riedel and his team completed their report. Their assessment offered no surprises, but it did help articulate our principal goal: “to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan and to prevent their return to either country in the future.” The report's added emphasis on Pakistan was key: Not only did the Pakistan military (and in particular its intelligence arm, ISI) tolerate the presence of Taliban headquarters and leadership in Quetta, near the Pakistani border, but it was also quietly assisting the Taliban as a means of keeping the Afghan government weak and hedging against Kabul's potential alignment with Pakistan's archrival, India. That the U.S. government had long tolerated such behavior from a purported ally—supporting it with billions of dollars in military and economic aid despite its complicity with violent extremists and its record as a significant and irresponsible proliferator of nuclear weapons technology in the world—said something about the pretzel-like logic of U.S. foreign policy. In the short term, at least, a complete cutoff of military aid to Pakistan wasn't an option, since not only did we rely on overland routes through Pakistan to supply our Afghan operations but the Pakistani government also tacitly facilitated our counterterrorism efforts against al-Qaeda camps within its territory. The Riedel report, though, made one thing clear: Unless Pakistan stopped sheltering the Taliban, our efforts at long-term stability in Afghanistan were bound to fail.

一個月後，里德爾和他的團隊完成了報告。他們的評估沒有什麼驚喜，但確定了我們的主要目標：“瓦解、解散、打敗阿爾蓋達在巴基斯坦和阿富汗的勢力，以及預防他們將來重返這兩個國家。”報告對巴基斯坦的強調是關鍵的：巴基斯坦軍方（尤其是其情報部門 ISI）不僅容忍了塔利班總部和領導在靠近巴基斯坦邊界的奎達，而且還暗中協助塔利班，作為保持阿富汗政府薄弱和防範卡布爾可能與巴基斯坦的宿敵印度聯合的手段。美國政府長期容忍聲稱是盟友的這種行為，並以數十億美元的軍事和經濟援助來支持，儘管其與暴力極端分子的串通行為以及在全球作為核武器技術的重要和不負責任的擴散者的記錄。至少在短期內，完全切斷對巴基斯坦的軍事援助不是一個選項，因為我們不僅依賴通過巴基斯坦的陸路補給我們在阿富汗的行動，而且巴基斯坦政府默認地促進我們打擊其境內的阿爾蓋達營地的反恐行動。然而，里德爾報告表明了一件事：除非巴基斯坦停止庇護塔利班，否則我們在阿富汗實現長期穩定的努力注定是失敗的。

The rest of the report's recommendations centered on building capacity. We needed to drastically improve the Karzai government's ability to govern and provide basic services. We needed to train up the Afghan army and police force so that they would be competent and large enough to maintain security within the country's borders without help from U.S. forces. Exactly how we were going to do all that remained vague. What was clear, though, was that the U.S. commitment the Riedel report was calling for went well beyond a bare-bones counterterrorism strategy and toward a form of nation-building that probably would have made sense—had we started seven years earlier, the moment we drove the Taliban out of Kabul.

该报告的其余建议重点是建立能力。我们需要大力提高卡尔扎伊政府治理和提供基本服务的能力。我们需要训练阿富汗军队和警察部队，使他们足够有能力  
和规模，能够在无需美军援助的情况下维护国境内的安全。我们将如何做到这一点仍不明确。但明确的是，赖德尔报告所呼吁的美国承诺远远超出了一种极  
简单的反恐战略，朝着一种可能合理的国家建设方向发展——如果我们在七年前驱逐塔利班离开喀布尔的时刻开始实施的话。

Of course, that's not what we had done. Instead, we had invaded Iraq, broken that country, helped spawn an even more virulent branch of al-Qaeda, and  
been forced to improvise a costly counterinsurgency campaign there. As far as Afghanistan was concerned, those years were lost. Due to the continuing,  
often valiant efforts of our troops, diplomats, and aid workers on the ground, it was an exaggeration to say that we'd have to start from scratch in  
Afghanistan. But it nonetheless dawned on me that even in the best-case scenario—even if Karzai cooperated, Pakistan behaved, and our goals were  
limited to what Gates liked to call “Afghan good enough”—we were still looking at three to five years of intense effort, costing hundreds of billions more  
dollars and more American lives.

當然，我們沒有做那樣的事情。相反，我們入侵了伊拉克，摧毀了那個國家，幫助培育了更具毒性的基地組織分支，被迫在那裡實行昂貴的對叛亂戰爭。就  
阿富汗而言，這些年來已經失去了。由於我們地面上的部隊、外交官和援助工作者的持續而英勇的努力，誇大地說我們必須從頭開始在阿富汗。但是，我意  
識到，即使是在最好的情況下，即使卡爾扎伊合作，巴基斯坦表現良好，而我們的目標僅限於蓋茨所謂的“足夠好的阿富汗”，我們仍然需要三到五年的緊張  
努力，需要花費數百億美元和更多美國人的生命。

I didn't like the deal. But in what was becoming a pattern, the alternatives were worse. The stakes involved—the risks of a possible collapse of the  
Afghan government or the Taliban gaining footholds in major cities—were simply too high for us not to act. On March 27, just four weeks after  
announcing the Iraqi withdrawal plan, I appeared on television with my national security team behind me and laid out our “Af-Pak” strategy based largely  
on the Riedel recommendations. I knew how the announcement would land. A number of commentators would quickly seize on the irony that having run  
for the presidency as an antiwar candidate, I had so far sent more troops into combat than I had brought home.

我不喜欢这个协议。但是像往常一样，其他选择更糟。牵扯到的赌注——阿富汗政府可能崩溃的风险或塔利班在主要城市获得立足点——对我们来说太高了，  
我们不得不采取行动。3月27日，就在宣布伊拉克撤军计划仅仅四周之后，我与我的国家安全团队一起出现在电视上，制定了我们基本上基于里德爾建  
议的“阿富汗巴基斯坦”战略。我知道这个宣布会引起什么反应。一些评论家会很快抓住这种讽刺意味，即作为一名反战候选人竞选总统，我至今已经派出了  
比我带回国内的军队更多的士兵。

Along with the troop increase, there was one other change in our Afghan posture that Gates asked me to make, one that frankly took me by surprise: In  
April, during one of our Oval Office meetings, he recommended that we replace our existing commander in Afghanistan, General McKiernan, with  
Lieutenant General Stanley McChrystal, the former commander of Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) and current director of the Joint Chiefs.  
“Dave's a fine soldier,” Gates said, acknowledging that McKiernan had done nothing wrong and that changing a commanding general in the middle of a  
war was a highly unusual step. “But he's a manager. In an environment this challenging, we need someone with different skills. I couldn't sleep at night,  
Mr. President, if I didn't make sure our troops had the best possible commander leading them. And I'm convinced Stan McChrystal's that person.”

除了增加部队外，還有一個阿富汗戰爭方針的改變，蓋茨讓我去實行，這個改變說實話讓我感到驚訝：四月份，在橢圓形辦公室的例會期間，他建議用軍階  
較高的史丹利·麥克里斯托將現任阿富汗指揮官麥基爾南撤換下來，前者曾任聯合特種作戰司令部（JSOC）指揮官，現在是聯合參謀會議的主任。

“戴夫是位優秀的軍人，”蓋茨講到這裡，承認麥基爾南沒有犯錯誤，而在戰爭進行期間更換指揮將會是一個非常不尋常的舉動。“但他是位管理者。在這樣一  
個挑戰性的環境中，我們需要具有不同技能的人。如果我沒有確保我們的士兵有最好的指揮官領導，我晚上是無法安心入睡的。而我相信史丹·麥克里斯托是  
那個人。”

It was easy to see why Gates thought so highly of McChrystal. Within the U.S. military, members of Special Ops were considered a breed apart, an elite  
warrior class that carried out the most difficult missions under the most dangerous circumstances—the guys in the movies rappelling from helicopters  
into enemy territory or making amphibious landings under cover of darkness. And within that exalted circle, no one was more admired or elicited more  
loyalty than McChrystal. A West Point graduate, he'd consistently excelled over the course of a thirty-three-year career. As JSOC commander, he'd help  
transform Special Ops into a central element in America's defense strategy, personally overseeing dozens of counterterrorism operations that had  
dismantled much of AQI and killed its founder, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Rumor had it that at fifty-four, he still trained with Rangers half his age, and from  
the looks of him when he stopped by the Oval with Gates for a courtesy visit, I believed it—the man was all muscle, sinew, and bone, with a long, angular  
face and a piercing, avian gaze. In fact, McChrystal's whole manner was that of someone who's burned away frivolity and distractions from his life. With  
me, at least, that included small talk: During our conversation, it was mostly “Yes, sir” and “No, sir” and “I'm confident we can get the job done.”

很容易就能理解蓋茨對麥克里斯托的高度評價。在美國軍隊中，特種部隊成員被視為異類，是執行最困難任務、處於最危險情況下的精英戰士階級——就像  
電影中用繩索從直升機下降進入敵方領土或在黑暗中進行兩栖登陸的壯觀場面。而在這個崇高圈子中，沒有比麥克里斯托更受尊敬或引起更多忠誠的人了。  
他是西點軍校畢業生，整個33年的職業生涯一直表現出色。作為JSOC指揮官，他幫助把特種部隊轉變為美國國防戰略的核心要素，親自監督了數十次打擊  
恐怖主義的行動，瓦解了大量基地組織的力量，殺死了其創始人阿布·穆薩布·扎卡維。謠傳他現年54歲，仍與半他年紀的突擊隊員一起訓練，從蓋茨和他一起  
到橢圓形辦公室進行禮貌拜訪時，我相信這一點——這個人全是肌肉、韌帶和骨頭，長著一張尖銳的鳥類目光。實際上，麥克里斯托的整個態度都像是從  
他的生活中燃燒掉了浮華和分心之後。至少對我來說，這也包括閑聊：在我們的交談中，大部分都是“是，長官”、“不，長官”和“我相信我們能完成任務”。

I was sold. The change, when announced, was well received, with commentators drawing parallels between McChrystal and David Petraeus—battlefield  
innovators who could turn a war around. Senate confirmation was swift, and in mid-June, as McChrystal (now a four-star general) prepared to assume

command of coalition forces in Afghanistan, Gates asked him to provide us with a fresh, top-to-bottom assessment of conditions there within sixty days, along with recommendations for any changes in strategy, organization, or resourcing of coalition efforts.

我被出售了。当宣布更换时，评论家们对此反应良好，他们把麦克里斯托尔和大卫·彼得雷乌斯之间的相似之处画成了平行线——这两位战场创新者都能扭转一场战争。参议院确认迅速，而在6月中旬，随着麦克里斯托尔（现为四星上将）准备接管阿富汗联军指挥时，盖茨要求他在60天内提供新鲜的、从上到下的阿富汗局势评估，以及有关联军努力的战略、组织或资源变化的建议。

Little did I know what this seemingly routine request would bring.

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ONE AFTERNOON a couple of months after the Af-Pak announcement, I walked alone across the South Lawn—trailed by a military aide carrying the football and my veterans affairs staffer, Matt Flavin—to board the Marine One helicopter and make the brief flight to Maryland for the first of what would be regular visits to Bethesda Naval Hospital and Walter Reed Army Medical Center. On arrival, I was greeted by commanders of the facility, who gave me a quick overview of the number and condition of wounded warriors on-site before leading me through a maze of stairs, elevators, and corridors to the main patients' ward.我从未想到这个看似例行的请求会给我带来什么后果。

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在阿富汗和巴基斯坦政策公布几个月后的一个下午，我独自穿过南草坪，身后是一个携带足球和我的退伍军人事务职员Matt Flavin的军事助手，准备搭乘第一架海军陆战队一号直升机，前往马里兰州短暂飞行，这将是在贝塞斯达海军医院和沃尔特·里德陆军医疗中心下定期常去看望的。抵达后，我被设施的指挥官们所接待，他们向我简要介绍了医院内的伤员数量和状况，然后带领我穿过一系列楼梯、电梯和走廊，来到主要患者病房。

For the next hour, I proceeded from room to room, sanitizing my hands and donning scrubs and surgical gloves where necessary, stopping in the hallway to get some background on the recovering service member from hospital staffers before knocking softly on the door.

Though patients at the hospitals came from every branch of the military, many who were there during my first few years in office were members of the U.S. Army and Marine Corps that patrolled the insurgent-dominated areas of Iraq and Afghanistan and had been injured by gunfire or IEDs. Almost all were male and working-class: whites from small rural towns or fading manufacturing hubs, Blacks and Hispanics from cities like Houston or Trenton, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders from California. Usually they had family members sitting with them—mostly parents, grandparents, and siblings, though if the service member was older, there would be a wife and kids too—toddlers squirming in laps, five-year-olds with toy cars, teenagers playing video games. As soon as I entered the room, everyone would shift around, smiling shyly, appearing not quite sure what to do. For me, this was one of the vagaries of the job, the fact that my presence reliably caused a disruption and a bout of nervousness among those I was meeting. I tried always to lighten the mood, doing what I could to put people at ease.在接下来的一小时里，我一间一间地走过去，消毒我的手，穿上必要的手术服和手套，在走到门前轻轻敲门之前，在走廊上向医护人员了解康复服务成员的背景情况。

虽然医院的病人来自军队的各个分支，但是我就任首位女性美国第一夫人的最初几年里，许多人都是美国陆军和海军陆战队的成员，他们巡逻着伊拉克和阿富汗的叛军盘踞区，并被枪击或IED炸弹所伤。几乎所有人都是男性和工人阶级：来自小型农村镇或正在衰落的制造业中心的白人，来自休斯顿或特伦顿等城市的黑人和西班牙裔，来自加利福尼亚的亚裔和太平洋岛民。通常他们身边都有家人陪伴着——大多是父母、祖父母和兄弟姐妹，但如果服务成员较年长，则会有妻子和孩子——蹒跚学步的孩子在大腿上扭动，五岁的孩子玩玩具车，青少年玩电子游戏。我一进门，每个人都会转身，羞涩地微笑着，似乎不太确定该做什么。对我来说，这是工作的一些变数，我的存在总是能导致他们的不适和紧张。我总是尽力缓和气氛，尽我所能让人们感到放松。

Unless fully incapacitated, the service members would usually raise their bed upright, sometimes pulling themselves to a seated position by reaching for the sturdy metal handle on the bedpost. Several insisted on hopping out of bed, often balancing on their good leg to salute and shake my hand. I'd ask them about their hometown and how long they'd been in the service. I'd ask them how they got their injury and how soon they might be starting rehab or be getting fitted for a prosthetic. We often talked sports, and some would ask me to sign a unit flag hung on the wall, and I'd give each service member a commemorative challenge coin. Then we'd all position ourselves around the bed as Pete Souza took pictures with his camera and with their phones, and Matt would give out business cards so they could call him personally at the White House if they needed anything at all.

除非完全失能，服役人员通常会将床竖起来，有时候通过抓住床柱上坚固的金属手柄让自己坐起来。有几个人坚持要跳下床，往往站在好腿上敬礼，握我的手。我会问他们的家乡和服役时间，会问他们如何受伤，以及他们何时开始康复或配戴义肢。我们经常聊体育，有些人会请我在挂在墙上的团旗上签名，我会给每个服役人员一枚纪念品挑战硬币。然后我们都会围在床边，彼得·索萨用他的相机和他们的手机拍照，马特会分发名片，如果他们需要任何帮助，可以直接拨打他在白宫的个人号码。

How those men inspired me! Their courage and determination, their insistence that they'd be back at it in no time, their general lack of fuss. It made so much of what passes for patriotism—the gaudy rituals at football games, the desultory flag waving at parades, the blather of politicians—seem empty and trite. The patients I met had nothing but praise for the hospital teams responsible for their treatment—the doctors, nurses, and orderlies, most of them service members themselves but some of them civilians, a surprising number of them foreign-born, originally from places like Nigeria, El Salvador, or the Philippines. Indeed, it was heartening to see how well these wounded warriors were cared for, beginning with the seamless, fast-moving chain that allowed a Marine injured in a dusty Afghan village to be medevaced to the closest base, stabilized, then transported to Germany and onward to Bethesda or Walter Reed for state-of-the-art surgery, all in a matter of days.

那些男人给了我巨大的启示！他们的勇气和决心，他们坚信自己很快就能回到战场的姿态，还有他们对大事已成小事的态度。这使得许多人所谓的爱国主义——例如在足球比赛中的华丽仪式、游行中毫无生气的挥舞国旗，或者政治家们的空话——都显得空洞而司空见惯。我遇到的病人对医疗团队负责他们的治

疗（其中大多数是服役成员，但也有一些是平民，令人惊讶的是，有很多是来自诸如尼日利亚、萨尔瓦多或菲律宾等地的外国人）也只有赞美之词。事实上，看到这些受伤的勇士如何得到妥善的治疗，是令人振奋的。从无缝、高效的医疗救援链条开始，一个在阿富汗一个尘土飞扬的村庄中受伤的海军陆战队员能够得到医疗救援，及时得到稳定的治疗，随后转运到德国进行手术，最后被送往白宫贝瑞斯达或沃尔特里德进行先进的手术，这一切只需要数天时间。

Because of that system—a melding of advanced technology, logistical precision, and highly trained and dedicated people, the kind of thing that the U.S. military does better than any other organization on earth—many soldiers who would have died from similar wounds during the Vietnam era were now able to sit with me at their bedside, debating the merits of the Bears versus the Packers. Still, no level of precision or care could erase the brutal, life-changing nature of the injuries these men had suffered. Those who had lost a single leg, especially if the amputation was below the knee, often described themselves as being lucky. Double or even triple amputees were not uncommon, nor were severe cranial trauma, spinal injuries, disfiguring facial wounds, or the loss of eyesight, hearing, or any number of basic bodily functions. The service members I met were adamant that they had no regrets about sacrificing so much for their country and were understandably offended by anyone who viewed them with even a modicum of pity. Taking their cues from their wounded sons, the parents I met were careful to express only the certainty of their child's recovery, along with their deep wells of pride.

由于所使用的系统——先进技术、物流精准和高素质的培训和敬业精神，这是美国军队在全球能做得最好的事情之一，许多在越南时期因类似伤口而会死亡的士兵现在却能与我一同坐在床边，辩论熊队和包装工队的优点。然而，即使是最高等级和最周到的护理都无法抹去这些人所遭受的残酷、改变生命的伤害。那些失去一条腿的人，特别是在膝盖以下截肢的人，往往认为自己非常幸运。双重或甚至三重截肢的人并不罕见，严重的颅脑创伤、脊髓损伤、毁容的面部伤口或失明、失聪或其他基本身体功能的丧失也常常发生。我所遇到的服务成员坚定地表示，他们对牺牲这么多为国家没有任何后悔之处，对于任何视他们为可怜之人的人都感到不满。父母们从他们的受伤儿子那里得到暗示，他们非常小心地表达了孩子的康复的信心，同时表现出骄傲的情感。

And yet each time I entered a room, each time I shook a hand, I could not ignore how incredibly young most of these service members were, many of them barely out of high school. I couldn't help but notice the rims of anguish around the eyes of the parents, who themselves were often younger than me. I wouldn't forget the barely suppressed anger in the voice of a father I met at one point, as he explained that his handsome son, who lay before us likely paralyzed for life, was celebrating his twenty-first birthday that day, or the vacant expression on the face of a young mother who sat with a baby cheerfully gurgling in her arms, pondering a life with a husband who was probably going to survive but would no longer be capable of conscious thought.

然而每次当我走进一个房间，或者握手时，我无法忽视这些服务成员中的大部分如此年轻，他们中的许多人还没有从高中毕业。我不禁注意到父母眼中的痛苦，他们自己也常常比我年轻。我不会忘记我曾遇到的一个父亲的声音中几乎压抑不住的愤怒，他向我们解释说，他英俊的儿子在那一天庆祝他的二十一岁生日，而此时他却躺在那里，可能会终身瘫痪。我也不会忘记那位年轻母亲的面容，在她的手臂中拥抱着一个快乐地咯咯笑的婴儿，思考着一个可能不再能有意识思考的丈夫与她的未来。

Later, toward the end of my presidency, The New York Times would run an article about my visits to the military hospitals. In it, a national security official from a previous administration opined that the practice, no matter how well intentioned, was not something a commander in chief should do—that visits with the wounded inevitably clouded a president's capacity to make clear-eyed, strategic decisions. I was tempted to call that man and explain that I was never more clear-eyed than on the flights back from Walter Reed and Bethesda. Clear about the true costs of war, and who bore those costs. Clear about war's folly, the sorry tales we humans collectively store in our heads and pass on from generation to generation—abstractions that fan hate and justify cruelty and force even the righteous among us to participate in carnage. Clear that by virtue of my office, I could not avoid responsibility for lives lost or shattered, even if I somehow justified my decisions by what I perceived to be some larger good.

在我任期即将结束时，《纽约时报》刊登了一篇文章，介绍了我对军事医院的访问。一位前政府的国家安全官员发表了自己的看法，认为无论出于何种善意，总统探望伤员的做法都不适宜，因为这样做会使总统失去清晰明晰、战略性的决策能力。我有一种冲动，想给那个人打电话，解释我从未像在从瓦尔特里德和贝塞斯达返回的航班上那样清晰明朗。我对战争的真正代价以及承担这些代价的人很清楚。我清楚战争的愚蠢，我们人类集体储存在脑海中并代代相传的悲哀故事——这些抽象概念煽动仇恨，正当残酷，并迫使我们中的正直者参与屠杀。我清楚，仅仅凭借我的职位，我就无法回避为失去或受创的生命负责，即使我通过我所认为的更大的利益来证明我的决定。

Looking through the helicopter window at the tidy green landscape below, I thought about Lincoln during the Civil War, his habit of wandering through makeshift infirmaries not so far from where we were flying, talking softly to soldiers who lay on flimsy cots, bereft of antiseptics to stanch infections or drugs to manage pain, the stench of gangrene everywhere, the clattering and wheezing of impending death.

I wondered how Lincoln had managed it, what prayers he said afterward. He must have known it was a necessary penance. A penance I, too, had to pay. 透過直升機窗戶觀看下方整潔的綠色景觀，我想起了內戰期間的林肯，他經常穿越臨時的醫療院所，那就在我們飛行的不遠處，輕聲對躺在脆弱的床上、缺乏防腐劑止血劑和緩解疼痛藥物的士兵們談話。到處是壞疽的惡臭，即將到來的死亡的喧囂和喘息聲。

我想知道林肯是如何應對的，之後他說了什麼祈禱。他一定知道這是必要的贖罪。這是我必須支付的贖罪。

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AS ALL-CONSUMING AS war and the threat of terrorism were proving to be, other foreign policy issues also required my attention—including the need to manage the international fallout from the financial crisis. That was the major focus of my first extended foreign trip when I traveled to London for the Group of 20 Leaders' Summit in April and then onward to continental Europe, Turkey, and Iraq over the course of eight days.

Before 2008, the G20 had been nothing more than a yearly meeting of finance ministers and central bank governors representing the world's twenty largest economies to exchange information and tend to the routine details of globalization. U.S. presidents reserved their attendance for the more exclusive G8, an annual gathering for leaders of the world's seven largest economies (the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, France,

Italy, and Canada) plus Russia (which, for geopolitical reasons, Bill Clinton and British prime minister Tony Blair had pushed to include in 1997). This changed when, after Lehman's collapse, President Bush and Hank Paulson wisely invited the leaders of all G20 countries to an emergency meeting in Washington—a recognition that in today's interconnected world, a major financial crisis required the broadest possible coordination.

儘管戰爭和恐怖主義的威脅十分嚴重，其他外交事務也需要我的關注，其中包括管理金融危機的國際影響。這是我第一次延長的外交旅行的主要焦點，當時我前往倫敦參加二十國集團領袖峰會，隨後在八天的時間內前往歐洲大陸、土耳其和伊拉克。

在2008年之前，G20只是由代表全球二十大經濟體的財政部長和中央銀行行長每年召開的一個會議，旨在交換信息和處理全球化的常規事務。美國總統通常只會參加更加獨特的G8，這是由世界七大經濟體（美國、日本、德國、英國、法國、意大利和加拿大）加上俄羅斯每年召開的一個峰會（出於地緣政治原因，比爾·克林頓和英國首相托尼·布萊爾推動將其納入1997年）。

這一情況發生變化之後，當雷曼公司倒閉後，布什總統和漢克·保爾森明智地邀請了所有G20國家的領導人參加華盛頓緊急會議，這表明在當今緊密相連的世界中，一場重大的金融危機需要最廣泛的協調。

Beyond a vague pledge to “take whatever further actions are necessary” and an agreement to gather again in 2009, the Washington G20 summit had yielded little in the way of concrete action. But with practically every nation now poised for a recession, and global trade projected to contract by 9 percent, my assignment for the London summit was to unite the diverse set of G20 members around a swift and aggressive joint response. The economic rationale was straightforward: For years, U.S. consumer spending—turbocharged with credit card debt and home equity loans—had been the primary engine of global economic growth. Americans bought cars from Germany, electronics from South Korea, and practically everything else from China; these countries, in turn, bought raw materials from countries further down the global supply chain. Now the party was over. No matter how well the Recovery Act and the stress tests might work, American consumers and businesses were going to be digging themselves out of debt for a while. If other countries wanted to avoid a continued downward spiral, they would have to step up—by implementing stimulus packages of their own; by contributing to a \$500 billion International Monetary Fund (IMF) emergency pool that could be tapped as needed by economies in severe distress; and by pledging to avoid a repeat of the protectionist, beggar-thy-neighbor policies that had prolonged the Great Depression.

除了模糊承諾“採取必要的進一步行動”以及同意在2009年再次聚集之外，華盛頓G20峰會在具體行動方面沒有太多收穫。但是隨着幾乎每個國家現在都處於衰退的狀態，全球貿易預計將收縮9%，我在倫敦峰會上的任務是團結G20成員，採取迅速和積極的聯合反應。經濟上的原理很簡單：多年來，美國消費者的支出——以信用卡債務和住戶權貸款為推動——一直是全球經濟增長的主要引擎。美國人從德國購買汽車，從韓國購買電子產品，從中國購買幾乎所有其他產品；這些國家反過來從全球供應鏈下游的國家購買原材料。現在派對結束了。無論复苏法案和壓力測試如何運作，美國消費者和企業都將在一段時間內擺脫債務。如果其他國家想要避免持續的下降螺旋，他們將不得不採取行動——通過實施自己的刺激計劃；通過為可以在嚴重困境中需要的經濟體貢獻5000億美元的國際貨幣基金組織（IMF）緊急儲備金；並承諾避免重複導致大蕭條延長的保護主義、壓低鄰國政策。

It all made sense, at least on paper. Before the summit, though, Tim Geithner had warned that getting my foreign counterparts to agree to these steps might require some finesse. “The bad news is, they’re all mad at us for blowing up the global economy,” he said. “The good news is that they’re afraid of what will happen if we do nothing.”

Michelle had decided to join me for the first half of the trip, which made me happy. She was less concerned with my performance at the summit—“You’ll be fine”—than she was with how to dress for our planned audience with Her Majesty the Queen of England.在紙面上，一切都是有意義的。然而，在峰會之前，蒂姆·蓋特納曾預警說，讓我的外國同行們同意這些步驟可能需要一些技巧。“壞消息是，他們都對我們炸毀全球经济感到憤怒，”他說。“好消息是，他們害怕如果我們什麼都不做會發生什麼。”米歇爾決定加入我前往旅途的前半段，這讓我很開心。她不太關心我在峰會上的表現，“你會做得很好”的話比起我們計劃見英國女王時該穿什麼衣服更感興趣。

“You should wear one of those little hats,” I said. “And carry a little handbag.”

She gave me a mock scowl. “That’s not helpful.”

I had flown on Air Force One close to two dozen times by then, but it wasn’t until that first transatlantic flight that I truly appreciated the degree to which it served as a symbol of American power. The aircrafts themselves (two customized Boeing 747s share the job) were twenty-two years old, and it showed. The interiors—heavy upholstered leather chairs, walnut tables and paneling, a rust-colored carpet with a pattern of gold stars—called to mind a 1980s corporate boardroom or country club lounge. The communications system for passengers could be spotty; not until well into my second term would we get Wi-Fi on board, and even then it was often slower than what was available on most private jets.

我说：“你应该戴那些小帽子，”“和拿一个小手提包。”她用假的板着脸，“这不太有帮助。”那时我已经乘坐过近二十次空军一号，但直到那次首次跨大西洋的飞行，我才真正意识到它作为美国权力象征的程度。这些飞机本身（两架定制的波音747共同担任此项任务）已经有22年历史了，这也表现出来了。内饰——厚实的革质椅子、胡桃木桌子和镶板、带有金色星形图案的铁锈色地毯——让人想起20世纪80年代的公司董事会室或乡村俱乐部休息室。乘客通信系统可能有时会失灵。直到我第二个任期结束之前，我们才得到了机上的Wi-Fi连接，即便如此，它的速度常常比大多数私人飞机的连接速度还要慢。

Still, everything on Air Force One projected solidity, competence, and a touch of grandeur—from the conveniences (a bedroom, private office, and shower for the president up front; spacious seating, a conference room, and a bay of computer terminals for my team), to the exemplary service of the air force staff (about thirty on board, willing to cheerfully accommodate the most random requests), to its high-level safety features (the world’s best pilots, armored windows, airborne refueling capacity, and an onboard medical unit that included a foldout operating table), to its four-thousand-square-foot interior spread out over three levels, capable of transporting a fourteen-person press pool as well as a number of Secret Service agents.

然而，总统专机上的一切都表现出坚实、有能力和一点宏伟的特点——从方便设施（总统前面的卧室、私人办公室和淋浴；宽敞的座位、会议室和电脑终端区，供我的团队使用），到空军工作人员的卓越服务（机上约三十人，乐意愉快地满足最随机的要求），再到其高级别的安全特点（世界上最好的飞行员、装甲窗户、空中加油能力以及一台可折叠手术台的医疗部门），再到其三层、四千平方英尺的室内空间，可以运输一支由十四名新闻记者组成的新闻团队以及一些特勤局特工。

Unique among world leaders, the American president travels fully equipped so as not to rely on another government's services or security forces. This meant that an armada of Beasts, security vehicles, ambulances, tactical teams, and, when necessary, Marine One helicopters were flown in on air force C-17 transport planes in advance and pre-positioned on the tarmac for my arrival. The heavy footprint—and its contrast with the more modest arrangements required by other heads of state—occasionally prompted consternation from a host country's officials. But the U.S. military and Secret Service offered no room for negotiation, and eventually the host country would relent, partly because its own public and press corps expected the arrival of an American president on their soil to look like a big deal.

美國總統在全球領袖中獨一無二，搭載完整裝備出訪以避免依靠他國的服務或安全部隊。這意味著部署一支由Beasts 防強車、安全車輛、救護車、戰術小組和必要時的海軍陸戰隊1號直升機組成的船隊，並由美國空軍C-17運輸機預先運抵並在停機坪上待命等候我的到來。這種龐大的足跡與其他國家首腦所需要的更簡樸安排相比，有時會引起主辦國官員的擔憂。但美國軍方和特勤局毫不讓步，最終主辦國將會妥協，部分原因是其自己的公眾和新聞記者必定期待美國總統到訪時畫風浩大。

That it was. Wherever we landed, I'd see people pressing their faces against airport terminal windows or gathering outside the perimeter fencing. Even ground crews paused whatever they were doing to catch a glimpse of Air Force One slowly taxiing down the runway with its elegant blue undercarriage, the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA appearing crisp and understated on its fuselage, the American flag neatly centered on its tail. Exiting the plane, I'd give the obligatory wave from the top of the stairs, amid the rapid buzz of camera shutters and the eager smiles of the delegation lined up at the base of the steps to greet us, sometimes with a presentation of a bouquet by a woman or child in traditional dress, at other times a full honor guard or military band arrayed on either side of the red carpet that led me to my vehicle. In all of this, one sensed the faint but indelible residue of ancient rituals—rituals of diplomacy, but also rituals of tribute to an empire.那就是我們的行程。無論我們降落在哪裡，我都能看到人們將臉貼在機場航站樓的窗戶上或在周圍聚集。即使是地勤人員也會中斷他們的工作，從跑道上慢慢駛過的美國總統專機上看一眼，它優雅的藍底部緩緩滑行，機身上清晰而低調地寫著“美利堅合眾國”，美國國旗整齊地置於尾部中央。下機時，我會在樓梯頂端示意波手，此時相機的快門聲和代表團成員在樓梯底下迎接我們的熱情笑容此起彼伏，有時甚至還會有一位身著傳統服飾的女性或孩童送上一束花束，另外也可能會有一整個榮譽衛隊或軍樂隊陣列在走紅毯的雙邊迎接我。所有這一切，都能感受到古老儀式的微弱但不可磨滅的痕跡——外交方面的儀式，也有朝思暮想帝國的頌歌。

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AMERICA HAD HELD a dominant position on the world stage for the better part of the past seven decades. In the wake of World War II, with the rest of the world either impoverished or reduced to rubble, we had led the way in establishing an interlocking system of initiatives, treaties, and new institutions that effectively remade the international order and created a stable path forward: The Marshall Plan to rebuild Western Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Pacific alliances to serve as a bulwark against the Soviet Union and bind former enemies into an alignment with the West. Bretton Woods, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to regulate global finance and commerce. The United Nations and related multilateral agencies to promote the peaceful resolution of conflicts and cooperation on everything from disease eradication to protection of the oceans.

美国在过去的七十年中一直主导着世界舞台。在二战后，世界其他国家贫困不堪或遭受了土崩瓦解的破坏，我们引领着建立了一个交织着倡议、条约和新机构的系统，有效地重塑了国际秩序，创造了稳定的进展道路：马歇尔计划重建西欧、北约和太平洋联盟作为针对苏联的堡垒，并将前敌变为西方势力的盟友。布雷顿森林协议、国际货币基金组织、世界银行和关税与贸易总协定来管理全球金融和商业。联合国及相关多边机构促进冲突和平解决，并在从疾病根除到海洋保护等方面合作。

Our motivations for erecting this architecture had hardly been selfless. Beyond helping to assure our security, it pried open markets to sell our goods, kept sea-lanes available for our ships, and maintained the steady flow of oil for our factories and cars. It ensured that our banks got repaid in dollars, our multinationals' factories weren't seized, our tourists could cash their traveler's checks, and our international calls would go through. At times, we bent global institutions to serve Cold War imperatives or ignored them altogether; we meddled in the affairs of other countries, sometimes with disastrous results; our actions often contradicted the ideals of democracy, self-determination, and human rights we professed to embody.

我们竖立这座建筑的动机很少是无私的。除了帮助确保我们的安全，它还打开了市场，销售我们的商品，保持海上航道畅通，为我们的工厂和汽车提供稳定的石油流动。它确保我们的银行以美元偿还，我们跨国公司的工厂不被查封，我们的游客可以兑现旅行支票，我们的国际电话可以打通。有时候，我们弯曲全球机构，以服务于冷战的紧急需求，或者完全无视它们；我们干涉其他国家的事务，有时候效果非常糟糕；我们的行动经常与民主、自决和人权的理念相悖，而这些理念是我们所标榜的。

Still, to a degree unmatched by any superpower in history, America chose to bind itself to a set of international laws, rules, and norms. More often than not, we exercised a degree of restraint in our dealings with smaller, weaker nations, relying less on threats and coercion to maintain a global pact. Over time, that willingness to act on behalf of a common good—even if imperfectly—strengthened rather than diminished our influence, contributing to the system's overall durability, and if America was not always universally loved, we were at least respected and not merely feared.

然而，美国不同于历史上的任何超级大国，选择绑定自身于一整套国际法律、规则和准则。我们在与较小、较弱国家的交往中，往往更多地运用克制，依靠较少的威胁和强制手段来维护全球协议。随着时间的推移，这种为了共同利益而行动的意愿，即使有不完美之处，增强了我们的影响力，为整个体系的持久性作出了贡献。如果美国并不总是被全世界所喜爱，至少我们受到尊敬，而不仅仅是被害怕。

Whatever resistance there might have been to America's global vision seemed to collapse with the 1991 fall of the Soviet Union. In the dizzying span of little more than a decade, Germany and then Europe were unified; former Eastern bloc countries rushed to join NATO and the European Union; China's capitalism took off; numerous countries across Asia, Africa, and Latin America transitioned from authoritarian rule to democracy; and apartheid in South Africa came to an end. Commentators proclaimed the ultimate triumph of liberal, pluralistic, capitalist, Western-style democracy, insisting that the remaining vestiges of tyranny, ignorance, and inefficiency would soon be swept away by the end of history, the flattening of the world. Even at the time, such exuberance was easy to mock. This much was true, though: At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the United States could legitimately claim that the international order we had forged and the principles we had promoted—a Pax Americana—had helped bring about a world in which billions of people were freer, more secure, and more prosperous than before.

1991年苏联解体后，对美国全球愿景可能存在的任何抵抗似乎都崩溃了。在短短十年多的时间里，德国首先实现统一，随后欧洲得以统一；前东欧国家急于加入北约和欧盟；中国的资本主义腾飞；亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的许多国家从威权统治转型为民主制度；南非的种族隔离制度终结了。评论家们宣称自由、多元化、资本主义、西式民主的最终胜利，坚称暴政、无知和低效的剩余痕迹不久将被历史结束、世界变得平坦所扫清。即使在当时，这种热情也很容易被嘲笑。不过，这是真的：在21世纪初期，美国可以合理地声称我们建立的国际秩序和我们推进的原则——美利坚和平——帮助推动了一个亿万人更加自由、更加安全、更加繁荣的世界。

That international order was still in place in the spring of 2009 when I touched down in London. But faith in American leadership had been shaken—not by the 9/11 attacks but by the handling of Iraq, by images of corpses floating down the streets of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, and, most of all, by the Wall Street meltdown. A series of smaller financial crises in the 1990s had hinted at structural weaknesses in the global system: the way that trillions of dollars in private capital moving at the speed of light, unchecked by significant international regulation or oversight, could take an economic disturbance in one country and quickly produce a tsunami in markets around the world. Because many of those tremors had started on what was considered capitalism's periphery—places like Thailand, Mexico, and a still-weak Russia—and with the United States and other advanced economies at that point booming, it had been easy to think of these problems as one-offs, attributable to bad decision-making by inexperienced governments. In nearly every instance, the United States had stepped in to save the day, but in exchange for emergency financing and continued access to global capital markets, folks like Bob Rubin and Alan Greenspan (not to mention Rubin's aides at the time, Larry Summers and Tim Geithner) had pushed ailing countries to accept tough medicine, including currency devaluations, deep cuts in public spending, and a number of other austerity measures that shored up their international credit ratings but visited enormous hardship on their people. 2009年春季，國際秩序依舊存在，當時我降落倫敦。但美國領導的信任已被動搖 - 不是因為9/11襲擊，而是因為處理伊拉克的方式，卡特里娜颶風過後街上漂浮的屍體和華爾街崩盤所造成的影響。20世紀90年代的一系列較小的金融危機已暗示出全球體系的結構性弱點：數萬億美元的私人資本以光速移動，沒有國際監管或監督的限制，可以將一個國家的經濟擾動迅速在世界各地的市場引發海嘯。由於很多這些顛動都起源於被認為是資本主義邊緣地帶的地方 - 像是泰國，墨西哥和仍然虛弱的俄羅斯 - 而當時美國和其他先進經濟體正在繁榮，所以很容易將這些問題視為偶發事件，歸咎於缺乏經驗的政府做出的壞決策。在幾乎所有情況下，美國都介入挽救局面，但作為緊急融資和繼續進入全球資本市場的交換，像鮑伯·魯賓和艾倫·格林斯潘（更不用說魯賓的助手們 - 拉里·薩默斯和提姆·蓋特納）這樣的人士已迫使那些不健康的國家接受艱難的治療，包括貨幣貶值，深度削減公共支出和其他一些緊縮措施，這些措施支撐了它們的國際信用評級，但對他們的人民造成了巨大的困難。

Imagine, then, the consternation of these same countries when they learned that even as America lectured them on prudential regulations and responsible fiscal stewardship, our own high priests of finance had been asleep at the switch, tolerating asset bubbles and speculative frenzies on Wall Street that were as reckless as anything happening in Latin America or Asia. The only differences were the amounts of money involved and the potential damage done. After all, having assumed that U.S. regulators knew what they were doing, investors from Shanghai to Dubai had poured massive sums into subprime securities and other U.S. assets. Exporters as big as China and as small as Lesotho had premised their own growth on a stable and expanding U.S. economy. In other words, we had beckoned the world to follow us into a paradisiacal land of free markets, global supply chains, internet connections, easy credit, and democratic governance. And for the moment, at least, it felt to them like they might have followed us over a cliff.

想象一下，当这些国家得知即便在美国向他们讲解谨慎管理规章和负责任的财政管家精神时，我们自己的金融高官却未曾留意，放任沃尔街产生了像拉丁美洲或亚洲一样危险的资产泡沫和投机狂潮，这些国家会是多么震惊。唯一的区别是牵涉到的资金数量和可能造成的损害。毕竟，地球上从上海到迪拜的投资者都认为，美国的监管机构知道他们在做什么，他们投入大量资金购买了次级证券和其他美国资产。中国和莱索托国这样的出口大国把自己的增长建立在一个稳定和扩张的美国经济基础之上。换句话说，我们已经吸引了世界跟随我们进入自由市场、全球供应链、互联网连接、容易得到信贷和民主治理的天堂之中。然而，至少目前而言，对于他们来说，他们好像已经跟着我们走到悬崖边缘了。

## PART FOUR THE GOOD FIGHT

良善的斗争

### CHAPTER 14

IT TURNS OUT THAT THERE'S a standard design to every international summit. Leaders pull up one by one in their limos to the entrance of a large convention center and then walk past a phalanx of photographers—a bit like a Hollywood red carpet without the fancy gowns and beautiful people. A protocol officer meets you at the door and leads you into a hall where the host leader is waiting: a smile and a handshake for the cameras, whispered

small talk. Then on to the leader's lounge for more handshakes and small talk, until all the presidents, prime ministers, chancellors, and kings head into an impressively large conference room with a massive circular table. At your seat, you find a small nameplate, your national flag, a microphone with operating instructions, a commemorative writing pad and pen of varying quality, a headset for the simultaneous translation, a glass and bottles of water or juice, and maybe a plate of snacks or bowl of mints. Your delegation is seated behind you to take notes and pass along messages.

## 第14章

原来每次国际峰会都按照标准的设计进行。领导人们一个接一个地乘坐轿车到达一个大型会议中心的入口，然后走过一排摄影师，有点像好莱坞红毯，只是没有华丽的礼服和美丽的人。礼宾员在门口迎接你，领你进入一个大厅，主办领导人正在等待你：对着镜头微笑和握手，私下闲聊。然后进入领导人体息室继续握手和闲聊，直到所有总统、首相、总理和国王们进入一个令人印象深刻的大型圆桌会议室。在你的座位上，你会找到一个小的名牌、你的国旗、一台带有操作说明的麦克风、一本纪念写字板和各种质量的笔、一副同声传译的耳机、一杯水或果汁和一碟小吃或薄荷糖果。你的代表团坐在你后面记笔记和传递信息。

The host calls the meeting to order. He or she makes opening remarks. And then, for the next day and a half—with scheduled breaks for one-on-one meetings with other leaders (known as “bilaterals” or “bilats”), a “family photo” (all the leaders lined up and smiling awkwardly, not unlike a third-grade class picture), and just enough time in the late afternoon to go back to your suite and change clothes before dinner and sometimes an evening session—you sit there, fighting off jet lag and doing your best to look interested, as everyone around the table, including yourself, takes turns reading a set of carefully scripted, anodyne, and invariably much-longer-than-the-time-allotted remarks about whatever topic happens to be on the agenda.

主持人宣布会议开始，发表开场白。接下来的一天半时间中，安排了与其他领导进行一对一会晤的休息时间（被称为“双边会谈”或“双边会议”），拍摄“全家福”照片（所有领导排排站，尴尬地微笑着，就像小学三年级的合影），并在傍晚有足够的时间回到您的套房换衣服，参加晚宴和有时的夜间会议。你坐在那里，奋力抵抗时差，尽力显得感兴趣，周围所有人轮流朗读一组精心撰写的平淡无奇、通常比分配的时间长得多的发言，内容涉及议程上所涉及的任何话题。

Later, after I had a few summits under my belt, I would adopt the survival tactics of more experienced attendees—making sure I always carried paperwork to do or something to read, or discreetly pulling other leaders aside to do a bit of secondary business while others commanded the mic. But for that first G20 summit in London, I stayed in my seat and listened intently to every speaker. Like the new kid at school, I was aware that others in the room were taking the measure of me, and I figured a bit of rookie humility might go a long way toward rallying people around the economic measures I was there to propose.

后来，我参加了几次峰会后，采取了更有经验的与会者的生存策略 - 确保我随身携带待办文件或阅读材料，或在其他领导人占据话筒时悄悄地拉其他领导人一起进行一些附加业务。但对于伦敦G20峰会的那次经历，我留在了自己的座位上，并专心倾听每个演讲者的讲话。就像是学校里的新生一样，我意识到房间里的其他人正在评估我，我想一些新手的谦逊可能会在我要提出的经济措施的集结中发挥长远作用。

It helped that I already knew a number of leaders in the room, starting with our host, British prime minister Gordon Brown, who had traveled to Washington for a meeting with me just a few weeks earlier. A former chancellor of the exchequer in Tony Blair's Labour government, Brown lacked the sparkly political gifts of his predecessor (it seemed as if every media mention of Brown included the term “dour”), and he'd suffered the misfortune of finally getting his turn at the prime ministership just as Britain's economy was collapsing and its public was tiring of the Labour Party's decade-long run. But he was thoughtful, responsible, and understood global finance, and although his time in office would prove short-lived, I was fortunate to have him as a partner during those early months of the crisis.

我认识房间里的一些领袖，这对我有所帮助，首先是我们的主人，英国首相戈登·布朗。他几个星期前来华盛顿和我会面了。布朗曾是托尼·布莱尔工党政府的财政大臣，缺乏前任的魅力（似乎每一篇媒体关于布朗的报道都会提到“严肃”一词）。他不幸地成为了英国经济崩溃和公众对工党十年执政的疲倦的时候成为首相，但他思虑周到、负责任、懂得全球金融。尽管他的执政时间短暂，但在危机的早期月份里，我很幸运能与他成为伙伴。

Along with Brown, the most consequential Europeans—not just at the London summit but throughout my first term—were German chancellor Angela Merkel and French president Nicolas Sarkozy. The rivalry between the continent's two most powerful countries had caused nearly two centuries of bloody, on-and-off war. Their reconciliation following World War II became the cornerstone of the European Union (E.U.) and its unprecedented run of peace and prosperity. Accordingly, Europe's ability to move as a bloc—and to serve as America's wingman on the world stage—depended largely on Merkel's and Sarkozy's willingness to work well together.

除了布朗，德国总理安格拉·默克尔和法国总统尼古拉·萨科齐是我第一任期内在伦敦峰会以及整个欧洲最有影响力的人物。这个大陆两个最强大国家之间的竞争在过去两个世纪中引发了几次流血战争。他们在第二次世界大战后的和解成为了欧洲联盟（E.U.）及其空前的和平与繁荣的基石。因此，欧洲能否作为一个整体行动，并在国际舞台上担任美国的侧翼，大部分取决于默克尔和萨科齐愿意共同努力的意愿。

For the most part they did, despite the fact that temperamentally the two leaders couldn't have been more different. Merkel, the daughter of a Lutheran pastor, had grown up in Communist East Germany, keeping her head down and earning a PhD in quantum chemistry. Only after the Iron Curtain fell did she enter politics, methodically moving up the ranks of the center-right Christian Democratic Union party with a combination of organizational skill, strategic acumen, and unwavering patience. Merkel's eyes were big and bright blue and could be touched by turns with frustration, amusement, or hints of sorrow. Otherwise, her stolid appearance reflected her no-nonsense, analytical sensibility. She was famously suspicious of emotional outbursts or overblown rhetoric, and her team would later confess that she'd been initially skeptical of me precisely because of my oratorical skills. I took no offense, figuring that in a German leader, an aversion to possible demagoguery was probably a healthy thing.

大部分情况下，尽管两位领导的性格差异很大，但他们还是做到了。默克尔是一位路德派牧师的女儿，在共产主义东德长大，低调工作并获得量子化学博士学位。只有在铁幕倒下后，她才进入政治，并凭借组织能力、战略敏锐和毅力在中右翼基督教民主联盟党中逐步晋升。默克尔的眼睛又大又明亮，可以轻松地表达出挫折、娱乐或悲伤的情绪。除此之外，她的沉稳外表反映了她不容易被感性发作或夸大修辞所左右的理性思考方式。她对可能出现的煽动主义情绪很有戒心，她的团队后来坦言，正是因为我的演讲技巧，她一开始对我表示怀疑。我并没有生气，我想在德国领导人身上，对可能出现的发扬言辞的厌恶可能是一件健康的事情。

Sarkozy, on the other hand, was all emotional outbursts and overblown rhetoric. With his dark, expressive, vaguely Mediterranean features (he was half Hungarian and a quarter Greek Jew) and small stature (he was about five foot five but wore lifts in his shoes to make himself taller), he looked like a figure out of a Toulouse-Lautrec painting. Despite coming from a wealthy family, he readily admitted that his ambitions were fueled in part by a lifelong sense of being an outsider. Like Merkel, Sarkozy had made his name as a leader of the center right, winning the presidency on a platform of laissez-faire economics, looser labor regulations, lower taxes, and a less pervasive welfare state. But unlike Merkel, he lurched all over the map when it came to policy, often driven by headlines or political expedience. By the time we arrived in London for the G20, he was already vocally denouncing the excesses of global capitalism. What Sarkozy lacked in ideological consistency, he made up for in boldness, charm, and manic energy. Indeed, conversations with Sarkozy were by turns amusing and exasperating, his hands in perpetual motion, his chest thrust out like a bantam cock's, his personal translator (unlike Merkel, he spoke limited English) always beside him to frantically mirror his every gesture and intonation as the conversation swooped from flattery to bluster to genuine insight, never straying far from his primary, barely disguised interest, which was to be at the center of the action and take credit for whatever it was that might be worth taking credit for.

相比之下，萨科齐则是情绪激动和夸张言辞的代表。他拥有深邃、富于表情，并有着暗示地中海特征的外貌（他一半是匈牙利人，四分之一是希腊犹太人），身材不高（大约五英尺五英寸，但穿着增高鞋垫来让自己看起来更高）。尽管出生富裕，他很快承认他的雄心壮志部分源于一种终身以来的被排斥感。与默克尔一样，萨科齐作为中右翼的领袖打出了自由放任经济、放松劳动法规、降低税收和减少过度福利国家的竞选纲领。但与默克尔不同的是，他在政策上经常左右摇摆，常常受到头条新闻或政治方便的驱动。当我们到达伦敦参加20国集团会议时，他已经开始公开谴责全球资本主义的过度。萨科齐在意识形态上的不一致，以大胆、迷人和疯狂的能量弥补。与萨科齐的对话交替出现，他的手不停地动，他的胸前像一只斗鸡一样突出，他的个人翻译（与默克尔不同，他只会有限的英语）永远站在他身边疯狂地模仿他的每个手势和语调，对话从阿谀奉承到夸夸其谈真正的洞察力，从未偏离他的主要，几乎是掩饰的兴趣，那就是成为行动的中心，并为任何值得称赞的事情取得功劳。

As much as I appreciated the fact that Sarkozy had embraced my campaign early on (all but endorsing me in an effusive press conference during my pre-election visit to Paris), it wasn't hard to tell which of the two European leaders would prove to be the more reliable partner. I came, though, to see Merkel and Sarkozy as useful complements to each other: Sarkozy respectful of Merkel's innate caution but often pushing her to act, Merkel willing to overlook Sarkozy's idiosyncrasies but deft at reining in his more impulsive proposals. They also reinforced each other's pro-American instincts—instincts that, in 2009, were not always shared by their constituents.

儘管我很感激薩科齊早期支持我的競選活動（在我訪問巴黎期間，他甚至在一次熱情洋溢的新聞發布會上公開背書），但我很快就能看出兩位歐洲領袖中誰將是更可靠的合作夥伴。然而，我後來認為默克爾和薩科齊彼此補充：薩科齊尊重默克爾天生的謹慎，但常常推動她採取行動，默克爾願意忽略薩科齊的古怪，但靈巧地約束他較衝動的建議。他們還彼此加強了對美國的支持感，而這種支持感在2009年並不總是被他們的選民所分享。

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NONE OF THIS meant that they and the other Europeans were pushovers. Guarding the interests of their countries, both Merkel and Sarkozy strongly favored the declaration against protectionism that we were proposing in London—Germany's economy was especially reliant on exports—and recognized the utility of an international emergency fund. But as Tim Geithner had predicted, neither had any enthusiasm for fiscal stimulus: Merkel was worried about deficit spending; Sarkozy preferred a universal tax on stock market transactions and wanted to crack down on tax havens. It took most of the summit for me and Tim to convince the two of them to join us in promoting more immediate ways to address the crisis, calling on each G20 country to implement policies that increased aggregate demand. They would do so, they told me, only if I could convince the rest of the G20 leaders—particularly a group of influential non-Western countries that came to be collectively known as the BRICS—to stop blocking proposals that were important to them.

這些都不意味著他們和其他歐洲人易於被擊敗。護衛他們國家的利益，默克爾和薩科齊都強烈支持我們在倫敦提出的反保護主義聲明 - 德國的經濟特別依賴出口 - 並認識到國際緊急基金的功用。但正如蒂姆·蓋特納所預言的那樣，兩者對財政刺激沒有任何熱情：默克爾擔心赤字支出；薩科齊則喜歡對股票交易徵收普遍稅，並希望打擊避稅天堂。我和蒂姆花了大部分峰會時間說服他們加入我們，推動更及時的應對方式，呼籲每個二十國集團成員實施增加總需求的政策。他們告訴我，只有我能說服其他G20領袖 - 特別是一群被稱為金磚國家的有影響力的非西方國家 - 停止阻止對他們重要的提議，他們才會這樣做。

Economically, the five countries that made up the BRICS—Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa—had little in common, and it wasn't until later that they would actually formalize the group. (South Africa wouldn't formally join until 2010.) But even at the London G20, the animating spirit behind the association was clear. These were big, proud nations that in one way or another had emerged from long slumbers. They were no longer satisfied with being relegated to the margins of history or seeing their status reduced to that of regional powers. They chafed at the West's outsized role in managing the global economy. And with the current crisis, they saw a chance to start flipping the script.

從經濟上看，由巴西、俄羅斯、印度、中國和南非所組成的金磚國家（BRICS）並沒有太多共同點，而且直到稍後才正式形成該組織（南非直到2010年才正式加入）。但即使在倫敦G20峰會上，組成這個聯盟的精神動力也非常明確。這些是自豪的大國，以某種方式從長期沉睡中崛起。他們不再滿足於被排除在歷史邊緣，也不願看到他們的地位被降低為地區強國。他們對西方在全球經濟管理中的過度角色感到不滿。隨著當前危機的出現，他們看到了反轉現有局面的機會。

In theory, at least, I could sympathize with their point of view. Together, the BRICS represented just over 40 percent of the world's population but about a quarter of the world's GDP and only a fraction of its wealth. Decisions made in the corporate boardrooms of New York, London, or Paris often had more impact on their economies than the policy choices of their own governments. Their influence within the World Bank and the IMF remained limited, despite the remarkable economic transformations that had taken place in China, India, and Brazil. If the United States wanted to preserve the global system that had long served us, it made sense for us to give these emerging powers a greater say in how it operated—while also insisting that they take more responsibility for the costs of its maintenance.

理论上，我可以同情他们的观点。BRICS国家总人口占全球的40%左右，但只占全球GDP的四分之一，财富的一小部分。纽约，伦敦或巴黎企业董事会作出的决策往往比他们自己政府的政策选择对其经济产生更大的影响。尽管中国，印度和巴西经历了惊人的经济转型，但他们在世界银行和国际货币基金组织内的影响仍然有限。如果美国想要保持长期服务我们的全球体系，那么让这些新兴力量在其运作方式方面有更大的发言权是有意义的 - 同时也坚持他们承担更多维护其成本的责任。

And yet as I glanced around the table on the summit's second day, I couldn't help but wonder how a larger role for the BRICS in global governance might play out. Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, for example, had visited the Oval Office in March, and I'd found him impressive. A grizzled, engaging former labor leader who'd been jailed for protesting the previous military government and then elected in 2002, he had initiated a series of pragmatic reforms that sent Brazil's growth rate soaring, expanded its middle class, and provided housing and education to millions of its poorest citizens. He also reportedly had the scruples of a Tammany Hall boss, and rumors swirled about government cronyism, sweetheart deals, and kickbacks that ran into the billions.

然而，当我在峰会第二天环视桌面时，不禁想起如果金砖国家在全球治理中扮演更大的角色会发生什么。例如，巴西总统路易斯·伊纳西奥·卢拉·达席尔瓦在三月份曾拜访白宫，我印象深刻。他是一位经验丰富、令人感到亲切的前工会领袖，因抗议前任军政府而被关进监狱，然后在2002年当选。他实施了一系列务实的改革，使巴西的增长率飙升，扩大了中产阶级，为数百万最贫穷的公民提供了住房和教育。据说他还拥有泰门哈尔神父的道德准则，而有关政府亲信主义、特权、回扣等传闻不断。

President Dmitry Medvedev, meanwhile, appeared to be a poster child for the new Russia: young, trim, and clothed in hip, European-tailored suits. Except that he wasn't the real power in Russia. That spot was occupied by his patron, Vladimir Putin: a former KGB officer, two-term president and now the country's prime minister, and the leader of what resembled a criminal syndicate as much as it did a traditional government—a syndicate that had its tentacles wrapped around every aspect of the country's economy.

与此同时，总统德米特里·梅德韦杰夫似乎成为了新俄罗斯的代言人：年轻、健美，穿着时尚的欧洲裁剪西装。但他并不是俄罗斯的真正权力所在。实际权力被他的庇护人弗拉基米尔·普京占据：他是一名前克格勃军官、连任两届总统、现任总理、以及类似传统政府一样的犯罪团伙的领袖——这个团伙将其触手卷在了国家经济的各个方面。

South Africa at the time was in a transition, with interim president Kgalema Motlanthe soon to be replaced by Jacob Zuma, the leader of Nelson Mandela's party, the African National Congress, which controlled the country's parliament. In subsequent meetings, Zuma struck me as amiable enough. He spoke eloquently of the need for fair trade, human development, infrastructure, and more equitable distributions of wealth and opportunity on the African continent. By all accounts, though, much of the goodwill built up through Mandela's heroic struggle was being squandered by corruption and incompetence under ANC leadership, leaving large swaths of the country's black population still mired in poverty and despair.

當時南非正處於轉型之中，臨時總統穆特蘭特即將由納爾遜·曼德拉的政黨非洲民族議會領導人雅各布·祖馬接替，該政黨控制著國會。在隨後的會議中，祖馬給我留下了友好的印象。他雄辯地談到了非洲大陸上公平貿易、人類發展、基礎設施以及更加公平分配財富和機會的必要性。然而，根據所有報導，曼德拉英雄的抗爭中建立起來的大多數 goodwill 在非洲民族議會的腐敗和無能下被浪費，使得該國大部分黑人仍然陷入貧困和絕望之中。

Manmohan Singh, the prime minister of India, meanwhile, had engineered the modernization of his nation's economy. A gentle, soft-spoken economist in his seventies, with a white beard and a turban that were the marks of his Sikh faith but to the Western eye lent him the air of a holy man, he had been India's finance minister in the 1990s, managing to lift millions of people from poverty. For the duration of his tenure as prime minister, I would find Singh to be wise, thoughtful, and scrupulously honest. Despite its genuine economic progress, though, India remained a chaotic and impoverished place: largely divided by religion and caste, captive to the whims of corrupt local officials and power brokers, hamstrung by a parochial bureaucracy that was resistant to change.

印度总理曼莫汉·辛格（Manmohan Singh），在此期间推动了他的国家经济的现代化。一个温和、温和的经济学家，七十多岁，白色的胡须和一顶头巾是他锡克教信仰的标志，但在西方人眼中给他带来了一种神圣的感觉，他曾在1990年代担任印度财政部长，设法使数百万人脱离贫困。在他担任总理的任期内，我会发现辛格是明智、深思熟虑和极其诚实的。尽管印度真正取得了经济进步，但它仍然是一个混乱和贫穷的地方：在宗教和种姓上分裂，被腐败的当地官员和权力经纪人所挟制，受到乡土主义官僚机构的阻碍，很难实现改变。

And then there was China. Since the late 1970s, when Deng Xiaoping effectively abandoned Mao Zedong's Marxist-Leninist vision in favor of an export-driven, state-managed form of capitalism, no nation in history had developed faster or moved more people out of abject poverty. Once little more than a hub of low-grade manufacturing and assembly for foreign companies looking to take advantage of its endless supply of low-wage workers, China now boasted topflight engineers and world-class companies working at the cutting edge of advanced technology. Its massive trade surplus made it a major investor on every continent; gleaming cities like Shanghai and Guangzhou had become sophisticated financial centers, home to a burgeoning consumer class. Given its growth rate and sheer size, China's GDP was guaranteed at some point to surpass America's. When you added this to the country's

powerful military, increasingly skilled workforce, shrewd and pragmatic government, and cohesive five-thousand-year-old culture, the conclusion felt obvious: If any country was likely to challenge U.S. preeminence on the world stage, it was China.

然后就有了中国。自1970年代末邓小平放弃毛泽东的马克思列宁主义理念，转而采取出口驱动的国家管制型资本主义以来，没有一个国家能够比中国更快地发展，让更多人摆脱了赤贫。曾经只是一个外国公司组装低端制造业的中心，借助大量低薪工人的优势，如今的中国却拥有一流的工程师和在尖端技术领域工作的世界级公司。其巨额贸易顺差使其成为每个大陆的主要投资者；像上海、广州这样的美丽城市已经成为了复杂的金融中心，拥有一个蓬勃发展的消费者阶层。考虑到其增长率和规模，中国的国内生产总值在某个时刻肯定会超过美国。当你将这个与该国强大的军事力量、日益熟练的劳动力、精明务实的政府和具有五千年历史的一体化文化结合在一起，这个结论似乎显而易见：如果有一个国家有可能挑战美国在世界舞台上的优势地位，那就是中国。

And yet watching the Chinese delegation operate at the G20, I was convinced that any such challenge was still decades away—and that if and when it came, it would most likely happen as a result of America's strategic mistakes. By all accounts, Chinese president Hu Jintao—a nondescript man in his mid-sixties with a mane of jet-black hair (as far as I could tell, few Chinese leaders turned gray as they aged)—was not seen as a particularly strong leader, sharing authority as he did with other members of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee. Sure enough, in our meeting at the margins of the summit, Hu appeared content to rely on pages of prepared talking points, with no apparent agenda beyond encouraging continued consultation and what he referred to as "win-win" cooperation. More impressive to me was China's chief economic policy maker, Premier Wen Jiabao, a small, bespectacled figure who spoke without notes and displayed a sophisticated grasp of the current crisis; his affirmed commitment to a Chinese stimulus package on a scale mirroring that of the Recovery Act was probably the single best piece of news I would hear during my time at the G20. But even so, the Chinese were in no hurry to seize the reins of the international world order, viewing it as a headache they didn't need. Wen had little to say about how to manage the financial crisis going forward. From his country's standpoint, the onus was on us to figure it out.

然而，在觀察中國代表團在G20上運作時，我相信這樣的挑戰仍然數十年遠——如果它發生，最有可能發生的原因是美國的戰略錯誤。據稱，中國國家主席胡錦濤——一個年過六旬、黑髮披肩的平凡人（據我所知，很少有中國領導年老後會變成灰色）——並不被認為是一位特別強大的領導人，因為他與中共中央其他成員分享權利。果然，在我們在峰會邊緣的會議上，胡錦濤似乎滿足於依賴準備好的談話大綱，沒有明顯的議程，只是鼓勵持續諮詢和他所稱的“雙贏”合作。對我來說更令人印象深刻的是中國的首席經濟政策制定者溫家寶，一個小小的、戴著眼鏡的人物，他沒有講稿，對目前的危機有著精湛的掌握；他肯定的承諾中國一個與美國《經濟進修法案》相類似的刺激計劃，可能是我在G20期間聽到的最好的消息。但即便如此，中國也不急於把國際世界秩序的控制權交給自己，把它看作是一個他們不需要的頭痛。溫家寶對於如何管理未來的金融危機幾乎沒有什麼可說的。從他國家的角度來看，我們要想出解決方案。

This was the thing that would strike me not just during the London summit but at every international forum I attended while president: Even those who complained about America's role in the world still relied on us to keep the system afloat. To varying degrees, other countries were willing to pitch in—contributing troops to U.N. peacekeeping efforts, say, or providing cash and logistical support for famine relief. Some, like the Scandinavian countries, consistently punched well above their weight. But otherwise, few nations felt obliged to act beyond narrow self-interest; and those that shared America's basic commitment to the principles upon which a liberal, market-based system depended—individual freedom, the rule of law, strong enforcement of property rights and neutral arbitration of disputes, plus baseline levels of governmental accountability and competence—lacked the economic and political heft, not to mention the army of diplomats and policy experts, to promote those principles on a global scale.

這是我在擔任總統期間在每個國際論壇上看到的事情，不僅僅是在倫敦峰會上：即使是那些抱怨美國在世界角色的人，仍然依賴我們來維持整個系統運轉。在不同程度上，其他國家願意參與其中-例如為聯合國維和行動提供軍隊，或為饑荒救援提供現金和後勤支持。一些國家，例如北歐國家，一直表現得相當出色。但是，除此以外，很少有國家感到有義務在狹隘的自身利益之外行動。那些與美國在自由、法治、強制執行財產權和中立調解爭端的基礎原則上具有相同承諾的國家，以及政府責任和能力的基本水平缺乏經濟和政治實力，更不用說外交官和政策專家的陣容，以在全球範圍內推廣這些原則。

China, Russia, and even genuine democracies like Brazil, India, and South Africa still operated on different principles. For the BRICS, responsible foreign policy meant tending to one's own affairs. They abided by the established rules only insofar as their own interests were advanced, out of necessity rather than conviction, and they appeared happy to violate them when they thought they could get away with it. If they assisted another country, they preferred to do so on a bilateral basis, expecting some benefit in return. These nations certainly felt no obligation to underwrite the system as a whole. As far as they were concerned, that was a luxury only a fat and happy West could afford.

中国、俄罗斯，甚至包括巴西、印度和南非这样真正的民主国家，仍然按照不同的原则运作。对于金砖四国来说，负责任的外交政策意味着关注自己的事务。他们只在符合自己的利益时遵守既定规则，这是出于必要而不是信仰，而且他们似乎乐意在认为可以逃脱惩罚时违反它们。如果他们协助另一个国家，他们更倾向于在双边基础上这样做，期望得到一些回报。这些国家当然不觉得有义务来支持整个体系。就他们而言，这只是一个肥大、富足的西方才能承受的奢侈品。

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OF ALL THE BRICS leaders in attendance at the G20, I was most interested in engaging with Medvedev. The U.S. relationship with Russia was at a particularly low point. The previous summer—a few months after Medvedev had been sworn into office—Russia had invaded the neighboring country of Georgia, a former Soviet republic, and illegally occupied two of its provinces, triggering violence between the two countries and tensions with other border nations.

For us, it was a sign of Putin's escalating boldness and general belligerence, a troubling unwillingness to respect another nation's sovereignty and a broader flouting of international law. And in many ways, it appeared he'd gotten away with it: Beyond suspending diplomatic contacts, the Bush administration had done next to nothing to punish Russia for its aggression, and the rest of the world had shrugged its shoulders and moved on, making

any belated efforts to isolate Russia almost certain to fail. My administration's hope was to initiate what we were calling a "reset" with Russia, opening a dialogue in order to protect our interests, support our democratic partners in the region, and enlist cooperation on our goals for nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. To this end, we'd arranged for me to meet privately with Medvedev a day ahead of the summit.

在所有参加G20的BRICS领袖中，我最感兴趣的是与梅德韦杰夫接触。美国与俄罗斯的关系处于一个特别低点。上个夏天，在梅德韦杰夫宣誓就职几个月后，俄罗斯入侵了邻国格鲁吉亚，一个前苏联的共和国，并非法占领了其两个省份，引发了两国之间的暴力冲突和与其他边境国家的紧张关系。对我们来说，这是普京不断升级的大胆和一般的好战行为的迹象，一个令人不安的不愿尊重另一个国家主权和更广泛的藐视国际法的迹象。在许多方面，它似乎是他得逞了：除了暂停外交联系，布什政府几乎没有对俄罗斯的侵略行为采取任何惩罚措施，而且世界其他国家也耸耸肩，继续前进，使任何迟到的孤立俄罗斯的努力几乎肯定会失败。我们政府的希望是启动我们所称的“重置”与俄罗斯，开展对话以保护我们的利益，在该地区支持我们的民主伙伴，以及在核不扩散和裁军目标方面寻求合作。为此，我们安排我在峰会前一天与梅德韦杰夫私下会面。

I relied on two Russia experts to prepare me for the meeting: the State Department's undersecretary for political affairs, Bill Burns, and our NSC senior director for Russian and Eurasian affairs, Michael McFaul. Burns, a career diplomat who'd been the Bush administration's ambassador to Russia, was tall, mustached, and slightly stooped, with a gentle voice and the bookish air of an Oxford don. McFaul, on the other hand, was all energy and enthusiasm, with a wide smile and a blond mop of hair. A native Montanan, he'd advised my campaign while still teaching at Stanford and seemed to end every statement with an exclamation point.

我依靠两位俄罗斯专家为我准备会面：美国国务院政治事务次卿比尔·伯恩斯和我们的俄罗斯及欧亚地区事务高级主任迈克尔·麦克福尔。伯恩斯是一个职业外交官，曾经是布什政府的俄罗斯大使，身材高大、留有胡须，稍稍佝偻，声音柔和，带着牛津教授的文气。另一方面，麦克福尔充满活力和热情，脸上总是挂着灿烂的微笑，留着金色的头发。作为蒙大拿州的本地人，他在斯坦福大学教书时曾为我的竞选提供建议，似乎在每个陈述结尾都加上了一个惊叹号。

Of the two, McFaul was more bullish about our ability to have an influence on Russia, partly because he'd lived in Moscow in the early 1990s, during the heady days of political transformation, first as a scholar and later as the in-country director of a pro-democracy organization funded in part by the U.S. government. When it came to Medvedev, though, McFaul agreed with Burns that I shouldn't expect too much.

"Medvedev's going to be interested in establishing a good relationship with you, to prove that he belongs on the world stage," he said. "But you have to remember that Putin still calls the shots."

在两人之中，麦克弗尔对我们有影响俄罗斯的能力更为乐观，部分原因是他在1990年代初期曾在莫斯科居住过，那时正值政治变革的热烈时期，他曾作为学者和一家得到美国政府部分资助的亲民主组织的国内主任在莫斯科工作。不过在涉及梅德韦杰夫时，麦克弗尔同意伯恩斯的看法，认为我不应期望太高。“梅德韦杰夫会对与你建立友好关系感兴趣，以证明他适合在世界舞台上扮演角色，”他说，“不过你必须记住，普京仍旧是决策者。”

Looking over his biography, I could see why everyone assumed Dmitry Medvedev was on a short leash. In his early forties, raised in relative privilege as the only child of two professors, he'd studied law in the late 1980s, lectured at Leningrad State University, and gotten to know Vladimir Putin when they both worked for the mayor of St. Petersburg in the early 1990s after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While Putin stayed in politics, eventually becoming prime minister under President Boris Yeltsin, Medvedev leveraged his political connections to secure an executive position and ownership stake in Russia's largest lumber company, at a time when the country's chaotic privatization of state-owned assets offered well-connected shareholders a guaranteed fortune. Quietly he became a wealthy man, called upon to work on various civic projects without having to bear the burden of the spotlight. It wasn't until late 1999 that he got pulled back into government, recruited by Putin for a high-level job in Moscow. Just a month later, Yeltsin abruptly resigned, elevating Putin from prime minister to acting president, with Medvedev rising behind him.

瀏覽他的傳記，我可以理解為什麼每個人都覺得德米特里·梅德韋傑夫受到了短暫的約束。他在四十多歲時，作為兩位教授的獨生子，從相對富裕的環境中長大，他於1980年代末學習法律，在列寧格勒國立大學講授課程，與弗拉基米爾·普京成為朋友，當時他們都在蘇聯解體後的1990年代初期為聖彼得堡市長工作。普京留在政治界，最終成為閉幕於鮑里斯·葉爾欽總統下的總理，而梅德韋傑夫利用他的政治聯繫，在這個國家混亂的國有資產私有化時期，以高管身份和擁有股權的形式獲得了俄羅斯最大的木材公司，這時有背景的股東能獲得確定的財富。他悄悄地成了富翁，被要求參與各種民間項目，而不必承擔聚光燈的壓力。直到1999年底，他才被普京徵召回政府，擔任莫斯科高層工作。就在一個月之後，葉爾欽突然辭職，普京由總理升任代總統，梅德韋傑夫跟隨在他身後。

In other words, Medvedev was a technocrat and a behind-the-scenes operator, without much of a public profile or political base of his own. And that's exactly how he came across when he arrived for our meeting at Winfield House, the U.S. ambassador's elegant residence on the outskirts of London. He was a small man, dark-haired and affable, with a slightly formal, almost self-deprecating manner, more international management consultant than politician or party apparatchik. Apparently he understood English, although he preferred speaking with a translator.

換句話說，梅德韋傑夫是一位技術官僚和幕後操作者，沒有太多自己的公眾形象或政治基礎。當他來到位於倫敦市郊的美國大使的優雅住所Winfield House與我們會面時，他就是這樣的人。他是一個小個子，黑髮和和藹可親，有著稍微正式、幾乎自謙的態度，更像國際管理顧問而非政治家或黨員。顯然他懂英語，但他更喜歡跟翻譯說話。

I opened our discussion with the subject of his country's military occupation of Georgia. As expected, Medvedev stuck closely to the official talking points. He blamed the Georgian government for precipitating the crisis and insisted that Russia had acted only to protect Russian citizens from violence. He dismissed my argument that the invasion and continued occupation violated Georgia's sovereignty and international law, and he pointedly suggested that, unlike U.S. forces in Iraq, Russian forces had genuinely been greeted as liberators. Hearing all this, I remembered what the dissident writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn once said about politics during the Soviet era, that "the lie has become not just a moral category but a pillar of the State."

我以他的国家军队占领格鲁吉亚为话题开始了我们的讨论。正如预期的那样，梅德韦杰夫紧紧固守官方说辞。他指责格鲁吉亚政府挑起危机，并坚称俄罗斯的行动仅仅是为了保护俄罗斯公民免遭暴力冲突。他驳回了我所说的入侵和继续占领格鲁吉亚领土的行为违反了格鲁吉亚的主权和国际法的观点，并尖锐地暗示说，俄罗斯军队真正被当地人视为解放者，与美国在伊拉克的军队是不同的。听到这些话，我想起异议作家阿列克谢·所尔仁尼琴曾经在苏联时代说过的一句话，即“谎言不仅成为了一种道德范畴，而且成为了国家的支柱。”

But if Medvedev's rebuttal on Georgia reminded me that he was no Boy Scout, I noticed a certain ironic detachment in his delivery, as if he wanted me to know that he didn't really believe everything he was saying. As the conversation shifted to other topics, so did his disposition. On the steps needed to manage the financial crisis, he was well briefed and constructive. He expressed enthusiasm for our proposed "reset" of U.S.-Russian relations, especially when it came to expanding cooperation on nonmilitary issues like education, science, technology, and trade. He surprised us by making an unprompted (and unprecedented) offer to let the U.S. military use Russian airspace to transport troops and equipment to Afghanistan—an alternative that would reduce our exclusive reliance on expensive and not always reliable Pakistani supply routes. 然而，當梅德韋傑夫反駁有關喬治亞的言論時，讓我想起他不是個淳朴的童子軍，我注意到他在發言時帶著一種諷刺的超然態度，似乎他想讓我知道他並不完全相信他所說的一切。當對話轉向其他話題時，他的態度也隨之轉變。對於處理金融危機所需的步驟，他有很好的準備和建設性的意見。他對我們提出擴大教育、科學、技術和貿易等非軍事問題方面合作的"重啟"美國和俄羅斯關係的建議表示熱情。他讓我們驚訝的是，主動提出（且空前）讓美國軍隊使用俄羅斯空域輸送部隊和裝備到阿富汗的提議-這樣一來可以減少我們對昂貴且不總是可靠的巴基斯坦供應路線的獨家依賴。

And on my highest-priority issue—U.S.-Russian cooperation to curb nuclear proliferation, including Iran's possible pursuit of nuclear weapons—Medvedev showed a readiness to engage with frankness and flexibility. He accepted my proposal to have our respective experts immediately begin negotiations on cuts to each country's nuclear stockpiles as a follow-up to the existing Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which was set to expire at the end of 2009. Although he wasn't prepared to commit to an international effort to constrain Iran, he didn't dismiss it out of hand, going so far as to acknowledge that Iran's nuclear and missile programs had advanced much faster than Moscow had expected—a concession that neither McFaul nor Burns could recall a Russian official ever having made, even in private.

在我最重要的問題上——美俄合作以遏制核擴散，包括伊朗可能追求核武器——梅德韋傑夫表現出了準備以坦率和靈活的方式進行接觸。他接受了我的提議，讓我們各自的專家立即開始談判，以削減每個國家的核庫存，作為現有戰略武器裁減條約（START）的後續措施，該條約設定在2009年底到期。雖然他沒有準備承諾國際努力來限制伊朗，但他沒有馬上拒絕，甚至承認伊朗的核和飛彈計劃進展比莫斯科預期的快，這是麥克福爾和伯恩斯都不記得俄國官員曾經做出過的讓步，即使是在私下裡。

Still, Medvedev was far from acquiescent. He made clear during our discussions about nonproliferation that Russia had a priority of its own: wanting us to reconsider the Bush administration's decision to build a missile defense system in Poland and the Czech Republic. He was speaking, I assumed, on behalf of Putin, who correctly understood that the main reason the Poles and the Czechs were eager to host our system was that it would guarantee increased U.S. military capabilities on their soil, providing an additional hedge against Russian intimidation.

然而梅德韦杰夫远非顺从。在我们关于防扩散的讨论中，他明确表示俄罗斯有自己的优先事项：希望我们重新考虑布什政府在波兰和捷克共和国建设导弹防御系统的决定。我想他代表普京发言，后者正确地理解到，波兰人和捷克人渴望承载我们的系统的主要原因是它将保证增加美国军事能力，为他们提供另一种对抗俄罗斯的手段。

The truth is that, unbeknownst to the Russians, we were already reconsidering the idea of a land-based missile defense in Europe. Before I'd left for London, Robert Gates had informed me that the plans developed under Bush had been judged potentially less effective against the most pressing threats (chiefly Iran) than originally envisioned. Gates had suggested that I order a review of other possible configurations before making any decision. I wasn't willing to grant Medvedev's request to fold missile defense considerations into upcoming START negotiations. I did think, however, that it was in our interest to reduce Russian anxiety. And the fortuitous timing allowed me to make sure Medvedev didn't leave London empty-handed: I presented my intent to review our plans in Europe as a show of willingness to discuss the issue in good faith. I added that progress on halting Iran's nuclear program would almost certainly have a bearing on any decision I might make—a not-so-subtle message, to which Medvedev responded before it was even translated.

事實上，在未經俄羅斯人知曉的情況下，我們已經在重新考慮在歐洲部署陸基導彈防禦系統的想法。在我前往倫敦之前，羅伯特·蓋茨告訴我，布什政府制定的計劃對抗最迫切的威脅（主要是伊朗）的效果被認為可能比最初預期的要小。蓋茨建議在做出任何決定之前對其他可能的配置進行審查。

我不願意答應梅德韋傑夫將導彈防禦考慮納入即將開始的《削減戰略武器條約》談判的要求。然而，我認為減少俄羅斯的擔憂符合我們的利益。而這個巧妙的時機使我得以確保梅德韋傑夫不會空手而回：我宣布了我打算重新審查在歐洲的計劃，以此展示我們以誠相待地討論這個問題的意願。我還補充說，停止伊朗的核計劃的進展幾乎肯定會對我可能做出的任何決定產生影響——這是一個不那麼微妙的信息，梅德韋傑夫在翻譯之前就作出了回應。

"I understand," he said in English, with a slight smile.

Before leaving, Medvedev also extended an invitation for me to visit Moscow during the summer, a meeting I was inclined to accept. After watching his motorcade drive away, I turned to Burns and McFaul and asked what they thought.

"I'll be honest, Mr. President," McFaul said. "I don't know how it could've gone much better. He seemed a lot more open to doing business than I would have expected."

"Mike's right," Burns said, "although I do wonder how much of what Medvedev said was cleared with Putin beforehand."

“他輕輕一笑，用英語說：‘我明白。’

在離開之前，梅德韋傑夫還邀請我在夏天去莫斯科，我很想接受這個邀請。看著他的車隊離開，我轉向伯恩斯和麥克福爾，問了他們的想法。

“老實說，總統先生，”麥克福爾說。“我不知道它怎麼可能變得更好。他似乎比我預期的更開放做生意。”

“麥克是對的，”伯恩斯說，“雖然我想知道梅德韋傑夫說的話有多少是事先得到普京的同意。”

I nodded. “We'll find out soon enough.”

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BY THE END of the London summit, the G20 had managed to strike a deal in response to the global financial crisis. The final communiqué, to be issued jointly by the leaders in attendance, included U.S. priorities like additional commitments to stimulus and a rejection of protectionism, along with measures to eliminate tax havens and improve financial oversight that were important to the Europeans. BRICS nations could point to a commitment from the United States and the European Union to examine possible changes in their World Bank and IMF representation. In a rush of enthusiasm, Sarkozy grabbed both me and Tim as we were about to leave the venue.

我点了点头。“我们很快就会知道了。”

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在伦敦峰会结束时，G20设法达成了应对全球金融危机的协议。由各国领导人共同发布的最终公报包括美国的优先事项，如额外的刺激承诺和反对保护主义，以及欧洲人认为重要的消除避税天堂和改善金融监管的措施。金砖国家可以指出，美国和欧盟承诺考虑可能的世界银行和国际货币基金组织代表变化。在兴奋的冲动中，萨科齐抓住了我和蒂姆，当我们正要离开会场时。

“This agreement is historic, Barack!” he said. “It has happened because of you...No, no, it's true! And Mr. Geithner here...he's magnificent!” Sarkozy then started chanting my Treasury secretary's last name like a fan at a football game, loudly enough to turn a few heads in the room. I had to laugh, not only at Tim's evident discomfort but also at the stricken expression on Angela Merkel's face—she had just finished looking over the wording of the communiqué and was now eyeing Sarkozy the way a mother eyes an unruly child.

“這是歷史性的協議，巴拉克！”他說，“這是因為你的做法.....不，不，真的！還有吉特納先生.....他太棒了！”薩科齊然後開始像足球場上的球迷一樣高聲重複我們財政部部長的姓氏，足以讓房間裡的一些人轉過頭。我不得不笑，不僅是因為蒂姆明顯的不適，還因為安格拉·默克爾臉上的絕望表情——她剛剛完成了條文的審查，現在正在用一位母親對待不受控制的孩子的眼神注視薩科齊。

The international press deemed the summit a success: Not only was the deal more substantive than expected, but our central role in the negotiations had helped to at least partially reverse the view that the financial crisis had permanently damaged U.S. leadership. At the closing press conference, I was careful to credit everyone who'd played a role, praising Gordon Brown in particular for his leadership and arguing that in this interconnected world, no single nation could go it alone. Solving big problems, I said, demanded the kind of international cooperation on display in London.

國際媒體認為此次峰會是一次成功：不僅協議比預期更加具體，而且我們在談判中的重要角色幫助我們至少在部分上扭轉了金融危機永久損害美國領導地位的觀點。在結束的新聞發布會上，我特別注意稱讚扮演角色的每個人，尤其是讚揚戈登布朗的領導才能，並表示在這個互聯世界中，沒有單一的國家可以獨自應對大問題。我說，解決大問題需要展示在倫敦所見到的國際合作。

Two days later, a reporter followed up on this, asking for my views on American exceptionalism. “I believe in American exceptionalism,” I said. “Just as I suspect that the Brits believe in British exceptionalism and the Greeks believe in Greek exceptionalism.”

Only later would I learn that Republicans and conservative news outlets had seized upon this unremarkable statement, one made in an effort to show modesty and good manners, as evidence of weakness and insufficient patriotism on my part. Pundits began to characterize my interactions with other leaders and citizens of other nations as “Obama's Apology Tour,” although they could never point to any actual apologies. Evidently my failure to lecture foreign audiences on American superiority, not to mention my willingness to acknowledge our imperfections and take the views of other countries into account, was somehow undermining. It was another reminder of how splintered our media landscape had become—and how an increasingly poisonous partisanship no longer stopped at the water's edge. In this new world, a foreign policy victory by every traditional standard could be spun as a defeat, at least in the minds of half the country; messages that advanced our interests and built goodwill abroad could lead to a host of political headaches back home.

兩天後，一位記者追問我的美國例外主義觀點。我說：“我相信美國例外主義，就像我猜英國人相信英國例外主義，希臘人相信希臘例外主義一樣。”

直到後來，我才得知共和黨和保守派新聞媒體將這個不起眼的說法捕捉到，認為我表現出了軟弱和不足的愛國主義。他們開始把我與其他國家領袖和公民的互動稱作“歐巴馬的道歉之旅”，儘管他們不能指出任何實際上的道歉。顯然，我沒有對外國聽眾講述美國的優越性，更不用說我願意承認我們的不完美並考慮其他國家的觀點，這些都被一些人視為一種削弱。這是另一個提醒我們，我們的媒體環境已經變得分裂，而越來越具有毒性的黨派關係已經不再局限於國界。在這個新的世界裡，每一個傳統標準下的外交勝利都可能被扭曲成失敗，至少在一半國家的人的心中是如此；促進我們的利益並在國外建立友好關係的信息可能導致一系列在國內的政治麻煩。

On a happier note, Michelle was a hit in her international debut, garnering especially glowing press for a visit she made to an all-girls secondary school in central London. As would be true throughout our time in the White House, Michelle reveled in such interactions, able to connect with kids of any age or background, and apparently that magic traveled well. At the school, she talked about her own childhood and the barriers she'd had to overcome, how education had always provided her a path forward. The girls—working-class, many of them of West Indian or South Asian descent—listened in rapt

attention as this glamorous woman insisted that she had once been just like them. In the coming years, she'd visit with students from the school several times, including hosting a group of them at the White House. Later, an economist would study the data and conclude that Michelle's engagement with the school had led to a notable spike in the students' standardized test scores, suggesting that her message of aspiration and connection made a true and measurable difference. This "Michelle Effect" was something I was very familiar with—she had the same effect on me. Things like this helped us remember that our work as a First Family wasn't solely a matter of politics and policy. 说句开心的话，米歇尔的国际首秀很受欢迎，在访问伦敦市中心一所全女子中学时，她受到了特别好的媒体报道。在白宫期间，米歇尔喜欢这样的互动，能够与任何年龄或背景的孩子建立联系，显然这种魔力行得通。在学校，她谈论了自己的童年和她曾经克服的障碍，教育始终为她提供了前进的道路。工人阶级的女孩，其中许多是西印度或南亚裔，聚精会神地听这位光彩夺目的女子坚称她曾经和她们一样。在接下来的几年里，她多次与学校的学生见面，包括在白宫招待一群学生。后来，一位经济学家研究数据，得出结论：米歇尔与学校的接触导致学生的标准化考试成绩显著提高，表明她的愿望和联系的信息产生了真正的、可量化的差异。这种“米歇尔效应”我非常熟悉——她对我也有同样的影响。这样的事情帮助我们记住，作为第一家庭的工作不仅仅是政治和政策的问题。

Michelle did generate her own bit of controversy, though. At a reception for the G20 leaders and their spouses with Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace, she was photographed with her hand resting on Her Majesty's shoulder—an apparent breach of royalty-commoner protocol, although the queen didn't seem to mind, slipping her arm around Michelle in return. Also, Michelle wore a cardigan sweater over her dress during our private meeting with the queen, sending Fleet Street into a horrified tizzy.

"You should have taken my suggestion and worn one of those little hats," I told her the next morning. "And a little matching handbag!"

米歇尔自己也引起了一些争议。在白金汉宫举办的G20领袖和他们的配偶招待会上，她被拍到把手放在女王的肩膀上——似乎违反了王室和平民的礼仪规矩，尽管女王似乎并不介意，反而回抱住了米歇尔。此外，在我们与女王的私人会面中，米歇尔在自己的裙子上穿了一件开襟羊毛衫，令英国报纸感到十分震惊。

“你应该听我的建议，戴一个小帽子，搭配一个小手提包！”第二天早上，我告诉她。

She smiled and kissed me on the cheek. "And I hope you enjoy sleeping on a couch when you get home," she said brightly. "The White House has so many to choose from!"

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THE NEXT FIVE DAYS were a whirlwind—a NATO summit in Baden-Baden, Germany, and Strasbourg, France; meetings and speeches in the Czech Republic and Turkey; and an unannounced visit to Iraq, where—in addition to thanking a raucous assembly of U.S. troops for their courage and sacrifice—I consulted with Prime Minister Maliki about our withdrawal plans and Iraq's continued transition to parliamentary governance.

她微笑着亲吻我的脸颊。“我希望你回家后能享受睡沙发的乐趣，”她兴高采烈地说道。“白宫有那么多沙发供你选择！”

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接下来的五天，我忙碌不已——在德国巴登-巴登和法国斯特拉斯堡参加北约峰会，在捷克共和国和土耳其开会发表演讲，还进行了一次未公开宣布的访问伊拉克。在那里，我向一群勇士和牺牲的美国军人表示了感谢，还向马利基总理咨询了撤军计划和伊拉克继续向议会民主政治过渡的问题。

By the end of the trip I had every reason to feel pretty good. Across the board, we had successfully advanced the U.S. agenda. There had been no major pratfalls on my part. Everyone on my foreign policy team, from cabinet members like Geithner and Gates to the most junior member of the advance staff, had done outstanding work. And far from shying away from association with the United States, the countries we visited seemed hungry for our leadership.

Still, the trip provided sobering evidence of just how much of my first term was going to be spent not on new initiatives but on putting out fires that predated my presidency. At the NATO summit, for instance, we were able to secure alliance support for our Af-Pak strategy—but only after listening to European leaders emphasize how sharply their publics had turned against military cooperation with the United States following the Iraq invasion, and how difficult it was going to be for them to muster political support for additional troops. NATO's central and Eastern European members had also been unnerved by the Bush administration's tepid reaction to Russia's invasion of Georgia and questioned whether the alliance could be counted on to defend them against similar Russian aggression. They had a point: Before the summit, I'd been surprised to learn that NATO lacked the plans or rapid-response capabilities to come to the defense of every ally. It was just one more example of a dirty little secret I was discovering as president, the same thing I'd learned during our Afghanistan review, the same thing the world had learned following the invasion of Iraq: For all their tough talk, Bush administration hawks like Cheney and Rumsfeld had been surprisingly bad at backing up their rhetoric with coherent, effective strategies. Or as Denis McDonough more colorfully put it, "Open any White House drawer and you'll find another turd sandwich."

旅程结束时，我有足够的理由感到挺不错的。我们在全方位上都成功推进了美国议程。我的表现也没有出现任何重大失误。我的外交团队中从盖茨和盖特纳这样的内阁成员到最晚加入的工作人员都做得很出色。而且，我们访问的各国似乎都渴望我们的领导，远不会躲避与美国的合作。

然而，这次旅行也提供了令人深省的证据，证明我第一任期的很大一部分时间不会花在新举措上，而是要解决我就任前存在的问题。例如，在北约峰会上，我们得以在听取欧洲领导人强调他们的公众对美国发起的伊拉克战争感到极度反感，并且要集结政治支持来增兵的困难后，争取到了北约支持我们的阿富汗巴基斯坦战略。北约的中东欧成员国也因为布什政府对俄罗斯入侵格鲁吉亚的反应过于温和而感到不安，并质疑北约是否可以保护他们免受类似的俄罗斯侵略。他们说得有道理：在峰会之前，我惊奇地发现北约缺乏保卫每个盟友的计划或快速反应能力。这只是作为总统时我发现的又一个肮脏的秘密，就像在我们的阿富汗审核中学到的一样，在伊拉克入侵之后，世界也学到了一样的事情：对于所有的强硬言论，布什政府鹰派们就像切尼和拉姆斯菲尔德一样，在实现他们的口号的时候表现出乏力、缺乏一致、有效的策略。或者如丹尼斯·麦克唐纳更形象地说，“打开任何白宫抽屉，你都会找到另一个肮脏的三明治。”

I did what I could to defuse the central European issue by proposing that NATO develop individualized defense plans for each of its members and by declaring that when it came to our mutual defense obligations, we should make no distinction between junior and senior members of the alliance. This was going to mean more work for our overstretched staff and military, but I tried not to let it raise my blood pressure too much. I reminded myself that every president felt saddled with the previous administration's choices and mistakes, that 90 percent of the job was navigating inherited problems and unanticipated crises. Only if you did that well enough, with discipline and purpose, did you get a real shot at shaping the future.

我尽力缓解中欧问题，提议北约为每个成员国制定个性化的防御计划，并宣布在相互防卫义务方面，我们不应区分联盟中的高级与低级成员国。这将意味着我们不得不为我们过度紧张的员工和军队增加更多工作量，但我尽量避免让自己过于紧张。我提醒自己，每位总统都感到被前任政府的选择和错误所拖累，90%的工作就是应对继承的问题和未曾预料到的危机。只有你足够好地做到了这一点，有纪律和目的，你才能真正有机会塑造未来。

What did have me worried by the end of the trip was less a particular issue than an overall impression: the sense that for a variety of reasons—some of our own making, some beyond our control—the hopeful tide of democratization, liberalization, and integration that had swept the globe after the end of the Cold War was beginning to recede. Older, darker forces were gathering strength, and the stresses brought about by a prolonged economic downturn were likely to make things worse.

Before the financial crisis, for example, Turkey had appeared to be a nation on the upswing, a case study in globalization's positive effects on emerging economies. Despite a history of political instability and military coups, the majority-Muslim country had been largely aligned with the West since the 1950s, maintaining NATO membership, regular elections, a market-based system, and a secular constitution that enshrined modern principles like equal rights for women. When its current prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and his Justice and Development Party had swept into power in 2002–2003, touting populist and often overtly Islamic appeals, it had unsettled Turkey's secular, military-dominated political elite. Erdogan's vocal sympathy for both the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas in their fight for an independent Palestinian state, in particular, had also made Washington and Tel Aviv nervous. And yet, Erdogan's government thus far had abided by Turkey's constitution, met its NATO obligations, and effectively managed the economy, even initiating a series of modest reforms with the hope of qualifying for E.U. membership. Some observers suggested that Erdogan might offer a model of moderate, modern, and pluralistic political Islam and an alternative to the autocracies, theocracies, and extremist movements that characterized the region.整个旅程结束后，让我担忧的不是特定的问题，而是一种总体感觉：民主化、自由化和一体化的希望之潮曾在冷战结束后席卷全球，但由于各种原因——有些是自己造成的，有些超出了我们的控制——这种趋势正开始减弱。更古老、更黑暗的势力正在聚集力量，经济衰退的压力可能会使情况变得更糟。

例如，在金融危机之前，土耳其似乎是一个不断发展的国家，是全球化对新兴经济体的积极影响的一个案例。尽管有政治不稳定和军事政变的历史，这个多数为穆斯林的国家自1950年代以来一直与西方大国保持一定的关系。土耳其拥有北约成员资格、定期举行选举、市场化经济体系，以及一份体现现代原则的世俗宪法，如男女平等权利。当时任总理雷杰普·塔伊普·埃尔多安和他的正义与发展党在2002-2003年上台，宣扬大众化和明显的伊斯兰主义呼吁，这引起了土耳其世俗、军事主导的政治精英的不安。特别是，埃尔多安对穆斯林兄弟会和哈马斯为建立独立巴勒斯坦国而斗争的声援，也让美国和特拉维夫紧张。然而，埃尔多安政府迄今为止遵守了土耳其的宪法，履行了北约的义务，并有效地管理了经济，甚至开展了一系列渴望进入欧盟所需的小规模改革。一些观察家认为，埃尔多安可能提供一种温和现代的、多元化的政治伊斯兰模式，成为解决该地区专制政权、神权政治和极端主义运动的一种选择。

In a speech before the Turkish parliament and a town hall meeting with Istanbul college students, I tried to echo such optimism. But because of my conversations with Erdogan, I had my doubts. During the NATO summit, Erdogan had instructed his team to block the appointment of highly regarded Danish prime minister Anders Rasmussen as the organization's new secretary-general—not because he thought Rasmussen was unqualified but because Rasmussen's government had declined to act on Turkey's demand that it censor the 2005 publication of cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad in a Danish newspaper. European appeals about freedom of the press had left Erdogan unmoved, and he had relented only after I'd promised that Rasmussen would have a Turkish deputy and had convinced him that my upcoming visit—and U.S. public opinion of Turkey—would be adversely affected if Rasmussen's appointment didn't go through.

在土耳其议会和伊斯坦布尔学院学生的市民大会上，我试图回应这种乐观情绪。但是通过与埃尔多安的交谈，我对此持怀疑态度。在北约峰会期间，埃尔多安指示他的团队阻止公认甚高的丹麦总理安德斯·拉斯穆森担任北约秘书长的任命 - 不是因为他认为拉斯穆森不合格，而是拉斯穆森政府拒绝采取行动，审查2005年丹麦报纸刊登描绘先知穆罕默德的漫画的土耳其的要求。欧洲对新闻自由的诉求没有使埃尔多安感到动容，并且只有在我承诺拉斯穆森将有一位土耳其副手并且说服他如果拉斯穆森的任命未经通过会对我的即将到来的访问和美国对土耳其的公众舆论产生不利影响之后，他才屈服了。

This set a pattern for the next eight years. Mutual self-interest would dictate that Erdogan and I develop a working relationship. Turkey looked to the United States for support of its E.U. bid, as well as military and intelligence assistance in fighting Kurdish separatists who'd been emboldened by the fall of Saddam Hussein. We, meanwhile, needed Turkey's cooperation to combat terrorism and stabilize Iraq. Personally, I found the prime minister to be cordial and generally responsive to my requests. But whenever I listened to him speak, his tall frame slightly stooped, his voice a forceful staccato that rose an octave in response to various grievances or perceived slights, I got the strong impression that his commitment to democracy and the rule of law might last only as long as it preserved his own power.

這奠定了未來八年的模式。雙方的自身利益使得埃尔多安和我发展出有效的工作關係。土耳其期望得到美國對其歐盟申請的支持，同時在對抗被薩達姆·侯賽因垮台後變得膽大妄為的庫爾德分裂主義者的軍事和情報援助上也需要我們的支持。而我們則需要土耳其的合作來打擊恐怖主義和穩定伊拉克。從個人角度看，我發現總理對我的要求總是很禮貌且通常會有所回應。但是每當我聽到他說話時，他矮小的身形微微彎曲，語調強而有力，對各種不滿或感知到的冒犯都會提高一個八度，我就有強烈的印象，認為他對民主和法治的承諾只會持續到保住自己的權力為止。

My questions about the durability of democratic values weren't restricted to Turkey. During my stop in Prague, E.U. officials had expressed alarm about the rise of far-right parties across Europe and how the economic crisis was causing an uptick in nationalism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and skepticism

about integration. The sitting Czech president, Václav Klaus, to whom I made a short courtesy visit, embodied some of these trends. A vocal “Eurosceptic” who’d been in office since 2003, he was both ardently pro-free market and an admirer of Vladimir Putin’s. And although we tried to keep things light during our conversation, what I knew of his public record—he had supported efforts to censor Czech television, was dismissive of gay and lesbian rights, and was a notorious climate change denier—didn’t leave me particularly hopeful about political trends in central Europe.

我的问题关于民主价值的耐久性并不限于土耳其。在我停留布拉格期间，欧盟官员对欧洲极右翼政党的崛起、经济危机引发的民族主义、反移民情绪和对整合的怀疑表示了关切。捷克总统瓦茨拉夫·克劳斯，我向他短暂的礼节性访问了一下，体现了这些趋势。作为一个自2003年以来一直担任总统的公开的“欧洲怀疑主义者”，他既是狂热的自由市场支持者，也是弗拉基米尔·普京的崇拜者。尽管我们在交谈中试图保持轻松，但我所知道的他的公共记录——他曾支持对捷克电视进行审查，对同性恋和女同性恋权利持不认同态度，且是一个臭名昭著的气候变化否认者——并没有让我对中欧的政治趋势特别抱有希望。

It was hard to tell how lasting these trends would be. I told myself it was the nature of democracies—including America’s—to swing between periods of progressive change and conservative retrenchment. In fact, what was striking was how easily Klaus would have fit in with the Republican Senate caucus back home, just as I could readily picture Erdogan as a local power broker on the Chicago City Council. Whether this was a source of comfort or concern, I couldn’t decide.

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I HAD NOT, however, come to Prague to assess the state of democracy. Instead, we had scheduled my one big public speech of the trip to lay out a top foreign policy initiative: the reduction and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons. I’d worked on the issue since my election to the Senate four years earlier, and while there were risks promoting what many considered a utopian quest, I told my team that in some ways that was the point; even modest progress on the issue required a bold and overarching vision. If I hoped to pass one thing on to Malia and Sasha, it was freedom from the possibility of a human-made apocalypse.

很难判断这些趋势持续的时间有多长。我告诉自己，这是民主制国家（包括美国）在进步变革和保守回退之间摆荡的本质。实际上，令人惊讶的是，克劳斯很容易就可以适应本地的共和党参议院代表团，而我也可以很容易地想象埃尔多安是芝加哥市议会的地方权力经纪人。这是一种安慰还是关注的来源，我无法决定。

然而，我来到布拉格并不是为了评估民主制国家的状态。相反，我们安排了我一次重要的公开演讲，提出一项重要的外交政策倡议：减少并最终消除核武器。自我当选参议员以来，我一直在致力于这个问题，虽然推动许多人认为是一种乌托邦的追求存在风险，但我告诉我的团队，在某些方面，这正是重点；即使在这个问题上取得的进展很少，也需要一个大胆的全局性愿景。如果我希望把一件事情传给玛利亚和萨莎，那就是免于人为灾难可能发生的自由。

I had a second, more practical reason for focusing on the nuclear issue in a way that would make headlines across Europe: We needed to find a means to prevent Iran and North Korea from advancing their nuclear programs. (The day before the speech, in fact, North Korea had launched a long-range rocket into the Pacific, just to get our attention.) It was time to ramp up international pressure on both countries, including with enforceable economic sanctions; and I knew this would be a whole lot easier to accomplish if I could show that the United States was interested in not just restarting global momentum on disarmament but also actively reducing its own nuclear stockpile.

我專注於核問題並獲得歐洲的關注，還有個更為實際的原因：我們需要找到一種方式防止伊朗和北韓發展核計劃。（事實上，在演講前一天，北韓發射了一枚遠程火箭進入太平洋，只是想引起我們的關注。）是時候加大國際壓力，對兩國施加可執行的經濟制裁；我知道，如果我能展示美國不僅有興趣重新啟動裁軍的全球動力，還積極減少自己的核庫存，這將會更容易實現。

By the morning of the speech, I was satisfied that we had framed the nuclear issue with enough concrete, achievable proposals to keep me from sounding hopelessly quixotic. The day was clear and the setting spectacular, a town square with the ancient Prague Castle—once home to Bohemian kings and Holy Roman emperors—looming in the background. As the Beast wended its way through the city’s narrow and uneven streets, we passed some of the thousands who were gathering to hear the speech. There were people of all ages, but mostly I saw young Czechs, dressed in jeans, sweaters, and scarves, bundled up against a crisp spring wind, their faces flushed and expectant. It was crowds like this, I thought, that had been scattered by Soviet tanks at the end of the 1968 Prague Spring; and it was on these same streets just twenty-one years later, in 1989, that even bigger crowds of peaceful protesters had, against all odds, brought an end to Communist rule.

在演講的早晨，我滿意地認為，我們已經提出了足夠具體、可實現的核問題，使我聽起來不再像個不切實際的不羈之人。這一天天氣晴朗，場景壯觀，一個城鎮廣場上有古老的布拉格城堡，曾經是波希米亞國王和神聖羅馬帝國皇帝的故居，矗立在後面。當獸蟲車(NB: Obama使用这个词指专用车)穿過城市狹窄而不平坦的街道時，我們經過了成千上萬的人聚集地聽演講。有各個年齡層的人，但我主要看到的是年輕的捷克人，穿著牛仔褲、毛衣和圍巾，包裹在清新的春風中，他們的臉紅著，期待著。我想，正是像這樣的人群，在1968年布拉格之春結束時被蘇聯坦克驅散；而在21年之後的1989年，在這條相同的街道上，更多的和平抗議者群集在一起，逆轉了所有的不利，結束了共產主義統治。

I had been in law school in 1989. I recalled sitting alone in my basement apartment a few miles from Harvard Square, glued to my secondhand TV set as I watched what would come to be known as the Velvet Revolution unfold. I remember being riveted by those protests and hugely inspired. It was the same feeling I’d had earlier in the year, seeing that solitary figure facing down tanks in Tiananmen Square, the same inspiration I felt whenever I watched grainy footage of Freedom Riders or John Lewis and his fellow civil rights soldiers marching across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. To see ordinary people sloughing off fear and habit to act on their deepest beliefs, to see young people risking everything just to have a say in their own lives, to try to strip the world of the old cruelties, hierarchies, divisions, falsehoods, and injustices that cramped the human spirit—that, I had realized, was what I believed in and longed to be a part of.我曾经在1989年上过法学院。我记得当时我独自坐在距离哈佛广场几英里远的地下室公寓里，专注于观看那场被称为“天鹅绒革命”的

事件在我的二手电视上展开。我记得我非常被那些抗议活动所吸引和鼓舞。这和我这一年早些时候看到孤身面对天安门坦克的人物所感受到的一样，也和我每当看到Freedom Riders或约翰路易斯及他的同伴在塞尔玛的埃德蒙佩特斯桥上游行的模糊录像时所感受到的一样。看到普通人摆脱恐惧和惯性，根据自己的信仰行动起来，年轻人冒着风险只在自己的生活中发言，尝试去消除我们这个世界上因旧的残酷、等级制度、分裂、虚假以及不公而压抑人类精神的限制——这些，我已经意识到，是我所信仰和渴望成为一部分的。

That night, I had been unable to sleep. Rather than reading my casebooks for class the next day, I had written in my journal deep into the night, my brain bursting with urgent, half-formed thoughts, uncertain of what my role might be in this great global struggle but knowing even then that the practice of law would be no more than a way station for me, that my heart would take me elsewhere.

It felt like a long time ago. And yet looking out from the backseat of the presidential limousine, preparing to deliver an address that would be broadcast around the world, I realized there was a direct if wholly improbable line between that moment and this one. I was the product of that young man's dreams; and as we pulled up to the makeshift holding area behind a wide stage, a part of me imagined myself not as the politician I had become but as one of those young people in the crowd, uncompromised by power, unencumbered by the need to accommodate men like Erdogan and Klaus, obliged only to make common cause with those chasing after a new and better world.

那个晚上，我难以入睡。我并没有阅读第二天课程的案例书，而是熬到深夜在我的日记本里写下了一些激动人心却又模糊不清的想法。虽然当时还不确定我的角色在这场全球性的斗争中是什么，但我深知，法律实践对我而言只是一个中转站，我的内心将引导我走向其他路径。

那似乎是很久以前了。然而，此刻我却坐在总统座车的后座上，准备发表一篇会被全球广播的演讲，我意识到这一刻和当时那一刻之间存在着一条直接但极不可能的联系。我是那个年轻人梦想的产物；当我们开到舞台后方的临时停机区时，我内心的一部分想象着自己并不是现在这个成为政治家的我，而是那些青年群众中的一个，不受权力的妥协和埃尔多安和克劳斯等人的累赘所拖累，仅仅需要与那些追求新世界、更美好世界的人们齐心协力。

After the speech, I had a chance to visit with Václav Havel, the playwright and former dissident who had been president of the Czech Republic for two terms, finishing in 2003. A participant in the Prague Spring, he'd been blacklisted after the Soviet occupation, had his works banned, and been repeatedly jailed for his political activities. Havel, as much as anyone, had given moral voice to the grassroots democracy movements that had brought the Soviet era to an end. Along with Nelson Mandela and a handful of other living statesmen, he'd also been a distant role model for me. I'd read his essays while in law school. Watching him maintain his moral compass even after his side had won power and he'd assumed the presidency had helped convince me that it was possible to enter politics and come out with your soul intact.

演講結束後，我有機會與瓦茨拉夫·哈維爾會面，他是劇作家和前捷克共和國總統，在2003年完成了他的第二個任期。他是布拉格之春的參與者，在蘇聯佔領後被列入黑名單，他的作品被禁止，因為他的政治活動而多次被囚禁。哈維爾和任何人一樣，都為草根民主運動提供了道德聲音，這些運動結束了蘇聯時代。他和納爾遜·曼德拉以及其他幾位活著的政治家一起，也成為了我遠程的榜樣。我在法學院時讀過他的文章。看著他在贏得權力並擔任總統後仍然保持他的道德指南針，有助於我相信有可能進入政治並保持良心的完整。

Our meeting was brief, a victim to my schedule. Havel was in his early seventies but looked younger, with an unassuming manner, a warm, craggy face, rusty-blond hair, and a trim mustache. After posing for pictures and addressing the assembled press, we settled into a conference room, where, with the help of his personal translator, we spoke for forty-five minutes or so about the financial crisis, Russia, and the future of Europe. He was concerned that the United States might somehow believe that the problems of Europe were solved when in fact, throughout the former Soviet satellites, the commitment to democracy was still fragile. As memories of the old order faded, and leaders like him who had forged close relationships with America passed from the scene, the dangers of a resurgent illiberalism were real.

我們的會面很短暫，是我忙碌日程的受害者。哈維爾七十出頭，但看上去比實際年齡年輕，態度謙遜，臉上有著溫暖而崎嶇的表情，有著微黃的鬚毛和整齊的小鬍子。在拍完照和向媒體發表講話之後，我們進入了一個會議室，並在他的個人翻譯的幫助下，花了四十五分鐘左右談論了金融危機、俄羅斯和歐洲的未來。他擔心美國可能會認為歐洲的問題已經解決，但實際上，在前蘇聯國家中，對民主的承諾依然脆弱。隨著對舊秩序的記憶逐漸褪色，像他這樣與美國建立緊密關係的領導人淡出歷史舞台，極權主義回潮的危險是真實存在的。

"In some ways, the Soviets simplified who the enemy was," Havel said. "Today, autocrats are more sophisticated. They stand for election while slowly undermining the institutions that make democracy possible. They champion free markets while engaging in the same corruption, cronyism, and exploitation as existed in the past." He confirmed that the economic crisis was strengthening the forces of nationalism and populist extremism across the continent, and although he agreed with my strategy to reengage Russia, he cautioned that the annexation of Georgian territory was just the most overt example of Putin's efforts to intimidate and interfere throughout the region. "Without attention from the U.S.," he said, "freedom here and across Europe will wither."

"在某些方面，苏联简化了敌人的定义，"哈维尔说。"今天，独裁者更加老练。他们参加选举，同时慢慢破坏使民主成为可能的机构。他们支持自由市场，同时进行与过去一样的腐败、任人唯亲和剥削。"他确认经济危机正在加强欧洲大陆民族主义和民粹主义极端主义势力，虽然他赞同我的重新与俄罗斯接触的策略，但也警告说，格鲁吉亚领土的吞并只是普京试图在整个地区施加威慑和干预的最明显的例子。"他说，如果没有美国的关注，自由在这里和整个欧洲将逐渐消失。"

Our time was up. I thanked Havel for his advice and assured him that America would not falter in promoting democratic values. He smiled and told me he hoped he had not added to my burdens.

"You've been cursed with people's high expectations," he said, shaking my hand. "Because it means they are also easily disappointed. It's something I'm familiar with. I fear it can be a trap."

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SEVEN DAYS AFTER leaving Washington, my team climbed back onto Air Force One, worn out and ready to return home. I was in the plane's front cabin, about to catch up on some sleep, when Jim Jones and Tom Donilon walked in to brief me on a developing situation involving an issue I'd never been asked about during the campaign.我们的时间已经到了。我感谢哈维尔的建议并向他保证美国不会在促进民主价值方面退缩。他微笑着告诉我，希望他没有增加我的负担。

“你被人们的高期望所困扰，”他握着我的手说，“因为这也意味着他们很容易失望。我非常熟悉这一点。我担心这可能是一个陷阱。”

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离开华盛顿七天后，我的团队再次登上了空军一号，疲惫不堪，准备回家。我坐在飞机前舱，准备稍作休息，吉姆·琼斯和汤姆·多尼隆走进来向我汇报发展中的一项问题，这是我在竞选期间从未被问到过的问题。

“Pirates?”

“Pirates, Mr. President,” Jones said. “Off the coast of Somalia. They boarded a cargo ship captained by an American and appear to be holding the crew hostage.”

This problem wasn't new. For decades, Somalia had been a failed state, a country on the Horn of Africa carved up and shared uneasily by various warlords, clans, and, more recently, a vicious terrorist organization called al-Shabaab. Without the benefit of a functioning economy, gangs of jobless young men equipped with motorized skiffs, AK-47s, and makeshift ladders had taken to boarding commercial vessels traveling the busy shipping route connecting Asia to the West via the Suez Canal and holding them for ransom. This was the first time an American-flagged ship was involved. We had no indication that the four Somalis had harmed any members of the twenty-person crew, but Secretary Gates had ordered the navy destroyer USS Bainbridge and the frigate USS Halyburton to the area, and they were expected to have the hijacked vessel within their sights by the time we landed in Washington.

“海盗？”

“是海盗，总统先生，”瓊斯說，“他們在索馬里海岸的海域袭击了一艘美国籍货船，现在已经扣押了船员。”

這不是什麼新問題。數十年來，索馬里一直是個失敗的國家，一個在非洲之角被各種軍閥、氏族和近年來被稱為薩哈布的惡性恐怖組織不安地分享瓜分的國家。由於沒有正常的經濟運作，一些失業的年輕人开着小型快艇，手持AK-47，利用臨時架設的梯子登上從亞洲通過蘇伊士運河前往西方的商船，以勒索財物。這是第一次涉及到一艘美國旗艦。我們得知這四名索馬里人並沒傷害到船員中的任何一人，但蓋茨國防部長已經下令運送海軍驅逐艦USS Bainbridge和護衛艦USS Halyburton前往該海域，預計船隻被攔截的時間在我們降落華盛頓之前。

“We'll wake you, sir, if there are further developments,” Jones said.

“Got it,” I said, feeling the weariness I'd staved off over the past few days starting to settle in my bones. “Also wake me if the locusts come,” I said. “Or the plague.”

“Sir?” Jones paused.

“Just a joke, Jim. Good night.”

“琼斯说：“如果有进展，先生，我们会叫醒您的。”

“我明白了，”我说，感受到我在过去几天里一直在努力避免的疲倦在我的骨头里开始落下。“如果蝗虫或瘟疫到来，请叫醒我。”

“先生？”琼斯停顿了一下。

“只是一个玩笑，吉姆。晚安。”

## CHAPTER 15

OUR ENTIRE NATIONAL SECURITY TEAM spent the next four days absorbed by the drama unfolding on the open seas off Somalia. The quick-thinking crew of the cargo-carrying Maersk Alabama had managed to disable the ship's engine before the pirates boarded, and most of its members had hidden in a secure room. Their American captain, a courageous and levelheaded Vermonter named Richard Phillips, meanwhile, had stayed on the bridge. With the 508-foot ship inoperable and their small skiff no longer seaworthy, the Somalis decided to flee on a covered lifeboat, taking Phillips as a hostage and demanding a \$2 million ransom. Even as one of the hostage-takers surrendered, negotiations to release the American captain went nowhere. The drama only heightened when Phillips attempted escape by jumping overboard, only to be recaptured.

### 第15章

我们整个国家安全团队在接下来的四天中都专注于《阿拉巴马号》在索马里海域上演的戏剧。货船《马士基阿拉巴马号》机智的船员在海盗登船前成功停用了引擎，船上大多数成员都藏身于安全房间。他们勇敢而沉着的美国船长理查德·菲利普斯，呆在了舰桥上。随着508英尺的货船无法操作，而他们的小艇也无法继续航行，索马里人决定乘坐覆盖的救生艇逃跑，并带着菲利普斯作为人质，要求一笔200万美元的赎金。即使其中一名劫持者投降，释放美国船长的谈判也没有取得进展。当菲利普斯试图通过跳海逃跑时，戏剧情节更加高潮，但他最终还是被重新捕获。

With the situation growing more tense by the hour, I issued a standing order to fire on the Somali pirates if at any point Phillips appeared to be in imminent danger. Finally, on the fifth day, we got the word: In the middle of the night, as two of the Somalis came out into the open and the other could be seen through a small window holding a gun to the American captain, Navy SEAL snipers took three shots. The pirates were killed. Phillips was safe. The news elicited high fives all around the White House. The Washington Post headline declared it AN EARLY MILITARY VICTORY FOR OBAMA. But as relieved as I was to see Captain Phillips reunited with his family, and as proud as I was of our navy personnel for their handling of the situation, I wasn't inclined to beat my chest over the episode. Partly, it was a simple recognition that the line between success and complete disaster had been a matter of

inches—three bullets finding their targets through the darkness rather than being thrown off just a tad by a sudden ocean swell. But I also realized that around the world, in places like Yemen and Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq, the lives of millions of young men like those three dead Somalis (some of them boys, really, since the oldest pirate was believed to be nineteen) had been warped and stunted by desperation, ignorance, dreams of religious glory, the violence of their surroundings, or the schemes of older men. They were dangerous, these young men, often deliberately and casually cruel. Still, in the aggregate, at least, I wanted somehow to save them—send them to school, give them a trade, drain them of the hate that had been filling their heads. And yet the world they were a part of, and the machinery I commanded, more often had me killing them instead.

隨著情勢越來越緊張，我下達了一個常規命令，如果在任何時候菲利普斯顯得面臨臨近的危險，就開火擊退索馬利亞海盜。最後，第五天我們得到了消息：在半夜裡，當兩名索馬利亞人出現在戶外，另一名通過一個小窗口拿著一把槍指著美國船長時，海豹突擊隊狙擊手開了三槍。海盜被殺，菲利普斯安全了。這個消息引起了白宮附近的高潮。《華盛頓郵報》的頭版標題宣布了一個早期的軍事勝利為奧巴馬。

但是，儘管我非常欣慰地看到菲利普斯與他的家人團聚，也為我們的海軍人員因他們的處理情況而感到自豪，我並不想因這個事件而炫耀。部分原因是認識到成功與完全失敗之間的線只相隔幾英寸——三枚子彈穿透黑暗時找到了目標，而沒有被一個突然海浪擊倒。但我也意識到，在像也門、阿富汗、巴基斯坦和伊拉克這樣的地方，像那三個死去的索馬利亞青年一樣的數百萬年輕人的生命已經被絕望、無知、宗教榮耀的夢想、周圍暴力或年長男子的陰謀所扭曲和發展。這些年輕人是危險的，他們經常是有意和無意地殘忍。但總的來說，我希望以某种方式拯救他們——送他們去學校，給他們一個職業，消除填滿他們頭腦的仇恨。然而，他們所處的世界和我所指揮的機器更多地讓我殺了他們。

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THAT PART OF my job involved ordering people to be killed wasn't a surprise, although it was rarely framed that way. Fighting terrorists—"on their ten-yard line and not ours" as Gates liked to put it—had provided the entire rationale behind the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But as al-Qaeda had scattered and gone underground, metastasizing into a complex web of affiliates, operatives, sleeper cells, and sympathizers connected by the internet and burner phones, our national security agencies had been challenged to construct new forms of more targeted, nontraditional warfare—including operating an arsenal of lethal drones to take out al-Qaeda operatives within the territory of Pakistan. The National Security Agency, or NSA, already the most sophisticated electronic-intelligence-gathering organization in the world, employed new supercomputers and decryption technology worth billions of dollars to comb cyberspace in search of terrorist communications and potential threats. The Pentagon's Joint Special Operations Command, anchored by Navy SEAL teams and Army Special Forces, carried out nighttime raids and hunted down terrorist suspects mostly inside—but sometimes outside—the war zones of Afghanistan and Iraq. And the CIA developed new forms of analysis and intelligence gathering.

我的工作其中一个部分是命令人被杀，这并不是什么新鲜事，尽管通常不会这么明说。打击恐怖分子——用盖茨的话说，“在他们的十码线而不是我们的”——是阿富汗和伊拉克战争的全部理由。但是随着基地组织四散而去并且潜藏在地下，将变成由网络和一次性电话连接起来的一系列协会、特工、沉睡的细胞和支持者形成的复杂网络，我们的国家安全机构面临着构建更具针对性和非传统性的新形式的战争的挑战——包括操作致命的遥控无人机在巴基斯坦境内消灭基地组织特工。国家安全局，或NSA，已经成为世界上最先进的电子情报收集组织，利用价值数十亿美元的新型超级计算机和解密技术在网络空间搜索恐怖分子的通信和潜在威胁。五角大楼的联合特种作战指挥部，以海豹突击队和陆军特种部队为基础，进行夜间袭击并在阿富汗和伊拉克这两个战区内追捕恐怖嫌疑人。中央情报局则开发了新形式的分析和情报收集。

The White House, too, had reorganized itself to manage the terrorist threat. Each month, I chaired a meeting in the Situation Room, bringing all the intelligence agencies together to review recent developments and ensure coordination. The Bush administration had developed a ranking of terrorist targets, a kind of "Top 20" list complete with photos, alias information, and vital statistics reminiscent of those on baseball cards; generally, whenever someone on the list was killed, a new target was added, leading Rahm to observe that "al-Qaeda's HR department must have trouble filling that number 21 slot." In fact, my hyperactive chief of staff—who'd spent enough time in Washington to know that his new, liberal president couldn't afford to look soft on terrorism—was obsessed with the list, cornering those responsible for our targeting operations to find out what was taking so long when it came to locating number 10 or 14.

白宮也重新組織自己以應對恐怖主義威脅。每個月，我主持一個在情報房間裡的會議，將所有情報機構聚集在一起，檢查最近的發展情況並確定協調。布什政府已經制定了一個恐怖主義目標排名，類似於棒球卡牌的“前20名”名單，包括照片，別名信息和類似於生命統計數據的必要信息；通常情況下，每當名單上的某個人被殺死，就會新增一個新目標，這使得拉姆（Rahm）觀察到“基地組織HR部門必須很難填補第21個空缺”。事實上，我的過度活躍的幕僚長——他在華盛頓的時間足夠長，知道他的新的自由主義總統不能在反恐問題上顯得軟弱——着迷於這個名單，追問負責我們定位行動的人到底怎麼才能找到第10或14位。

I took no joy in any of this. It didn't make me feel powerful. I'd entered politics to help kids get a better education, to help families get healthcare, to help poor countries grow more food—it was that kind of power that I measured myself against.

But the work was necessary, and it was my responsibility to make sure our operations were as effective as possible. Moreover, unlike some on the left, I'd never engaged in wholesale condemnation of the Bush administration's approach to counterterrorism (CT). I'd seen enough of the intelligence to know that al-Qaeda and its affiliates were continuously plotting horrific crimes against innocent people. Its members weren't amenable to negotiations or bound by the normal rules of engagement; thwarting their plots and rooting them out was a task of extraordinary complexity. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, President Bush had done some things right, including swiftly and consistently trying to tamp down anti-Islamic sentiment in the United States—no small feat, especially given our country's history with McCarthyism and Japanese internment—and mobilizing international support for the early Afghan campaign. Even controversial Bush administration programs like the Patriot Act, which I myself had criticized, seemed to me potential tools for abuse more than wholesale violations of American civil liberties.我对这一切并不感到愉悦，也没有让我感觉到强大。我參政是为了帮助孩子们得到更好的教育，帮助家庭得到医疗保健，帮助贫困国家生产更多的粮食——这是我衡量自己的权力范围。

但这项工作是必要的，我有责任确保我们的行动尽可能有效。此外，与一些左派不同的是，我从未全面谴责布什政府的反恐政策。我看过足够的情报，知道基地组织及其附属机构不断策划针对无辜人民的恶性犯罪。他们不会接受谈判，也不受普通战斗规则的限制；挫败他们的阴谋和铲除他们是一项极为复杂的任务。在9/11之后的紧急情况下，布什总统做了一些正确的事情，包括迅速并持续地试图遏制美国的反伊斯兰情绪，这是一项不小的壮举，尤其是考虑到我们国家的麦卡锡主义和日本拘留营历史；并组织国际支持进行早期的阿富汗战争。即使是备受争议的布什政府计划，例如《爱国者法案》，我自己也曾批评，但在我看来，它们更像是滥用的潜在工具，而不是美国公民自由的全面侵犯。

The way the Bush administration had spun the intelligence to gain public support for invading Iraq (not to mention its use of terrorism as a political cudgel in the 2004 elections) was more damning. And, of course, I considered the invasion itself to be as big a strategic blunder as the slide into Vietnam had been decades earlier. But the actual wars in Afghanistan and Iraq hadn't involved the indiscriminate bombing or deliberate targeting of civilians that had been a routine part of even "good" wars like World War II; and with glaring exceptions like Abu Ghraib, our troops in theater had displayed a remarkable level of discipline and professionalism.

布什政府操纵情报以获取公众支持入侵伊拉克的方式（更不用说在2004年选举中将恐怖主义利用为政治棍棒）更加令人不满。当然，我认为入侵本身就像几十年前滑入越南战争那样是一个巨大的战略错误。但是，阿富汗和伊拉克的实际战争并没有涉及像第二次世界大战这样的“好战争”一样的无差别轰炸或有意针对平民的行为；而像阿布格莱布这样的明显例外除外，我们在战区的部队表现出了令人瞩目的纪律和职业精神。

As I saw it, then, my job was to fix those aspects of our CT effort that needed fixing, rather than tearing it out root and branch to start over. One such fix was closing Gitmo, the military prison at Guantánamo Bay—and thus halting the continuing stream of prisoners placed in indefinite detention there. Another was my executive order ending torture; although I'd been assured during my transition briefings that extraordinary renditions and "enhanced interrogations" had ceased during President Bush's second term, the disingenuous, cavalier, and sometimes absurd ways that a few high-ranking holdovers from the previous administration described those practices to me ("A doctor was always present to ensure that the suspect didn't suffer permanent damage or death") had convinced me of the need for bright lines. Beyond that, my highest priority was creating strong systems of transparency, accountability, and oversight—ones that included Congress and the judiciary and would provide a credible legal framework for what I sadly suspected would be a long-term struggle. For that I needed the fresh eyes and critical mindset of the mostly liberal lawyers who worked under me in the White House, Pentagon, CIA, and State Department counsels' offices. But I also needed someone who had operated at the very center of U.S. CT efforts, someone who could help me sort through the various policy trade-offs that were sure to come, and then reach into the bowels of the system to make sure the needed changes actually happened.

在我看来，我的工作是修正我们反恐努力中需要修正的方面，而不是从根本上彻底改变。其中一个修正是关闭关塔那摩湾的军事监狱，从而停止一直被囚禁在那里的囚犯。另一个是我的行政命令取消酷刑；虽然在政府过渡期间，我得到了保证特别引渡和“强化审讯”已经在布什总统的第二个任期中停止，但前一届政府的一些高层人员用虚伪、轻率和有时荒唐的方式描述了这些做法（“一位医生总是在场，以确保嫌疑人没有遭受永久性的伤害或死亡”），这使我相信需要一个明确的底线。除此之外，我最高的优先事项是建立透明、问责和监督的强大体系——包括国会和司法部门，并提供一个可信的法律框架，我很遗憾地认为这将是一场长期的斗争。为此，我需要在白宫、五角大楼、中情局和国务院顾问办公室工作的大多数自由派律师的新鲜视角和批判性思维。但我还需要一位曾经在美国反恐中心工作的人，他能够帮助我处理各种政策权衡，并深入系统的内部，确保必要的变革确实发生了。

John Brennan was that person. In his early fifties, with thinning gray hair, a bad hip (a consequence of his dunking exploits as a high school basketball player), and the face of an Irish boxer, he had taken an interest in Arabic in college, studied at the American University in Cairo, and joined the CIA in 1980 after answering an ad in The New York Times. He would spend the next twenty-five years with the agency, as a daily intelligence briefer, a station chief in the Middle East, and, eventually, the deputy executive director under President Bush, charged with putting together the agency's integrated CT unit after 9/11.

约翰·布伦南（John Brennan）就是那个人。他年逾五十，头发稀疏，脸色红润，臀部不好（这是他高中篮球运动员时垫球时摔伤的后果），他在大学时对阿拉伯语产生了兴趣，到了开罗美国大学学习，1980年回国后应征了中央情报局（CIA）的招聘广告，并在这个机构度过了接下来的25年，从事每日情报汇报、中东地区的站长等工作。在9/11之后，他在布什总统的领导下担任副行政总监，负责组建中央情报局的综合反恐部门。

Despite the résumé and the tough-guy appearance, what struck me most about Brennan was his thoughtfulness and lack of bluster (along with his incongruously gentle voice). Although unwavering in his commitment to destroy al-Qaeda and its ilk, he possessed enough appreciation of Islamic culture and the complexities of the Middle East to know that guns and bombs alone wouldn't accomplish that task. When he told me he had personally opposed waterboarding and other forms of "enhanced interrogation" sanctioned by his boss, I believed him; and I became convinced that his credibility with the intel community would be invaluable to me.

儘管履歷表和硬漢外表令人留下深刻印象，但我對布倫南最深刻的印象是他的深思熟慮和缺乏虛張聲勢（以及他那令人不應該出其不意的溫柔聲音）。雖然他堅定地承諾要摧毀基地組織和其同類，但他對伊斯蘭文化及中東的複雜性有足夠的理解，知道僅有槍炮炸彈是無法完成這項任務的。當他告訴我他個人反對水刑和其他被上司核准的“增強式審訊”時，我相信了他；我也相信他在情報界的可信度會對我有很大的幫助。

Still, Brennan had been at the CIA when waterboarding took place, and that association made him a nonstarter as my first agency director. Instead, I offered him the staff position of deputy national security advisor for homeland security and counterterrorism. "Your job," I told him, "will be to help me protect this country in a way that's consistent with our values, and to make sure everyone else is doing the same. Can you do that?" He said he could. For the next four years, John Brennan would fulfill that promise, helping manage our efforts at reform and serving as my go-between with a sometimes skeptical and resistant CIA bureaucracy. He also shared my burden of knowing that any mistake we made could cost people their lives, which was the

reason he could be found stoically working in a windowless West Wing office below the Oval through weekends and holidays, awake while others were sleeping, poring over every scrap of intelligence with a grim, dogged intensity that led folks around the White House to call him “the Sentinel.”

布倫南當時在中央情報局服務時曾經參與關於水刑的事項，這件事讓他成為我首位擔任情報機構總監的不適當人選。相反地，我提供了他擔任國家安全事務副顧問職務，負責國土安全和打擊恐怖主義。我告訴他：“你的工作是以符合我們的價值觀方式來幫助我們保護國家，確保其他人也做到這一點。你能做到嗎？”他答應了。

接下來的四年中，約翰·布倫南履行了這個承諾，幫助我們管理改革的努力，並擔當起我的橋樑角色，解決有時懷疑和抵抗態度的中央情報局官僚體系。他也跟我一樣負擔著知道一個錯誤就可能會使人失去生命的重擔，這也是他在總統辦公室下面一個沒有窗戶的辦公室努力工作，不眠不休的原因。他拼命地閱讀著每一絲情報，有時令在白宮附近的人稱他為“哨兵”。

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IT BECAME CLEAR pretty quickly that putting the fallout from past CT practices behind us and instituting new ones where needed was going to be a slow, painful grind. Closing Gitmo meant we needed to figure out alternative means to house and legally process both existing detainees and any terrorists captured in the future. Prompted by a set of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests that had worked their way through the courts, I had to decide whether documents related to the CIA's Bush-era waterboarding and rendition programs should be declassified (yes to legal memos justifying such practices, since both the memos and the programs themselves were already widely known; no to photos of the practices themselves, which the Pentagon and State Department feared might trigger international outrage and put our troops or diplomats in greater danger). Our legal teams and national security staff wrestled daily with how to set up stronger judicial and congressional oversight for our CT efforts and how to meet our obligations for transparency without tipping off New York Times–reading terrorists.

很快明白的是，將過去反恐实践中的問題徹底解決，並在需要時制定新的实践方法，是一個緩慢而痛苦的过程。关闭关塔那摩意味着我们需要找到替代性的方式来安置和合法处理现有的被拘留者以及未来被捕的恐怖分子。在一组通过法院的信息自由法案（FOIA）请求的推动下，我必须决定是否解密与CIA的布什时期酷刑和移交计划有关的文件（解密能证明这些操作的法律备忘录，因为这些备忘录和实践本身已经被广泛知晓；但不解密这些实践的照片，因为五角大楼和国务院担心这可能引发国际公愤，并将我们的部队或外交官置于更大的危险之中）。我们的法律团队和国家安全团队每天都在思考如何建立更强的司法和国会监督机制，以及如何在不让《纽约时报》读物的恐怖分子意识到的情况下，履行我们透明度的义务。

Rather than continue with what looked to the world like a bunch of ad hoc foreign policy decisions, we decided I'd deliver two speeches related to our anti-terrorism efforts. The first, intended mainly for domestic consumption, would insist that America's long-term national security depended on fidelity to our Constitution and the rule of law, acknowledging that in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 we'd sometimes fallen short of those standards and laying out how my administration would approach counterterrorism going forward. The second, scheduled to be given in Cairo, would address a global audience—in particular, the world's Muslims. I had promised to deliver a speech like this during the campaign, and although with everything else going on some of my team suggested canceling it, I told Rahm that backing out wasn't an option. “We may not change public attitudes in these countries overnight,” I said, “but if we don't squarely address the sources of tension between the West and the Muslim world, and describe what peaceful coexistence might look like, we'll be fighting wars in the region for the next thirty years.”

我們決定不再繼續做看似一個又一個臨時外交政策決策而是要發表兩次演講，以展現我們的反恐努力。第一次演講主要是針對國內聽眾，強調美國的長期國家安全依賴於對憲法和法治的忠誠。承認在911事件發生後我們有時沒有達到這些標準，並且說明我的政府將如何開展反恐行動。第二次演講定於在開羅發表，是針對全球聽眾，特別是穆斯林世界。我曾在競選期間承諾發表這樣的演講，盡管現在有其他事情要處理，我的團隊有人建議取消，但我告訴拉姆，這不是一個選擇。我說：“我們可能無法在這些國家改變公眾態度，但如果我們不正面直視西方和穆斯林世界之間的緊張關係的根源並描述和平共處可能會出現的情況，未來三十年我們將在該地區打仗。”

To help write both speeches I enlisted the immense talents of Ben Rhodes, my thirty-one-year-old NSC speechwriter and soon-to-be deputy national security advisor for strategic communications. If Brennan represented someone who could act as a conduit between me and the national security apparatus I'd inherited, Ben connected me to my younger, more idealistic self. Raised in Manhattan by a liberal Jewish mother and a Texas lawyer father, both of whom had held government jobs under Lyndon Johnson, he had been pursuing a master's degree in fiction writing at NYU when 9/11 happened. Fueled by patriotic anger, Ben had headed to D.C. in search of a way to serve, eventually finding a job with former Indiana congressman Lee Hamilton and helping to write the influential 2006 Iraq Study Group report.

為了幫我撰寫這兩篇演說，我邀請了Ben Rhodes這位才華洋溢的31歲NSC演說撰稿人，也是我即將任命的戰略通訊副國家安全顧問。如果Brennan代表了一個能夠起到我與國家安全體系遺產之間的聯繫作用，那麼Ben就把我與我那年輕、更理想主義的自己聯繫起來。他在曼哈頓由自由派猶太母親和得克薩斯州律師父親撫養長大，兩人都曾在林登·約翰遜政府擔任過職務，他本來正在紐約大學攻讀創意寫作碩士學位，當9/11事件發生後，被愛國之情激起的Ben前往華盛頓尋找服務的途徑，最後在前印第安那州眾議員李漢密爾頓的幫助下，參與了撰寫具有重要影響的2006年伊拉克研究小組報告。

Short and prematurely balding, with dark brows that seemed perpetually furrowed, Ben had been thrown into the deep end of the pool, immediately asked by our understaffed campaign to crank out position papers, press releases, and major speeches. There'd been some growing pains: In Berlin, for example, he and Favs had landed on a beautiful German phrase—“a community of fate”—to tie together the themes of my one big preelection speech on foreign soil, only to discover a couple of hours before I was to go onstage that the phrase had been used in one of Hitler's first addresses to the Reichstag. (“Probably not the effect you're going for,” Reggie Love deadpanned as I burst into laughter and Ben's face turned bright red.) Despite his youth, Ben wasn't shy about weighing in on policy or contradicting my more senior advisors, with a sharp intelligence and a stubborn earnestness that was leavened with a self-deprecating humor and healthy sense of irony. He had a writer's sensibility, one I shared, and it formed the basis for a

relationship not unlike the one I'd developed with Favs: I could spend an hour with Ben dictating my arguments on a subject and count on getting a draft a few days later that not only captured my voice but also channeled something more essential: my bedrock view of the world, and sometimes even my heart.

本身身材矮小，脑门周围已开始秃顶，常常带着浓密的眉毛，看起来总是皱着眉头。我们竞选团队因缺乏人手，让他直接投入深水区，要求快速地撰写政策文件、新闻稿和重要演说。起初还有些摸索困难，比如在柏林，他和 Fav 为了连接我在一个国外选前演说中所提取的主题，想到了一个德文词汇：“命运共同体”，然而不久之后，就在我即将上台演讲之前几个小时，他们发现这个词汇曾被希特勒在第一次代表大会上使用。“应该不是您想达到的效果吧。”

Reggie Love幽默地说着，我大笑之际，Ben 的脸上涨红了。尽管他很年轻，却没有害羞地表达政策意见，甚至与我更资深的顾问观点相冲突。他具有敏锐的才智和顽固的热诚，同时还具备低调幽默和健康的讽刺意识。他像一个作家般的敏感，正是我所共享的，这也成为我与 Favs 所建立关系的基础：我可以花一个小时给 Ben 传达我的观点，在几天后得到一份稿件，不仅抓住了我的语气，还传达了更重要的内容：我的世界基本观点，有时甚至是我的内心所想。

Together, we knocked out the counterterrorism speech fairly quickly, though Ben reported that each time he sent a draft to the Pentagon or CIA for comments, it would come back with edits, red lines drawn through any word, proposal, or characterization deemed even remotely controversial or critical of practices like torture—not-so-subtle acts of resistance from the career folks, many of whom had come to Washington with the Bush administration. I told Ben to ignore most of their suggestions. On May 21, I delivered the speech at the National Archives, standing beside original copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights—just in case anybody inside or outside the government missed the point.

雖然本曾告知我每次把反恐演講稿寄給五角大樓或是中央情報局征求意見時，總是遭到改動：任何含有爭議或批評酷刑等實踐的字句、建議或描述都會遭到刪改。這些都是那些在布希政府中服務的老手的明顯抵抗行為。我告訴本最好無視他們的大部分建議。5月21日，我在國家檔案館發表了演講。演講臺旁邊放了《獨立宣言》、《憲法》和《權利法案》的原件，以防內外任何人都錯過了要點。

The “Muslim speech,” as we took to calling the second major address, was trickier. Beyond the negative portrayals of terrorists and oil sheiks found on news broadcasts or in the movies, most Americans knew little about Islam. Meanwhile, surveys showed that Muslims around the world believed the United States was hostile toward their religion, and that our Middle East policy was based not on an interest in improving people's lives but rather on maintaining oil supplies, killing terrorists, and protecting Israel. Given this divide, I told Ben that the focus of our speech had to be less about outlining new policies and more geared toward helping the two sides understand each other. That meant recognizing the extraordinary contributions of Islamic civilizations in the advancement of mathematics, science, and art and acknowledging the role colonialism had played in some of the Middle East's ongoing struggles. It meant admitting past U.S. indifference toward corruption and repression in the region, and our complicity in the overthrow of Iran's democratically elected government during the Cold War, as well as acknowledging the searing humiliations endured by Palestinians living in occupied territory. Hearing such basic history from the mouth of a U.S. president would catch many people off guard, I figured, and perhaps open their minds to other hard truths: that the Islamic fundamentalism that had come to dominate so much of the Muslim world was incompatible with the openness and tolerance that fueled modern progress; that too often Muslim leaders ginned up grievances against the West in order to distract from their own failures; that a Palestinian state would be delivered only through negotiation and compromise rather than incitements to violence and anti-Semitism; and that no society could truly succeed while systematically repressing its women.我们称之为“穆斯林演讲”的第二次主要演讲更为棘手。除了电视新闻或电影中关于恐怖分子和石油酋长的负面描绘外，大多数美国人对伊斯兰教知之甚少。此外，调查显示，全球穆斯林认为美国对其宗教存在敌意，我们的中东政策不是出于改善人民生活的兴趣，而是为了保持石油供应、打击恐怖分子和保护以色列。鉴于这种分歧，我告诉本，我们的演讲重点不能太侧重于概述新政策，而是要更多地帮助两个方面互相理解。这意味着认识到伊斯兰文明在数学、科学和艺术进步方面所做出的卓越贡献，承认殖民主义在中东一些持续斗争中所起的作用。这意味着承认美国对该地区腐败和镇压的漠不关心以及我们在冷战期间参与推翻伊朗的民选政府，同时承认居住在占领领土的巴勒斯坦人遭受的刺骨屈辱。我认为，听到这样基础的历史知识来自美国总统的口中，将让许多人大吃一惊，并可能打开他们的思维，以接受其他艰难的真相：伊斯兰原教旨主义在穆斯林世界如此盛行是与推动现代进步的开放与包容不相容的；太多穆斯林领袖挑起对西方的不满，以转移对他们自身失败的注意力；只有通过谈判和妥协才能实现一个巴勒斯坦国家，而不是通过暴力和反犹主义的煽动；没有一个社会能在系统性压制妇女的情况下真正取得成功。

WE WERE STILL working on the speech when we landed in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, where I was scheduled to meet with King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (in Mecca and Medina) and the most powerful leader in the Arab world. I'd never set foot in the kingdom before, and at the lavish airport welcoming ceremony, the first thing I noticed was the complete absence of women or children on the tarmac or in the terminals—just rows of black-mustached men in military uniforms or the traditional thawb and ghutra. I had expected as much, of course; that's how things were done in the Gulf. But as I climbed into the Beast, I was still struck by how oppressive and sad such a segregated place felt, as if I'd suddenly entered a world where all the colors had been muted.

我们在前往沙特阿拉伯利雅得的途中仍在起草演讲稿，我将会和当地的国王阿卜杜拉·本·阿卜杜勒-阿齐兹·阿勒沙特见面。国王是麦加和麦地那两座圣城的保护人，也是阿拉伯世界中最有权势的领导人。我之前从未踏上过这片土地，在盛大的机场欢迎仪式上，我首先注意到的是一片没有妇女或孩子的场景，只有一排排身着传统长袍及头巾或军装的黑胡子男士。当然，这并不令我意外；在海湾地区的文化习惯中，这就是实行的方式。但当我坐上了“野兽”（豪华座驾），我还是被这种隔离现状所压抑和悲伤所感染，仿佛我突然进入了一个所有颜色都被抑制了的世界。

The king had arranged for me and my team to stay at his horse ranch outside Riyadh, and as our motorcade and police escort sped down a wide, spotless highway under a blanched sun, the massive, unadorned office buildings, mosques, retail outlets, and luxury car showrooms quickly giving way to scrubby desert, I thought about how little the Islam of Saudi Arabia resembled the version of the faith I'd witnessed as a child while living in Indonesia. In Jakarta in the 1960s and '70s, Islam had occupied roughly the same place in that nation's culture as Christianity did in the average American city or town, relevant but not dominant. The muezzin's call to prayer punctuated the days, weddings and funerals followed the faith's prescribed rituals, activities

slowed down during fasting months, and pork might be hard to find on a restaurant's menu. Otherwise, people lived their lives, with women riding Vespas in short skirts and high heels on their way to office jobs, boys and girls chasing kites, and long-haired youths dancing to the Beatles and the Jackson 5 at the local disco. Muslims were largely indistinguishable from the Christians, Hindus, or college-educated nonbelievers, like my stepfather, as they crammed onto Jakarta's overcrowded buses, filled theater seats at the latest kung-fu movie, smoked outside roadside taverns, or strolled down the cacophonous streets. The overtly pious were scarce in those days, if not the object of derision then at least set apart, like Jehovah's Witnesses handing out pamphlets in a Chicago neighborhood. 國王安排我和我的團隊待在他在利雅得外面的馬場，當我們的車隊和警衛隊在一個潔淨寬裕的高速公路上疾行時，大型無裝飾的辦公樓、清真寺、零售店和豪華汽車展廳迅速讓位於荒蕪的沙漠。我想到沙烏地阿拉伯的伊斯蘭教與我在印度尼西亞童年時期所見到的版本相比是如此的不同。在20世紀60年代和70年代的雅加達，伊斯蘭教在當地文化中佔據了與基督教在美國各城鎮中的地位相當，相關但不佔主導地位。每天穆斯林的祈禱召喚聲都是一個節拍，結婚和葬禮遵循宗教所規定的儀式，活動在斋月期間減少，餐館的菜單上可能很難找到豬肉。除此之外，人們過著自己的生活，女人騎著Vespa摩托車穿著短裙和高跟鞋去上班，男孩和女孩追著風箏跑，長髮青年在當地的迪斯科舞廳里跳著披頭四和傑克遜5的歌曲。當時的穆斯林在雅加達擠滿了擁擠的公共汽車上，坐在戲院的座位上觀看最新的功夫電影，或者在路邊酒館外抽煙或漫步於喧鬧的街道上。當時稍微虔誠的人是罕見的，即使不會受到嘲笑，至少也被區分出來，就像在芝加哥一個社區發放傳單的耶和華見證人一樣。

Saudi Arabia had always been different. Abdulaziz Ibn Saud, the nation's first monarch and the father of King Abdullah, had begun his reign in 1932 and been deeply wedded to the teachings of the eighteenth-century cleric Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab. Abd al-Wahhab's followers claimed to practice an uncorrupted version of Islam, viewing Shiite and Sufi Islam as heretical and observing religious tenets that were considered conservative even by the standards of traditional Arab culture: public segregation of the sexes, avoidance of contact with non-Muslims, and the rejection of secular art, music, and other pastimes that might distract from the faith. Following the post-World War I collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Abdulaziz consolidated control over rival Arab tribes and founded modern Saudi Arabia in accordance with these Wahhabist principles. His conquest of Mecca—birthplace of the prophet Muhammad and the destination for all Muslim pilgrims seeking to fulfill the Five Tenets of Islam—as well as the holy city of Medina provided him with a platform from which to exert an outsized influence over Islamic doctrine around the world. 沙特阿拉伯一直是独特的。国家的第一位君主和阿卜杜拉国王之父阿卜杜勒-阿齐兹·本·沙特自1932年开始统治，深深地执着于18世纪宗教领袖穆罕默德·本·阿卜杜勒-瓦哈卜的教义。阿卜杜勒-瓦哈卜的追随者声称实践着一种未被污染的伊斯兰教，将什叶派和苏菲派视为异端，遵守着被传统阿拉伯文化标准认为保守的宗教规律：性别公开分离、避免与非穆斯林接触以及拒绝世俗艺术、音乐和其他可能分散信仰的消遣。在第一次世界大战后奥斯曼帝国的崩溃，阿卜杜勒-阿齐兹根据这些瓦哈比原则巩固了对竞争的阿拉伯部落的控制，并创建了现代沙特阿拉伯。他征服麦加-先知穆罕默德的出生地，也是所有寻求遵守伊斯兰教五个基本原则之一的穆斯林朝圣者的目的地，以及圣城麦地那，为他提供了一个平台，从中可以在全世界范围内施加影响力。

The discovery of Saudi oil fields and the untold wealth that came from it extended that influence even further. But it also exposed the contradictions of trying to sustain such ultraconservative practices in the midst of a rapidly modernizing world. Abdulaziz needed Western technology, know-how, and distribution channels to fully exploit the kingdom's newfound treasure and formed an alliance with the United States to obtain modern weapons and secure the Saudi oil fields against rival states. Members of the extended royal family retained Western firms to invest their vast holdings and sent their children to Cambridge and Harvard to learn modern business practices. Young princes discovered the attractions of French villas, London nightclubs, and Vegas gaming rooms.

沙特石油田的发现以及由此带来的无数财富进一步扩大了其影响。但这也揭示了在迅速现代化的世界中试图维持如此极端保守的做法的矛盾之处。阿卜杜勒-阿齐兹需要西方技术、知识和分销渠道来充分开发该王国的新发现，并与美国结盟以获取现代武器并保护沙特石油田免受敌对国家的侵犯。王室的成员雇佣西方公司来投资他们广泛的资产，并将他们的孩子送到剑桥和哈佛学习现代商业实践。年轻的王子们发现了法国别墅、伦敦夜总会和拉斯维加斯博彩场的吸引力。

I've wondered sometimes whether there was a point when the Saudi monarchy might have reassessed its religious commitments, acknowledging that Wahhabist fundamentalism—like all forms of religious absolutism—was incompatible with modernity, and used its wealth and authority to steer Islam onto a gentler, more tolerant course. Probably not. The old ways were too deeply embedded, and as tensions with fundamentalists grew in the late 1970s, the royals may have accurately concluded that religious reform would lead inevitably to uncomfortable political and economic reform as well. 我曾经想过，沙特王室是否曾经在某个时候重新评估过其宗教承诺，认识到瓦哈比主义原教旨主义和所有形式的宗教绝对主义一样，与现代性不兼容，并利用其财富和权力将伊斯兰教引向更温和、更宽容的道路。也许不是。传统观念已根深蒂固，随着上世纪70年代末与原教旨主义者的紧张关系不断升级，王室可能准确地得出这样的结论：宗教改革必然导致政治和经济改革的不适。

Instead, in order to avoid the kind of revolution that had established an Islamic republic in nearby Iran, the Saudi monarchy struck a bargain with its most hard-line clerics. In exchange for legitimizing the House of Saud's absolute control over the nation's economy and government (and for being willing to look the other way when members of the royal family succumbed to certain indiscretions), the clerics and religious police were granted authority to regulate daily social interactions, determine what was taught in schools, and mete out punishments to those who violated religious decrees—from public floggings to the removal of hands to actual crucifixions. Perhaps more important, the royal family steered billions of dollars to these same clerics to build mosques and madrassas across the Sunni world. As a result, from Pakistan to Egypt to Mali to Indonesia, fundamentalism grew stronger, tolerance for different Islamic practices grew weaker, drives to impose Islamic governance grew louder, and calls for a purging of Western influences from Islamic territory—through violence if necessary—grew more frequent. The Saudi monarchy could take satisfaction in having averted an Iranian-style revolution, both within its borders and among its Gulf partners (although maintaining such order still required a repressive internal security service and broad media censorship). But it had done so at the price of accelerating a transnational fundamentalist movement that despised Western influences, remained suspicious of Saudi dalliances with the United States, and served as a petri dish for the radicalization of many young Muslims: men like Osama bin

Laden, the son of a prominent Saudi businessman close to the royal family, and the fifteen Saudi nationals who, along with four others, planned and carried out the September 11 attacks.

相反，為了避免像鄰近的伊朗那樣建立一個伊斯蘭共和國的革命，沙特君主制與其最強硬的神職人員達成了一項交易。為了使蘇丹王室對國家經濟和政府的絕對控制合法化（並且願意對王室成員陷入某些不可告人的行為視而不見），神職人員和宗教警察獲得權力監管日常社交互動，確定學校教授的內容，並對違反宗教法令的人進行裁決——從公開鞭打到斷手甚至釘在十字架上。更重要的是，皇室向這些神職人員注入了數十億美元，用來在這個這個週期內建設清真寺和宗教學校。因此，從巴基斯坦到埃及，從馬里到印度尼西亞，基本教義變得更加強勁，對不同的伊斯蘭教義的容忍度變得更低，對實行伊斯蘭治理的努力更加強烈，從伊斯蘭領土驅逐西方影響的呼聲——必要時通過暴力手段——變得更加頻繁。沙特君主制可以以防止伊朗風格的革命為滿足，包括在國內和在海灣伙伴國家中實行（儘管仍需要壓制的國內安全服務和廣泛的媒體審查）。但它做到了以加快一個跨國原教旨主義運動的形成，這個運動鄙視西方影響，對沙特與美國的交往持懷疑態度，並成為許多年輕穆斯林激進化的培養基：像是奧薩瑪·賓·拉登，一位與王室密切相關的著名沙特商人之子，以及與其他四名人一起策劃和實施9.11 攻擊的十五名沙特國民。

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“RANCH” TURNED OUT to be something of a misnomer. With its massive grounds and multiple villas fitted with gold-plated plumbing, crystal chandeliers, and plush furnishings, King Abdullah’s complex looked more like a Four Seasons hotel plopped in the middle of the desert. The king himself—an octogenarian with a jet-black mustache and beard (male vanity seemed to be a common trait among world leaders)—greeted me warmly at the entrance to what appeared to be the main residence. With him was the Saudi ambassador to the United States, Adel al-Jubeir, a clean-shaven, U.S.-educated diplomat whose impeccable English, ingratiating manner, PR savvy, and deep Washington connections had made him the ideal point person for the kingdom’s attempts at damage control in the wake of 9/11.“RANCH”的名字似乎有些不恰当。由金色水管、水晶吊灯和豪华家具装点的多个别墅和广阔的庭院，使得阿卜杜拉国王的豪宅看起来更像是一个被植入在沙漠中的四季酒店。国王本人是一位八十多岁的人，留着火辣辣的黑色胡须和八字胡（对于世界领导人来说，男性的虚荣似乎是一个常见特征），他热情地在似乎是主要住所的入口迎接了我。他的身旁是沙特驻美国大使阿德尔·朱拜尔，这位面带微笑、光头的美国教育外交官不仅英语无懈可击，而且讨人喜欢，具备一定的公关智慧和深厚的华盛顿联系，成为了王国在9/11事件后试图进行舆论修复的理想代表。

The king was in an expansive mood that day, and with al-Jubeir acting as translator, he fondly recalled the 1945 meeting between his father and FDR aboard the USS Quincy, emphasized the great value he placed on the U.S.-Saudi alliance, and described the satisfaction he had felt at seeing me elected president. He approved of the idea of my upcoming speech in Cairo, insisting that Islam was a religion of peace and noting the work he had personally done to strengthen interfaith dialogues. He assured me, too, that the kingdom would coordinate with my economic advisors to make sure oil prices didn’t impede the post-crisis recovery.

那天国王情绪开朗，由阿尔朱贝尔担任翻译，他眷恋地回忆起1945年他父亲和富兰克林·罗斯福在“昆西”号上的会晤，强调他对美沙联盟的巨大价值，描述他看到我当选总统时的满足感。他赞成我即将在开罗发表的演讲，坚称伊斯兰教是一种和平的宗教，指出他个人关于加强宗教间对话所做的工作。他还向我保证，沙特将与我的经济顾问协调，以确保油价不会妨碍后危机复苏。

But when it came to two of my specific requests—that the kingdom and other members of the Arab League consider a gesture to Israel that might help jump-start peace talks with Palestinians and that our teams discuss the possible transfer of some Gitmo prisoners to Saudi rehabilitation centers—the king was noncommittal, clearly wary of potential controversy.

The conversation lightened during the midday banquet the king hosted for our delegation. It was a lavish affair, like something out of a fairy tale, the fifty-foot table laden with whole roasted lambs and heaps of saffron rice and all manner of traditional and Western delicacies. Of the sixty or so people eating, my scheduling director, Alyssa Mastromonaco, and senior advisor Valerie Jarrett were two of the three women present. Alyssa seemed cheery enough as she chatted with Saudi officials across the table, although she appeared to have some trouble keeping the headscarf she was wearing from falling into the soup bowl. The king asked about my family, and I described how Michelle and the girls were adjusting to life in the White House. He explained that he had twelve wives himself—news reports put the number closer to thirty—along with forty children and dozens more grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

不过当涉及到我的两个具体要求——即王国和阿拉伯联盟其他成员考虑向以色列做出一些可能有助于推动与巴勒斯坦人进行和平谈判的姿态，以及我们的团队讨论将一些关塔那摩囚犯可能转移到沙特的康复中心时——国王并未表态，显然对潜在的争议持谨慎态度。

午间宴会上，吃饭的人约有六十人左右，我的日程总监Alyssa Mastromonaco 和高级顾问Valerie Jarrett是在场的三位女性之中的两位。形式豪华，就像童话故事中的场景一样，五十英尺长的餐桌上摆满了整只烤羊和堆积如山的藏红花米饭以及各种传统和西式的美食。Alyssa在桌子那边与沙特官员交谈时看起来很愉快，不过她似乎有些难以让她带的头巾不掉进汤碗里。国王问起了我的家人，我描述了米歇尔和女儿们如何适应住在白宫。他解释说他自己有十二个妻子——新闻报道则将这个数字靠近三十一——还有四十个儿子以及数十个孙子和曾孙子。

“I hope you don’t mind me asking, Your Majesty,” I said, “but how do you keep up with twelve wives?”

“Very badly,” he said, shaking his head wearily. “One of them is always jealous of the others. It’s more complicated than Middle East politics.”

Later, Ben and Denis came by the villa where I was staying so we could talk about final edits to the Cairo speech. Before settling in to work, we noticed a large travel case on the mantelpiece. I unsnapped the latches and lifted the top. On one side there was a large desert scene on a marble base featuring miniature gold figurines, as well as a glass clock powered by changes in temperature. On the other side, set in a velvet case, was a necklace half the length of a bicycle chain, encrusted with what appeared to be hundreds of thousands of dollars’ worth of rubies and diamonds—along with a matching ring and earrings. I looked up at Ben and Denis.“陛下，希望您不介意我问一句，您是如何应付12位王妃的？”我问道。

“很差勁，”他疲憊地搖了搖頭，“她們總是互相嫉妒。這比中東政治還要複雜。”

後來，本和丹尼斯來到我住的別墅，我們討論了開羅演講的最後修改。在開始工作之前，我們注意到壁爐架上有一個大旅行箱。我打開箱子，看到一個大理石底座上的沙漠景象，上面有迷你金像和一個玻璃時鐘，可以根據溫度變化來驅動。另一面是一條頸鏈，有著數以千萬美元的紅寶石和鑽石鑲嵌，還有一枚匹配的戒指和耳環。我抬頭看着本和丹尼斯。

“A little something for the missus,” Denis said. He explained that others in the delegation had found cases with expensive watches waiting for them in their rooms. “Apparently, nobody told the Saudis about our prohibition on gifts.”

Lifting the heavy jewels, I wondered how many times gifts like this had been discreetly left for other leaders during official visits to the kingdom—leaders whose countries didn’t have rules against taking gifts, or at least not ones that were enforced. I thought again about the Somali pirates I had ordered killed, Muslims all, and the many young men like them across the nearby borders of Yemen and Iraq, and in Egypt, Jordan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, whose earnings in a lifetime would probably never touch the cost of that necklace in my hands. Radicalize just 1 percent of those young men and you had yourself an army of half a million, ready to die for eternal glory—or maybe just a taste of something better.

“小小的禮物獻給夫人，”丹尼斯說。他解釋說代表團中的其他人在房間里找到了裝有昂貴手錶的盒子。“顯然，沒有人告訴沙特人我們禁止收受禮物。”

舉起沉甸甸的珠寶，我想知道在對王國的官方訪問期間，有多少次像這樣的禮物悄悄為其他領導人留下—這些領導人所在的國家沒有接受禮物的規定，或者至少沒有被強制執行。我再次想到我下令殺死的索馬里海盜和許多像他們一樣的年輕人，他們生命中的收入可能永遠不會觸及我手中項鍊的成本，在鄰近的也門、伊拉克、埃及、約旦、阿富汗和巴基斯坦邊境上的年輕人中，只要激進化了1%，你就擁有了五十萬軍隊，隨時為永恆的榮耀或者只是品嘗更好的東西，願意為之犧牲。

I set the necklace down and closed the case. “All right,” I said. “Let’s work.”

—

THE GREATER CAIRO metropolitan area contained more than sixteen million people. We didn’t see any of them on the following day’s drive from the airport. The famously chaotic streets were empty for miles, save for police officers posted everywhere, a testimony to the extraordinary grip Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak held on his country—and the fact that an American president was a tempting target for local extremist groups.

If Saudi Arabia’s tradition-bound monarchy represented one path of modern Arab governance, Egypt’s autocratic regime represented the other. In the early 1950s, a charismatic and urbane army colonel named Gamal Abdel Nasser had orchestrated a military overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy and instituted a secular, one-party state. Soon after, he nationalized the Suez Canal, overcoming attempted military interventions by the British and French, which made him a global figure in the fight against colonialism and far and away the most popular leader in the Arab world.

我把項鍊放下，關上盒子。「好了，」我說。「讓我們開始工作吧。」

大開羅都會區擁有超過1,600萬人口。我們在接下來的一天從機場開車，卻沒有看到其中任何一個人。著名的混亂街道幾乎空無一人，唯有處處都有的警察，見證了埃及總統侯賽因·穆巴拉克對國家的非凡掌控——也證明著，美國總統對當地極端主義組織來說是一個誘人的目標。

如果沙特阿拉伯保守的君主制象徵了現代阿拉伯治理的一種路徑，那麼埃及的獨裁政權則象徵了另一條路徑。在二十世紀五十年代初，一位有魅力、文雅的陸軍上校，也就是迦馬爾·阿卜杜勒·納賽爾，策劃了一場軍事政變，推翻了埃及君主制度，建立了一個世俗化、單一政黨的國家。不久之後，他國有化了蘇伊士運河，對抗英國和法國的軍事干預，因此成為抵抗殖民主義的全球性人物，同時也成為阿拉伯世界裏最受歡迎的領袖。

Nasser went on to nationalize other key industries, initiate domestic land reform, and launch huge public works projects, all with the goal of eliminating vestiges of both British rule and Egypt’s feudal past. Overseas, he actively promoted a secular, vaguely socialist pan-Arab nationalism, fought a losing war against the Israelis, helped form the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab League, and became a charter member of the Non-Aligned Movement, which ostensibly refused to take sides in the Cold War but drew the suspicion and ire of Washington, in part because Nasser was accepting economic and military aid from the Soviets. He also ruthlessly cracked down on dissent and the formation of competing political parties in Egypt, particularly targeting the Muslim Brotherhood, a group that sought to establish an Islamic government through grassroots political mobilization and charitable works, but also included members who occasionally turned to violence.拿瑟爾繼續國有化其他重要產業、實行國內的土地改革，並着手推行大規模的公共工程項目，目的在于消除英國統治以及埃及封建過去的影響。在海外，他積極宣揚一種世俗、帶有社會主義色彩的泛阿拉伯民族主義，參與一場戰敗的對以色列的戰爭，協助組建巴勒斯坦解放組織（PLO）和阿拉伯聯盟，並成為不結盟運動的創始成員，該運動原則上拒絕在冷戰中選邊站，但由於拿瑟爾接受蘇聯的經濟和軍事援助，因此引起了華盛頓的懷疑和憤怒。他还殘酷地鎮壓了埃及的不同聲音和對立政治派別的形成，其中重點打擊了穆斯林兄弟會，該團體力圖通過基層政治動員和慈善事業建立一個伊斯蘭政府，但其成員中有些人偶爾會採取暴力手段。

So dominant was Nasser’s authoritarian style of governance that even after his death in 1970, Middle Eastern leaders sought to replicate it. Lacking Nasser’s sophistication and ability to connect with the masses, though, men like Syria’s Hafez al-Assad, Iraq’s Saddam Hussein, and Libya’s Muammar Gaddafi would maintain their power largely through corruption, patronage, brutal repression, and a constant if ineffective campaign against Israel.

After Nasser’s successor, Anwar Sadat, was assassinated in 1981, Hosni Mubarak took control using roughly the same formula, with one notable difference: Sadat’s signing of a peace accord with Israel had made Egypt a U.S. ally, leading successive American administrations to overlook the regime’s increasing corruption, shabby human rights record, and occasional anti-Semitism. Flush with aid not just from the United States but from the Saudis and other oil-rich Gulf states, Mubarak never bothered to reform his country’s stagnant economy, which now left a generation of disaffected young Egyptians unable to find work.

那賽爾的威權統治非常強勢，以至於即使在1970年他去世後，中東領袖仍試圖模仿他。然而，像敘利亞的哈菲茲·阿薩德、伊拉克的薩達姆·海珊和利比亞的卡扎菲之類的人缺乏那賽爾的精湛技巧和與群眾聯繫的能力，他們主要通過貪污、保護費、野蠻的鎮壓以及對以色列的持續但無效的反對運動來維持其權力。

在那賽爾的繼任者安華·薩達特於1981年被暗殺後，胡斯尼·穆巴拉克使用了大致相同的公式來掌控局勢，但有一個明顯的不同：薩達特與以色列的簽署和平協議使埃及成為美國的盟友，導致連續的美國政府忽視了該政權不斷增加的貪腐、卑劣的人權紀錄和偶爾的反猶太主義。接受不僅來自美國，還來自沙特和其他石油豐富的海灣國家的援助，穆巴拉克從未想過改革國家的停滯經濟，這使得一代不滿的年輕埃及人無法找到工作。

Our motorcade arrived at Qubba Palace—an elaborate mid-nineteenth-century structure and one of three presidential palaces in Cairo—and after a greeting ceremony, Mubarak invited me to his office for an hour-long discussion. He was eighty-one but still broad-shouldered and sturdy, with a Roman nose, dark hair combed back from his forehead, and heavy-lidded eyes that gave him the air of a man both accustomed to and slightly weary of his own command. After talking with him about the Egyptian economy and soliciting suggestions on how to reinvigorate the Arab-Israeli peace process, I raised the issue of human rights, suggesting steps he might take to release political prisoners and ease restrictions on the press.

我们的车队到达了Qubba Palace——一个复杂的19世纪中叶建筑，是开罗三个总统宫殿之一——在欢迎仪式后，穆巴拉克邀请我来他的办公室进行为期一小时的讨论。他已经81岁了，但依然身板魁梧，罗马鼻，黑色头发从额头梳理向后，有些沉重的眼皮使他带有一种习惯了自己的掌控并略显疲倦的气息。和他聊了聊埃及经济，征求了关于如何重新振兴阿以和平进程的建议之后，我提出了人权问题，建议他采取措施释放政治囚犯并减轻对新闻的限制。

Speaking accented but passable English, Mubarak politely deflected my concerns, insisting that his security services targeted only Islamic extremists and that the Egyptian public strongly supported his firm approach. I was left with an impression that would become all too familiar in my dealings with aging autocrats: Shut away in palaces, their every interaction mediated by the hard-faced, obsequious functionaries that surrounded them, they were unable to distinguish between their personal interests and those of their nations, their actions governed by no broader purpose beyond maintaining the tangled web of patronage and business interests that kept them in power.

穆巴拉克態度友善且有一定程度的英語口音，他客氣地避開了我的擔憂，堅稱他的安全機構只針對伊斯蘭極端分子，並且埃及公眾強烈支持他的堅定立場。我留下的印象在與他年長的獨裁者打交道時變得過於熟悉：他們被關在宮殿裡，每一次互動都由冷酷、諂媚的隨從經手，無法辨識自己的個人利益和國家的利益，他們的行動僅受維繫著使他們保持權力的複雜的贊助和商業利益網絡的支配，缺乏更廣泛的目標。

What a contrast it was, then, to walk into Cairo University's Grand Hall and find a packed house absolutely crackling with energy. We'd pressed the government to open my address to a wide cross section of Egyptian society, and it was clear that the mere presence of university students, journalists, scholars, leaders of women's organizations, community activists, and even some prominent clerics and Muslim Brotherhood figures among the three thousand people present would help make this a singular event, one that would reach a wide global audience via television. As soon as I stepped onto the stage and delivered the Islamic salutation "Assalamu alaikum," the crowd roared its approval. I was careful to make clear that no one speech was going to solve entrenched problems. But as the cheers and applause continued through my discussions of democracy, human rights and women's rights, religious tolerance and the need for a true and lasting peace between a secure Israel and an autonomous Palestinian state, I could imagine the beginnings of a new Middle East. In that moment, it wasn't hard to envision an alternate reality in which the young people in that auditorium would build new businesses and schools, lead responsive, functioning governments, and begin to reimagine their faith in a way that was at once true to tradition and open to other sources of wisdom. Perhaps the high-ranking government officials who sat grim-faced in the third row could imagine it as well.

这是一个鲜明的对比，步入开罗大学的大礼堂，会见热情洋溢的观众。我们向政府施压，让所有埃及社会的不同群体都能参加演讲，能看到大学生、记者、学者、妇女组织领袖、社区活动人士、甚至一些杰出的神职人员和穆斯林兄弟会成员，三千人的到场可以使这成为一场独一无二的活动，通过电视传达给全球。我一上台，说了伊斯兰的问候语“Assalamu alaikum”，观众就爆发出掌声和欢呼声。我强调，没有哪一次演讲可以解决根深蒂固的问题。但当我谈到民主、人权和妇女权利、宗教的宽容度和以色列和巴勒斯坦之间需要真正和持久和平的时候，掌声和喝彩持续响起，我可以想象一个新的中东正在崛起。此时此刻，我很容易想象，在那个礼堂里的年轻人会创办新的企业和学校，领导反应迅速、运转良好的政府，并开始以一种同时忠于传统而又开放于其他智慧来源的方式重新构思他们的信仰。也许坐在第三排面带严肃表情的高级政府官员也能想象到这一点。

I left the stage to a prolonged standing ovation and made a point of finding Ben, who as a rule got too nervous to watch any speech he'd helped to write and instead holed up in some back room, tapping into his BlackBerry. He was grinning from ear to ear.

"I guess that worked," I said.

"That was historic," he said, without a trace of irony.

—

IN LATER YEARS, critics and even some of my supporters would have a field day contrasting the lofty, hopeful tone of the Cairo speech with the grim realities that would play out in the Middle East during my two terms in office. For some, it showed the sin of naïveté, one that undermined key U.S. allies like Mubarak and thus emboldened the forces of chaos. For others, the problem was not the vision set forth in the speech but rather what they considered my failure to deliver on that vision with effective, meaningful action. I was tempted to answer, of course—to point out that I'd be the first to say that no single speech would solve the region's long-standing challenges; that we'd pushed hard on every initiative I mentioned that day, whether large (a deal between the Israelis and the Palestinians) or small (the creation of training programs for would-be entrepreneurs); that the arguments I made in Cairo were ones I'd still make.

我结束演讲时，掌声持续了很久，我特意找到本，他通常对他帮忙写的演讲感到太紧张，所以躲在后面的房间里，打开他的黑莓。他笑容满面。

“我猜这个挺好的，”我说。

“那是历史性的，”他说，毫不讽刺。

—

后来几年，批评者甚至我的一些支持者都会对开罗演讲的高峰、充满希望的语调与在我执政期间中东地区所发生的残酷现实做出反驳。对一些人来说，这显示了天真的罪恶，这会破坏关键的美国盟友，如穆巴拉克，从而鼓舞混沌势力。对另一些人来说，问题不在演讲中阐述的愿景，而在于他们认为我未能通过有效、有意义的行动实现该愿景。我也很想回答，当然，指出我会第一个说，没有哪一次演讲会解决该地区长期存在的挑战；我们在那天提到的每个倡议都努力推动，无论是大的（以色列和巴勒斯坦人之间的协议）还是小的（为想要成为企业家的人创建培训计划）；我在开罗提出的论点仍然是我会提出的。

But in the end, the facts of what happened are the facts, and I'm left with the same set of questions I first wrestled with as a young organizer. How useful is it to describe the world as it should be when efforts to achieve that world are bound to fall short? Was Václav Havel correct in suggesting that by raising expectations, I was doomed to disappoint them? Was it possible that abstract principles and high-minded ideals were and always would be nothing more than a pretense, a palliative, a way to beat back despair, but no match for the more primal urges that really moved us, so that no matter what we said or did, history was sure to run along its predetermined course, an endless cycle of fear, hunger and conflict, dominance and weakness?

然而最后，发生的事情就是事实，我面对的问题依旧和年轻时作为组织者时的困惑一样。当努力去实现一个理想的世界注定会失望时，将世界描述成应该是什么样的有多有用呢？瓦茨拉夫·哈维尔在暗示，通过提高期望值，我注定会让期望落空。抽象原则和崇高理念是否可能只是一种假象、一种缓解失望的方法、一种打击绝望的手段，无法应对真正驱动我们前行的更基本的冲动，因此无论我们说或做什么，历史必然会沿着既定的轨迹疯狂运转，不断地循环恐惧、饥饿和冲突、支配和软弱吗？

Even at the time, doubts came naturally to me, the sugar high of the speech quickly replaced with thoughts of all the work awaiting me back home and the many forces arrayed against what I hoped to do. The excursion we took immediately after the speech deepened my brooding: a fifteen-minute helicopter ride, high over the sprawling city, until suddenly the jumble of cream-colored, Cubist-looking structures was gone and there was only desert and sun and the wondrous, geometric lines of the Pyramids cutting across the horizon. Upon landing, we were greeted by Cairo's leading Egyptologist, a happily eccentric gentleman with a floppy wide-brimmed hat straight out of an Indiana Jones movie, and for the next several hours my team and I had the place to ourselves. We scaled the ancient, boulder-like stones of each pyramid's face. We stood in the shadow of the Sphinx, staring up at its silent, indifferent gaze. We climbed a narrow, vertical chute to stand within one of the pharaohs' dark inner chambers, the mystery of which was punctuated by Axe's timeless words during our careful descent back down the ladder:

即使在当时，我也自然而然地产生了疑虑，演讲的糖果高迅速被等待我回家的所有工作和众多反对我所希望做的力量所取代。演讲后我们马上参加的旅行加深了我的沉思：一个十五分钟的直升机飞行，高高地越过了这个庞大的城市，突然之间，那些乳黄色的立体派建筑物消失了，只剩下了沙漠、阳光和沿着地平线延伸的奇妙的几何金字塔线条。降落后，我们被开罗领先的埃及学家所迎接，一位充满愉悦的古怪绅士，他头戴一顶直接来自《印第安纳·琼斯》电影的宽边帽子，接下来的几个小时，我和我的团队独享这个地方。我们攀登每个金字塔的石头脸。我们站在狮身人面像的阴影下，凝视着它沉默、冷漠的眼神。我们沿着一条狭窄、垂直的通道攀登，站在法老的一个黑暗内部的房间里，这个谜团被我们小心地下梯的时候被阿克斯的永恒话语所点燃：“

“Goddamn it, Rahm, slow down—your ass is in my face!”

At one point, as I stood watching Gibbs and some of the other staffers trying to mount camels for the obligatory tourist pictures, Reggie and Marvin motioned for me to join them inside the corridor of one of the Pyramids' lesser temples.

“Check it out, boss,” Reggie said, pointing at the wall. There, carved in the smooth, porous stone, was the dark image of a man's face. Not the profile typical of hieroglyphics but a straight-on head shot. A long, oval face. Prominent ears sticking straight out like handles. A cartoon of me, somehow forged in antiquity.“该死的，拉姆，慢点——你的屁股在我面前！”

有一次，当我站在旁边观察吉布斯和其他工作人员试图骑骆驼拍摄必要的旅游照片时，雷吉和马尔文示意我加入他们进入金字塔上其中一个较小神殿的走廊。

“看这个，老板，”雷吉指着墙壁说。在那里，刻在光滑多孔的石头上，是一个男人的面孔。不是象形文字中典型的侧面，而是正面头像。一个长椭圆形的脸。突出的耳朵像把手一样竖直。一幅动画，不知何时在古代制造出来的仿佛是我自己的形象。

“Must be a relative,” Marvin said.

We all had a laugh then, and the two of them wandered off to join the camel riders. Our guide couldn't tell me just who it was that the image depicted, or even whether it dated back to the time of the Pyramids. But I stood at the wall for an extra beat, trying to imagine the life behind that etching. Had he been a member of the royal court? A slave? A foreman? Maybe just a bored vandal, camped out at night centuries after the wall had been built, inspired by the stars and his own loneliness to sketch his own likeness. I tried to imagine the worries and strivings that might have consumed him and the nature of the world he'd occupied, likely full of its own struggles and palace intrigues, conquests and catastrophes, events that probably at the time felt no less pressing than those I'd face as soon as I got back to Washington. All of it was forgotten now, none of it mattered, the pharaoh, the slave, and the vandal all long turned to dust.

“一定是亲戚，”马文说。我们都笑了，然后他们两个走开加入了骆驼骑手的行列。我们的导游无法告诉我那幅图像描绘的是谁，甚至无法确定它是否可以追溯到金字塔时代。但是我还是在那面墙前停留了一会儿，试图想象这个雕刻背后的生活。他曾经是皇室的一员吗？奴隶？领班？也许只是个无聊的涂鸦者，在建墙数百年后的夜晚被星空和孤独所启发，画下了自己的肖像。我试图想象可能会消耗他的担忧和奋斗以及他所处的世界的本质，可能充满了自己的斗争和宫廷阴谋、征服和灾难，当时可能感觉与我返回华盛顿即将面对的事件一样紧迫。所有这些都被遗忘了，没有任何关系，法老、奴隶和涂鸦者都已经化为尘埃。

Just as every speech I'd delivered, every law I passed and decision I made, would soon be forgotten.  
Just as I and all those I loved would someday turn to dust.

—  
BEFORE RETURNING HOME, I retraced a more recent history. President Sarkozy had organized a commemoration of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Allied landing at Normandy and had asked me to speak. Rather than head directly to France, we stopped first in Dresden, Germany, where Allied bombing toward the end of World War II resulted in a firestorm that engulfed the city, killing an estimated twenty-five thousand people. My visit was a purposeful gesture of respect for a now-stalwart ally. Angela Merkel and I toured a famous eighteenth-century church that had been destroyed by the air raids, only to be rebuilt fifty years later with a golden cross and orb crafted by a British silversmith whose father had been one of the bomber pilots. The silversmith's work served as a reminder that even those on the right side of war must not turn away from their enemy's suffering, or foreclose the possibility of reconciliation.

就像我发表的每次演讲、通过的每条法律和做出的每个决定一样，很快就会被遗忘。

就像我和我所爱的人迟早会变成尘土。

—

在返回家园之前，我重温了最近的历史。萨科齐总统组织了一次纪念诺曼底登陆65周年的活动，并邀请我发言。我们并没有直接前往法国，而是先在德国的德累斯顿停留了一下，那里是二战结束前盟军轰炸的目标，导致城市被吞没的火灾，估计造成了25000人死亡。我的访问是对现在一位坚定的盟友的尊重表态。安格拉·默克尔和我参观了一座著名的18世纪教堂，它曾被空袭摧毁，但在50年后被重建，还由一位英国银匠制作了一枚金十字架和宝珠，其父亲曾是轰炸机飞行员之一。银匠的作品提醒人们，即使在战争的正确一边，也不能将目光从敌人的苦难转移或排除和解的可能性。

Merkel and I were later joined by the writer and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel for a visit to the former Buchenwald concentration camp. This, too, had practical political significance: We'd originally considered a trip to Tel Aviv to follow my speech in Cairo, but in deference to the Israeli government's wishes that I not make the Palestinian question the primary focus of my speech—nor feed the perception that the Arab-Israeli conflict was the root cause of the Middle East's turmoil—we had settled instead on a tour of one of the epicenters of the Holocaust to signal my commitment to the security of Israel and the Jewish people.

默克尔和我随后又与作家和诺贝尔奖获得者埃利·维瑟尔一起参观了前布痕瓦尔德集中营。这也具有实际的政治意义：开始考虑过在开罗演讲后前往特拉维夫，但为了尊重以色列政府的愿望，不让我让巴勒斯坦问题成为演讲的主要焦点，也不增加阿拉伯-以色列冲突是中东动荡的根源的印象，我们改为参观了一个大屠杀的核心地区，以表明我对以色列和犹太人安全的承诺。

I had a more personal reason as well for wanting to make this pilgrimage. As a young man in college, I'd had a chance to hear Wiesel speak and had been deeply moved by how he chronicled his experiences as a Buchenwald survivor. Reading his books, I'd found an impregnable moral core that both fortified me and challenged me to be better. It had been one of the great pleasures of my time in the Senate that Elie and I became friends. When I told him that one of my great-uncles, Toot's brother Charles Payne, had been a member of the U.S. infantry division that reached one of Buchenwald's subcamps in April 1945 and began the liberation there, Elie had insisted that one day we would go together. Being with him now fulfilled that promise.

我想朝圣还有一个更私人的原因。在大学时代，我有机会听到韦尔斯尔演讲，他深刻地讲述了他在布痕瓦尔德的经历，深深地感动了我。读他的书，我找到了一个坚不可摧的道德核心，它既支持我，又激励我变得更好。和他成为朋友是我在参议院任职期间最大的快乐之一。当我告诉他，我的大伯父托特的兄弟查尔斯·佩恩是美军步兵师在1945年4月到达布痕瓦尔德的一个分支营地并开始解放时的成员时，韦尔斯尔坚持说有一天我们会一起去。现在与他在一起实现了这个承诺。

"If these trees could talk," Elie said softly, waving toward a row of stately oaks as the two of us and Merkel slowly walked the gravel path toward Buchenwald's main entrance. The sky was low and gray, the press at a respectful distance. We stopped at two memorials to those who died at the camp. One was a set of stone slabs featuring the names of the victims, including Elie's father. The other was a list of the countries they came from, etched on a steel plate that was kept heated to thirty-seven degrees Celsius: the temperature of the human body, meant to be a reminder—in a place premised on hate and intolerance—of the common humanity we share.

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如果这些树能说话的话，"艾利轻声说道，指向一排高贵的橡树，当我们两个人和默克尔慢慢走向布痕瓦尔德的主入口时。天空低沉而灰暗，新闻媒体始终与我们保持着恰当的距离。我们停留在了两个纪念营地死难者的墓碑前。其中一个是用石板制成的，刻有受害者的姓名，包括艾利的父亲。另一个则是一个记录国家名单的钢板，它的温度保持在三十七摄氏度，与人体的温度相同，它的目的是要提醒人们在充满仇恨和不容忍的地方，我们共享着人类的共同性。

For the next hour, we wandered the grounds, passing guard towers and walls lined with barbed wire, staring into the dark ovens of the crematorium and circling the foundations of the prisoners' barracks. There were photographs of the camp as it had once been, mostly taken by U.S. army units at the moment of liberation. One showed Elie at sixteen looking out from one of the bunks, the same handsome face and mournful eyes but jagged with hunger

and illness and the enormity of all he had witnessed. Elie described to me and Merkel the daily strategies he and other prisoners had used to survive: how the stronger or luckier ones would sneak food to the weak and the dying; how resistance meetings took place in latrines so foul that no guards ever entered them; how adults organized secret classes to teach children math, poetry, history—not just for learning's sake, but so those children might maintain a belief that they would one day be free to pursue a normal life. 在接下来的一个小时里，我们漫步在营地周围，经过哨塔和布满铁丝网的围墙，凝视着火化炉的黑暗内部并绕着囚室的地基。营地曾经的情景都有照片可供参考，那些照片多数来自美国军队解放时的记录。照片中的一张展现了16岁的Elie从铺位中向外看去，那张英俊的脸和悲哀的眼神依然存在，但严重的饥饿和疾病以及他所见证的一切都让他的脸上刻下了痕迹。Elie向我和默克尔

(Merkel) 描述了他和其他囚犯为生存而采用的日常策略：比如身体更强壮或更幸运的人会把食物偷偷给虚弱和垂死的人；比如抵抗组织会在公共厕所里召开会议，这些厕所太脏了以至于没有狱卒会去；比如成年人密秘地组织班级教授孩子数学、诗歌和历史——这不仅仅是为了学习而学习，更为了让这些孩子相信他们有一天会自由追求正常的生活。

In remarks to the press afterward, Merkel spoke clearly and humbly of the necessity for Germans to remember the past—to wrestle with the agonizing question of how their homeland could have perpetrated such horrors and recognize the special responsibility they now shouldered to stand up against bigotry of all kinds. Then Elie spoke, describing how in 1945—paradoxically—he had emerged from the camp feeling hopeful about the future. Hopeful, he said, because he assumed that the world had surely learned once and for all that hatred was useless and racism stupid and “the will to conquer other people's minds or territories or aspirations...is meaningless.” He wasn't so sure now that such optimism was justified, he said, not after the killing fields of Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur, and Bosnia.

默克尔在新闻发布会上清晰而谦逊地谈到，德国人必须记住过去——扭曲而痛苦地思索自己的祖国如何犯下这样的罪行，认识到他们在抵制各种偏见方面承担了特殊的责任。然后，埃利 (Elie) 讲话，描述了1945年他在集中营中出现的情况——自相矛盾的是，他对未来感到充满希望。他说，充满希望，因为他认为，全世界一定已经从心底认识到，仇恨是无用的，种族主义是愚蠢的，“征服他人的思想、领土或愿望的意志……毫无意义。”他说，不确定这样的乐观主义现在是否合理，尤其是在柬埔寨、卢旺达、达尔富尔和波斯尼亚的杀戮场之后。

But he beseeched us, beseeched me, to leave Buchenwald with resolve, to try to bring about peace, to use the memory of what had happened on the ground where we stood to see past anger and divisions and find strength in solidarity.

I carried his words with me to Normandy, my second-to-last stop on the trip. On a bright, nearly cloudless day, thousands of people had gathered at the American Cemetery there, set atop a high coastal bluff that overlooked the English Channel's blue, white-capped waters. Coming in by helicopter, I gazed down at the pebbled beaches below, where sixty-five years earlier more than 150,000 Allied troops, half of them Americans, had pitched through high surf to land under relentless enemy fire. They had taken the serrated cliffs of Pointe du Hoc, eventually establishing the beachhead that would prove decisive in winning the war. The thousands of marble headstones, bone-white rows across the deep-green grass, spoke to the price that had been paid. 但他恳求我们，恳求我，要怀着决心离开布痕瓦尔德，试图带来和平，利用我们站在的这片土地上所发生的事情的记忆，超越愤怒和分歧，发现团结的力量。我将他的话带到了诺曼底，这是我在旅行中的倒数第二站。在一个明亮，几乎没有云的日子里，成千上万的人聚集在那里的美国公墓上，它位于一座高高的海滨悬崖上，俯瞰着蓝色、波涛汹涌的英吉利海峡。乘直升飞机进入时，我凝视着下方的鹅卵石海滩，65年前，超过15万名盟军士兵，其中一半是美国人，冒着无情的敌人火力在波涛汹涌的海浪中登陆。他们攀登了杜克角的锯齿状悬崖，最终建立了决定性的滩头阵地，赢得了战争。成千上万的大理石墓碑，深绿色草地上的骨白色排列，表明了已经付出的代价。

I was greeted by a group of young Army Rangers who earlier in the day had re-created the parachute jumps that had accompanied D-Day's amphibious landings. They were in dress uniform now, handsome and fit, smiling with a well-earned swagger. I shook hands with each of them, asking where they were from and where they were currently deployed. A sergeant first class named Cory Remsburg explained that most of them had just come back from Iraq; he'd be heading out to Afghanistan in the coming weeks, he said, for his tenth deployment. He quickly added, “That's nothing compared to what the men did here sixty-five years ago, sir. They made our way of life possible.”

我被一群年轻的陆军突击队员迎接，他们在当天早些时候重新再现了D-Day的水陆两栖登陆伞降。他们现在穿着正装，英俊健康，带着一种赢得的优越感微笑着。我跟每个人握了手，询问他们来自哪里，以及他们目前驻扎在哪里。一位名叫Cory Remsburg的上士解释说，他们大多数刚从伊拉克回来；他将在未来几周内前往阿富汗，进行他的第十次驻扎。他迅速补充说：“和六十五年前的战士相比，这算不了什么，先生。正是他们让我们现在拥有这样的生活方式。”

A survey of the crowd that day reminded me that very few D-Day or World War II vets were still alive and able to make the trip. Many who had made it needed wheelchairs or walkers to get around. Bob Dole, the acerbic Kansan who had overcome devastating injuries during World War II to become one of the most accomplished and respected senators in Washington, was there. So was my Uncle Charlie, Toot's brother, who'd come with his wife, Melanie, as my guest. A retired librarian, he was one of the most gentle and unassuming men I knew. According to Toot, he'd been so shaken by his experiences as a soldier that he barely spoke for six months after returning home.

那天觀眾的調查提醒我，很少有D-Day或二戰老兵仍然活著並能夠前往。許多到達的人需要輪椅或行走器才能走動。鮑勃·道爾，這位曾在二戰期間克服了嚴重的傷害，成為華盛頓最有成就和尊重的參議員之一的堪薩斯人在那裡。我的叔叔查理也在那裡，他是Toot的哥哥，與他的妻子Melanie一起來作為我的客人。他是一位已退休的圖書館員，是我認識的最和藹和謙虛的人之一。根據Toot的說法，他在成為士兵後受到的震撼太大，回家後幾乎六個月都不怎麼說話。

Whatever wounds they carried, these men exuded a quiet pride as they gathered in their veterans' caps and neat blazers pinned with well-polished service medals. They swapped stories, accepted handshakes and words of thanks from me and other strangers, and were surrounded by children and grandchildren who knew them less for their war heroism than for the lives they had led afterward—as teachers, engineers, factory workers, or store

owners, men who had married their sweethearts, worked hard to buy a house, fought off depression and disappointments, coached Little League, volunteered at their churches or synagogues, and seen their sons and daughters marry and have families of their own.

這些人身上或許還帶著傷痕，但他們透露出一種靜謐的自豪感，穿上退伍軍人帽子和整齊的外套，上面別着擦得很亮的服務勳章。他們講述故事，接受來自我和其他陌生人的握手和感謝之詞，被孩子和孫子女們圍繞，后代們對他們不是因為他們的戰爭英勇而認識，而是因為他們之後的生活——當老師、工程師、工廠工人或店主，他們娶妻生子，努力購房，抗拒沮喪和失望，教練少棒隊，志願服務於教堂或猶太會堂，並見證自己的兒女成家立業。

Standing on the stage as the ceremony began, I realized that the lives of these eighty-something-year-old veterans more than answered whatever doubts stirred in me. Maybe nothing would come of my Cairo speech. Maybe the dysfunction of the Middle East would play itself out regardless of what I did. Maybe the best we could hope for was to placate men like Mubarak and kill those who would try to kill us. Maybe, as the Pyramids had whispered, none of it mattered in the long run. But on the only scale that any of us can truly comprehend, the span of centuries, the actions of an American president sixty-five years earlier had set the world on a better course. The sacrifices these men had made, at roughly the same age as the young Army Rangers I'd just met, had made all the difference. Just as the witness of Elie Wiesel, a beneficiary of those sacrifices, made a difference; just as Angela Merkel's willingness to absorb the tragic lessons of her own nation's past made a difference.

站在典禮開始舉行的舞台上，我意識到這些八十多歲的老兵們的生命超越了我內心所擾動的任何懷疑。或許我在開羅的演講中所說的話都不會有成果。或許中東的不穩定將會不論我做什麼都會發生。或許我們所能期盼的最好情況就是平息像穆巴拉克這樣的人，並消滅那些想要殺我們的人。或許像金字塔說過的那樣，在漫長的歷史長河裡這些都毫無意義。但在我們所理解的唯一尺度，即幾個世紀的時間跨度上，美國總統六十五年前所做出的行為已經開啟了一場更好的進程。這些人所做出的犧牲，和我剛剛見到的年輕陸軍突擊隊員差不多，改變了一切。就像得益於這些犧牲的艾利·威瑟爾所展現的目睹一樣，安格拉·默克爾願意吸取自己國家的悲劇教訓也有所改變。

It was my turn to speak. I told the stories of a few of the men we had come to honor. "Our history has always been the sum total of the choices made and the actions taken by each individual man and woman," I concluded. "It has always been up to us." Turning back to look at the old men sitting behind me on the stage, I believed this to be true.

到了該輪到我講話的時候，我講述了我們來紀念的幾個人的故事。“我們的歷史始終是由每個男女所做出的選擇和採取的行動的總和，”我結束了講話。“歷史的進程一直掌握在我們手中。”我回頭看着坐在舞台后面的老人們，深信不疑這是真的。

## CHAPTER 16

OUR FIRST SPRING IN THE WHITE HOUSE arrived early. By mid-March, the air had softened and the days grown longer. As the weather warmed, the South Lawn became almost like a private park to explore. There were acres of lush grass ringed by massive, shady oaks and elms and a tiny pond tucked behind the hedges, with the handprints of presidential children and grandchildren pressed into the paved pathway that led to it. There were nooks and crannies for games of tag and hide-and-go-seek, and there was even a bit of wildlife—not just squirrels and rabbits but a red-tailed hawk that a group of visiting fourth graders had named Lincoln and a slender, long-legged fox that could sometimes be spotted at a distance in the late afternoon and occasionally got bold enough to wander down the colonnade.第十六章

我們住進白宮的第一個春天來得很早。到了三月中旬，空氣變得溫和，白天也變得更長。隨著天氣的變暖，南草坪變成了一個私人公園，可以探索。茂密的草地被巨大的陰涼橡樹和榆樹環繞著，後面還有一個小池塘藏在樹籬後面，總統的孩子和孫子女的手印印在了通往池塘的鋪砌小路上。有適合玩捉迷藏和躲貓貓的角落，甚至還有一些野生動物——不僅是松鼠和兔子，還有幾只被一群來訪的四年級學生命名為林肯的紅尾鷹和一只苗條長腿的狐狸，有時在傍晚會被看到在遠處晃動，偶爾還會大膽地走到柱廊下面。

Cooped up as we'd been through the winter, we took full advantage of the new backyard. We had a swing set installed for Sasha and Malia, near the swimming pool and directly in front of the Oval Office. Looking up from a late afternoon meeting on this or that crisis, I might glimpse the girls playing outside, their faces set in bliss as they soared high on the swings. We also set up a couple of portable basketball hoops on either end of the tennis courts, so that I could sneak out with Reggie for a quick game of H-O-R-S-E and the staff could play interoffice games of five-on-five.

對比過去季節在家裡所度過的孤寂，我們現在將背後的新花園好好利用。我們安裝了一個鞦韆組合，放在游泳池前方、總統辦公室的正前方，供Sasha和Malia使用。在一個傍晚的會議上，我可能會抬頭看看女孩們在外面玩耍，他們臉上的喜悅在鞦韆上不斷升起。我們還在網球場的兩端設立了幾個可移動的籃球架，這樣我就可以和Reggie暗暗地進行一場快速的H-O-R-S-E比賽。至於工作人員，他們可以進行五對五的內部比賽。

And with the help of Sam Kass, as well as the White House horticulturalist and a crew of enthusiastic fifth graders from a local elementary school, Michelle planted her garden. What we expected to be a meaningful but modest project to encourage healthy eating ended up becoming a genuine phenomenon, inspiring school and community gardens across the country, attracting worldwide attention, and generating so much produce by the end of that first summer—collards, carrots, peppers, fennel, onions, lettuce, broccoli, strawberries, blueberries, you name it—that the White House kitchen started donating crates of spare vegetables to the local food banks. As an unexpected bonus, a member of the groundskeeping crew turned out to be an amateur beekeeper, and we gave him the okay to set up a small hive. Not only did it end up producing more than a hundred pounds of honey a year, but an enterprising microbrewer in the Navy Mess suggested that we could use the honey in a beer recipe, which led to the purchase of a home brew kit and made me the first presidential brewmaster. (George Washington, I was told, made his own whiskey.)

在Sam Kass的幫助下，以及白宮的園藝師和一班來自當地小學的五年級學生的熱情幫忙下，米歇爾種下了自己的花園。我們本來只是想開展一個提倡健康飲食的有意義但不太起眼的項目，但這件事最終成為一個真正的現象，鼓舞了全國各地的學校和社區開展自己的花園，在世界範圍內引起了關注，並在那個第一個夏天生產了許多蔬菜，比如甘藍、胡蘿蔔、辣椒、茴香、洋蔥、生菜、西蘭花、草莓、藍莓等等，以至于白宮廚房開始向本地食品銀行捐贈蔬菜。作

为一个意外的好处，庭园维护人员中有一位是业余养蜂人，我们允许他搭建一个小蜂房。这个小蜂房不仅每年产出了超过一百磅的蜂蜜，而且海军小餐厅里一个有创意的微型啤酒厂商建议我们可以在啤酒配方中使用这些蜂蜜，于是我们买了一个自酿啤酒的工具包，成为了第一个总统自酿啤酒的人。（据说乔治·华盛顿也自酿威士忌。）

But of all the pleasures that first year in the White House would deliver, none quite compared to the mid-April arrival of Bo, a huggable, four-legged black bundle of fur, with a snowy-white chest and front paws. Malia and Sasha, who'd been lobbying for a puppy since before the campaign, squealed with delight upon seeing him for the first time, letting him lick their ears and faces as the three of them rolled around on the floor of the residence. It wasn't just the girls who fell in love either. Michelle spent so much time with Bo—teaching him tricks, cradling him in her lap, sneaking him bacon—that Marian confessed to feeling like a bad parent for never having given in to Michelle's girlhood wish for a family dog.

但在白宫的第一年带来的所有乐趣中，没有一件能与4月中旬到来的Bo相比，这是一只可爱的四脚黑毛球，有一片雪白的胸膛和前爪。在竞选之前，一直在游说着要养只小狗的Malia和Sasha第一次见到他时欣喜若狂，让他舔他们的耳朵和脸，然后他们三个在住所的地板上打滚。不单单是女孩们对他爱不释手，米歇尔也花了很多时间和Bo在一起——教他技巧，抱着他在腿上，偷偷地喂他培根——以至于玛丽安坦白承认自己从来没有满足过米歇尔童年时对家庭宠物狗的愿望，感觉自己是一个不好的父母。

As for me, I got what someone once described as the only reliable friend a politician can have in Washington. Bo also gave me an added excuse to put off my evening paperwork and join my family on meandering after-dinner walks around the South Lawn. It was during those moments—with the light fading into streaks of purple and gold, Michelle smiling and squeezing my hand as the dog bounded in and out of the bushes with the girls giving chase, Malia eventually catching up to us to interrogate me about things like birds' nests or cloud formations while Sasha wrapped herself around one of my legs to see how far I could carry her along—that I felt normal and whole and as lucky as any man has a right to expect.

對我而言，有人曾形容過華盛頓唯一可靠的政治朋友就是 Bo。Bo 讓我有借口不去處理晚間的工作，加入家人在南院草坪漫步的行列中。當光線逐漸消失並呈現出紫色和金色的條紋時，Michelle 一邊微笑一邊握住我的手，Bo 在灌木叢裡躡進躡出，女兒們追逐著，Malia 最終追上我詢問我有關鳥巢或雲的事情，Sasha 則環繞著我其中一條腿，看我能夠抱她多遠。在那些時刻，我感到正常、完整，像是任何男人有權期待的一樣幸運。

Bo had come to us as a gift from Ted and Vicki Kennedy, part of a litter that was related to Teddy's own beloved pair of Portuguese water dogs. It was an incredibly thoughtful gesture—not only because the breed was hypoallergenic (a necessity due to Malia's allergies) but also because the Kennedys had made sure that Bo was housebroken before he came to us. When I called to thank them, though, it was only Vicki I could speak with. It had been almost a year since Teddy was diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor, and although he was still receiving treatment in Boston, it was clear to everyone—Teddy included—that the prognosis was not good.

波（Bo）是Ted和Vicki Kennedy送给我们的礼物，它来自Teddy自己的一对心爱的葡萄牙水犬之一。这是一个非常周到的举动 - 不仅因为这种狗对Malia的过敏有利，而且因为Kennedys确保Bo在来之前以及训练好了如厕习惯。当我打电话去感谢他们时，只能和Vicki交谈。从Teddy被诊断出恶性脑瘤已经过去将近一年，虽然他仍然在波士顿接受治疗，但所有人都知道 - 包括Teddy在内 - 预后不好。

I'd seen him in March, when he'd made a surprise appearance at a White House conference we held to get the ball rolling on universal-healthcare legislation. Vicki had worried about the trip, and I'd understood why. Teddy's walk was unsteady that day; his suit barely fit after all the weight he'd lost, and despite his cheerful demeanor, his pinched, cloudy eyes showed the strain it took just to hold himself upright. And yet he'd insisted on coming anyway, because thirty-five years earlier the cause of getting everyone decent, affordable healthcare had become personal for him. His son Teddy Jr. had been diagnosed with a bone cancer that led to a leg amputation at the age of twelve. While at the hospital, Teddy had gotten to know other parents whose children were just as ill but who had no idea how they'd pay the mounting medical bills. Then and there, he had vowed to do something to change that.

我在三月份见到过他，那时他突然出现在白宫举办的一次会议上，旨在推动普及医保法案。Vicki非常担心这次旅行，我明白为什么。那天，特迪的步伐不稳；他的衣服几乎穿不下，因为他减了太多的体重，尽管他愉快的神态，他那紧皱的眼睛表明了他支撑自己站着需要多大的努力。然而，他仍然坚持要来，因为35年前，让每个人都能获得体面、负担得起的医疗保健已经成为他的个人事业。他的儿子特迪·肯尼迪在12岁被诊断出骨癌，随后不得不截肢。在医院里，特迪认识了其他家长，他们的孩子也同样生病，但不知如何支付不断上涨的医疗费用。从那时起，他就发誓要做些事情来改变这种情况。

Through seven presidents, Teddy had fought the good fight. During the Clinton administration, he helped secure passage of the Children's Health Insurance Program. Over the objections of some in his own party, he worked with President Bush to get drug coverage for seniors. But for all his power and legislative skill, the dream of establishing universal healthcare—a system that delivered quality medical care to all people, regardless of their ability to pay—continued to elude him.

Which is why Ted Kennedy had forced himself out of bed to come to our conference, knowing that while he could no longer lead the fight, his brief but symbolic presence might have an effect. Sure enough, when he walked into the East Room, the hundred and fifty people who were present erupted into cheers and lengthy applause. After opening the conference, I called upon him to speak first, and some of his former staffers could be seen tearing up at the sight of their old boss rising to speak. His remarks were short; his baritone didn't boom quite as loudly as it used to when he'd roared on the Senate floor. He looked forward, he said, to being "a foot soldier" in the upcoming effort. By the time we'd moved on to the third or fourth speaker, Vicki had quietly escorted him out the door.

在7位總統任期間，泰迪一直在努力奮鬥。在克林頓政府期間，他幫助通過了兒童健康保險計劃。儘管有些人反對，他仍與布什總統合作，為老年人提供藥物保險。但是，儘管他有如此強大的權力和立法技巧，建立普及的醫療保健系統，為所有人提供質量的醫療保健，無論他們的支付能力如何，仍然未能實現。

這就是為什麼泰德·肯尼迪必須強迫自己離開床來參加我們的會議，他知道，儘管他不再能領導這場戰鬥，但他的簡短但象徵性的存在可能會產生影響。果然，當他走進東廳時，150人的現場觀眾爆發出歡呼聲和長時間的掌聲。開幕式後，我首先邀請他發言，一些他的前任工作人員在看到他的舊上司站起來發言時都看哭了。他的發言很短，他的低沉嗓音在講到之前在參議院發出的怒吼時並沒有如以前那樣大聲。他表示，他期待在即將到來的努力中成為“一個步兵”。當我們轉移到第三或第四個講者時，Vicki已經悄悄地把他護送出門。

I saw him only once more in person, a couple of weeks later, at a signing ceremony for a bill expanding national service programs, which Republicans and Democrats alike had named in his honor. But I would think of Teddy sometimes when Bo wandered into the Treaty Room, his head down, his tail wagging, before he curled up at my feet. And I'd recall what Teddy had told me that day, just before we walked into the East Room together.

“This is the time, Mr. President,” he had said. “Don’t let it slip away.”

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THE QUEST FOR some form of universal healthcare in the United States dates back to 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt, who had previously served nearly eight years as a Republican president, decided to run again—this time on a progressive ticket and with a platform that called for the establishment of a centralized national health service. At the time, few people had or felt the need for private health insurance. Most Americans paid their doctors visit by visit, but the field of medicine was quickly growing more sophisticated, and as more diagnostic tests and surgeries became available, the attendant costs began to rise, tying health more explicitly to wealth. Both the United Kingdom and Germany had addressed similar issues by instituting national health insurance systems, and other European nations would eventually follow suit. While Roosevelt ultimately lost the 1912 election, his party’s progressive ideals planted a seed that accessible and affordable medical care might be viewed as a right more than a privilege. It wasn’t long, however, before doctors and southern politicians vocally opposed any type of government involvement in healthcare, branding it as a form of bolshevism.

我只在之后几个星期里再见过他一次，那是在签署一项将全国服务计划扩展的法案的仪式上。这项计划不分党派地以他的名字命名。但当Bo走进条约房间，低着头，摇着尾巴，蜷缩在我的脚边时，我会想起Teddy。我会回忆起Teddy在我们一起走进东厅之前告诉我的话。

“现在是时候了，总统先生，”他说。“不要让这个机会溜走。”

寻求某种形式的全民医保在美国可以追溯到1912年，当时曾经任职近8年的共和党总统西奥多·罗斯福决定再次竞选，这次他以进步派的身份参选，并主张建立集中的国家卫生服务体系。当时，很少有人需要或感到需要私人医疗保险。大多数美国人按次就诊支付医生的费用，但医学领域很快变得更加复杂，随着越来越多的诊断测试和手术变得可行，相关成本开始上升，将健康与财富联系更加紧密。英国和德国已经通过建立国家医保体系解决了类似的问题，其他欧洲国家最终也会效仿。然而，医生和南方政治家很快反对政府介入医疗保健，认为这是一种布尔什维主义。罗斯福最终输掉了1912年的选举，但他的党派进步理念种下了一个种子，即可获得可负担的医疗保健可能会被视为一种权利，而不是特权。

After FDR imposed a nationwide wage freeze meant to stem inflation during World War II, many companies began offering private health insurance and pension benefits as a way to compete for the limited number of workers not deployed overseas. Once the war ended, this employer-based system continued, in no small part because labor unions liked the arrangement, since it enabled them to use the more generous benefit packages negotiated under collective bargaining agreements as a selling point to recruit new members. The downside was that it left those unions unmotivated to push for government-sponsored health programs that might help everybody else. Harry Truman proposed a national healthcare system twice, once in 1945 and again as part of his Fair Deal package in 1949, but his appeal for public support was no match for the well-financed PR efforts of the American Medical Association and other industry lobbyists. Opponents didn’t just kill Truman’s effort. They convinced a large swath of the public that “socialized medicine” would lead to rationing, the loss of your family doctor, and the freedoms Americans hold so dear.

在二戰期間，為了抑制通貨膨脹，費德勒行政當局實行了全國範圍的薪資凍結。許多公司為了爭取沒有派遣海外的有限員工，開始提供私人健康保險和退休金福利。戰爭結束後，這種以雇主為基礎的制度繼續存在，很大程度上是因為勞工工會喜歡這個安排，因為它使他們能夠利用集體談判協議中談判大禮包來吸引新成員。缺點是，這使那些工會沒有動機推動政府提供的健康計劃，這些計劃可能有助於所有人。哈里·杜魯門兩次提出國家醫療保健系統，一次是在1945年，另一次是作為他的公平交易計劃的一部分在1949年，但他對公眾支持的呼籲無法與美國醫學協會和其他行業遊說者的良好財務支持相比。反對者不僅摧毀了杜魯門的努力，還說服了大片公眾，認為“社會化醫療”將導致配額制度、失去家庭醫生和美國人所珍視的自由。

Rather than challenging private insurance head-on, progressives shifted their energy to help those populations the marketplace had left behind. These efforts bore fruit during LBJ’s Great Society campaign, when a universal single-payer program partially funded by payroll tax revenue was introduced for seniors (Medicare) and a not-so-comprehensive program based on a combination of federal and state funding was set up for the poor (Medicaid). During the 1970s and early 1980s, this patchwork system functioned well enough, with roughly 80 percent of Americans covered through either their jobs or one of these two programs. Meanwhile, defenders of the status quo could point to the many innovations brought to market by the for-profit medical industry, from MRIs to lifesaving drugs.

進步派不是直接挑戰私人保險，而是將精力轉向幫助市場未涵蓋的人群。這些努力在LBJ的大社會運動中開花結果，通過銷售稅收部分資助的全民單一支付計劃（醫療保險）提供給老年人，並建立一個聯邦和州資助的不太全面的計劃，面向貧困人群（醫療補助）。在20世紀70年代和80年代初，這種拼湊出來的系統運作得還不錯，約80%的美國人通過工作或這兩個計劃之一獲得覆蓋。與此同時，現狀的辯護者可以指出商業醫療行業帶來的許多創新，從MRI到挽救生命的藥物。

Useful as they were, though, these innovations also further drove up healthcare costs. And with insurers footing the nation’s medical bills, patients had little incentive to question whether drug companies were overcharging or if doctors and hospitals were ordering redundant tests and unnecessary treatments in order to pad their bottom lines. Meanwhile, nearly a fifth of the country lived just an illness or accident away from potential financial ruin. Forgoing regular checkups and preventive care because they couldn’t afford it, the uninsured often waited until they were very sick before seeking care at

hospital emergency rooms, where more advanced illnesses meant more expensive treatment. Hospitals made up for this uncompensated care by increasing prices for insured customers, which in turn further jacked up premiums.

然而，尽管这些创新是有用的，但它们也进一步推高了医疗保健成本。由于保险公司承担了国家的医疗费用，病人们没有动力去质疑药品公司是否过度收费，或医生和医院是否为了增加他们的收入而开具了重复的检查和不必要的治疗。与此同时，近五分之一的国家生活在潜在的经济困境之中，只需要一次疾病或事故就可能导致其破产。由于负担不起常规的检查和预防保健，无保险者通常会等到病情严重才去医院急诊室寻求治疗，而这样更高级别的疾病意味着更昂贵的治疗费用。医院通过提高对有保险客户的补偿来弥补这些无补偿的医疗费用，这反过来又进一步提高了保险费用。

All this explained why the United States spent a lot more money per person on healthcare than any other advanced economy (112 percent more than Canada, 109 percent more than France, 117 percent more than Japan) and for similar or worse results. The difference amounted to hundreds of billions of dollars per year—money that could have been used instead to provide quality childcare for American families, or to reduce college tuition, or to eliminate a good chunk of the federal deficit. Spiraling healthcare costs also burdened American businesses: Japanese and German automakers didn't have to worry about the extra \$1,500 in worker and retiree healthcare costs that Detroit had to build into the price of every car rolling off the assembly line.

所有這些都解釋了為什麼美國人均醫療保健開支遠高於其他先進經濟體（比加拿大高112%，比法國高109%，比日本高117%），且結果相似或更糟。這種差異每年相當於數百億美元——這些錢本可以用來為美國家庭提供優質兒童保育，或者降低大學學費，或者減少聯邦赤字的一大部分。螺旋式的醫療保健成本也給美國企業帶來了負擔：日本和德國的汽車制造商不必擔心底特律每輛汽車生產線上滾下來的額外1500美元的員工和退休人員的醫療保健成本。

In fact, it was in response to foreign competition that U.S. companies began off-loading rising insurance costs onto their employees in the late 1980s and '90s, replacing traditional plans that had few, if any, out-of-pocket costs with cheaper versions that included higher deductibles, co-pays, lifetime limits, and other unpleasant surprises hidden in the fine print. Unions often found themselves able to preserve their traditional benefit plans only by agreeing to forgo increases in wages. Small businesses found it tough to provide their workers with health benefits at all. Meanwhile, insurance companies that operated in the individual market perfected the art of rejecting customers who, according to their actuarial data, were most likely to make use of the healthcare system, especially anyone with a "preexisting condition"—which they often defined to include anything from a previous bout of cancer to asthma and chronic allergies.

事实上，美国企业在20世纪80年代末和90年代开始将不断上涨的保险费用转嫁给员工，以应对外国竞争。他们用包含更高的免赔额、共付款、寿命限制和其他令人不愉快的隐藏在条款里的惊喜的更便宜的版本替换了几乎没有任何自费的传统计划。工会往往只有同意放弃工资增长才能保留他们传统的福利计划。小企业很难为员工提供健康福利。与此同时，操作个人市场的保险公司完善了拒绝根据他们的保险数据最有可能使用医疗保健系统的客户的艺术，特别是那些“先已存在的情况”（他们通常将癌症复发、哮喘和慢性过敏等一切都包含在内）的人。

It's no wonder, then, that by the time I took office there were very few people ready to defend the existing system. More than 43 million Americans were now uninsured, premiums for family coverage had risen 97 percent since 2000, and costs were only continuing to climb. And yet the prospect of trying to get a big healthcare-reform bill through Congress at the height of a historic recession made my team nervous. Even Axe—who'd experienced the challenges of getting specialized care for a daughter with severe epilepsy and had left journalism to become a political consultant in part to pay for her treatment—had his doubts.

因此，很少有人准备为现有的体制辩护，这并不奇怪。因为在我就职时，超过4300万美国人没有医疗保险，家庭保障的保费自2000年以来上涨了97%，而费用只在持续上升。然而，尝试在历史性衰退的高峰期通过一个重大的医保改革法案，让我的团队感到紧张。即使是很有经验的阿克斯（他曾经为严重癫痫病女儿寻求专业护理，离开新闻界成为政治顾问以支付她的治疗费用）也有疑虑。

"The data's pretty clear," Axe said when we discussed the topic early on. "People may hate the way things work in general, but most of them have insurance. They don't really think about the flaws in the system until somebody in their own family gets sick. They like their doctor. They don't trust Washington to fix anything. And even if they think you're sincere, they worry that any changes you make will cost them money and help somebody else. Plus, when you ask them what changes they'd like to see to the healthcare system, they basically want every possible treatment, regardless of cost or effectiveness, from whatever provider they choose, whenever they want it—for free. Which, of course, we can't deliver. And that's before the insurance companies, the drug companies, the docs start running ads—"

“資料很明顯。”當我們早期討論這個話題時，艾克斯說。“人們可能討厭整個系統的運作方式，但他們大多有保險。除非親戚朋友生病，否則他們不太會考慮體制的缺陷。他們喜歡自己的醫生。他們不相信華盛頓會解決任何問題。即使他們認為你是真誠的，他們也擔心你所做的任何改變都會讓他們花錢並幫助別人。此外，當你問他們希望看到哪些醫療保健體系的改變時，他們基本上想要任何可能的治療，不論成本或有效性如何，來自他們選擇的任何提供者，在任何時候-免費。當然，我們做不到。而且這還不包括保險公司、制藥公司、醫生開始投放廣告的問題——”

"What Axe is trying to say, Mr. President," Rahm interrupted, his face screwed up in a frown, "is that this can blow up in our faces."

Rahm went on to remind us that he'd had a front-row seat at the last push for universal healthcare, when Hillary Clinton's legislative proposal crashed and burned, creating a backlash that contributed to Democrats losing control of the House in the 1994 midterms. "Republicans will say healthcare is a big new liberal spending binge, and that it's a distraction from solving the economic crisis."

“艾克斯先生想表达的意思是，总统先生，”拉姆插话说，脸上皱成了一个愁眉苦脸，“这可能会给我们带来麻烦。”拉姆接着提醒我们，他曾经亲眼目睹了为了实现全民医保的最后努力，当时希拉里·克林顿的立法提案以失败而告终，引发了一场反弹，造成民主党在1994年中期选举中失去了众议院的控制权。“共和党人会说，医疗是一种大规模的自由派开支狂潮，它们转移了我们解决经济危机的注意力。”

“Unless I’m missing something,” I said, “we’re doing everything we can do on the economy.”

“I know that, Mr. President. But the American people don’t know that.”

“So what are we saying here?” I asked. “That despite having the biggest Democratic majorities in decades, despite the promises we made during the campaign, we shouldn’t try to get healthcare done?”

Rahm looked to Axe for help.

“We all think we should try,” Axe said. “You just need to know that if we lose, your presidency will be badly weakened. And nobody understands that better than McConnell and Boehner.”

“除非我漏掉了什么，”我说，“我们正在经济方面尽力而为。”

“我知道，总统先生。但美国人民不知道。”

“那我们怎么说？”我问道，“尽管我们在竞选中承诺要完成的，尽管拥有几十年来最大的民主党多数派，我们不该试图实现医疗保健改革吗？”

拉姆转向艾克斯寻求帮助。

“我们都认为我们应该试试，”艾克斯说，“你只需要知道，如果我们失败，你的总统任期将会极度削弱。而没有人比麦康奈尔和博纳更了解这一点。”

I stood up, signaling that the meeting was over.

“We better not lose, then,” I said.

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WHEN I THINK back to those early conversations, it’s hard to deny my overconfidence. I was convinced that the logic of healthcare reform was so obvious that even in the face of well-organized opposition I could rally the American people’s support. Other big initiatives—like immigration reform and climate change legislation—would probably be even harder to get through Congress; I figured that scoring a victory on the item that most affected people’s day-to-day lives was our best shot at building momentum for the rest of my legislative agenda. As for the political hazards Axe and Rahm worried about, the recession virtually ensured that my poll numbers were going to take a hit anyway. Being timid wouldn’t change that reality. Even if it did, passing up a chance to help millions of people just because it might hurt my reelection prospects...well, that was exactly the kind of myopic, self-preserving behavior I’d vowed to reject.

我站起身，示意会议结束了。

“那我们最好不要输，”我说。

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回忆起那些早期的对话，很难否认我的过度自信。我相信医疗改革的逻辑是如此的明显，即使面对有组织的反对，我也可以发动美国人民的支持。其他重大的倡议，比如移民改革和气候变化立法，可能会更难通过国会；我认为，在最影响人们日常生活的事情上取得胜利是推动我的立法议程取得动力的最佳机会。至于艾克斯和拉姆所担心的政治危险，经济衰退几乎确保了我的民意调查数据会受到打击。胆小怕事是无法改变这一现实的。即使这样做，放弃帮助数百万人的机会，只因为可能会伤害我的连任前景.....那就完全是我誓言要拒绝的那种目光短浅、自我保护的行为。

My interest in healthcare went beyond policy or politics; it was personal, just as it was for Teddy. Each time I met a parent struggling to come up with the money to get treatment for a sick child, I thought back to the night Michelle and I had to take a three-month-old Sasha to the emergency room for what turned out to be viral meningitis—the terror and helplessness we felt as the nurses whisked her away for a spinal tap, and the realization that we might never have caught the infection in time had the girls not had a regular pediatrician we felt comfortable calling in the middle of the night. When, on the campaign trail, I met farmworkers or supermarket cashiers suffering from a bum knee or bad back because they couldn’t afford a doctor’s visit, I thought about one of my best friends, Bobby Titcomb, a commercial fisherman in Hawaii who resorted to professional medical help only for life-threatening injuries (like the time a diving accident resulted in a spear puncturing his lung) because the monthly cost of insurance would have wiped out what he earned from an entire week’s catch.

我对医疗保健的兴趣超出了政策或政治范畴。这是个人问题，正如对泰迪而言一样。每当我遇到一位为了给患病孩子筹钱治疗的家长时，我就会回想起那个夜晚，米歇尔和我带着三个月大的莎莎去了急救室，结果被诊断出是病毒性脑膜炎——当护士把她带走做腰穿时我们所感受到的恐惧和无助，以及如果女孩们没有一个我们认为能够在半夜打电话咨询的专职儿科医师，我们可能永远不会在时限内发现这个感染。当我在竞选途中遇到农民工或超市收银员因为无法承担医生费用而受到膝盖或背部的疼痛时，我就会想到我的一位好友Bobby Titcomb，他是夏威夷的一名商业渔民，因为月保费会吞噬他一整个星期的渔获所以只有在面临生命威胁造成的伤害时才会求助于专业的医疗帮助，比如他潜水时遭遇事故导致鱼叉刺破了他的肺。

Most of all, I thought about my mom. In mid-June, I headed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, for the first of a series of healthcare town hall meetings we would hold around the country, hoping to solicit citizen input and educate people on the possibilities for reform. Introducing me that day was Laura Klitzka, who was thirty-five years old and had been diagnosed with aggressive breast cancer that had spread to her bones. Even though she was on her husband’s insurance plan, repeated rounds of surgery, radiation, and chemo had bumped her up against the policy’s lifetime limits, leaving them with \$12,000 in unpaid medical bills. Over her husband Peter’s objections, she was now pondering whether more treatment was worth it. Sitting in their living room before we headed for the event, she smiled wanly as we watched Peter doing his best to keep track of the two young kids playing on the floor.

我最关心的是我的妈妈。六月中旬，我前往威斯康辛州的格林贝，参加我们将在全国各地举行的一系列医疗保健城镇会议的第一个。我们希望征求公民意见并教育人们有关改革的可能性。那天介绍我的是劳拉·克利茨卡(Laura Klitzka)，她今年35岁，被诊断为患有侵袭性乳腺癌，并扩散到了骨头上。尽管她在丈夫的保险计划下，但反复的手术、放射治疗和化疗使她超出了保险计划的寿命限制，留下了12,000美元的未付医疗费用。尽管她的丈夫彼得反对，但她现在正在考虑是否值得接受更多治疗。在我们前往活动之前坐在他们的客厅里，她微微地笑着，看着彼得尽力照顾着在地板上玩耍的两个小孩。

“I want as much time with them as I can get,” Laura said to me, “but I don’t want to leave them with a mountain of debt. It feels selfish.” Her eyes started misting, and I held her hand, remembering my mom wasting away in those final months: the times she’d put off checkups that might have caught her disease because she was in between consulting contracts and didn’t have coverage; the stress she carried to her hospital bed when her insurer refused to pay her disability claim, arguing that she had failed to disclose a preexisting condition despite the fact that she hadn’t even been diagnosed when her policy started. The unspoken regrets. “我想和他们待在一起尽可能多的时间，”劳拉对我说，“但我不想留给他们沉重的债务。这感觉很自私。”她的眼睛开始模糊，我握着她的手，想起了我母亲在最后几个月中消瘦的样子：她推迟了可能会发现她疾病的检查，因为她在咨询合同之间，没有任何保险；当她的保险公司拒绝支付残疾赔偿金时，她承受的压力带到了她的病床上，争论她没有披露既往病史，尽管她甚至在保单开始时都没有被诊断出来。那些未说出口的遗憾。

Passing a healthcare bill wouldn’t bring my mom back. It wouldn’t douse the guilt I still felt for not having been at her side when she took her last breath. It would probably come too late to help Laura Klitzka and her family.

But it would save somebody’s mom out there, somewhere down the line. And that was worth fighting for.

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THE QUESTION WAS whether we could get it done. As tough as it had been to pass the Recovery Act, the concept behind the stimulus legislation was pretty simple: enable the government to pump out money as fast as it could in order to keep the economy afloat and people employed. The law didn’t take cash out of anyone’s pockets, or force a change in how businesses operated, or discontinue old programs in order to pay for new ones. In the immediate term, there were no losers in the deal.

通过一项医保法案不会让我的母亲回来。它不能平息我内心对自己在母亲离世时没有在她身边的愧疚感。它可能会为劳拉·克利茨卡和她的家人提供太晚的帮助。

但是它可以拯救别人的母亲，在某个地方，在将来的日子里。这值得为之奋斗。

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问题是能否做到。尽管通过恢复法案已经很困难了，但刺激立法背后的概念却很简单：让政府尽快注入资金以保持经济活力和人们就业。该法律不会从任何人的口袋中取出现金，也不会强迫企业改变经营方式，也不会取消旧计划以支付新计划。在短期内，在这笔交易中没有输家。

By contrast, any major healthcare bill meant rejiggering one-sixth of the American economy. Legislation of this scope was guaranteed to involve hundreds of pages of endlessly fussed-over amendments and regulations, some of them new, some of them rewrites to previous law, all of them with their own high stakes. A single provision tucked inside the bill could translate to billions of dollars in gains or losses for some sector of the healthcare industry. A shift in one number, a zero here or a decimal point there, could mean a million more families getting coverage—or not. Across the country, insurance companies like Aetna and UnitedHealthcare were major employers, and local hospitals served as the economic anchor for many small towns and counties. People had good reasons—life-and-death reasons—to worry about how any change would affect them.

相比之下，任何一项重大的医疗保健法案都意味着重新调整美国经济的六分之一。这样规模的立法必定涉及数百页不断修改的修正案和规定，其中有些是新的，有些是对以前法律的修改，所有这些都有其自己的高利益。法案中藏有的一条条款可能会对某个医疗保健行业的部门造成亿万美元的收益或损失。一个数字的变化，一个零或者一个小数点的变化，就可以意味着再多一百万个家庭得到保障，或者不得到。在全国范围内，像艾特纳和联合健康保险这样的保险公司是主要雇主，而当地医院则是许多小镇和县的经济支柱。人们有很好的理由，生死攸关的理由，担心任何变化会对他们产生什么影响。

There was also the question of how to pay for the law. To cover more people, I had argued, America didn’t need to spend more money on healthcare; we just needed to use that money more wisely. In theory, that was true. But one person’s waste and inefficiency was another person’s profit or convenience; spending on coverage would show up on the federal books much sooner than the savings from reform; and unlike the insurance companies or Big Pharma, whose shareholders expected them to be on guard against any change that might cost them a dime, most of the potential beneficiaries of reform—the waitress, the family farmer, the independent contractor, the cancer survivor—didn’t have gaggles of well-paid and experienced lobbyists roaming the halls of Congress on their behalf.

还有一个问题是如何支付法律费用。我认为，要想扩大覆盖范围，美国并不需要在医疗保健方面投入更多资金，我们只需要更明智地利用这些资金。理论上说，这是正确的。但是，一个人的浪费和低效率对另一个人来说可能是利益或方便；在覆盖方面的支出会比改革节省的金额更快地出现在联邦账本上；而不像保险公司或大型制药公司，他们的股东期望他们对任何可能让他们损失一分钱的变化保持警惕，改革的大多数潜在受益者——服务员、家庭农民、独立承包商、癌症幸存者——没有雇佣一群有经验、高薪的游说者在国会大厦里为他们代言。

In other words, both the politics and the substance of healthcare were mind-numbingly complicated. I was going to have to explain to the American people, including those with quality health insurance, why and how reform could work. For this reason, I thought we’d use as open and transparent a process as possible when it came to developing the necessary legislation. “Everyone will have a seat at the table,” I’d told voters during the campaign. “Not negotiating behind closed doors, but bringing all parties together, and broadcasting those negotiations on C-SPAN, so that the American people can see what the choices are.” When I later brought this idea up with Rahm, he looked like he wished I weren’t the president, just so he could more vividly explain the stupidity of my plan. If we were going to get a bill passed, he told me, the process would involve dozens of deals and compromises along the way—and it wasn’t going to be conducted like a civics seminar.

换句话说，医疗保健的政治和实质都令人头昏眼花。我将不得不向包括那些拥有优质医疗保险的美国人解释为什么以及如何进行改革。因此，我认为在制定必要的立法时，我们应该尽可能采用公开透明的方式。在竞选期间，我告诉选民，“每个人都有席位，不要在闭门谈判，而是将所有各方召集起来，并在 C-

SPAN 上播放这些谈判，让美国人看到选择的内容。”后来我向拉姆提出了这个想法，他看起来希望我不是总统，这样他就能更生动地解释我的计划是多么愚蠢了。他告诉我，如果我们要通过议案，这个进程将涉及数十项协议和妥协，而不是进行公民研讨会的方式。

“Making sausage isn’t pretty, Mr. President,” he said. “And you’re asking for a really big piece of sausage.”

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ONE THING RAHM and I did agree on was that we had months of work ahead of us, parsing the cost and outcome of each piece of possible legislation, coordinating every effort across different federal agencies and both houses of Congress, and all the while looking for leverage with major players in the healthcare world, from medical providers and hospital administrators to insurers and pharmaceutical companies. To do all this, we needed a top-notch healthcare team to keep us on track.

“做香肠并不好看，总统先生。”他说。“而你正要求做一个非常大的香肠。”

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我和拉姆同意的一件事是，我们还需要几个月的工作来分析可能的立法成本和结果，协调不同联邦机构和两院的所有努力，并一直寻找与医疗保健世界的主要参与者，从医疗提供者和医院管理员到保险公司和制药公司的杠杆。为了做到这一点，我们需要一支顶尖的医疗保健团队来帮助我们跟进。

Luckily we were able to recruit a remarkable trio of women to help run the show. Kathleen Sebelius, the two-term Democratic governor from Republican-leaning Kansas, came on as secretary of health and human services (HHS). A former state insurance commissioner, she knew both the politics and the economics of healthcare and was a gifted enough politician—smart, funny, outgoing, tough, and media savvy—to serve as the public face of health reform, someone we could put on TV or send to town halls around the country to explain what we were doing. Jeanne Lambrew, a professor at the University of Texas and an expert on Medicare and Medicaid, became the director of the HHS Office of Health Reform, basically our chief policy advisor. Tall, earnest, and often oblivious to political constraints, she had every fact and nuance of every healthcare proposal at her fingertips—and could be counted on to keep the room honest if we veered too far in the direction of political expediency.

幸运的是，我们能够招募到一组出色的女性来协助管理该节目。卡琳·塞伯利厄斯是共和党主导的堪萨斯两届民主派州长，作为卫生及公共服务部的部长参与其中。作为一名前州保险专员，她了解医疗保健的政治和经济情况，并且她是一位足够聪明、幽默、外向、坚强和媒体敏锐的政治家，可以担任医改的公众形象，我们可以把她放在电视上或派她去全国各地的民众大会上解释我们正在做什么。简·兰布鲁是得克萨斯大学的教授，也是医疗保险和医疗救助的专家，她成为卫生及公共服务部卫生改革办公室的主任，基本上是我们的首席政策顾问。高大、认真、经常忽略政治约束，她掌握了每个医疗保健方案的每个事实和细节，并能被认为在政治上有作为，如果我们走得太远，她能保证会让整个房间保持最基本的诚实。

But it was Nancy-Ann DeParle whom I would come to rely on most as our campaign took shape. A Tennessee lawyer who’d run that state’s health programs before serving as the Medicare administrator in the Clinton administration, Nancy-Ann carried herself with the crisp professionalism of someone accustomed to seeing hard work translate into success. How much of that drive could be traced to her experiences growing up Chinese American in a tiny Tennessee town, I couldn’t say. Nancy-Ann didn’t talk much about herself—at least not with me. I do know that when she was seventeen, her mom died of lung cancer, which might have had something to do with her willingness to give up a lucrative position at a private equity firm to work in a job that required even more time away from a loving husband and two young sons.

但隨著我們的競選活動逐漸展開，南希·安·德帕爾成為了我最依靠的人。她是田納西州的一名律師，在任職時運行了該州的衛生計劃，之後在克林頓政府擔任了醫療保險管理員。南希·安表現出習慣于將辛勤工作轉化為成功的干練專業精神。她在很小的田納西小鎮長大，她是華裔美國人，我不知道她的多少努力可以歸功於這些經歷。至少我和她交往時，南希·安不怎麼談論自己。我知道的是，當她十七歲時，她的母親死於肺癌，這可能與她願意放棄私人股本公司高薪職位，接受一份需要更多離家時間的工作有關，但更多的我也不得而知。

It seems I wasn’t the only one for whom getting healthcare passed was personal.

Along with Rahm, Phil Schiliro, and deputy chief of staff Jim Messina, who had served as Plouffe’s right hand in the campaign and was one of our shrewdest political operators, our healthcare team began to map out what a legislative strategy might look like. Based on our experiences with the Recovery Act, we had no doubt that Mitch McConnell would do everything he could to torpedo our efforts, and that the chances of getting Republican votes in the Senate for something as big and as controversial as a healthcare bill were slim. We could take heart from the fact that instead of the fifty-eight senators who were caucusing with the Democrats when we passed the stimulus bill, we were likely to have sixty by the time any healthcare bill actually came to a vote. Al Franken had finally taken his seat after a contentious election recount in Minnesota, and Arlen Specter had decided to switch parties after being effectively driven out of the GOP—just like Charlie Crist—for supporting the Recovery Act.

似乎不止我一個人認為通過醫保法案是個人問題。除了拉姆(Rahm)、菲尔·希利罗(Phil Schiliro)和副幕僚长吉姆·梅西纳(Jim Messina)之外，我們的医保团队开始制定立法策略。基于我们在复苏法案中的经验，我们毫不怀疑米奇·麦康奈尔(Mitch McConnell)会尽其所能破坏我们的努力，而获得共和党人支持的机会非常渺茫，尤其是针对像医疗保健法案这样大而有争议的事情。我们可以从这样一个事实中得到信心，即当我们通过刺激法案时，与民主党合作的参议员只有五十八名，但是在医疗保健法案实际进行投票时，我们可能会拥有六十名参议员。艾伦·弗兰肯(Al Franken)在明尼苏达州经过激烈的选举重新当选，阿伦·斯佩克特(Arlen Specter)在支持复苏法案被迫离开共和党之后，也决定加入民主党，就像查理·克里斯特(Charlie Crist)一样。

Still, our filibuster-proof head count was tenuous, for it included a terminally ill Ted Kennedy and the frail and ailing Robert Byrd of West Virginia, not to mention conservative Dems like Nebraska’s Ben Nelson (a former insurance company executive) who could go sideways on us at any minute. Beyond wanting some margin for error, I also knew that passing something as monumental as healthcare reform on a purely party-line vote would make the law politically more vulnerable down the road. Consequently we thought it made sense to shape our legislative proposal in such a way that it at least had a

chance of winning over a handful of Republicans. 然而，我们阻止议员团队的人数是脆弱的，因为其中包括行将就木的特德·肯尼迪和虚弱的、患病的西弗吉尼亚州议员罗伯特·伯德，更不用说保守派民主党人，如内布拉斯加州的本·纳尔逊（一名前保险公司高管），他可能随时对我们产生负面影响。除了想要一些错误的余地外，我还知道，纯粹按党派投票通过像医疗改革这样重大的法律将使这项法律在政治上更加脆弱。因此，我们认为，在立法提案上形成一个可以赢得一些共和党人支持的机会至少是有意义的。

Fortunately we had a model to work with, one that, ironically, had grown out of a partnership between Ted Kennedy and former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, one of John McCain's opponents in the Republican primary for president. Confronting budget shortfalls and the prospect of losing Medicaid funding a few years earlier, Romney had become fixated on finding a way to get more Massachusetts residents properly insured, which would then reduce state spending on emergency care for the uninsured and, ideally, lead to a healthier population in general.

幸運的是，我們有一個模型可以使用，這個模型具有諷刺意味，因為它是從Ted Kennedy和前馬薩諸塞州州長Mitt Romney之間的合作伙伴關係中發展出來的，而Romney曾是John McCain在總統共和黨初選中的競爭對手之一。在幾年前面臨預算短缺和可能失去醫療援助資金的前景時，Romney一直著迷於尋找一種方法，使更多的馬薩諸塞州居民得到適當的醫療保險，這樣就可以減少國家在緊急情況下為無保險人員提供的醫療支出，並且理想情況下，將帶來更健康的人口。

He and his staff came up with a multipronged approach in which every person would be required to purchase health insurance (an “individual mandate”), the same way every car owner was required to carry auto insurance. Middle-income people who couldn’t access insurance through their job, didn’t qualify for Medicare or Medicaid, and were unable to afford insurance on their own would get a government subsidy to buy coverage. Subsidies would be determined on a sliding scale according to each person’s income, and a central online marketplace—an “exchange”—would be set up so that consumers could shop for the best insurance deal. Insurers, meanwhile, would no longer be able to deny people coverage based on preexisting conditions.

他和他的工作人员想出了多管齐下的方法，每个人都需要购买医疗保险（“个人承诺”），就像每个车主都需要购买汽车保险一样。不能通过工作获取保险、不符合医疗保险或医疗补助资格、且无法自行负担保险费的中等收入人群将获得政府津贴以购买保险。根据每个人的收入，津贴将根据滑动比例确定，并将建立一个中央在线市场-“交易所”，以便消费者购买最佳的保险方案。同时，保险公司将不再能够基于既往病史拒绝人们的保险要求。

These two ideas—the individual mandate and protecting people with preexisting conditions—went hand in hand. With a huge new pool of government-subsidized customers, insurers no longer had an excuse for trying to cherry-pick only the young and healthy for coverage to protect their profits. Meanwhile, the mandate ensured that people couldn’t game the system by waiting until they got sick to purchase insurance. Touting the plan to reporters, Romney called the individual mandate “the ultimate conservative idea” because it promoted personal responsibility.

这两种想法—一个人保险责任和保护已有病症的人—是相辅相成的。有了一个庞大的由政府资助的客户池，保险公司不再有找借口只选年轻健康人士的保险保障以保护他们的利润。同时，这项责任保险规定确保人们不能通过等到生病才购买保险来作弊。罗姆尼把这个计划称为“终极保守主义想法”，因为它提倡个人责任。

Not surprisingly, Massachusetts’s Democratic-controlled state legislature had initially been suspicious of the Romney plan, and not just because a Republican had proposed it; among many progressives, the need to replace private insurance and for-profit healthcare with a single-payer system like Canada’s was an article of faith. Had we been starting from scratch, I would have agreed with them; the evidence from other countries showed that a single, national system—basically Medicare for All—was a cost-effective way to deliver quality healthcare. But neither Massachusetts nor the United States was starting from scratch. Teddy, who despite his reputation as a wide-eyed liberal was ever practical, understood that trying to dismantle the existing system and replace it with an entirely new one would be not only a political nonstarter but hugely disruptive economically. Instead, he’d embraced the Romney proposal with enthusiasm and helped the governor line up the Democratic votes in the state legislature required to get it passed into law.

毫不奇怪，马萨诸塞州民主党控制下的州立法机构最初对罗姆尼计划心存疑虑，这不仅仅因为这是一位共和党人提出的；在很多进步人士中，用单一支付者系统（如加拿大的）取代私人保险和营利性医疗保健是一种信条。如果我们从头开始，我会同意他们；其他国家的证据表明，单一的国家系统—基本上是全民医疗保险—是提供优质医疗保健的一种成本效益高的途径。但无论是在马萨诸塞州还是在美国，都不是从头开始。泰迪（Teddy）虽然被认为是一个开明自由的自由派，但是非常实际，他明白试图拆除现有的系统并用完全新的系统替换它不仅在政治上无法启动，而且在经济上也会带来巨大的破坏性。相反的，他热情地接受了罗姆尼的提议，并帮助州长争取州立法机构所需的民主票数，使其成为法律。

“Romneycare,” as it eventually became known, was now two years old and had been a clear success, driving the uninsured rate in Massachusetts down to just under 4 percent, the lowest in the country. Teddy had used it as the basis for draft legislation he’d started preparing many months ahead of the election in his role as chair of the Senate Health and Education Committee. And though Plouffe and Axe had persuaded me to hold off on endorsing the Massachusetts approach during the campaign—the idea of requiring people to buy insurance was extremely unpopular with voters, and I’d instead focused my plan on lowering costs—I was now convinced, as were most healthcare advocates, that Romney’s model offered us the best chance of achieving our goal of universal coverage.

「羅姆尼醫保計畫」，後來成為眾所周知，已經兩年歲月並且是一個明確的成功案例，將麻州無保險率降至不到4%，是全國最低的。泰迪用它作為他作為參議院衛生和教育委員會主席在選舉前幾個月開始準備草案立法的基礎。儘管Plouffe和Axe已經說服我在選舉期間暫時不支持馬薩諸塞州的方法，因為要求人們購買保險的想法在選民中非常不受歡迎，而我將重點放在降低成本上的計劃，但現在我已經被說服，大多數醫療保健提倡者認為羅姆尼的模式為我們實現普及覆蓋目標的最佳機會。」

People still differed on the details of what a national version of the Massachusetts plan might look like, and as my team and I mapped out our strategy, a number of advocates urged us to settle these issues early by putting out a specific White House proposal for Congress to follow. We decided against that. One of the lessons from the Clintons' failed effort was the need to involve key Democrats in the process, so they'd feel a sense of ownership of the bill. Insufficient coordination, we knew, could result in legislative death by a thousand cuts.

人們對於 Massachusetts 計劃的全國版本的細節仍存在分歧。當我和我的團隊制定策略時，一些倡導者敦促我們早日解決這些問題，通過提出白宮的具體提案，以供國會遵循。我們決定不這樣做。克林頓失敗的一個教訓是需要讓關鍵民主黨人參與進程，這樣他們會對該法案產生一種擁有感。我們知道，不充分的協調可能會導致千刀萬剗的立法死亡。

On the House side, this meant working with old-school liberals like Henry Waxman, the wily, pugnacious congressman from California. In the Senate, the landscape was different: With Teddy convalescing, the main player was Max Baucus, a conservative Democrat from Montana who chaired the powerful Finance Committee. When it came to the tax issues that occupied most of the committee's time, Baucus often aligned himself with business lobbies, which I found worrying, and in three decades as a senator he had yet to spearhead the passage of any major legislation. Still, he appeared to be genuinely invested in the issue, having organized a congressional healthcare summit the previous June and having spent months working with Ted Kennedy and his staff on early drafts of a reform bill. Baucus also had a close friendship with Iowa senator Chuck Grassley, the Finance Committee's ranking Republican, and was optimistic that he could win Grassley's support for a bill.在众议院方面，这意味着与老派自由派人士如来自加利福尼亚州的狡猾、好战的国会议员亨利·沃克斯曼合作。在参议院中，情况有所不同：由于泰迪正在康复，主要人物是来自蒙大拿州的保守民主党人马克斯·鲍卡斯，他担任强大的财政委员会主席。在委员会大部分时间中涉及税务问题时，鲍卡斯经常与商业游说团体结盟，这让我感到担忧，在三十年的参议员生涯中，他尚未发起通过任何重要立法。尽管如此，他似乎真正投入了这个问题，去年六月还组织了一次国会医疗保健峰会，并花了几个月的时间与特德·肯尼迪及其工作人员合作起草改革法案的早期草案。鲍卡斯还与爱荷华州参议员查克·格拉斯利有着亲密的友谊，格拉斯利是财政委员会的排名共和党人，鲍卡斯乐观地认为他能赢得格拉斯利对法案的支持。

Rahm and Phil Schiliro were skeptical that Grassley was gettable—after all, we'd been down that rabbit hole during the Recovery Act debate. But we decided it was best to let Baucus's process play itself out. He'd already outlined some of his ideas in the press and would soon pull together a healthcare-reform working group that included Grassley and two other Republicans. During an Oval Office meeting, though, I made a point of warning him not to let Grassley string him along.

"Trust me, Mr. President," Baucus said. "Chuck and I have already discussed it. We're going to have this thing done by July."

拉姆和菲尔·希利罗 (Phil Schiliro) 对格拉斯利 (Grassley) 是否能被获取持怀疑态度——毕竟，在恢复法案辩论期间我们已经走过那条兔子洞。但我们决定最好让鲍卡斯的过程自行发展。他已经在新闻中概述了一些想法，并将很快组建一个包括格拉斯利和其他两名共和党人的医疗改革工作组。但在椭圆形办公室的会议上，我特别提醒他不要让格拉斯利拖延时间。

"相信我，总统先生，"鲍卡斯说。"查克和我已经讨论过了。我们将在七月份完成这件事。"

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EVERY JOB HAS its share of surprises. A key piece of equipment breaks down. A traffic accident forces a change in delivery routes. A client calls to say you've won the contract—but they need the order filled three months earlier than planned. If it's the kind of thing that's happened before, the place where you work may have systems and procedures to handle the situation. But even the best organizations can't anticipate everything, in which case you learn to improvise to meet your objectives—or at least to cut your losses.

每份工作都有其分享的惊喜。关键设备损坏。交通事故导致交付路线改变。客户打电话告诉你已经赢得了合同——但他们需要提前三个月填写订单。如果这是以前发生过的事情，你工作的地方可能有处理情况的系统和程序。但是，即使是最好的组织也无法预测所有事情，在这种情况下，您学会了即兴创作，以实现您的目标——或至少减少损失。

The presidency was no different. Except that the surprises came daily, often in waves. And over the course of the spring and summer of that first year, as we wrestled with the financial crisis, two wars, and the push for healthcare reform, several unexpected items got added to our already overloaded plate. The first carried the possibility of a genuine catastrophe. In April, reports surfaced of a worrying flu outbreak in Mexico. The flu virus usually hits vulnerable populations like the elderly, infants, and asthma sufferers hardest, but this strain appeared to strike young, healthy people—and was killing them at a higher-than-usual rate. Within weeks, people in the United States were falling ill with the virus: one in Ohio, two in Kansas, eight in a single high school in New York City. By the end of the month, both our own Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and the World Health Organization (WHO) had confirmed that we were dealing with a variation of the H1N1 virus. In June, the WHO officially declared the first global pandemic in forty years.

总统职位没有什么不同。除了惊喜每天都会出现，通常是波浪式的。在第一年的春夏之际，我们正在应对金融危机、两场战争以及推进医疗保健改革，几件意想不到的事情又被添加到了我们已经超负荷的工作中。

第一个意外带来了真正的灾难可能性。四月份，墨西哥出现了一场令人担忧的流感疫情。流感通常会以老年人、婴儿和哮喘患者等易感人群为主，但这种病毒似乎会影响年轻、健康的人，而且死亡率比平常更高。几周内，美国的人们也开始感染这种病毒：俄亥俄州有一个人，堪萨斯州有两个人，在纽约市的一所高中就有八个人。到了月底，我们自己的疾病控制中心 (CDC) 和世界卫生组织 (WHO) 都证实，我们正在应对一种H1N1病毒的变种。六月份，世界卫生组织正式宣布了四十年来的首次全球流感大流行。

I had more than a passing knowledge of H1N1 after working on U.S. pandemic preparedness when I was in the Senate. What I knew scared the hell out of me. In 1918, a strain of H1N1 that came to be known as "the Spanish flu" had infected an estimated half a billion people and killed somewhere

between 50 and 100 million—roughly 4 percent of the world's population. In Philadelphia alone, more than 12,000 died in the span of a few weeks. The effects of the pandemic went beyond the stunning death tolls and shutdown of economic activity; later research would reveal that those who were in utero during the pandemic grew up to have lower incomes, poorer educational outcomes, and higher rates of physical disability.

我在参议院时曾参与美国的大流行病防备工作，因此对H1N1病毒有着相当的了解。我所知道的让我感到十分恐惧。1918年，H1N1病毒突变成为被称为“西班牙流感”的一种病毒，据估计，该病毒传染了超过五亿人口，并夺去了约五千万至一亿人的生命—大约是世界人口的四分之一。仅在费城一个城市，就在短短几周内造成了超过12,000人死亡。大流行带来的后果不仅限于巨大的死亡人数和经济活动的关闭；后来的研究表明，在大流行期间在子宫内的胎儿长大后，他们的收入较低，教育成果较差，并且患病率更高。

It was too early to tell how deadly this new virus would be. But I wasn't interested in taking any chances. On the same day that Kathleen Sebelius was confirmed as HHS secretary, we sent a plane to pick her up from Kansas, flew her to the Capitol to be sworn in at a makeshift ceremony, and immediately asked her to spearhead a two-hour conference call with WHO officials and health ministers from Mexico and Canada. A few days later, we pulled together an interagency team to evaluate how ready the United States was for a worst-case scenario.

这种新病毒有多致命还无法确定，但我不想冒险。在凯瑟琳·塞贝利乌斯确认为卫生与公众服务部长的当天，我们派飞机去堪萨斯州接她，飞往国会大厦进行受聘仪式，并立即邀请她牵头与世界卫生组织官员以及来自墨西哥和加拿大的卫生部长进行两小时的电话会议。几天后，我们组织了一个跨机构团队来评估美国是否做好了最坏情况的准备。

The answer was, we weren't at all ready. Annual flu shots didn't provide protection against H1N1, it turned out, and because vaccines generally weren't a moneymaker for drug companies, the few U.S. vaccine makers that existed had a limited capacity to ramp up production of a new one. Then we faced questions of how to distribute antiviral medicines, what guidelines hospitals used in treating cases of the flu, and even how we'd handle the possibility of closing schools and imposing quarantines if things got significantly worse. Several veterans of the Ford administration's 1976 swine flu response team warned us of the difficulties involved in getting out in front of an outbreak without overreacting or triggering a panic: Apparently President Ford, wanting to act decisively in the middle of a reelection campaign, had fast-tracked mandatory vaccinations before the severity of the pandemic had been determined, with the result that more Americans developed a neurological disorder connected to the vaccine than died from the flu.

答案是，我们完全没有准备。事实证明，年度流感疫苗无法对H1N1提供保护，而且由于疫苗通常不是制药公司的利润来源，美国少数制药公司的生产新疫苗的能力非常有限。然后我们面临如何分发抗病毒药物，医院治疗流感病例所使用的指南，甚至是如果情况恶化，我们将如何处理关闭学校和实行隔离措施的可能性。福特政府1976年猪流感应对团队的几位老将警告我们，在没有过度反应或引发恐慌的情况下应对暴发疫情的困难：据说福特总统想要在连任竞选中果断行动，快速推进了强制接种疫苗，结果更多的美国人患上了与疫苗相关的神经系统疾病，而不是死于流感。

“You need to be involved, Mr. President,” one of Ford's staffers advised, “but you need to let the experts run the process.”

I put my arm around Sebelius's shoulders. “You see this?” I said, nodding her way. “This...is the face of the virus. Congratulations, Kathleen.”

“Happy to serve, Mr. President,” she said brightly. “Happy to serve.”

My instructions to Kathleen and the public health team were simple: Decisions would be made based on the best available science, and we were going to explain each step of our response to the public—including detailing what we did and didn't know. Over the course of the next six months, we did exactly that. A summertime dip in H1N1 cases gave the team time to work with drugmakers and incentivize new processes for quicker vaccine production. They pre-positioned medical supplies across regions and gave hospitals increased flexibility to manage a surge in flu cases. They evaluated—and ultimately rejected—the idea of closing schools for the rest of the year, but worked with school districts, businesses, and state and local officials to make sure that everyone had the resources they needed to respond in the event of an outbreak.

“您需要参与其中，总统先生，”福特的一名工作人员建议说，“但您需要让专家来运行这个流程。”

我把手臂搭在塞贝利厄斯的肩膀上。“您看到了吗？”我朝她点头。“这就是病毒的面孔。恭喜，凯瑟琳。”

“很高兴为您效劳，总统先生，”她开心地说道。“很高兴为您效劳。”

我的指示很简单：决策将基于可获得的最佳科学，并且我们将向公众解释我们应对的每一步，包括说明我们所知道和不知道的事情。在接下来的六个月里，我们确实做到了这一点。夏季H1N1病例的下降给团队时间与药企合作，激励更快的疫苗生产新流程。他们将医疗用品事先放置在不同的地区，并赋予医院应对流感患者的灵活性。他们评估——并最终拒绝——全年关闭学校的想法，但与学区、企业以及州和地方官员合作，以确保每个人在发生疫情时都有所需的资源。

Although the United States did not escape unscathed—more than 12,000 Americans lost their lives—we were fortunate that this particular strain of H1N1 turned out to be less deadly than the experts had feared, and news that the pandemic had abated by mid-2010 didn't generate headlines. Still, I took great pride in how well our team had performed. Without fanfare or fuss, not only had they helped keep the virus contained, but they'd strengthened our readiness for any future public health emergency—which would make all the difference several years later, when the Ebola outbreak in West Africa would trigger a full-blown panic.

儘管美國並未幸免於難，逾12,000名美國人失去了生命，但我們很幸運，這次的H1N1病毒株比專家們預測的要少致命，且到2010年中旬，疫情已趨緩，沒有引起大報道。然而，我對團隊表現感到非常自豪。他們不僅沒有張揚或喧鬧，不僅幫助控制了病毒，還加強了我們應對未來任何公共衛生緊急情況的準備，這在數年後的西非埃博拉疫情引發全面恐慌時起了至關重要的作用。

This, I was coming to realize, was the nature of the presidency: Sometimes your most important work involved the stuff nobody noticed.

THE SECOND TURN of events was an opportunity rather than a crisis. At the end of April, Supreme Court justice David Souter called to tell me he was retiring from the bench, giving me my first chance to fill a seat on the highest court in the land.

Getting somebody confirmed to the Supreme Court has never been a slam dunk, in part because the Court's role in American government has always been controversial. After all, the idea of giving nine unelected, tenured-for-life lawyers in black robes the power to strike down laws passed by a majority of the people's representatives doesn't sound very democratic. But since *Marbury v. Madison*, the 1803 Supreme Court case that gave the Court final say on the meaning of the U.S. Constitution and established the principle of judicial review over the actions of the Congress and the president, that's how our system of checks and balances has worked. In theory, Supreme Court justices don't "make law" when exercising these powers; instead, they're supposed to merely "interpret" the Constitution, helping to bridge how its provisions were understood by the framers and how they apply to the world we live in today.

我开始意识到总统职位的本质就是，有时你最重要的工作恰恰是没人注意到的事情。

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第二次事件的转折是一次机遇，而不是紧急情况。四月底，最高法院法官大卫·苏特打电话告诉我，他要从法庭退休，这是我第一次有机会填补国家最高法院的空缺。

让某人被确认为最高法院法官从来都不是一次成功的冲刺，部分原因是法院在美国政府中的角色一直备受争议。毕竟，让九名穿着黑袍的终身任期律师有权推翻由多数人代表通过的法律，这个想法听起来并不民主。但从1803年的马伯里诉麦迪逊案开始，最高法院获得了对美国宪法含义最终解释的权利，并确立了司法审查原则，监督国会和总统的行动。理论上，最高法院法官行使这些权力时并不“创造法律”；相反，他们应该只是“解释”宪法，帮助理解起草者对其条款的理解方式，并解释其在今天的生活中如何适用。

For the bulk of constitutional cases coming before the Court, the theory holds up pretty well. Justices have for the most part felt bound by the text of the Constitution and precedents set by earlier courts, even when doing so results in an outcome they don't personally agree with. Throughout American history, though, the most important cases have involved deciphering the meaning of phrases like "due process," "privileges and immunities," "equal protection," or "establishment of religion"—terms so vague that it's doubtful any two Founding Fathers agreed on exactly what they meant. This ambiguity gives individual justices all kinds of room to "interpret" in ways that reflect their moral judgments, political preferences, biases, and fears. That's why in the 1930s a mostly conservative Court could rule that FDR's New Deal policies violated the Constitution, while forty years later a mostly liberal Court could rule that the Constitution grants Congress almost unlimited power to regulate the economy. It's how one set of justices, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, could read the Equal Protection Clause to permit "separate but equal," and another set of justices, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, could rely on the exact same language to unanimously arrive at the opposite conclusion.

大部分的憲法案件來到法院時，這個理論基本上還是成立的。法官們基本上感受到了要遵循憲法的文字和先前法院所設立的先例，即使這導致了一個他個人不認同的結果。然而，在美國歷史上，最重要的案件都涉及解釋像“正當程序”、“特權和豁免權”、“平等保護”或“宗教建立”之類的詞語-這些詞語如此含糊不清，以至於很難想象有兩名創始人真正同意它們的含義。這種不確定性讓個別法官有各種方式可以根據其道德判斷、政治偏好、偏見和恐懼進行“詮釋”。這就是為什麼在1930年代，一個主要由保守派組成的法院可以裁定FDR的“新政”政策違反了憲法，而40年後，一個主要由自由派組成的法院可以裁定憲法賦予國會幾乎無限的經濟調節權力。這就是為什麼在*Plessy v. Ferguson*案中，一組法官可以認為“平等保護條款”允許“平分但同樣”，而另一組法官在*Brown v. Board of Education*案中卻可以依賴完全相同的語言來一致地得出相反的結論。

It turned out that Supreme Court justices made law all the time.

Over the years, the press and the public started paying more attention to Court decisions and, by extension, to the process of confirming justices. In 1955, southern Democrats—in a fit of pique over the *Brown* decision—institutionalized the practice of having Supreme Court nominees appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee to be grilled on their legal views. The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision focused further attention on Court appointments, with every nomination from that point on triggering a pitched battle between pro-choice and anti-abortion forces. The high-profile rejection of Robert Bork's nomination in the late 1980s and the Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill hearings in the early 1990s—in which the nominee was accused of sexual harassment—proved to be irresistible TV drama. All of which meant that when it came time for me to replace Justice Souter, identifying a well-qualified candidate was the easy part. The hard part would be getting that person confirmed while avoiding a political circus that could sidetrack our other business.

原来最高法院法官一直在创造法律。多年来，新闻界和公众开始更加关注法院的决定，以及随之而来的确认法官的过程。1955年，南方民主党针对布朗诉托皮卡案的愤怒，让最高法院提名人出现在参议院司法委员会前受到询问，成为一种惯例。1973年的罗诉韦德案进一步引起了人们对最高法院任命的关注，从那时起，每次提名都会引发支持堕胎和反对堕胎的激烈斗争。20世纪80年代晚期罗伯特·伯克被拒绝提名，90年代初的克拉伦斯·托马斯-阿妮塔·希尔听证会——候选人被指控性骚扰——成为不可抗拒的电视剧。所有这些意味着，当我需要取代苏特法官时，确定一位合格的候选人是容易的部分。困难的部分将在避免政治马戏团的情况下，确保该人被确认，从而不会使我们的其他工作受到干扰。

We already had a team of lawyers in place to manage the process of filling scores of lower court vacancies, and they immediately began compiling an exhaustive list of possible Supreme Court candidates. In less than a week, we'd narrowed it down to a few finalists, who would be asked to submit to an FBI background check and come to the White House for an interview. The short list included former Harvard Law School dean and current solicitor general Elena Kagan and Seventh Circuit appellate judge Diane Wood, both first-rate legal scholars whom I knew from my time teaching constitutional law at the University of Chicago. But as I read through the fat briefing books my team had prepared on each candidate, it was someone I'd never met, Second Circuit appellate judge Sonia Sotomayor, who most piqued my interest. A Puerto Rican from the Bronx, she'd been raised mostly by her mom, a

telephone operator who eventually earned her nurse's license, after her father—a tradesman with a third-grade education—died when Sonia was just nine years old. Despite speaking mostly Spanish at home, Sonia had excelled in parochial school and won a scholarship to Princeton. There, her experiences echoed what Michelle would encounter at the university a decade later: an initial sense of uncertainty and displacement that came with being just one of a handful of women of color on campus; the need to sometimes put in extra work to compensate for the gaps in knowledge that more privileged kids took for granted; the comfort of finding community among other Black students and supportive professors; and the realization over time that she was as smart as any of her peers. 我们已经有一支律师团队来管理填补大量下级法院职位的进程，他们立即开始编制了一个详尽的可能成为最高法院法官人选清单。不到一周的时间，我们就把人选缩小到了几个决赛选手，他们将被要求接受FBI背景调查并前往白宫进行面试。短期清单包括前哈佛法学院院长和现任总检察长埃琳娜·卡根和第七巡回上诉法院法官戴安·伍德，他们都是一流的法律学者，我从教授宪法法律课程的时间认识他们。但当我阅读我的团队为每个候选人准备的厚重简报时，最引起我兴趣的是我从未见过的第二巡回上诉法院法官索尼娅·索托马约。这位来自布朗克斯的波多黎各裔女性在大多数时间里是由她的妈妈抚养长大的，她的妈妈是一名电话接线员，最终获得了护士执照，而她的父亲——一个只受过三年级教育的手工艺人在索尼娅只有九岁时去世了。尽管在家里主要讲西班牙语，但索尼娅在私立学校取得了优异成绩并赢得了普林斯顿大学的奖学金。在那里，她的经历与米歇尔十年后在大学遇到的情况相似：一开始感到不确定和失落，因为她只是少数有色人种之一；有时需要额外的工作来弥补更有特权的孩子所认为的知识差距；在其他黑人学生和支持教授中找到共同体的舒适感；并随着时间的推移意识到她和她的同伴同样聪明。

Sotomayor graduated from Yale Law School and went on to do standout work as a prosecutor in the Manhattan district attorney's office, which helped catapult her to the federal bench. Over the course of nearly seventeen years as a judge, she'd developed a reputation for thoroughness, fairness, and restraint, ultimately leading the American Bar Association to give her its highest rating. Still, when word leaked that Sotomayor was among the finalists I was considering, some in the legal priesthood suggested that her credentials were inferior to those of Kagan or Wood, and a number of left-leaning interest groups questioned whether she had the intellectual heft to go toe-to-toe with conservative ideologues like Justice Antonin Scalia. 索托马约尔毕业于耶鲁法学院，之后在曼哈顿地区检察官办公室表现出色，这帮助她进入了联邦法官席位。在将近17年的法官任期中，她树立了彻底、公正和克制的声誉，最终引领美国律师协会给予她最高评价。然而，当有消息泄露称索托马约尔是我考虑的候选人之一时，一些法律权威人士暗示她的资历不及卡甘或伍德，一些左倾利益集团则质疑她是否有足够的智力能够与安东宁·斯卡利亚大法官等保守派意识形态者抗衡。

Maybe because of my own background in legal and academic circles—where I'd met my share of highly credentialed, high-IQ morons and had witnessed firsthand the tendency to move the goalposts when it came to promoting women and people of color—I was quick to dismiss such concerns. Not only were Judge Sotomayor's academic credentials outstanding, but I understood the kind of intelligence, grit, and adaptability required of someone of her background to get to where she was. A breadth of experience, familiarity with the vagaries of life, the combination of brains and heart—that, I thought, was where wisdom came from. When asked during the campaign what qualities I'd look for in a Supreme Court nominee, I had talked not only about legal qualifications but also about empathy. Conservative commentators had scoffed at my answer, citing it as evidence that I planned to load up the Court with woolly-headed, social-engineering liberals who cared nothing about the “objective” application of the law. But as far as I was concerned, they had it upside down: It was precisely the ability of a judge to understand the context of his or her decisions, to know what life was like for a pregnant teen as well as for a Catholic priest, a self-made tycoon as well as an assembly-line worker, the minority as well as the majority, that was the wellspring of objectivity.

可能是因为我自己的背景在法律和学术圈子中——在那里我遇到过一些高度认证的高智商白痴，亲眼见证了在提升妇女和有色人种方面移动目标的倾向——我很快就否定了这些担忧。不仅仅是索托马约法官的学术证书优秀，而且我理解到一个人的背景要到达她所在的位置需要的那种智慧、韧性和适应力。多元的经验，对生活的熟悉，大脑和心脏的结合——我认为这就是智慧的来源。在竞选期间被问及我会在最高法院任命中寻找什么样的特质时，我不仅考虑到法律资格，还谈到了同情心。保守的评论员嘲笑了我的回答，并将其作为证据表明我计划用糊涂头脑的社会工程自由主义者来装载法院，他们对“客观”的法律适用毫不关心。但我认为他们完全搞反了：法官理解他或她决定的背景，知道对怀孕的青少年来说像天主教神父、自力更生的大亨和装配线工人、少数族裔和多数族裔一样的生活是什么，这正是客观性的源泉。

There were other considerations that made Sotomayor a compelling choice. She'd be the first Latina—and only the third woman—to serve on the Supreme Court. And she'd already been confirmed twice by the Senate, once unanimously, making it harder for Republicans to argue that she was an unacceptable choice.

Given my high regard for Kagan and Wood, I was still undecided when Judge Sotomayor came to the Oval Office for a get-to-know-you session. She had a broad, kind face and a ready smile. Her manner was formal and she chose her words carefully, though her years at Ivy League schools and on the federal bench hadn't sanded away the Bronx accent. I'd been warned by my team not to ask candidates their positions on specific legal controversies like abortion (Republicans on the committee were sure to ask about any conversation between me and a nominee to see if I had applied a “litmus test” in making my choice). Instead, the judge and I talked about her family, her work as a prosecutor, and her broad judicial philosophy. By the end of the interview, I was convinced that Sotomayor had what I was looking for, although I didn't say so on the spot. I did mention that there was one aspect of her résumé that I found troubling. 有其他考虑因素让索托马约尔成为一个引人注目的选择。她将成为第一位拉丁裔人士 - 也是第三位女性 - 服务于最高法院。她已经两次获得参议院的一致通过，这使得共和党人更难以争辩她是一个不可接受的选择。

鉴于我对卡根和伍德的高度评价，当索托马约尔法官来到椭圆形办公室参加认识你的会议时，我还没有决定。她有着宽阔友善的面孔和愉快的笑容。她的态度很正式，选择她的话也很小心，虽然她在常春藤盟校和联邦法院的工作经验并没有磨平她的布朗克斯区口音。我的团队警告我不要问候选人有关特定法律争议如堕胎的看法（委员会上的共和党人肯定会问我和被提名人之间的任何谈话，看我是否应用了“立场检测”来做出我的选择）。相反，法官和我谈论了她的家庭、她作为检察官的工作以及她的广泛司法哲学。在面试结束时，我相信索托马约尔有我要找的东西，尽管我当时没有这么说。我确实提到了她的履历中有一个我觉得令人不安的方面。

“What's that, Mr. President?” she asked.

“You're a Yankees fan,” I said. “But since you grew up in the Bronx and were brainwashed early in life, I'm inclined to overlook it.”

A few days later, I announced my selection of Sonia Sotomayor as a Supreme Court nominee. The news was positively received, and in the run-up to her appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee, I was happy to see that Republicans had trouble identifying anything in the judge's written opinions or conduct on the bench that might derail her confirmation. Instead, they fastened on two race-related issues to justify their opposition. The first involved a 2008 case in New Haven, Connecticut, in which Sotomayor joined the majority in ruling against a group of primarily white firefighters who'd filed a “reverse discrimination” claim. The second issue concerned a 2001 speech Sotomayor had delivered at the University of California, Berkeley, in which she'd argued that female and minority judges added a much-needed perspective to the federal courts, triggering charges from conservatives that she was incapable of impartiality on the bench.

“那是什么，总统先生？”她问道。

“你是洋基的粉丝，”我说。“但既然你在布朗克斯长大并在很小的时候被灌输了这种观念，我倾向于放过你。”

几天后，我宣布选出索尼娅·索托马约尔作为最高法院法官提名人。这个消息得到了积极的反响，在她出现在参议院司法委员会之前，我很高兴地看到共和党人难以找出法官写的任何关于种族的意见或庭审行为，从而推翻她的确认。相反，他们抓住了两个涉及种族的问题来证明他们的反对。第一个问题涉及2008年在康涅狄格州纽黑文的一个案件，在该案中，索托马约尔加入多数派，裁决针对一群主要是白人消防员提出的“反向歧视”索赔。第二个问题涉及索托马约尔2001年在加利福尼亚大学伯克利分校发表的演讲，她在演讲中提出，女性和少数派法官为联邦法院增添了非常需要的视角，引发保守派对她在法庭上缺乏公正裁判的指控。

Despite the temporary dustup, the confirmation hearings proved anticlimactic. Justice Sotomayor was confirmed by a Senate vote of 68–31, with nine Republicans joining all the Democrats except for Teddy Kennedy, who was undergoing treatment for his cancer—about as much support as any nominee was likely to get, given the polarized environment we were operating in.

Michelle and I hosted a reception for Justice Sotomayor and her family at the White House in August, after she was sworn in. The new justice's mother was there, and I was moved to think what must be going through the mind of this elderly woman who'd grown up on a distant island, who'd barely spoken English when she had signed up for the Women's Army Corps during World War II, and who, despite the odds stacked against her, had insisted that somehow her kids would count for something. It made me think of my own mother, and Toot and Gramps, and I felt a flash of sorrow that none of them had ever had a day like this, that they were gone before they'd seen what their dreams for me had come to.

儘管暫時出現了一些波折，但審議聽證證實是缺乏高潮的。索托马约大法官經過投票得到了68-31的參議院認可，其中包括9名共和黨人和除正在接受治療的泰迪·肯尼迪之外，所有民主黨人的支持。考慮到當時極度兩極對立的環境，這是任何被提名者可能獲得的最多支持。

在索托马约大法官獲得宣誓就任後，我和米歇爾在白宮為她和她的家人舉辦了一次招待會。新任大法官的母親也在場，我感到很感動，想像她這位年長的女性的內心在想些什麼。她在一個遙遠的島嶼上長大，報名參加二戰期間的婦女陸軍團時幾乎不會說英語，盡管面對重重困難，她堅信自己的孩子們會有所作為。這讓我想到了我自己的母親，還有Toot和Gramps，我感到非常難過，因為他們從未有過像這樣的一天，他們在看到對我們的期望實現之前就離開了。

Tamping down my emotions as the justice spoke to the audience, I looked over at a pair of handsome young Korean American boys—Sotomayor's adopted nephews—squirming in their Sunday best. They would take for granted that their aunt was on the U.S. Supreme Court, shaping the life of a nation—as would kids across the country.

Which was fine. That's what progress looks like.

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THE SLOW MARCH toward healthcare reform consumed much of the summer. As the legislation lumbered through Congress, we looked for any opportunity to help keep the process on track. Since the White House summit in March, members of my healthcare and legislative teams had participated in countless meetings on the subject up on Capitol Hill, trudging into the Oval at the end of the day like weary field commanders back from the front, offering me reports on the ebb and flow of battle. The good news was that the key Democratic chairs—especially Baucus and Waxman—were working hard to craft bills they could pass out of their respective committees before the traditional August recess. The bad news was that the more everyone dug into the details of reform, the more differences in substance and strategy emerged—not just between Democrats and Republicans but between House and Senate Democrats, between us and congressional Democrats, and even between members of my own team.當這位公正者對觀眾演說時，我努力抑制著情感，看著一對英俊的年輕韓裔美國男孩——蘇托邁奧爾的外甥，在他們最好的禮服中扭動。他們會理所當然地認為他們的姑媽在美國最高法院上任，塑造著這個國家的生活，就像全國的孩子一樣。這很好，這就是進步的樣子。

慢慢迎接醫療改革的進步佔據了整個夏季，當立法經過眾議院時，我們尋找任何機會來幫助保持進程順利。自3月的白宮峰會以來，我的醫療和立法團隊的成員們參加了無數有關該主題的會議。他們就像疲憊的戰地指揮官一樣，在一天結束時踏入橢圓形辦公室，向我報告戰況的起伏。好消息是，主要的民主黨主席，特別是鮑卡斯和瓦克斯曼，正在努力擬定他們可以在傳統的八月休會之前從各自的委員會通過的法案。壞消息是，隨著每個人深入研究改革的細節，不僅民主黨和共和黨之間存在實質和策略上的差異，而且還存在眾議院和參議院民主黨之間、我們和國會民主黨之間，甚至在我的團隊成員之間也存在差異。

Most of the arguments revolved around the issue of how to generate a mix of savings and new revenue to pay for expanding coverage to millions of uninsured Americans. Because of his own inclinations and his interest in producing a bipartisan bill, Baucus hoped to avoid anything that could be characterized as a tax increase. Instead, he and his staff had calculated the windfall profits that a new flood of insured customers would bring to hospitals, drug companies, and insurers and had used those figures as a basis for negotiating billions of dollars in up-front contributions through fees or Medicare payment reductions from each industry. To sweeten the deal, Baucus was also prepared to make certain policy concessions. For example, he promised the pharmaceutical lobbyists that his bill wouldn't include provisions allowing the reimportation of drugs from Canada—a popular Democratic

proposal that highlighted the way Canadian and European government-run healthcare systems used their massive bargaining power to negotiate much cheaper prices than Big Pharma charged inside the United States.

大部分的争议围绕如何产生一种节省和新收入的组合来支付对数百万未保人士的扩大保障而展开。基于他自身的倾向和制定一项两党法案的兴趣，鲍卡斯希望避免任何可能被视为增税的事情。相反，他和他的工作人员已经计算出，一个新的投保客户的潮水将给医院、药品公司和保险公司带来多少风险收益，并以此为基础，通过从每个行业收取费用或减少医疗保险付款来协商数十亿美元的前期捐款。为了加强这项协议，鲍卡斯还准备作出一些政策让步。例如，他向制药游说者承诺，他的法案不会包括允许从加拿大重新进口药品的条款——这是民主党普遍提出的提案，突显了加拿大和欧洲政府管理的医疗保健系统如何利用其庞大的谈判力量来谈判比大型制药公司在美国内部收费要便宜得多的价格。

Politically and emotionally, I would've found it a lot more satisfying to just go after the drug and insurance companies and see if we could beat them into submission. They were wildly unpopular with voters—and for good reason. But as a practical matter, it was hard to argue with Baucus's more conciliatory approach. We had no way to get to sixty votes in the Senate for a major healthcare bill without at least the tacit agreement of the big industry players. Drug reimportation was a great political issue, but at the end of the day, we didn't have the votes for it, partly because plenty of Democrats had major pharmaceutical companies headquartered or operating in their states.

政治上和情感上，我会觉得直接攻击药品和保险公司更加令人满意，看看我们是否能够让它们屈服。它们非常不受选民欢迎——有充分的理由。但实际上，很难反对鲍卡斯更具和解性的方法。如果我们没有大型产业公司的至少默许，就无法在参议院获得60票的重大医疗保健法案。药品再进口是一个很棒的政治问题，但最终，我们没有为此获得选票，部分原因是许多民主党人在其州设有总部或运营的大型制药公司。

With these realities in mind, I signed off on having Rahm, Nancy-Ann, and Jim Messina (who had once been on Baucus's staff) sit in on Baucus's negotiations with healthcare industry representatives. By the end of June, they'd hashed out a deal, securing hundreds of billions of dollars in givebacks and broader drug discounts for seniors using Medicare. Just as important, they'd gotten a commitment from the hospitals, insurers, and drug companies to support—or at least not oppose—the emerging bill.

It was a big hurdle to clear, a case of politics as the art of the possible. But for some of the more liberal Democrats in the House, where no one had to worry about a filibuster, and among progressive advocacy groups that were still hoping to lay the groundwork for a single-payer healthcare system, our compromises smacked of capitulation, a deal with the devil. It didn't help that, as Rahm had predicted, none of the negotiations with the industry had been broadcast on C-SPAN. The press started reporting on details of what they called "backroom deals." More than a few constituents wrote in to ask whether I'd gone over to the dark side. And Chairman Waxman made a point of saying he didn't consider his work bound by whatever concessions Baucus or the White House had made to industry lobbyists.在考虑到这些现实情况的基础之上，我同意让拉姆、南希-安和曾在鲍卡斯的工作团队工作过的吉姆·梅西纳参与鲍卡斯与医疗保健行业代表的谈判。到6月底，他们已经达成协议，为使用医疗保险的老年人获得了数百亿美元的回报和更广泛的药价折扣。同样重要的是，他们得到了医院、保险公司和制药公司的承诺，支持——或至少不反对——正在形成的法案。这是一个重要的障碍，是政治上的可能性的艺术。但对于众议院中的一些更自由派的民主党人和仍然希望为单一支付医疗保健系统奠定基础的进步主义倡导团体来说，我们的妥协意味着投降，是与魔鬼达成的协议。更糟的是，正如拉姆所预测的那样，与行业的谈判都没有在C-SPAN上播出。媒体开始报道所谓的“后门交易”的细节。不少选民来信询问我是否已经投降。华克斯主席则明确表示，他认为自己的工作不受鲍卡斯或白宫对行业游说者所作的妥协的约束。

Quick as they were to mount their high horse, House Dems were also more than willing to protect the status quo when it threatened their prerogatives or benefited politically influential constituencies. For example, more or less every healthcare economist agreed that it wasn't enough just to pry money out of insurance and drug company profits and use it to cover more people—in order for reform to work, we also had to do something about the skyrocketing costs charged by doctors and hospitals. Otherwise, any new money put into the system would yield less and less care for fewer and fewer people over time. One of the best ways to "bend the cost curve" was to establish an independent board, shielded from politics and special-interest lobbying, that would set reimbursement rates for Medicare based on the comparative effectiveness of particular treatments.

眾議院民主黨人很快就表態並力保現狀，當現狀威脅到他們的特權或有益於政治上有影響力的選民群體時，他們也很願意維護。例如，幾乎每一位醫療保健經濟學家都認為，單單從保險公司和藥品公司利潤中攫取資金並用於更多人的醫療保健並不足夠——為了令改革取得成功，我們還需要針對醫生和醫院收費不斷攀升的問題做些什麼。否則，投入體系的任何新資金都會隨著時間推移而為越來越少的人提供越來越少的護理。設立一個獨立委員會，避免受到政治和特殊利益遊說的影響，根據特定治療方案的相對有效性制定醫療保險金額的一個最好的方式，就是“彎曲成本曲線”。

House Democrats hated the idea. It would mean giving away their power to determine what Medicare did and didn't cover (along with the potential campaign fundraising opportunities that came with that power). They also worried that they'd get blamed by cranky seniors who found themselves unable to get the latest drug or diagnostic test advertised on TV, even if an expert could prove that it was actually a waste of money. They were similarly skeptical of the other big proposal to control costs: a cap on the tax deductibility of so-called Cadillac insurance plans—high-cost, employer-provided policies that paid for all sorts of premium services but didn't improve health outcomes. Other than corporate managers and well-paid professionals, the main group covered by such plans were union members, and the unions were adamantly opposed to what would come to be known as "the Cadillac tax." It didn't matter to labor leaders that their members might be willing to trade a deluxe hospital suite or a second, unnecessary MRI for a chance at higher take-home pay. They didn't trust that any savings from reform would accrue to their members, and they were absolutely certain they'd catch flak for any changes to their existing healthcare plans. Unfortunately, so long as the unions were opposed to the Cadillac tax, most House Democrats were going to be too.眾議院民主黨人憎恨這個想法。這意味著放棄他們的權力，決定醫療保險涵蓋哪些費用（以及隨之而來的潛在競選籌款機會）。他們還擔心，即使專家能夠證明某些最新的藥物或診斷測試實際上是浪費金錢的，但那些脾氣暴躁的老年人發現自己無法得到這些東西，也會指責他們。

他們對控制成本的另一個大提案也持懷疑態度：對所謂的Cadillac保險計畫以稅收扣除為上限的限制——高成本的由雇主提供的保單，支付各種優質服務，

但並未改善健康結果。除了企業管理人員和高薪專業人員外，這些計畫所覆蓋的主要群體是工會成員，而工會強烈反對後來被稱為“Cadillac稅”的稅收。工會領袖們不在乎他們的成員是否願意為更高的實際回報而交換豪華的醫院套房或多餘的MRI掃描。他們不相信改革所產生的任何節省都會累積到他們的成員身上，而他們絕對確定任何對現有醫療保險計畫的變更都會被嚴厲譴責。不幸的是，只要工會反對Cadillac稅，大多數眾議院民主黨人也會反對。

The squabbles quickly found their way into the press, making the whole process appear messy and convoluted. By late July, polls showed that more Americans disapproved than approved of the way I was handling healthcare reform, prompting me to complain to Axe about our communications strategy. “We’re on the right side of this stuff,” I insisted. “We just have to explain it better to voters.”

Axe was irritated that his shop was seemingly getting blamed for the very problem he’d warned me about from the start. “You can explain it till you’re blue in the face,” he told me. “But people who already have healthcare are skeptical that reform will benefit them, and a whole bunch of facts and figures won’t change that.”

爭吵很快出現在媒體上，使整個進程顯得混亂且錯綜複雜。到了七月底，民意調查顯示，更多美國人不贊成我處理醫療改革的方式，促使我向艾克斯抱怨我們的通訊策略。「我們站在這些事情的正確一邊，」我堅持說。「我們只需要更好地向選民解釋。」

艾克斯很煩惱，他的機構似乎因一開始他警告我的問題而受到指責。「你可以解釋到你的臉都發青，」他告訴我。「但是已經有醫療保險的人對改革是否有益持懷疑態度，一大堆事實和數據都不會改變這一點。」

Unconvinced, I decided I needed to be more public in selling our agenda. Which is how I found myself in a prime-time press conference devoted to healthcare, facing an East Room full of White House reporters, many of whom were already writing the obituary on my number one legislative initiative.

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IN GENERAL, I enjoyed the unscripted nature of live press conferences. And unlike the first healthcare forum during the campaign, in which I’d laid an egg as Hillary and John Edwards shined, I now knew my subject cold. In fact, I probably knew it too well. During the press conference, I succumbed to an old pattern, giving exhaustive explanations of each facet of the issue under debate. It was as if, having failed to get the various negotiations involving the bill on C-SPAN, I was going to make up for it by offering the public a one-hour, highly detailed crash course on U.S. healthcare policy.

我並沒有被說服，所以我決定要更公開地銷售我們的議程。這就是我發現自己參加了一個關於醫療保健的黃金時段新聞發布會，面對着一間滿是白宮記者的東廳，其中很多人已經開始寫我的頭號立法倡議的讣告。

总的来说，我喜欢非预先排定好的现场新闻发布会的自由形式。不像竞选期间的首场医疗保健论坛那样，希拉里和约翰·爱德华兹表现优秀，而我则落了个没面子。现在我已经了解这个问题，而且可能了解得太多了。在新闻发布会上，我陷入了一个老毛病，详细解释了辩论的每一个方面。这就好像，我沒能在C-SPAN上获取有关该法案的各种谈判，现在我要通过向公众提供一小时的高度详细的美国医疗保健政策速成课来弥补这一点。

The press corps didn’t much appreciate the thoroughness. One news story made a point of noting that at times I adopted a “professorial” tone. Perhaps that was why, when the time came for the last question, Lynn Sweet, a veteran Chicago Sun-Times reporter I’d known for years, decided to ask me something entirely off the topic.

“Recently,” Lynn said, “Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., was arrested at his home in Cambridge. What does that incident say to you, and what does it say about race relations in America?”

新闻记者团队对这种彻底和细致并不太赞赏。一篇新闻报道指出，在有些时候我采取了“教授式”的语调。也许正因为如此，最后一个问題的时候，我认识多年的资深芝加哥太阳报记者琳恩·斯威特决定问我一个完全与话题无关的问题。

“最近，”琳恩说，“亨利·路易斯·盖茨教授在剑桥的家中被逮捕。这件事情对你来说意味着什么？它又对美国的种族关系意味着什么？”

Where to start? Henry Louis Gates, Jr., was a professor of English and Afro-American studies at Harvard and one of the country’s most prominent Black scholars. He was also a casual friend, someone I’d occasionally run into at social gatherings. Earlier that week, Gates had returned to his home in Cambridge after a trip to China and found his front door jammed shut. A neighbor—having witnessed Gates trying to force the door open—called the police to report a possible break-in. When the responding officer, Sergeant James Crowley, arrived, he asked Gates for identification. Gates refused at first and—according to Crowley—called him racist. Eventually Gates produced his identification but allegedly continued to berate the departing officer from his porch. When a warning failed to quiet Gates down, Crowley and two other officers that he’d called for backup handcuffed him, took him to the police station, and booked him for disorderly conduct. (The charges were quickly dropped.)

從哪裡開始呢？Henry Louis Gates Jr.是哈佛大學的英語和非洲裔美國研究教授，同時也是該國最著名的黑人學者之一。他也是我的一位熟人，偶爾在社交聚會上會遇到他。那個星期早些時候，Gates從中國旅行回到他在劍橋的家中，發現前門卡住了。一位鄰居目睹Gates試圖強行打開門後，報警稱可能有人闖入。當來到現場的警官詹姆斯·克勞利警官問Gates要證件時，他起初拒絕了，並且 - 根據克勞利的說法 - 稱呼他為種族主義者。最終，Gates出示了他的身份證，但據稱仍在他的門廊上向即將離開的警官斥責。當警告未能讓Gates安靜下來時，克勞利和其召喚支援的另外兩名警官將他手銬起來，帶他到警察局，然後以混亂行為罪名進行了登記（但是這些罪名很快就被撤銷了）。

Predictably the incident had become a national story. For a big swath of white America, Gates’s arrest was entirely deserved, a simple case of someone not showing the proper respect for a routine law enforcement procedure. For Blacks, it was just one more example of the humiliations and inequities, large and small, suffered at the hands of the police specifically and white authority in general.

My own guess as to what had happened was more particular, more human, than the simple black-and-white morality tale being portrayed. Having lived in Cambridge, I knew that its police department didn’t have a reputation for harboring a whole bunch of Bull Connor types. Meanwhile, Skip—as Gates was

known to his friends—was brilliant and loud, one part W.E.B. Du Bois, one part Mars Blackmon, and cocky enough that I could easily picture him cussing out a cop to the point where even a relatively restrained officer might feel his testosterone kick in.

預料之中，這件事件已經成為一個國家性的新聞。對於白人美國的大多數人來說，蓋茨的逮捕是完全應得的，這是一個關於一個人沒有適當地對待例行的執法程序的簡單案例。對於黑人來說，這只是更多的屈辱和不公，無論是大的還是小的，在警察和一般白人權威的手中遭受的折磨都是如此。我自己猜測發生了什麼事件，比簡單的非黑即白的道德故事更加具體、更加人性化。作為在劍橋居住的人，我知道劍橋的警察局沒有藏著許多公牛康納（種族主義警察），同時，蓋茨（他的朋友稱為Skip）是個聰明又吵鬧的人，有一部分像W.E.B. Du Bois，另一部分像馬爾斯·布萊克蒙，而且足夠傲慢，我可以輕易地想像他在咒罵警察時，甚至一個相對克制的警察也可能感到他的睪酮（雄激素）在增加。

Still, while no one had been hurt, I found the episode depressing—a vivid reminder that not even the highest level of Black achievement and the most accommodating of white settings could escape the cloud of our racial history. Hearing about what had happened to Gates, I had found myself almost involuntarily conducting a quick inventory of my own experiences. The multiple occasions when I'd been asked for my student ID while walking to the library on Columbia's campus, something that never seemed to happen to my white classmates. The unmerited traffic stops while visiting certain "nice" Chicago neighborhoods. Being followed around by department store security guards while doing my Christmas shopping. The sound of car locks clicking as I walked across a street, dressed in a suit and tie, in the middle of the day.

然而，尽管没有人受伤，我仍然感到这一事件令人沮丧——这是一个生动的提醒，即即使是最高层次的黑人成就和最为宽容的白人环境，也无法逃脱我们种族历史的阴影。听到盖茨所遭遇的事情，我几乎不由自主地回顾了自己的经历。我曾多次被要求出示在哥伦比亚大学校园走路去图书馆时，这在我的白人同学身上从未发生过。我曾在访问某些“好”芝加哥社区时遭到无缘无故的交通检查。我曾在圣诞节购物时被百货商店保安人员跟踪。我只是在白天穿着套装和领带穿过街道时，汽车锁的声音就响了。

Moments like these were routine among Black friends, acquaintances, guys in the barbershop. If you were poor, or working-class, or lived in a rough neighborhood, or didn't properly signify being a respectable Negro, the stories were usually worse. For just about every Black man in the country, and every woman who loved a Black man, and every parent of a Black boy, it was not a matter of paranoia or "playing the race card" or disrespecting law enforcement to conclude that whatever else had happened that day in Cambridge, this much was almost certainly true: A wealthy, famous, five-foot-six, 140-pound, fifty-eight-year-old white Harvard professor who walked with a cane because of a childhood leg injury would not have been handcuffed and taken down to the station merely for being rude to a cop who'd forced him to produce some form of identification while standing on his own damn property.

这样的时刻在黑人朋友、熟人、理发店的人们中间是司空见惯的。如果你是贫穷的、工薪阶层的、住在艰难社区的、或者没有体现出你是一个受尊重的黑人，那么这些故事通常会更糟糕。对于全国的每个黑人男子，每个爱一个黑人男子的女人，每个有黑人儿子的父母来说，这不是偏执狂或“玩种族牌”或不尊重执法人员的问题，而是要得出一个结论：在剑桥发生了什么事情，几乎肯定是这样的：一个身高五英尺六英寸，体重140磅，58岁的白人哈佛大学教授，因为童年腿伤需要拄着拐杖行走，而仅仅因为对推他出示身份证明的警察不礼貌，不可能被铐着手铐带到警察局接受调查。

Of course, I didn't say all that. Maybe I should have. Instead, I made what I thought were some pretty unremarkable observations, beginning with the acknowledgment that the police had responded appropriately to the 911 call and also that Gates was a friend, which meant I might be biased. "I don't know, not having been there and not seeing all the facts, what role race played in that," I said. "But I think it's fair to say, number one, any of us would be pretty angry; number two, that the Cambridge police acted stupidly in arresting somebody when there was already proof that they were in their own home; and number three, what I think we know separate and apart from this incident is that there is a long history in this country of African Americans and Latinos being stopped by law enforcement disproportionately."

當然，我沒有說出所有這些。也許我應該這樣做。相反，我提出了一些我認為相當普通的觀察，開始承認警方對911求救的回應是適當的，而蓋茲是一個朋友，這意味著我可能有偏見。「我不知道，因為我沒有在現場，也沒有看到所有的事實，種族在其中扮演了什麼角色，」我說。「但我認為可以說，第一，我們中的任何一個人都會相當生氣；第二，劍橋警察在已經有他們在自己家的證據的情況下逮捕某人是愚蠢的；第三，除了這件事情之外，我們所知道的是，非裔美國人和拉丁裔在進行法律執法時被不成比例地停止的歷史已經存在很長時間了。」

That was it. I left the evening press conference assuming that my four minutes on the Gates affair would be a brief sidebar to the hour I'd spent on healthcare.

Boy, was I wrong. The next morning, my suggestion that the police had acted "stupidly" led every news broadcast. Police union representatives suggested that I had vilified Officer Crowley and law enforcement in general and were demanding an apology. Anonymous sources claimed that strings had been pulled to get Gates's charges dropped without a court appearance. Conservative media outlets barely hid their glee, portraying my comments as a case of an elitist (professorial, uppity) Black president siding with his well-connected (mouthy, race-card-wielding) Harvard friend over a white, working-class cop who was just doing his job. In the daily White House press briefing, Gibbs fielded questions on little else. Afterward, he asked whether I'd consider issuing a clarification.

那就是這樣了。我離開了晚間新聞發布會，認為我對蓋茨事件發表的四分鐘只是我在醫療保健方面花了一個小時的簡短餘暇。

但我錯了，錯得離譜。第二天早上，我表示警方的行為“很蠢”這句話成為了所有新聞廣播的焦點。警察工會代表表示我在痛罵克勞利警官和整個執法機關，并要求我道歉。匿名消息源聲稱，為了避免出現法庭出庭，已經出現了與蓋茨的指控有關的一些弦。保守派的媒體根本沒有掩藏自己的喜悅，將我發表的評論描繪成一個勢利眼的（教授、傲慢）黑人總統站在他有身份的（多嘴，誣陷種族）哈佛大學友人一邊，垃圾塞着滿口的低價警察在做着自己的工作。在白宫的日常新闻发布会上，吉布斯只是回答了一些关于此事的问题。之后，他问我是否考虑发表澄清。

“What am I clarifying?” I asked. “I thought I was pretty clear the first time.”

“The way it’s being consumed, people think you called the police stupid.”

“I didn’t say they were stupid. I said they acted stupidly. There’s a difference.”

“I get it. But...”

“We’re not doing a clarification,” I said. “It’ll blow over.”

The next day, though, it hadn’t blown over. Instead, the story had completely swamped everything else, including our healthcare message. Fielding nervous calls from Democrats on the Hill, Rahm looked like he was ready to jump off a bridge. You would have thought that in the press conference I had donned a dashiki and cussed out the police myself.我问：“我在澄清什么？”“我觉得第一次讲得非常清楚了。”

“人们以为你说警察很愚蠢。”

“我没有说他们很愚蠢。我说他们的行为愚蠢。这是有区别的。”

“我知道了。但是.....”

“我们不会澄清这件事，它会过去的。”

然而，第二天，情况并没有平息。相反，这个故事彻底淹没了一切，包括我们的医疗保健信息。与国会民主党人接到的紧张电话，拉姆看起来准备跳楼。你会认为在新闻发布会上，我穿上了一件达什基衣服，亲自辱骂警察。

Eventually I agreed to a damage-control plan. I began by calling Sergeant Crowley to let him know I was sorry for having used the word “stupidly.” He was gracious and good-humored, and at some point I suggested that he and Gates come visit the White House. The three of us could have a beer, I said, and show the country that good people could get past misunderstandings. Both Crowley and Gates, whom I called immediately afterward, were enthusiastic about the idea. In a press briefing later that day, I told reporters that I continued to believe that the police had overreacted in arresting Gates, just as the professor had overreacted to their arrival at his home. I acknowledged that I could have calibrated my original comments more carefully. Much later I’d learn through David Simas, our in-house polling guru and Axe’s deputy, that the Gates affair caused a huge drop in my support among white voters, bigger than would come from any single event during the eight years of my presidency. It was support that I’d never completely get back.

最終我同意了一個損害控制計劃。我開始打電話給克勞利中士，讓他知道我對自己使用「愚蠢」一詞感到抱歉。他非常大方和幽默，然後我建議他和蓋茨來拜訪白宮。我說我們三個可以喝啤酒，並展示好人可以克服誤解。我立即打電話給克勞利和蓋茨，他們對這個想法非常熱情。在那天晚些時候的新聞發布會上，我告訴記者，我仍然相信警察在逮捕蓋茨時反應過度，就像教授對他們來到他家也反應過度一樣。我承認我可以更仔細地校準我的原始評論。很晚以後，我透過我們的內部民意調查專家大衛·西馬斯和艾克的副手得知，蓋茨事件導致了我在白人選民中的支持率大幅下降，比我任期內的任何一件事件都要大。這是我從未完全恢復的支持。

Six days later, Joe Biden and I sat down with Sergeant Crowley and Skip Gates at the White House for what came to be known as the “Beer Summit.” It was a low-key, friendly, and slightly stilted affair. As I’d expected based on our phone conversation, Crowley came across as a thoughtful, decent man, while Skip was on his best behavior. For an hour or so, the four of us talked about our upbringings, our work, and ways to improve trust and communication between police officers and the African American community. When our time was up, both Crowley and Gates expressed appreciation for the tours my staff had given their families, though I joked that next time they could probably find easier ways to score an invitation.

六天后，乔·拜登和我与克劳利警官和斯基普·盖茨在白宫坐下，这被称为“啤酒峰会”。这是一个低调，友好，有点拘谨的聚会。正如我根据我们的电话交谈所预料的那样，克劳利警官表现得思虑周全，正直无私，而斯基普则表现得十分恳切。一个多小时，我们四个人谈到了我们的成长经历，工作和改善警察和非裔美国人社区之间的信任和沟通的方法。当我们时间到时，克劳利和盖茨都对我的工作人员为他们的家人提供的旅游表示感激，虽然我开玩笑说下一次他们可能可以找到更容易的方法获得邀请。

After they were gone, I sat alone in the Oval Office, reflecting on it all. Michelle, friends like Valerie and Marty, Black senior officials like Attorney General Eric Holder, ambassador to the U.N. Susan Rice, and U.S. trade representative Ron Kirk—we were all accustomed to running the obstacle course necessary to be effective inside of predominantly white institutions. We’d grown skilled at suppressing our reactions to minor slights, ever ready to give white colleagues the benefit of the doubt, remaining mindful that all but the most careful discussions of race risked triggering in them a mild panic. Still, the reaction to my comments on Gates surprised us all. It was my first indicator of how the issue of Black folks and the police was more polarizing than just about any other subject in American life. It seemed to tap into some of the deepest undercurrents of our nation’s psyche, touching on the rawest of nerves, perhaps because it reminded all of us, Black and white alike, that the basis of our nation’s social order had never been simply about consent; that it was also about centuries of state-sponsored violence by whites against Black and brown people, and that who controlled legally sanctioned violence, how it was wielded and against whom, still mattered in the recesses of our tribal minds much more than we cared to admit.

在他们离去后，我独自坐在总统办公室，反思着一切。像Valerie和Marty这样的朋友，和黑人高级官员，如司法部长Eric Holder、驻联合国大使Susan Rice和美国贸易代表Ron Kirk——我们都习惯于在主要由白人构成的机构内运行障碍课程。我们已经变得熟练，压制我们对微小冷嘲热讽的反应，随时准备给白人同事以疑点，时刻谨记讨论种族问题必须小心谨慎，否则就会引起他们的轻微恐慌。尽管如此，对我在盖茨之类的评论的反应仍然让我们所有人都感到惊讶。它是我第一个迹象，表明黑人和警察问题比美国生活中的任何其他主题更具极端化的性质。它似乎触及了我们国家心理最深层的潜在因素，触及了我们国家社会秩序的基础从来不是简单地关于同意；它还涉及到白人对黑人和棕色人种进行的几个世纪的国家赞助的暴力行为，并且谁控制着合法授权的暴力，如何行使以及反对谁，这些问题在我们的部落思维深处仍然更重要，尽管我们不愿承认。

My thoughts were interrupted by Valerie, who poked her head in to check on me. She said that the coverage of the “Beer Summit” had been generally positive, although she admitted to having received a bunch of calls from Black supporters who weren’t happy. “They don’t understand why we’d bend over backward to make Crowley feel welcome,” she said.

“What'd you tell them?” I asked.

“I said the whole thing has become a distraction, and you're focused on governing and getting healthcare passed.”

I nodded. “And our Black folks on staff...how are they doing?”

我的思绪被瓦莱丽打断了，她探头进来关心地问我。她说“啤酒峰会”的报道总体上都是正面的，尽管她承认接到了许多黑人支持者的电话，他们不满意，“他们不明白为什么我们要尽力让克劳利感到欢迎。”

“你告诉他们什么了？”我问。

“我说整件事情已经成为一个干扰，你们正在专注于治理和通过医保法案。”

我点了点头。“我们的黑人员工……他们怎么样了？”

Valerie shrugged. “The younger ones are a little discouraged. But they get it. With all you've got on your plate, they just don't like seeing you being put in this position.”

“Which position?” I said. “Being Black, or being president?”

We both got a good laugh out of that.

瓦莉莉耸耸肩。“年轻人有点失落。但他们明白了。你手头忙得不得了，他们只是不想看到你被逼到这种境地。”

“什么境地？”我说。“是作为黑人还是作为总统？”

我们都笑得很开心。

## CHAPTER 17

BY THE END OF JULY 2009, some version of the healthcare bill had passed out of all the relevant House committees. The Senate Health and Education Committee had completed its work as well. All that remained was getting a bill through Max Baucus's Senate Finance Committee. Once that was done, we could consolidate the different versions into one House and one Senate bill, ideally passing each before the August recess, with the goal of having a final version of the legislation on my desk for signature before the end of the year.

### 第17章

在2009年7月底，某个版本的医疗保健法案已经通过了所有相关的众议院委员会。参议院卫生教育委员会也已经完成了它的工作。唯一剩下的就是让麦克斯·鲍卡斯的参议院财政委员会通过一项法案。一旦做到了这一点，我们可以将不同版本合并成一份众议院法案和一份参议院法案，理想情况下在8月休会前通过每个版本，目标是在年底之前将最终版本的立法文件放在我的桌子上签字。

No matter how hard we pressed, though, we couldn't get Baucus to complete his work. I was sympathetic to his reasons for delay: Unlike the other Democratic committee chairs, who'd passed their bills on straight party-line votes without regard for the Republicans, Baucus continued to hope that he could produce a bipartisan bill. But as summer wore on, that optimism began to look delusional. McConnell and Boehner had already announced their vigorous opposition to our legislative efforts, arguing that it represented an attempted “government takeover” of the healthcare system. Frank Luntz, a well-known Republican strategist, had circulated a memo stating that after market-testing no fewer than forty anti-reform messages, he'd concluded that invoking a “government takeover” was the best way to discredit the healthcare legislation. From that point on, conservatives followed the script, repeating the phrase like an incantation.

無論我們如何強硬施壓，我們仍然無法讓葛格完成他的工作。我對他拖延的原因表示同情：不像其他民主黨委員會主席，他們在不考慮共和黨人的情況下通過了黨派意見，而葛格仍希望能夠製定一項兩黨議案。但隨著夏天的過去，這種樂觀主義開始變得不現實。麥康奈爾和約翰·博納已經宣布他們對我們的立法努力進行了激烈的反對，聲稱這代表了對醫療保健系統的企圖“掌控政府”。著名的共和黨策略家弗蘭克·倫茨發布了一份備忘錄，聲明經過市場測試了不少於四十種反改革訊息，他得出結論，援引“政府接管”是抹黑醫療立法的最佳方式。從那時起，保守派按照腳本，像念咒語一樣重複這個短語。

Senator Jim DeMint, the conservative firebrand from South Carolina, was more transparent about his party's intentions. “If we're able to stop Obama on this,” he announced on a nationwide conference call with conservative activists, “it will be his Waterloo. It will break him.”

Unsurprisingly, given the atmosphere, the group of three GOP senators who'd been invited to participate in bipartisan talks with Baucus was now down to two: Chuck Grassley and Olympia Snowe, the moderate from Maine. My team and I did everything we could to help Baucus win their support. I had Grassley and Snowe over to the White House repeatedly and called them every few weeks to take their temperature. We signed off on scores of changes they wanted made to Baucus's draft bill. Nancy-Ann became a permanent fixture in their Senate offices and took Snowe out to dinner so often that we joked that her husband was getting jealous.

南卡罗来纳州的保守派领袖吉姆·德明特参议员更明确地阐述了他的党派意图。“如果我们能够阻止奥巴马在这个问题上的计划，”他在一次全国性的保守派活动家电话会议上宣布，“那将是他的滑铁卢。这会让他支离破碎。”

毫不奇怪，鉴于这样的气氛，原本受邀与鲍卡斯进行两党谈判的共和党三名参议员如今只剩下两人：查克·格拉斯利和奥林匹亚·斯诺。我和我的团队尽一切可能帮助鲍卡斯赢得他们的支持。我多次邀请格拉斯利和斯诺去白宫，每隔几周就给他们打电话以探听他们的情况。我们签署了许多他们想要修改鲍卡斯起草的法案的修改。南茜·安常驻于他们的参议院办公室，并频繁地请斯诺共进晚餐，我们甚至开玩笑说她的丈夫快要吃醋了。

“Tell Olympia she can write the whole damn bill!” I said to Nancy-Ann as she was leaving for one such meeting. “We'll call it the Snowe plan. Tell her if she votes for the bill, she can have the White House...Michelle and I will move to an apartment!”

And still we were getting nowhere. Snowe took pride in her centrist reputation, and she cared deeply about healthcare (she had been orphaned at the age

of nine, losing her parents, in rapid succession, to cancer and heart disease). But the Republican Party's sharp rightward tilt had left her increasingly isolated within her own caucus, making her even more cautious than usual, prone to wrapping her indecision in the guise of digging into policy minutiae.

“告訴奧林匹亞，讓她寫整個該死的法案！”我對南希安說，當她離開參加一次會議。“我們會稱它為Snowe計劃。告訴她如果她投票贊成該法案，她可以得到白宮……米歇爾和我會搬到一個公寓！”然而，我們還是一事無成。Snowe以自己的中間派聲譽為榮，對醫療保健非常關心（她九歲時失去雙親，相繼死於癌症和心臟疾病）。但是，共和黨嚴重向右傾斜使她在自己的黨派中越來越孤立，使她比平常更加謹慎，傾向於以政策細節挖掘的假象包裝她的猶豫。

Grassley was a different story. He talked a good game about wanting to help the family farmers back in Iowa who had trouble getting insurance they could count on, and when Hillary Clinton had pushed healthcare reform in the 1990s, he'd actually cosponsored an alternative that in many ways resembled the Massachusetts-style plan we were proposing, complete with an individual mandate. But unlike Snowe, Grassley rarely bucked his party leadership on tough issues. With his long, hangdog face and throaty midwestern drawl, he'd hem and haw about this or that problem he had with the bill without ever telling us what exactly it would take to get him to yes. Phil's conclusion was that Grassley was just stringing Baucus along at McConnell's behest, trying to stall the process and prevent us from moving on to the rest of our agenda. Even I, the resident White House optimist, finally got fed up and asked Baucus to come by for a visit.

格拉斯利是另一回事。他表面上似乎想要帮助艾奥瓦的家庭农民获得可靠的保险，但当希拉里·克林顿在1990年代推动医保改革时，他实际上担任了另一项倡议的共同赞助人，这在许多方面类似于我们提出的麻省式计划，包括个人强制要求。但与斯诺一样，格拉斯利很少在困难问题上违背自己党派的领导。他的嘴唇下垂，嗓音沙哑的中西部口音，他对这个或那个问题咕哝不清，却从未告诉我们究竟需要什么才能让他达成共识。菲尔的结论是，格拉斯利只是在麦康奈尔的指示下，试图拖延进程，阻止我们前进到我们议程的其他方面。即使像我这样乐观的白宫居民也终于受够了，要求鲍卡斯来访问。

“Time's up, Max,” I told him in the Oval during a meeting in late July. “You've given it your best shot. Grassley's gone. He just hasn't broken the news to you yet.”

Baucus shook his head. “I respectfully disagree, Mr. President,” he said. “I know Chuck. I think we're this close to getting him.” He held his thumb and index finger an inch apart, smiling at me like someone who's discovered a cure for cancer and is forced to deal with foolish skeptics. “Let's just give Chuck a little more time and have the vote when we get back from recess.”

我在七月底的橢圓形辦公室會議上告訴Max說：“時間到了。你已經盡力了。Grassley走了，只是他還沒有把這個消息告訴你。”Baucus搖了搖頭，說：“我非常尊重您，總統先生，但我不同意。我認識Chuck。我覺得我們距離把他拉過來只差一步之遙。”他伸出拇指和食指，表示兩者之間只有一寸，像是發現了治癌症的方法，被愚蠢的懷疑者所困擾。“讓我們再給Chuck一點時間，在休會後進行投票。”

A part of me wanted to get up, grab Baucus by the shoulders, and shake him till he came to his senses. I decided that this wouldn't work. Another part of me considered threatening to withhold my political support the next time he ran for reelection, but since he polled higher than I did in his home state of Montana, I figured that wouldn't work either. Instead, I argued and cajoled for another half hour, finally agreeing to his plan to delay an immediate party-line vote and instead call the bill to a vote within the first two weeks of Congress's reconvening in September.

我的一部分想起身，抓住包考斯的肩膀，把他搖醒。但我決定這樣做是行不通的。另一部分想威脅說，下一次他競選連任時我會撤回我的政治支持，但考慮到他在自己的蒙大拿州內的支持率比我高，我覺得這種威脅也不會奏效。於是，我爭辯和勸說了另外半個小時，最後同意了他的計劃，延遲黨派立場的立即投票，改為在國會九月重新召開時的前兩個星期內投票。

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WITH THE HOUSE and the Senate adjourned and both votes still looming, we decided I'd spend the first two weeks of August on the road, holding healthcare town halls in places like Montana, Colorado, and Arizona, where public support for reform was shakiest. As a sweetener, my team suggested that Michelle and the girls join me, and that we visit some national parks along the way.

I was thrilled by the suggestion. It's not as if Malia and Sasha were deprived of fatherly attention or in need of extra summer fun—they'd had plenty of both, with playdates and movies and a whole lot of loafing. Often, I'd come home in the evening and go up to the third floor to find the solarium overtaken by pajama-clad eight- or eleven-year-old girls settling in for a sleepover, bouncing on inflatable mattresses, scattering popcorn and toys everywhere, giggling nonstop at whatever was on Nickelodeon.

由于众议院和参议院均休会，两次选举仍未结束，我们决定在8月的前两周踏上旅途，在像蒙大拿州、科罗拉多州和亚利桑那州这样对改革的公众支持度最低的地方举行医疗保健市政厅会议。作为一种甜美诱惑，我的团队建议米歇尔和女孩们跟我一起旅行，顺道参观一些国家公园。

我很高兴得到这个建议。毕竟，马利亚和萨沙并不缺少父爱的关注，也不需要额外的夏季乐趣，她们没少享受玩伴和电影，还有很多悠闲的时光。常常，晚上我回家后，走到三楼阳光房，发现充满了身穿睡衣的8或11岁女孩，准备跑到充气床垫上过夜，到处散落着爆米花和玩具，咯咯笑个不停，看任何在尼克儿童电视上的节目。

But as much as Michelle and I (with the help of infinitely patient Secret Service agents) tried to approximate a normal childhood for my daughters, it was hard if not impossible for me to take them places like an ordinary dad would. We couldn't go to an amusement park together, making an impromptu stop for burgers along the way. I couldn't take them, as I once had, on lazy Sunday afternoon bike rides. A trip to get ice cream or a visit to a bookstore was now a major production, involving road closures, tactical teams, and the omnipresent press pool.

然而，即使在無限耐心的特勤人員的幫助下，Michelle和我努力讓我的女兒們擁有一個正常的童年，我仍很難像普通父親一樣帶她們去各種地方。我們無法一起去遊樂園，在路上臨時停下來吃漢堡。我不能像以前那樣，帶她們在悠閒的星期天下午騎自行車。只是去買冰淇淋或去書店早就成為一個大型的活動，

需要道路封閉、戰術小組和無處不在的新聞媒體。

If the girls felt a sense of loss over this, they didn't show it. But I felt it acutely. I especially mourned the fact that I'd probably never get a chance to take Malia and Sasha on the sort of long summer road trip I'd made when I was eleven, after my mother and Toot decided it was time for Maya and me to see the mainland of the United States. It had lasted a month and burned a lasting impression into my mind—and not just because we went to Disneyland (although that was obviously outstanding). We had dug for clams during low tide in Puget Sound, ridden horses through a creek at the base of Canyon de Chelly in Arizona, watched the endless Kansas prairie unfold from a train window, spotted a herd of bison on a dusky plain in Yellowstone, and ended each day with the simple pleasures of a motel ice machine, the occasional swimming pool, or just air-conditioning and clean sheets. That one trip gave me a glimpse of the dizzying freedom of the open road, how vast America was, and how full of wonder.

如果女孩们因此感到失落，她们并没有表现出来。但我深深地感受到了这种失落感。我特别悲伤的是，我可能再也没有机会像我十一岁那年那样带玛利亚和萨沙去做一次长途的暑期公路旅行了，那是我的母亲和图特决定带我和玛雅去看一看美国内陆后做的。这次旅行持续了一个月，给我留下了深刻的印象，这不仅仅因为我们去了迪士尼乐园（尽管那显然是非常出色的）。我们在普吉特海峡捉蛤蜊，骑马穿过亚利桑那州谷底的溪流，从火车窗口看到了无尽的堪萨斯草原，在黄石国家公园的昏暗平原上发现了一群野牛，每一天都以拥有一个汽车旅馆的冰机、偶尔的游泳池或只是空调和干净床单来结束。那次旅行让我一窥公路自由的眼花缭乱、美国之大和轻奢华文学编年及其中的奇迹。

I couldn't duplicate that experience for my daughters—not when we flew on Air Force One, rode in motorcades, and never bunked down in a place like Howard Johnson's. Getting from Point A to Point B happened too fast and too comfortably, and the days were too stuffed with prescheduled, staff-monitored activity—absent that familiar mix of surprises, misadventures, and boredom—to fully qualify as a road trip. But over the course of an August week, Michelle, the girls, and I had fun all the same. We watched Old Faithful blow and looked out over the ochre expanse of the Grand Canyon. The girls went inner tubing. At night, we played board games and tried to name the constellations. Tucking the girls into bed, I hoped that despite all the fuss that surrounded us, their minds were storing away a vision of life's possibilities and the beauty of the American landscape, just as mine once had; and that they might someday think back on our trips together and be reminded that they were so worthy of love, so fascinating and electric with life, that there was nothing their parents would rather do than share those vistas with them.

我无法为我的女儿们复制那种经历，因为当我们乘坐空军一号、乘坐车队并且不曾在霍华德·约翰逊酒店等地过夜时，从A点到B点的过程太快、太舒适，而且日子里充满了预定的、由工作人员监控的活动，缺少那种熟悉的惊喜、冒险和无聊，不能完全符合“公路旅行”的要求。但在那个8月的一周里，米歇尔、女孩们和我还是玩得很开心。我们看着老忠实泡沫飞溅，俯瞰着大峡谷的桔色广袤。女孩们去内胆上玩耍，晚上我们玩桌游，试着命名星座。把女孩们安置在床上，我希望尽管我们周围有那么多的喧嚣，但她们的脑海中存储着生命的可能性和美国景观的美丽，就像我的一样；希望她们有一天能回想起我们一起旅行的回忆，提醒自己她们是如此值得被爱，那份生命力是如此迷人和电力十足，以至于父母们不能更愿意与她们分享这些风景。

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OF COURSE, one of the things Malia and Sasha had to put up with on the trip out west was their dad peeling off every other day to appear before large crowds and TV cameras and talk about healthcare. The town halls themselves weren't very different from the ones I'd held earlier in the spring. People shared stories about how the existing healthcare system had failed their families, and asked questions about how the emerging bill might affect their own insurance. Even those who opposed our effort listened attentively to what I had to say.

当然，在到西部的旅途中，玛莉亚和莎莎必须忍受他们父亲每隔一天就要去出现在大众面前和电视摄像机前，讲解有关医疗保健的问题。这些城镇会议本身与我早前在春季进行的会议并没有太大区别。人们分享了有关现有医疗保健系统如何失败了他们的家庭的故事，并询问新出现的法案可能如何影响他们自己的保险问题。即使那些反对我们努力的人也认真听取了我所说的话。

Outside, though, the atmosphere was very different. We were in the middle of what came to be known as the “Tea Party summer,” an organized effort to marry people's honest fears about a changing America with a right-wing political agenda. Heading to and from every venue, we were greeted by dozens of angry protesters. Some shouted through bullhorns. Others flashed a single-fingered salute. Many held up signs with messages like OBAMACARE SUCKS or the unintentionally ironic KEEP GOVERNMENT OUT OF MY MEDICARE. Some waved doctored pictures of me looking like Heath Ledger's Joker in The Dark Knight, with blackened eyes and thickly caked makeup, appearing almost demonic. Still others wore colonial-era patriot costumes and hoisted the DON'T TREAD ON ME flag. All of them seemed most interested in expressing their general contempt for me, a sentiment best summed up by a refashioning of the famous Shepard Fairey poster from our campaign: the same red, white, and blue rendering of my face, but with the word HOPE replaced by NOPE.然而，外面的氛围却截然不同。我们正处于被称为“茶党夏季”的组织努力，试图将人们对一个正在变化的美国的诚实恐惧与右翼政治议程相结合的时期。在前往和从每个场所时，我们被数十个愤怒的抗议者所迎接。一些人通过扩音器喊叫。其他人举起单个手指的敬礼。许多人举着标语牌，上面写着“奥巴马医改烂”或无意中讽刺性地写着“别干扰我的医保”。有些人挥舞着我被处理成像《蝙蝠侠：黑暗骑士》中希斯·莱杰的小丑那样黑眼圈和浓妆艳抹的照片，几乎看起来魔鬼般。还有一些人穿着殖民时期的爱国者服装，举起“别践踏我”的旗帜。所有人似乎最感兴趣的是表达他们对我的普遍蔑视，这种情感最好由我们竞选所著名的莎伯德·费雷海海报的翻版来概括：同样是红色、白色和蓝色的描绘我的脸，但“希望”一词被“不”取代了。

This new and suddenly potent force in American politics had started months earlier as a handful of ragtag, small-scale protests against TARP and the Recovery Act. A number of the early participants had apparently migrated from the quixotic, libertarian presidential campaign of Republican congressman Ron Paul, who called for the elimination of the federal income tax and the Federal Reserve, a return to the gold standard, and withdrawal from the U.N. and NATO. Rick Santelli's notorious television rant against our housing proposal back in February had provided a catchy rallying cry for the loose network of conservative activists, and soon websites and email chains had begun spawning bigger rallies, with Tea Party chapters proliferating across the country. In those early months, they hadn't had enough traction to stop the stimulus package from passing, and a national protest on Tax Day in April hadn't

amounted to much. But helped by endorsements from conservative media personalities like Rush Limbaugh and Glenn Beck, the movement was picking up steam, with local and then national Republican politicians embracing the Tea Party label.

美國政治中這股新而突然強勁的力量始於數月前的一些小規模抗議活動，抗議對TARP和恢復法案的實施。早期的參與者中有許多人顯然是從共和黨眾議員Ron Paul的古怪、古雅的總統競選活動中遷移到此處，Ron Paul呼籲消除聯邦所得稅和聯邦儲備制度，恢復金本位制度，並退出聯合國和北約。Rick Santelli在二月份對我們的住房提案在電視上的著名怒吼為這個保守派活躍分子鬆散的網絡提供了一個引人注目的口號，很快網站和電子郵件鏈條開始孕育出更大的集會，茶黨分會在全國範圍內暴增。在那些早期的月份，他們還沒有足夠的牽引力來阻止刺激計劃的通過，四月份的全國性抗議活動沒有什麼效果。但在保守媒體名人如拉什·林博和格倫·貝克的背書下，這個運動正在逐漸發展，當地和全國的共和黨政治家也接受了茶黨這個標籤。

By summer, the group was focused on stopping the abomination they dubbed “Obamacare,” which they insisted would introduce a socialistic, oppressive new order to America. As I was conducting my own relatively sedate healthcare town halls out west, newscasts started broadcasting scenes from parallel congressional events around the country, with House and Senate members suddenly confronted by angry, heckling crowds in their home districts and with Tea Party members deliberately disrupting the proceedings, rattling some of the politicians enough that they were canceling public appearances altogether.

到了夏季，這個組織專注於阻止他們所稱的“奧巴馬醫改”，他們堅稱這將引入社會主義、壓迫性的新秩序到美國。當我在西部進行相對平靜的醫療保健市政廳時，新聞廣播開始播放全國範圍內的國會議員事件，並在家庭地區遭遇憤怒的、喊叫的人群，並且茶黨成員有意干擾會議，這讓一些政治家感到驚吓，導致他們完全取消公開亮相。

It was hard for me to decide what to make of all this. The Tea Party’s anti-tax, anti-regulation, anti-government manifesto was hardly new; its basic story line—that corrupt liberal elites had hijacked the federal government to take money out of the pockets of hardworking Americans in order to finance welfare patronage and reward corporate cronies—was one that Republican politicians and conservative media had been peddling for years. Nor, it turned out, was the Tea Party the spontaneous, grassroots movement it purported to be. From the outset, Koch brother affiliates like Americans for Prosperity, along with other billionaire conservatives who’d been part of the Indian Wells gathering hosted by the Kochs just after I was inaugurated, had carefully nurtured the movement by registering internet domain names and obtaining rally permits; training organizers and sponsoring conferences; and ultimately providing much of the Tea Party’s financing, infrastructure, and strategic direction.

對我來說，如何看待這一切是很困難的。茶黨的反稅、反監管、反政府宣言並不是什麼新鮮事；他們的基本故事線——腐敗的自由主義精英掌握聯邦政府，從勤奮工作的美國人口袋裡拿錢為福利贊助和企業朋友送禮——這是共和黨政治家和保守媒體多年來一直在宣傳的。而茶黨也不是什麼自發的草根運動，這一點也被證實了。科赫兄弟的附屬組織，如美國興旺協會，以及在我就任後由科赫兄弟主持的印第安威爾斯聚會中的其他億萬富翁保守派，通過註冊互聯網域名和獲得集會許可證來精心培養這一運動；培訓組織者和贊助會議；最終提供了茶黨的大部分財政、基礎設施和戰略方向。

Still, there was no denying that the Tea Party represented a genuine populist surge within the Republican Party. It was made up of true believers, possessed with the same grassroots enthusiasm and jagged fury we’d seen in Sarah Palin supporters during the closing days of the campaign. Some of that anger I understood, even if I considered it misdirected. Many of the working- and middle-class whites gravitating to the Tea Party had suffered for decades from sluggish wages, rising costs, and the loss of the steady blue-collar work that provided secure retirements. Bush and establishment Republicans hadn’t done anything for them, and the financial crisis had further hollowed out their communities. And so far, at least, the economy had gotten steadily worse with me in charge, despite more than a trillion dollars channeled into stimulus spending and bailouts. For those already predisposed toward conservative ideas, the notion that my policies were designed to help others at their expense—that the game was rigged and I was part of the rigging—must have seemed entirely plausible.然而，不可否认的是，茶黨在共和黨內代表了真正的民粹主義浪潮。它由真正的信仰者組成，擁有與競選結束時薩拉·佩林支持者中所見到的同樣的草根熱情和憤怒。我理解其中的一些憤怒，儘管我認為它是誤導。許多工薪階層和中產階級白人傾向茶黨，已經遭受了幾十年的工資增長緩慢、成本上漲和提供安全退休金的穩定藍領工作的喪失所帶來的痛苦。布什和建制派共和黨人沒有為他們做任何事情，而金融危機進一步掏空了他們的社區。至少到目前為止，儘管已經有超過一萬億美元的刺激支出和救助，經濟在我的領導下仍然越來越糟糕。對於那些已經傾向於保守思想的人來說，我政策的設計是幫助別人而損害了他們，遊戲是受到操縱的，而我是操縱的一部分，這個觀念肯定是完全合理的。

I also had a grudging respect for how rapidly Tea Party leaders had mobilized a strong following and managed to dominate the news coverage, using some of the same social media and grassroots-organizing strategies we’d deployed during my own campaign. I’d spent my entire political career promoting civic participation as a cure for much of what ailed our democracy. I could hardly complain, I told myself, just because it was opposition to my agenda that was now spurring such passionate citizen involvement.

As time went on, though, it became hard to ignore some of the more troubling impulses driving the movement. As had been true at Palin rallies, reporters at Tea Party events caught attendees comparing me to animals or Hitler. Signs turned up showing me dressed like an African witch doctor with a bone through my nose and the caption OBAMACARE COMING SOON TO A CLINIC NEAR YOU. Conspiracy theories abounded: that my healthcare bill would set up “death panels” to evaluate whether people deserved treatment, clearing the way for “government-encouraged euthanasia,” or that it would benefit illegal immigrants, in the service of my larger goal of flooding the country with welfare-dependent, reliably Democratic voters. The Tea Party also resurrected and poured gas on an old rumor from the campaign: that not only was I Muslim, but I’d actually been born in Kenya and was therefore constitutionally barred from serving as president. By September, the question of how much nativism and racism explained the Tea Party’s rise had become a major topic of debate on the cable shows—especially after former president and lifelong southerner Jimmy Carter offered up the opinion that the extreme vitriol directed toward me was at least in part spawned by racist views.我對茶會黨領袖如此迅速地動員大批支持者並成功主導新聞報導的方式深感敬畏，他們使用了一些我們在我的競選活動中使用的社交媒體和基層組織策略。我一直在促進公民參與作為解決我們民主制度問題的方法，自然不能抱怨，因為現在是反對我議程的人在激發如此熱情的公民參與。

然而，隨著時間的推移，越來越難忽視推動這場運動的一些更麻煩的衝動。與帕林拉力集會一樣，新聞報導在茶會黨活動中拍到與動物或希特勒相比的人。出現的標誌顯示我像非洲巫醫，鼻子上有一根骨頭，標題是“即將在您附近的診所推出的奧巴馬護理計劃”。謠言四起：我的醫療保健法案將建立“死亡小組”來評估人們是否值得治療，為“政府鼓勵的安樂死”鋪平道路，或者它將使非法移民受益，以實現我將國家淹沒在福利依賴和可靠的民主黨選民的最大目標。茶會黨還再次提出並加強了一個關於競選活動的老謠言：我不僅是穆斯林，而且實際上出生在肯尼亞，因此在憲法上不能擔任總統。到了九月，民族主義和種族主義對茶會黨崛起解釋的問題成為有線電視節目的主要討論話題，尤其是在前總統和終身南方人吉米·卡特提出對我極端憎惡表達至少部分源於種族主義觀點的看法之後。

At the White House, we made a point of not commenting on any of this—and not just because Axe had reams of data telling us that white voters, including many who supported me, reacted poorly to lectures about race. As a matter of principle, I didn't believe a president should ever publicly whine about criticism from voters—it's what you signed up for in taking the job—and I was quick to remind both reporters and friends that my white predecessors had all endured their share of vicious personal attacks and obstructionism.在白宫，我们特意不评论任何事情，这不仅仅是因为埃克斯有一堆数据告诉我们，包括许多支持我的白人选民，对有关种族的演讲反应不佳。从原则上讲，我认为总统不应该公开抱怨选民的批评 - 这正是你在接受这项工作时签署的内容 - 我很快提醒记者和朋友，我的白人前任都经历过他们自己的恶毒人身攻击和阻碍。

More practically, I saw no way to sort out people's motives, especially given that racial attitudes were woven into every aspect of our nation's history. Did that Tea Party member support "states' rights" because he genuinely thought it was the best way to promote liberty, or because he continued to resent how federal intervention had led to an end to Jim Crow, desegregation, and rising Black political power in the South? Did that conservative activist oppose any expansion of the social welfare state because she believed it sapped individual initiative, or because she was convinced that it would benefit only brown people who'd just crossed the border? Whatever my instincts might tell me, whatever truths the history books might suggest, I knew I wasn't going to win over any voters by labeling my opponents racist.

更现实地说，我看不到任何解决人们动机问题的方法，特别是考虑到种族态度已经编织到我们国家历史的方方面面。那个茶党成员支持“州权”是因为他真的认为这是促进自由的最佳方式，还是因为他仍然对联邦干预导致吉姆·克罗、种族隔离和南方黑人政治力量的崛起终结感到怨恨？那个保守派活动家反对任何社会福利国家扩张，是因为她相信它会消耗个人主动性，还是因为她确信它只会惠及刚刚越过边境的棕色人群？无论我的本能告诉我什么，无论历史书籍所暗示的真相是什么，我知道如果把我的对手标签为种族主义者，我是不可能赢得任何选民支持的。

One thing felt certain: A pretty big chunk of the American people, including some of the very folks I was trying to help, didn't trust a word I said. One night around then I watched a news report on a charitable organization called Remote Area Medical that provided medical services in temporary pop-up clinics around the country, operating out of trailers parked outside arenas and fairgrounds. Almost all the patients in the report were white southerners from places like Tennessee, Georgia, and West Virginia—men and women who had jobs but no employer-based insurance or had insurance with deductibles they couldn't afford. Many had driven hundreds of miles—some sleeping in their cars overnight, leaving the engines running to stay warm—to join hundreds of other people lined up before dawn to see one of the volunteer doctors who might pull an infected tooth, diagnose debilitating abdominal pain, or examine a lump in their breast. The demand was so great that patients who arrived after sunup sometimes got turned away.

有一件事是非常确定的：相当一部分的美国人民，包括一些我试图援助的人，不相信我说的话。那时候的一天晚上，我看了一个叫做Remote Area Medical的慈善组织的新闻报道，该组织在全国范围内提供医疗服务，利用停放在竞技场和展览馆外的拖车，临时设置流动诊所。报道中几乎所有的病人都是来自田纳西州、乔治亚州和西弗吉尼亚州等地的白人南方人，他们虽然有工作但没有雇主提供的保险，或者有保险但扣除额负担得起不了。很多人开车数百英里，甚至过夜在车里，打开发动机保持温暖，早上天还没亮就排队等候，希望能看到一位志愿医生，可能会拔出一颗发炎的牙，诊断疼痛不堪的腹部，或者检查乳房里的一个肿块。需求如此之大，以至于那些在日出之后到达的患者有时候会被拒绝。

I found the story both heartbreaking and maddening, an indictment of a wealthy nation that failed too many of its citizens. And yet I knew that almost every one of those people waiting to see a free doctor came from a deep-red Republican district, the sort of place where opposition to our healthcare bill, along with support of the Tea Party, was likely to be strongest. There had been a time—back when I was still a state senator driving around southern Illinois or, later, traveling through rural Iowa during the earliest days of the presidential campaign—when I could reach such voters. I wasn't yet well known enough to be the target of caricature, which meant that whatever preconceptions people may have had about a Black guy from Chicago with a foreign name could be dispelled by a simple conversation, a small gesture of kindness. After sitting down with folks in a diner or hearing their complaints at a county fair, I might not get their vote or even agreement on most issues. But we would at least make a connection, and we'd come away from such encounters understanding that we had hopes, struggles, and values in common.

我覺得這個故事既令人心碎又令人發狂，這是對一個有錢的國家未能幫助其公民的控訴。然而，我知道那些等待看免費醫生的人幾乎都來自深紅色的共和黨選區，那種可能是反對我們醫保法案並支持茶黨的地方。那個時候，當我還是一名州參議員開著車在伊利諾伊州南部穿梭，或後來在競選總統活動的早期階段在愛荷華州農村旅行時，我可以接觸到這些選民。當時我還不太出名，所以人們對來自芝加哥的黑人和有外國名字的印象可以通過一個簡單的交談、一個小小的善意姿態而被消除。通過在一家餐廳與人們坐下來聊聊天，或者在縣集市上聽聽他們的抱怨，我可能無法得到他們的選票，甚至不能在大多數問題上達成協議。但是我們至少會建立一種聯繫，並從這樣的交往中獲得理解：我們有共同的希望、困難和價值觀。

I wondered if any of that was still possible, now that I lived locked behind gates and guardsmen, my image filtered through Fox News and other media outlets whose entire business model depended on making their audience angry and fearful. I wanted to believe that the ability to connect was still there. My wife wasn't so sure. One night toward the end of our road trip, after we'd tucked the girls in, Michelle caught a glimpse of a Tea Party rally on TV—with its enraged flag-waving and inflammatory slogans. She seized the remote and turned off the set, her expression hovering somewhere between rage and resignation.

我曾经想知道，现在我住在锁着的门和守卫之后，我的形象被过滤器通过Fox News和其他媒体渠道传播，这些媒体渠道的整个业务模式就取决于让他们的受众感到愤怒和恐惧。我希望相互联系的能力仍然存在，但我的妻子并不确定。在我们的公路旅行即将结束的一天晚上，我们为女儿安顿好后，米歇尔在电视上看到一个激进的茶党集会，他们挥舞着愤怒的旗帜和煽动性标语。她拿起遥控器关闭了电视，一脸愤怒和无奈。

**“It’s a trip, isn’t it?” she said.**

**“What is?”**

**“That they’re scared of you. Scared of us.”**

**She shook her head and headed for bed.**

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**TED KENNEDY DIED on August 25. The morning of his funeral, the skies over Boston darkened, and by the time our flight landed the streets were shrouded in thick sheets of rain. The scene inside the church befitting the largeness of Teddy’s life: the pews packed with former presidents and heads of state, senators and members of Congress, hundreds of current and former staffers, the honor guard, and the flag-draped casket. But it was the stories told by his family, most of all his children, that mattered most that day. Patrick Kennedy recalled his father tending to him during crippling asthma attacks, pressing a cold towel to his forehead until he fell asleep. He described how his father would take him out to sail, even in stormy seas. Teddy Jr. told the story of how, after he’d lost his leg to cancer, his father had insisted they go sledding, trudging with him up a snowy hill, picking him up when he fell, and wiping away his tears when he wanted to give up, the two of them eventually getting to the top and racing down the snowy banks. It had been proof, Teddy Jr. said, that his world had not stopped. Collectively, it was a portrait of a man driven by great appetites and ambitions but also by great loss and doubt. A man making up for things.**“这真是一次旅程，不是吗？”她说。

**“是什么？”**

**“他们害怕你，害怕我们。”**

**她摇着头，走向床铺。**

特德·肯尼迪于8月25日去世。在他的葬礼当天早上，波士顿的天空变得阴沉，当我们的飞机降落时，街道被厚厚的雨幕覆盖。教堂内的场景与特迪的生命一样宏大：长椅上挤满了前总统、国家元首、参议员和国会议员、数百名现任和前任工作人员、荣誉警卫以及盖着国旗的灵柩。但在那天，最重要的是他的家人，特别是他的孩子们讲述的故事。派翠克·肯尼迪回忆起他父亲在他患上哮喘时照顾他，给他的额头敷上冷毛巾，直到他睡着。他描述了父亲如何带他出去航行，即使在风暴中。特迪二世讲述了他如何在癌症截肢后，他的父亲坚持带他滑雪，和他一起步行爬上雪山，当他跌倒时扶起他，当他想放弃时擦去他的眼泪，并最终一起到达山顶，冲向雪堆。特迪二世说，这证明了他的世界没有停止。总的来说，这是一个被巨大欲望和抱负驱动，但同时也被巨大的失落和疑虑所困扰的人的肖像。一个在弥补过失的人。

“My father believed in redemption,” Teddy Jr. said. “And he never surrendered, never stopped trying to right wrongs, be they the results of his own failings or of ours.”

I carried those words with me back to Washington, where a mood of surrender increasingly prevailed—at least when it came to getting a healthcare bill passed. The Tea Party had accomplished what it had set out to do, generating reams of negative publicity for our efforts, stoking public fear that reform would be too costly, too disruptive, or would help only the poor. A preliminary report by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the independent, professionally staffed operation charged with scoring the cost of all federal legislation, priced the initial House version of the healthcare bill at an eye-popping \$1 trillion. Although the CBO score would eventually come down as the bill was revised and clarified, the headlines gave opponents a handy stick with which to beat us over the head. Democrats from swing districts were now running scared, convinced that pushing forward with the bill amounted to a suicide mission. Republicans abandoned all pretense of wanting to negotiate, with members of Congress regularly echoing the Tea Party’s claim that I wanted to put Grandma to sleep.

我的父亲信仰救赎，”泰迪·肯尼迪说。“他从未放弃过，在改正错误时永不停歇，无论是因为他自己的失败还是我们的。”

我将这些话带回了华盛顿，在那里，一股屈服的情绪日益盛行，尤其在通过医保法案方面。茶党已经实现了他们想要的目标，给我们的努力带来了大量的负面宣传，煽动公众担心改革将花费太多、破坏性太大，或只会帮助穷人。国会预算办公室(CBO)的初步报告将医保法案总价值定为1万亿美元，这一数字眼花

缭乱。尽管随着法案修订和澄清，CBO评分最终会下降，但这样的标题足够提供给反对者一个方便的棍子，让他们来抨击我们。来自摇摆选区的民主党人现在都在害怕，他们认为继续推动这项法案就像是自杀行动。共和党人放弃了所有想要谈判的假装，国会成员经常回应茶党的声讨，声称我想让奶奶去死。

The only upside to all this was that it helped me cure Max Baucus of his obsession with trying to placate Chuck Grassley. In a last-stab Oval Office meeting with the two of them in early September, I listened patiently as Grassley ticked off five new reasons why he still had problems with the latest version of the bill.

“Let me ask you a question, Chuck,” I said finally. “If Max took every one of your latest suggestions, could you support the bill?”

“Well...”

“Are there any changes—any at all—that would get us your vote?”

所有这一切中唯一的好处是，它帮助我治愈了马克斯·鲍卡斯试图安抚查克·格拉斯利的痴迷。在9月初，我在椭圆形办公室中与他们两个人的最后一次会面中耐心聆听格拉斯利列举了五个新的理由，说明他仍然对最新版本的法案存在问题。

“让我问你一个问题，查克，”我最终说道。“如果鲍卡斯采纳你的最新建议，你会支持这个法案吗？”

“嗯.....”

“有哪些更改，无论如何，都可以得到你的支持？”

There was an awkward silence before Grassley looked up and met my gaze.

“I guess not, Mr. President.”

I guess not.

At the White House, the mood rapidly darkened. Some of my team began asking whether it was time to fold our hand. Rahm was especially dour. Having been to this rodeo before with Bill Clinton, he understood all too well what my declining poll numbers might mean for the reelection prospects of swing-district Democrats, many of whom he'd personally recruited and helped elect, not to mention how it could damage my own prospects in 2012.

Discussing our options in a senior-staff meeting, Rahm advised that we try to cut a deal with Republicans for a significantly scaled-back piece of legislation—perhaps allowing people between sixty and sixty-five to buy into Medicare or widening the reach of the Children's Health Insurance Program.

“It won't be everything you wanted, Mr. President,” he said. “But it'll still help a lot of people, and it'll give us a better chance to make progress on the rest of your agenda.”

格拉斯利抬头看着我，尴尬的沉默在两人之间弥漫。

“我猜不行，总统先生。”

我猜不行。

情绪在白宫急速变得沉闷。我的团队中有些人开始质疑是否是时候放弃了。拉姆更是情绪低落。他曾与比尔·克林顿一起参与过这种情况，深知我下降的民调数据可能会对中间选区民主党人的连任前景产生影响——其中有很多是他亲自招募和帮助当选的人——更不用说这会对我自己在2012年的前景造成影响了。在高级幕僚会议上讨论我们的选择时，拉姆建议我们尝试与共和党达成协议，制定一项明显缩减的法案——或许允许60到65岁之间的人购买医疗保险或扩大儿童医保计划的覆盖范围。他说：“这不是你想要的全部，总统先生，但它仍然能够帮助很多人，而且使我们更有机会在其余议程上取得进展。”

Some in the room agreed. Others felt it was too early to give up. After reviewing his conversations on Capitol Hill, Phil Schiliro said he thought there was still a path to passing a comprehensive law with only Democratic votes, but he admitted that it was no sure thing.

“I guess the question for you, Mr. President, is, Do you feel lucky?”

I looked at him and smiled. “Where are we, Phil?”

Phil hesitated, wondering if it was a trick question. “The Oval Office?”

“And what's my name?”

“Barack Obama.”

I smiled. “Barack Hussein Obama. And I'm here with you in the Oval Office. Brother, I always feel lucky.”

房间里有些人同意了，而其他人觉得现在放弃还为时过早。在回顾了他在国会山的谈话后，菲尔·希利罗说他认为仍然有可能只用民主党的选票通过一项全面的法律，但他承认这并不是一个确定的事情。

“我想，对你来说，总统先生，问题在于，你感觉幸运吗？”

我看着他微笑。“我们在哪里，Phil？”

菲尔犹豫了，想知道这是一个诡计问题。“椭圆形办公室？”

“我的名字是什么？”

“巴拉克·奥巴马。”

我微笑。“巴拉克·侯赛因·奥巴马。而且我和你在椭圆形办公室里。兄弟，我总是觉得很幸运。”

I told the team we were staying the course. But honestly, my decision didn't have much to do with how lucky I felt. Rahm wasn't wrong about the risks, and perhaps in a different political environment, on a different issue, I might have accepted his idea of negotiating with the GOP for half a loaf. On this issue, though, I saw no indication that Republican leaders would throw us a lifeline. We were wounded, their base wanted blood, and no matter how modest the reform we proposed, they were sure to find a whole new set of reasons for not working with us.

我告诉团队我们要坚持不懈。但是，老实说，我的决定并不是基于我感觉有多少幸运。拉姆并没有错过风险，也许在不同的政治环境下，对于不同的议题，我或许会接受他与共和党协商半块面包的想法。然而就这个议题而言，我看不到共和党领袖会向我们伸出救援之手的信号。我们受伤了，他们的基础选民想

要报复，无论我们提出多么温和的改革，他们都会找到新的理由不与我们合作。

More than that, a scaled-down bill wasn't going to help millions of people who were desperate, people like Laura Klitzka in Green Bay. The idea of letting them down—of leaving them to fend for themselves because their president hadn't been sufficiently brave, skilled, or persuasive to cut through the political noise and get what he knew to be the right thing done—was something I couldn't stomach.

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AT THAT POINT, I'd held town halls in eight states, explaining in both broad and intricate terms what healthcare reform could mean. I'd taken phone calls from AARP members on live television, fielding questions about everything from Medicare coverage gaps to living wills. Late at night in the Treaty Room, I pored over the continuing flow of memos and spreadsheets, making sure I understood the finer points of risk corridors and reinsurance caps. If I sometimes grew despondent, even angry, over the amount of misinformation that had flooded the airwaves, I was grateful for my team's willingness to push harder and not give up, even when the battle got ugly and the odds remained long. Such tenacity drove the entire White House staff. Denis McDonough at one point distributed stickers to everyone, emblazoned with the words FIGHT CYNICISM. This became a useful slogan, an article of our faith.

此外，缩减版的法案也无法帮助像格林贝的劳拉·克利茨卡这样迫切需要帮助的数百万人。让他们失望，让他们自谋生路是不能接受的，因为总统没有足够的勇气、技能或说服力来突破政治噪音，完成他认为正确的事情。

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那时候，我在八个州举办了市政厅会议，用广谱和详细的方式解释了医疗改革的意义。我接到了许多AARP会员的来电，回答了从医疗保险覆盖漏洞到生前遗嘱等所有问题。在深夜的条约室里，我研究不断涌现的备忘录和电子表格，确保自己理解风险区间和再保险上限的细节。如果有时我会因为充斥着误导的空气泡而感到沮丧、甚至愤怒，那我会非常感激我的团队，他们愿意更加努力，即使战斗变得丑陋，胜率仍然很低。这种坚韧精神推动着整个白宫。Denis McDonough曾经向每个人分发过印有“战斗愤世嫉俗”字样的贴纸，这成为了一种有用的口号，我们信仰的一部分。

Knowing we had to try something big to reset the healthcare debate, Axe suggested that I deliver a prime-time address before a joint session of Congress. It was a high-stakes gambit, he explained, used only twice in the past sixteen years, but it would give me a chance to speak directly to millions of viewers. I asked what the other two joint addresses had been about.

“The most recent was when Bush announced the War on Terror after 9/11.”

“And the other?”

“Bill Clinton talking about his healthcare bill.”

I laughed. “Well, that worked out great, didn't it?”

為了重新啟動醫療保健辯論，我們知道必須嘗試一些大的舉措，斧頭建議我在國會聯席會議之前發表一次黃金時段的演講。他解釋說，這是一場高風險賭博，過去16年只用過兩次，但這將給我一個機會直接對數百萬觀眾講話。我問另外兩次聯席會議都是關於什麼的。

“最近一次是布什9/11后宣布的反恐戰爭。”

“那另一次呢？”

“是比爾·克林頓談論他的醫療保健法案。”

我笑了：“好吧，那真是很成功，對吧？”

Despite the inauspicious precedent, we decided it was worth a shot. Two days after Labor Day, Michelle and I climbed into the backseat of the Beast, drove up to the Capitol's east entrance, and retraced the steps we'd taken seven months earlier to the doors of the House chamber. The announcement by the sergeant at arms, the lights, television cameras, applause, handshakes along the center aisle—on the surface, at least, everything appeared as it had in February. But the mood in the chamber felt different this time—the smiles a little forced, a murmur of tension and doubt in the air. Or maybe it was just that my mood was different. Whatever giddiness or sense of personal triumph I'd felt shortly after taking office had now been burned away, replaced by something sturdier: a determination to see a job through.

儘管前例不佳，我們決定一試。勞動節兩天後，米歇爾和我坐進野獸車後座，開車到國會大廈東面入口，重新步行七個月前走過的路，來到眾議院議場的大門口。議長宣佈開始了，燈光，電視攝影機，掌聲，中央通道上的握手聲——表面上，至少一切都像二月份那樣。但今次議場的氣氛有所不同——微笑有些勉強，空氣中有些緊張和懷疑的低語。或許只是我的心境有所不同。任何我就職後感到的陶醉或個人勝利感現在都已被磨滅，取而代之的是更穩健的決心：完成工作。

For an hour that evening, I explained as straightforwardly as I could what our reform proposals would mean for the families who were watching: how it would provide affordable insurance to those who needed it but also give critical protections to those who already had insurance; how it would prevent insurance companies from discriminating against people with preexisting conditions and eliminate the kind of lifetime limits that burdened families like Laura Klitzka's. I detailed how the plan would help seniors pay for lifesaving drugs and require insurers to cover routine checkups and preventive care at no extra charge. I explained that the talk about a government takeover and death panels was nonsense, that the legislation wouldn't add a dime to the deficit, and that the time to make this happen was now.

那个晚上一个小时，我尽可能简单明了地解释了我们的改革提案对观众们家庭的意义：如何为需要它的人提供负担得起的保险，同时为已经有保险的人提供关键的保护；如何防止保险公司歧视有已存在病史的人，消除像Laura Klitzka家庭这样的人生的限制。我详细说明了该计划如何帮助老年人支付挽救生命的药物，并要求保险公司免费提供常规检查和预防保健。我解释说关于政府接管和死亡小组的言论都是无稽之谈，这项立法不会增加一分钱的赤字，现在是实现这一目标的时候了。

A few days earlier, I'd received a letter from Ted Kennedy. He'd written it back in May but had instructed Vicki to wait until after his death to pass it along. It was a farewell letter, two pages long, in which he'd thanked me for taking up the cause of healthcare reform, referring to it as "that great unfinished business of our society" and the cause of his life. He added that he would die with some comfort, believing that what he'd spent years working toward would now, under my watch, finally happen.

So I ended my speech that night by quoting from Teddy's letter, hoping that his words would bolster the nation just as they had bolstered me. "What we face," he'd written, "is above all a moral issue; at stake are not just the details of policy, but fundamental principles of social justice and the character of our country."

幾天前，我收到了Ted Kennedy的一封信。他當時在五月份寫了這封信，但指示Vicki在他過世後才傳遞給我。信長達兩頁，是一封告別信。他感謝我繼續推動醫療改革，稱之為“我們社會上那個未完成的偉大事業”，也是他一生的目標。他還補充說，他安心離世了，相信我在任期間所努力的將會實現他多年來的夢想。

那天晚上，我以Teddy的信尾聲結束我的演講，希望他的話語可以鼓舞國家，就像他曾經鼓舞我一樣。“我們所面對的是一個道德問題，”他寫道，“關鍵不只是政策細節，還關乎社會正義的根本原則和我們國家的品格。”

According to poll data, my address to Congress boosted public support for the healthcare bill, at least temporarily. Even more important for our purposes, it seemed to stiffen the spine of wavering congressional Democrats. It did not, however, change the mind of a single Republican in the chamber. This was clear less than thirty minutes into the speech, when—as I debunked the phony claim that the bill would insure undocumented immigrants—a relatively obscure five-term Republican congressman from South Carolina named Joe Wilson leaned forward in his seat, pointed in my direction, and shouted, his face flushed with fury, "You lie!"

根据民意调查数据，我在国会的演讲至少暂时提高了公众对医保法案的支持。对我们而言更重要的是，它似乎让犹豫不定的民主党国会议员坚定了立场。然而，它并没有改变任何一个议会内共和党人的看法。演讲还不到三十分钟时就已经显然，当我揭穿这项法案将保障非法移民的虚假主张时，来自南卡罗来纳州的一个相对不知名的五届共和党国会议员乔·威尔逊向前倾身，指着我方向，愤怒地喊道：“你说谎了！”

For the briefest second, a stunned silence fell over the chamber. I turned to look for the heckler (as did Speaker Pelosi and Joe Biden, Nancy aghast and Joe shaking his head). I was tempted to exit my perch, make my way down the aisle, and smack the guy in the head. Instead, I simply responded by saying "It's not true" and then carried on with my speech as Democrats hurled boos in Wilson's direction.

As far as anyone could remember, nothing like that had ever happened before a joint session address—at least not in modern times. Congressional criticism was swift and bipartisan, and by the next morning Wilson had apologized publicly for the breach of decorum, calling Rahm and asking that his regrets get passed on to me as well. I downplayed the matter, telling a reporter that I appreciated the apology and was a big believer that we all make mistakes.

在议院里，只有短短的一瞬间，一片震惊的沉默降临。我转过头去寻找喊冤者（演讲者佩洛西和乔·拜登也这样做了，佩洛西惊恐地看着乔，乔则摇头），我想要离开我的位置，走过走廊，扇这个人一个耳光。然而，我只是简单地回答：“这不是真的”，然后在民主党人朝着威尔逊扔鞋声中继续演讲。

就据大家（至少在现代）所能记得，在联合会议演讲时从未发生过这样的事情。国会的批评是迅速双方面的，到第二天早上威尔逊就公开道歉这次违反礼仪的行为，并打电话给Rahm，也请他将他的歉意传达给我。我淡化了这个问题，告诉记者我感谢这个道歉，而我相信每个人都犯错。

And yet I couldn't help noticing the news reports saying that online contributions to Wilson's reelection campaign spiked sharply in the week following his outburst. Apparently, for a lot of Republican voters out there, he was a hero, speaking truth to power. It was an indication that the Tea Party and its media allies had accomplished more than just their goal of demonizing the healthcare bill. They had demonized me and, in doing so, had delivered a message to all Republican officeholders: When it came to opposing my administration, the old rules no longer applied.

然而我忍不住注意到新闻报道说，在威尔逊发飙后的那一周，他的连任竞选募捐在线上急剧飙升。显然，对于很多共和党选民来说，他是一个英雄，说出真相并抵抗权利。这表明茶党及其媒体盟友已经完成了比仅仅妖魔化医保法案的目标更大的事情。他们已经妖魔化了我，如此做了之后，向所有的共和党官员传递了一个信息：当涉及到反对我的政府时，老规则不再适用。

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DESPITE HAVING GROWN UP in Hawaii, I have never learned to sail a boat; it wasn't a pastime my family could afford. And yet for the next three and a half months, I felt the way I imagine sailors feel on the open seas after a brutal storm has passed. The work remained arduous and sometimes monotonous, made tougher by the need to patch leaks and bail water. Maintaining speed and course in the constantly shifting winds and currents required patience, skill, and attention. But for a span of time, we had in us the thankfulness of survivors, propelled in our daily tasks by a renewed belief that we might make it to port after all.

盡管我在夏威夷長大，但我從未學會航行船舶；這不是我家能負擔得起的娛樂活動。然而，在接下來的三個半月裡，我感到自己就像船員一樣，在經歷了一場劇烈風暴後開啟了一片海洋。工作仍然艱苦，有時單調，需要修補漏洞和舀水。在不斷變化的風和水流中保持速度和航向需要耐心、技巧和注意力。但在這段時間裡，我們有著倖存者的感恩之情，因為我們相信我們終究會到達港口。

For starters, after months of delay, Baucus finally opened debate on a healthcare bill in the Senate Finance Committee. His version, which tracked the Massachusetts model we'd all been using, was stingier with its subsidies to the uninsured than we would have preferred, and we insisted that he replace a tax on all employer-based insurance plans with increased taxes on the wealthy. But to everyone's credit, the deliberations were generally substantive

and free of grandstanding. After three weeks of exhaustive work, the bill passed out of committee by a 14-to-9 margin. Olympia Snowe even decided to vote yes, giving us a lone Republican vote.

首先，在几个月的延迟后，鮑卡斯终于在参议院财务委员会就医保法案展开辩论。他的版本与我们一直在使用的马萨诸塞模式相一致，但对未被保险覆盖的人提供的津贴比我们所期望的要少，因此我们坚持要求他取消对所有雇主保险计划征税，而将税收增加至富人。但值得称赞的是，这些讨论一般都是实质性的，没有过多的浮夸言辞。经过三周的精彩工作，该法案以14票对9票的得票率从委员会通过。连奥林匹亚·斯诺都决定投赞成票，为我们赢得了唯一的共和党人支持。

Speaker Pelosi then engineered the quick passage of a consolidated House bill over uniform and boisterous GOP opposition, with a vote held on November 7, 2009. (The bill had actually been ready for some time, but Nancy had been unwilling to bring it to the House floor—and force her members to cast tough political votes—until she had confidence that the Senate effort wasn't going to fizzle.) If we could get the full Senate to pass a similarly consolidated version of its bill before the Christmas recess, we figured, we could then use January to negotiate the differences between the Senate and House versions, send a merged bill to both chambers for approval, and with any luck have the final legislation on my desk for signature by February.

佩洛西议长随后在共和党的强烈反对声中推动了一项反对意见整合的众议院法案的迅速通过，投票时间为2009年11月7日。（该法案实际上已经准备好了一段时间，但南希一直不愿意将其提交到众议院——并强迫她的成员进行艰难的政治投票——直到她有信心参议院的努力不会失败。）我们认为，如果我们能够在圣诞节前得到全体参议院通过类似的整合版法案，然后利用1月份协商两院版本之间的差异，将合并后的法案送交两院进行批准，有幸在2月份签署最终法案。

It was a big if—and one largely dependent on my old friend Harry Reid. True to his generally dim view of human nature, the Senate majority leader assumed that Olympia Snowe couldn't be counted on once a final version of the healthcare bill hit the floor. ("When McConnell really puts the screws to her," he told me matter-of-factly, "she'll fold like a cheap suit.") To overcome the possibility of a filibuster, Harry couldn't afford to lose a single member of his sixty-person caucus. And as had been true with the Recovery Act, this fact gave each one of those members enormous leverage to demand changes to the bill, regardless of how parochial or ill-considered their requests might be.

這絕對是場大挑戰，而且很大程度上與我的老友哈利·里德有關。參議院多數黨領袖基於他通常對人性的低估，認為當醫療保健法案的最終版本落地時，奧林匹亞·斯諾無法承諾支持。（「當麥康奈爾真的迫使她，她會像一件廉價西裝一樣讓步。」他平靜地告訴我）為了克服可能的阻撓，哈利不能失去六十人黨團中的任何一個成員。而且，就像恢復法案一樣，這個事實賦予每一個黨員巨大的影響力，無論他們的要求有多麼地地方主義或草率。

This wouldn't be a situation conducive to high-minded policy considerations, which was just fine with Harry, who could maneuver, cut deals, and apply pressure like nobody else. For the next six weeks, as the consolidated bill was introduced on the Senate floor and lengthy debates commenced on procedural matters, the only action that really mattered took place behind closed doors in Harry's office, where he met with the holdouts one by one to find out what it would take to get them to yes. Some wanted funding for well-intentioned but marginally useful pet projects. Several of the Senate's most liberal members, who liked to rail against the outsized profits of Big Pharma and private insurers, suddenly had no problem at all with the outsized profits of medical device manufacturers with facilities in their home states and were pushing Harry to scale back a proposed tax on the industry. Senators Mary Landrieu and Ben Nelson made their votes contingent on billions of additional Medicaid dollars specifically for Louisiana and Nebraska, concessions that the Republicans cleverly labeled "the Louisiana Purchase" and "the Cornhusker Kickback."

这种情况并不有利于高尚的政策考虑，但对于哈里来说却正合心意。他可以像没有人一样操控、达成协议并施加压力。接下来的六周里，在参议院提交综合法案、就程序问题进行漫长辩论的过程中，真正重要的行动都在哈里的办公室里进行，他逐个会晤反对派议员，了解他们需要什么才能投赞成票。一些人希望获得针对好意可争议的小型项目的资金。几位参议院中最自由的成员，喜欢抨击大型制药公司和私人保险公司过高的利润，却毫不介意拥有本州医疗设备制造商的巨额利润，并要求哈里减少对这个行业提出的税收。参议员玛丽·兰德鲁和本·尼尔森的投票取决于特别为路易斯安那州和内布拉斯加州提供数十亿美元医疗补助，共和党人聪明地将这些让步称为“路易斯安那购买”和“玉米州回报”。

Whatever it took, Harry was game. Sometimes too game. He was good about staying in touch with my team, giving Phil or Nancy-Ann the chance to head off legislative changes that could adversely affect the core parts of our reforms, but occasionally he'd dig his heels in on some deal he wanted to cut, and I'd have to intervene with a call. Listening to my objections, he'd usually relent, but not without some grumbling, wondering how on earth he would get the bill passed if he did things my way.

"Mr. President, you know a lot more than I do about healthcare policy," he said at one point. "But I know the Senate, okay?"

无论需要付出什么代价，哈里都勇于尝试。有时候他过于勇敢了。他非常擅长与我的团队保持联系，给菲尔或南希安机会去阻止可能对我们改革核心部分产生不利影响的立法变化，但有时他会对他想要达成的一些交易坚定不移，我就不得不打电话过来干预。听完我的反对意见，他通常会让步，但不会有抱怨，他想知道如果按照我的方式做，他怎么可能让法案通过。

“总统先生，你对医疗保健政策比我知道得多，”他有一次说。“但是我懂参议院，知道吗？”

Compared to the egregious pork-barreling, logrolling, and patronage-dispensing tactics Senate leaders had traditionally used to get big, controversial bills like the Civil Rights Act or Ronald Reagan's 1986 Tax Reform Act, or a package like the New Deal, passed, Harry's methods were fairly benign. But those bills had passed during a time when most Washington horse-trading stayed out of the papers, before the advent of the twenty-four-hour news cycle. For us, the slog through the Senate was a PR nightmare. Each time Harry's bill was altered to mollify another senator, reporters cranked out a new

round of stories about “backroom deals.” Whatever bump in public opinion my joint address had provided to the reform effort soon vanished—and things got markedly worse when Harry decided, with my blessing, to strip the bill of something called “the public option.”

相比于参议院领袖过去为获得通过《民权法案》、罗纳德·里根的1986年税收改革法案或像新政这样的大型有争议的法案所采用的恶性的肥肉策略、相互支持和开展的恩惠分配策略，哈利的方法相当温和。但是在那些法案通过的时期，大多数华盛顿的马力交易并未刊登在报纸上，这是在24小时新闻循环出现之前。对我们来说，参议院的努力是公关噩梦。每次为平息另一位参议员而对哈利的法案进行修改时，记者们就会撰写有关“后门协议”的新一轮报道。我的联合讲话所提供的改革努力的公众舆论支持很快消失了，当哈利决定，在我的祝福下，剥夺法案的一项叫做“公共选择”的内容时，情况变得更加糟糕。

From the very start of the healthcare debate, policy wonks on the left had pushed us to modify the Massachusetts model by giving consumers the choice to buy coverage on the online “exchange,” not just from the likes of Aetna and Blue Cross Blue Shield but also from a newly formed insurer owned and operated by the government. Unsurprisingly, insurance companies had balked at the idea of a public option, arguing that they would not be able to compete against a government insurance plan that could operate without the pressures of making a profit. Of course, for public-option proponents, that was exactly the point: By highlighting the cost-effectiveness of government insurance and exposing the bloated waste and immorality of the private insurance market, they hoped the public option would pave the way for a single-payer system.

從醫療保健辯論的一開始，左翼的政策專家一直在推動我們修改馬薩諸塞模式，讓消費者可以在網上「交易所」上選擇購買保險，不僅僅來自如Aetna和Blue Cross Blue Shield這樣的保險公司，還包括一家由政府擁有和運營的新成立保險公司。毫不意外的是，保險公司反對公共選項計劃，並辯稱他們無法與能在不壓榨獲利的情況下運作的政府保險計劃競爭。當然，對於公共選項支持者，這正是他們的目的所在：通過突出政府保險的成本效益，揭示私人保險市場的浪費和不道德行為，他們希望公共選項能為單一支付系統鋪平道路。

It was a clever idea, and one with enough traction that Nancy Pelosi had included it in the House bill. But on the Senate side, we were nowhere close to having sixty votes for a public option. There was a watered-down version in the Senate Health and Education Committee bill, requiring any government-run insurer to charge the same rates as private insurers, but of course that would have defeated the whole purpose of a public option. My team and I thought a possible compromise might involve offering a public option only in those parts of the country where there were too few insurers to provide real competition and a public entity could help drive down premium prices overall. But even that was too much for the more conservative members of the Democratic caucus to swallow, including Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, who announced shortly before Thanksgiving that under no circumstances would he vote for a package that contained a public option.這是一個聰明的想法，有足夠的支持，以至於南希·佩洛西已將其納入眾議院法案。但在參議院方面，我們離擁有六十票支持公眾選項還遠。參議院衛生和教育委員會的法案中有一個版本經過了減緩，要求任何政府經營的保險公司收取與私人保險公司相同的費率，但這當然會破壞公眾選項的整個目的。我和我的團隊認為，可能的妥協可能涉及在全國範圍內只在那些缺乏足夠保險公司提供真正競爭和公共實體有助於降低總體保費價格的地區提供公共選項。但即使如此，保守派民主黨內的成員也難以接受，包括來自康涅狄格州的喬·利伯曼，在感恩節前不久宣布，他絕不會投票支持包含公共選項的方案。

When word got out that the public option had been removed from the Senate bill, activists on the left went ballistic. Howard Dean, the former Vermont governor and onetime presidential candidate, declared it “essentially the collapse of health reform in the United States Senate.” They were especially outraged that Harry and I appeared to be catering to the whims of Joe Lieberman—an object of liberal scorn who’d been defeated in the 2006 Democratic primary for his consistently hawkish support for the Iraq War and had then been forced to run for reelection as an independent. It wasn’t the first time I’d chosen practicality over pique when it came to Lieberman: Despite the fact he’d endorsed his buddy John McCain in the last presidential campaign, Harry and I had quashed calls to strip him of various committee assignments, figuring we couldn’t afford to have him bolt the caucus and cost us a reliable vote. We’d been right about that—Lieberman had consistently supported my domestic agenda. But his apparent power to dictate the terms of healthcare reform reinforced the view among some Democrats that I treated enemies better than allies and was turning my back on the progressives who’d put me in office.

當公共選項從參議院法案中被移除的消息傳開後，左派活動家們勃然大怒。前維吉尼亞州州長、曾經的總統候選人霍華德·迪安宣稱這是“美國參議院醫療改革基本上崩潰了”。他們尤其憤怒的是哈利和我似乎在迎合喬·利伯曼的心血來潮，而利伯曼是自由派的鄙視對象，因為他在2006年民主黨初選中因為一直支持伊拉克戰爭而敗選，後來不得已以獨立身份參選連任。這不是我第一次在利伯曼和氣氛上做出實際選擇而摒棄個人情感了：儘管他在上一次總統選舉中支持了他的好友約翰·麥凱恩，哈利和我仍然阻止了撤銷他的各種委員會任務的呼聲，認為我們無法承擔他離開議會的代價，這被證明是正確的——利伯曼一直支持我的國內議程。但他顯然有權力主宰醫療改革的條件，這加強了一些民主黨人的看法，即我對敵人比對盟友更好，並且背棄了把我選上職位的進步派。

I found the whole brouhaha exasperating. “What is it about sixty votes these folks don’t understand?” I groused to my staff. “Should I tell the thirty million people who can’t get covered that they’re going to have to wait another ten years because we can’t get them a public option?”

It wasn’t just that criticism from friends always stung the most. The carping carried immediate political consequences for Democrats. It confused our base (which, generally speaking, had no idea what the hell a public option was) and divided our caucus, making it tougher for us to line up the votes we’d need to get the healthcare bill across the finish line. It also ignored the fact that all the great social welfare advances in American history, including Social Security and Medicare, had started off incomplete and had been built upon gradually, over time. By preemptively spinning what could be a monumental, if imperfect, victory into a bitter defeat, the criticism contributed to a potential long-term demoralization of Democratic voters—otherwise known as the “What’s the point of voting if nothing ever changes?” syndrome—making it even harder for us to win elections and move progressive legislation forward in the future.我覺得整個風波讓人感到厭煩。“這些人到底不明白六十張選票有什麼問題嗎？”我對我的工作人員抱怨道。“我應該告訴三千萬無法獲得保險的人，他們還要等十年，因為我們無法給他們提供公共選項嗎？”

不僅是來自朋友的批評最痛，而且抱怨對民主黨帶來了立即的政治後果。它使我們的基礎混亂(通常根本不知道什麼是公共選項)，並分裂了我們的黨團，使我們更難獲得通過醫療保障法案所需的選票。它還忽略了美國歷史上所有偉大的社會福利進步，包括社會保障和醫療保險，均從未完善，並逐漸建立。預先將可能是偉大的、即使不完美的勝利轉化為痛苦的失敗，批評促成了民主黨選民的長期沮喪，也就是“如果什麼都不改變，投票有什麼意義？”使我們更難在未來贏得選舉並推進進步的立法。

There was a reason, I told Valerie, why Republicans tended to do the opposite—why Ronald Reagan could preside over huge increases in the federal budget, federal deficit, and federal workforce and still be lionized by the GOP faithful as the guy who successfully shrank the federal government. They understood that in politics, the stories told were often as important as the substance achieved.

We made none of these arguments publicly, though for the rest of my presidency the phrase “public option” became a useful shorthand inside the White House anytime Democratic interest groups complained about us failing to defy political gravity and securing less than 100 percent of whatever they were asking for. Instead, we did our best to calm folks down, reminding disgruntled supporters that we’d have plenty of time to fine-tune the legislation when we merged the House and Senate bills. Harry kept doing Harry stuff, including keeping the Senate in session weeks past the scheduled adjournment for the holidays. As he’d predicted, Olympia Snowe braved a blizzard to stop by the Oval and tell us in person that she’d be voting no. (She claimed it was because Harry was rushing the bill through, though word was that McConnell had threatened to strip her of her ranking post on the Small Business Committee if she voted for it.) But none of this mattered. On Christmas Eve, after twenty-four days of debate, with Washington blanketed in snow and the streets all but empty, the Senate passed its healthcare bill, titled the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act—the ACA—with exactly sixty votes. It was the first Christmas Eve vote in the Senate since 1895.

我告訴Valerie，為什麼共和黨人經常採取相反的行動，為什麼羅納德·里根可以主持聯邦預算、聯邦赤字和聯邦勞工人數的巨額增加，卻被共和黨忠實信徒奉為成功縮小聯邦政府的人。他們明白，在政治上，講述的故事常常和實現的實質同等重要。

我們沒有公開提出這些論點，但在我總統任期的其餘時間裡，“公共選項”這一詞成為了白宮內部使用的有用簡稱，每當民主黨的利益集團抱怨我們未能打破政治重力，未能滿足他們所要求的百分之百時，我們會盡力讓人冷靜下來，提醒不滿的支持者當我們合併眾議院和參議院的法案時，我們會有充足的時間對立法進行微調。哈利繼續做他的工作，包括在假期原定下議院休會日期的後幾週內讓參議院開會。正如他所預測的那樣，Olympia Snowe在暴風雪中勇闖橢圓形辦公室，親自告訴我們她將投反對票。(她聲稱是因為哈利在急著通過這個法案，雖然聽說麥康奈爾威脅要剝她在小企業委員會的頭銜如果她投贊成票。)但這都不重要。在經過二十四天的辯論後，聯邦參議院在聖誕前夕通過了其醫療保健法案，名為《病人保護和平價醫療法案》 - ACA，並以六十張選票通過。這是自1895年以來參議院的第一次聖誕前夕投票。

A few hours later, I settled back in my seat on Air Force One, listening to Michelle and the girls discuss how well Bo was adjusting to his first plane ride as we headed to Hawaii for the holiday break. I felt myself starting to relax just a little. We were going to make it, I thought to myself. We weren’t docked yet, but thanks to my team, thanks to Nancy, Harry, and a whole bunch of congressional Democrats who’d taken tough votes, we finally had land within our sights.

Little did I know that our ship was about to crash into rocks.

幾個小時後，我在空軍一號上的座位上回到了位子，聽著米歇爾和女兒們討論第一次搭乘飛機的小狗 Bo 適應得如何，我們正前往夏威夷度假。我感覺自己開始有些放鬆了。我想，我們將會成功。我們還沒停泊，但感謝我的團隊，感謝南希、哈利和一大群已經投下堅定一票的國會民主黨人，我們終於可以看到陸地。可我並不知道，我們的船即將撞上礁石。

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OUR MAGIC, FILIBUSTER-PROOF hold on the Senate existed for only one reason. After Ted Kennedy died in August, the Massachusetts legislature had changed state law to allow the governor, Democrat Deval Patrick, to appoint a replacement rather than leaving the seat vacant until a special election could be held. But that was just a stopgap measure, and now, with the election scheduled for January 19, we needed a Democrat to win the seat. Fortunately for us, Massachusetts happened to be one of the most Democratic states in the nation, with no Republican senators elected in the previous thirty-seven years. The Democratic nominee for the Senate, attorney general Martha Coakley, had maintained a steady, double-digit lead over her Republican opponent, a little-known state senator named Scott Brown.

我们对参议院的魔法般、难以阻挡的控制只存在一个原因。在Ted Kennedy去世后的8月份，马萨诸塞州议会修改了州法，允许民主党籍的州长Deval Patrick任命一名继任者，而不是让该职位空缺直到举行特别选举。但这只是一个临时措施，现在，随着选举定于1月19日举行，我们需要一名民主党人赢得这个席位。幸运的是，马萨诸塞州恰好是全国最民主党的州之一，在过去的三十七年里没有共和党参议员当选。民主党参议员候选人、总检察长玛莎·科克利一直保持着稳定的两位数领先优势，她的对手是一名鲜为人知的州参议员斯科特·布朗。

With the race seemingly well in hand, my team and I spent the first two weeks of January preoccupied by the challenge of brokering a healthcare bill acceptable to both House and Senate Democrats. It was not pleasant. Disdain between the two chambers of Congress is a time-honored tradition in Washington, one that even transcends party; senators generally consider House members to be impulsive, parochial, and ill-informed, while House members tend to view senators as long-winded, pompous, and ineffectual. By the start of 2010, that disdain had curdled into outright hostility. House Democrats—tired of seeing their huge majority squandered and their aggressively liberal agenda stymied by a Senate Democratic caucus held captive by its more conservative members—insisted that the Senate version of the healthcare bill had no chance in the House. Senate Democrats—fed up with what they considered House grandstanding at their expense—were no less recalcitrant. Rahm and Nancy-Ann’s efforts to broker a deal appeared to be going nowhere, with arguments erupting over even the most obscure provisions, members cursing at one another and threatening to walk out.在竞选看似进展顺利的情况下，我和我的团队在一月的前两周全心全意致力于为得到众议院和参议院民主党人可接受的医疗法案而努力。这并不是一件愉快的事情。国会两

院之间的不满是华盛顿的一项历史悠久的传统，即使超越了政党；参议员一般认为众议员冲动、偏狭和无知，而众议员倾向于将参议员视为冗长、浮夸和无能。到了2010年初，这种不满已经变成了明显的敌意。众议院民主党人已经厌倦了看着他们庞大的多数派被浪费，以及在参议院民主党 caucus 被其更保守的成员拦截后，他们极力推进的自由主义议程受阻。参议院民主党人对他们是众议院的聚光灯效应已经感到厌烦，因此不愿让步。拉姆和南希·安的努力促成一项交易似乎已经走到了尽头，关于甚至最晦涩的条款都发生了争吵，成员相互咒骂并威胁要离开。

After a week of this, I'd had enough. I called Pelosi, Reid, and negotiators from both sides down to the White House, and for three straight days in mid-January we sat around the Cabinet Room table, methodically going through every dispute, sorting out areas where House members had to take Senate constraints into account and where the Senate had to give, with me reminding everyone all the while that failure was not an option and that we'd do this every night for the next month if that's what it took to reach an agreement.

經過一周後，我已經受夠了。我召集了佩洛西、里德和雙方談判代表到白宮，從一月中旬開始連續三天坐在內閣會議室的桌子旁，一點一滴地處理每一個爭議，協調眾議院成員必須考慮參議院限制的方面和參議院必須妥協的地方，同時我不斷提醒每個人失敗不是選項，如果需要我們每晚都會這麼做，直到達成協議。

Though progress was slow, I felt pretty good about our prospects. That is, until the afternoon I stopped by Axelrod's small office and found him and Messina leaning over a computer like a pair of doctors examining the X-rays of a terminal patient.

“What's the matter?” I asked.

“We've got problems in Massachusetts,” Axe said, shaking his head.

“How bad?”

“Bad,” Axe and Messina said in unison.

They explained that our Senate candidate, Martha Coakley, had taken the race for granted, spending her time schmoozing elected officials, donors, and labor bigwigs rather than talking to voters. To make matters worse, she'd taken a vacation just three weeks before the election, a move the press had roundly panned. Meanwhile, Republican Scott Brown's campaign had caught fire. With his everyman demeanor and good looks, not to mention the pickup truck he drove to every corner of the state, Brown had effectively tapped into the fears and frustrations of working-class voters who were getting clobbered by the recession and—because they lived in a state that already provided health insurance to all its residents—saw my obsession with passing a federal healthcare law as a big waste of time.

雖然進展緩慢，但我對我們的前景感到相當樂觀。直到那天下午我去了艾克斯羅德的小辦公室，發現他和梅西納像一對檢查晚期患者X光片的醫生一樣俯身在一台電腦前。

「怎麼了？」我問道。

「馬薩諸塞州出了問題。」艾克斯說，搖了搖頭。

「有多嚴重？」

「很嚴重。」艾克斯和梅西納齊聲說道。

他們解釋說，我們的參議院候選人瑪莎·科克利 (Martha Coakley) 認为自己会胜选，而她花时间来巴结当选官员、捐助者和劳工大佬，而不是向选民交流。更糟糕的是，就在选举前三周，她去度假了，这个举动被媒体狠狠地批评。与此同时，共和党人斯科特·布朗 (Scott Brown) 的竞选活动如火如荼。凭借着他通俗易懂的风格和好看的外貌，加上他开着一辆小货车，走遍了这个州的每个角落，布朗成功地抓住了受到经济衰退重击的工人阶层选民的恐惧和挫折感——因为他们住在一个已经向所有居民提供医疗保险的州，所以他们认为我通过联邦医疗保险法的痴迷是一大浪费时间。

Apparently neither the tightening poll numbers nor nervous calls from my team and Harry had shaken Coakley out of her torpor. The previous day, when asked by a reporter about her light campaign schedule, she had brushed the question off, saying, “As opposed to standing outside Fenway Park? In the cold? Shaking hands?”—a sarcastic reference to Scott Brown's New Year's Day campaign stop at Boston's storied ballpark, where the city's hockey team, the Boston Bruins, were hosting the annual NHL Winter Classic against the Philadelphia Flyers. In a town that worshipped its sports teams, it would be hard to come up with a line more likely to turn off large segments of the electorate.

显然，无论是紧张的民意调查数据还是我的团队和哈里的紧张电话都没有打破科克利的惰性。前一天，当一名记者问及她轻松的竞选日程时，她对这个问题置之不理，说：“与在费内威球场外面站着相比？在寒冷中？握手？”这是对斯科特·布朗在波士顿传奇球场的新年竞选站的嘲讽性引用，在那里，波士顿的冰球队波士顿布鲁斯队正在与费城飞鹰队进行年度NHL冬季经典赛。在一个崇拜体育团队的城镇里，很难想出一句更容易让大多数选民失望的话了。

“She didn't say that,” I said, dumbfounded.

Messina nodded toward his computer. “It's right here on the Globe website.”

“Nooooo!” I moaned, grabbing Axe by the lapels and shaking him theatrically, then stomping my feet like a toddler in the throes of a tantrum. “No, no, no!” My shoulders slumped as my mind ran through the implications. “She's going to lose, isn't she?” I said finally.

Axe and Messina didn't have to answer. The weekend before the election, I tried to salvage the situation by flying to Boston to attend a Coakley rally. But it was too late. Brown won comfortably. Headlines around the country spoke of a STUNNING UPSET and HISTORIC DEFEAT. The verdict in Washington was swift and unforgiving.我愕然地说：“她没有那么说。”

Messina 往电脑上点点头，“《环球邮报》网站上写得很清楚。”

“不，不！”我抓住 Axe 的衣领，像小孩一样扭来扭去，“不，不，不！”我肩膀耷拉下来，脑子里思索着影响，“她要输了，对吗？”最后我说道。

Axe 和 Messina 无需回答。选举前的那个周末，我前往波士顿参加了 Cocakley 的拉力会议，试图挽救这种情况。但为时已晚。Brown 轻松赢得了胜利。全国各地的头条新闻都在谈论这场惊人的失利和历史性的失败。在华盛顿，这个决定是迅速而不留情面的。

Obama's healthcare bill was dead.

—  
EVEN NOW, it's hard for me to have a clear perspective on the Massachusetts loss. Maybe the conventional wisdom is right. Maybe if I hadn't pushed so hard on healthcare during that first year, if instead I'd focused all my public events and pronouncements on jobs and the financial crisis, we might have saved that Senate seat. Certainly, if we'd had fewer items on our plate, my team and I might have noticed the warning signs earlier and coached Coakley harder, and I might have done more campaigning in Massachusetts. It's equally possible, though, that given the grim state of the economy, there was nothing we could have done—that the wheels of history would have remained impervious to our puny interventions.

奧巴馬的醫療改革法案已經不復存在。

即使現在，我對於馬薩諸塞州失利的情況仍然很難有清晰的看法。也許傳統智慧是正確的。如果在第一年期間我沒有這麼努力推動醫療保健問題，轉而將所有公開活動和發言集中在就業和金融危機上，也許我們就能拯救那個參議院席位。當然，如果我們的盤子上沒有那麼多東西，我的團隊和我可能會更早地注意到警告信號，更加努力地指導科克利，我也可能會更多地在馬薩諸塞州進行競選活動。但同樣有可能，在經濟形勢如此惡劣的情況下，我們什麼也無法做到，歷史的車輪將繼續無情地滾動，不受我們微不足道的干預。

I know that at the time all of us felt we'd committed a colossal blunder. Commentators shared in that assessment. Op-ed pieces called for me to replace my team, starting with Rahm and Axe. I didn't pay much attention. I figured any mistakes were mine to own, and I took pride in having built a culture—both during the campaign and inside the White House—where we didn't go looking for scapegoats when things went south.

But it was harder for Rahm to ignore the chatter. Having spent most of his career in Washington, the daily news cycle was how he kept score—not just on the administration's performance but on his own place in the world. He constantly courted the city's opinion makers, aware of how quickly winners became losers and how mercilessly White House staffers were picked apart in the wake of any failure. In this case, he saw himself as unfairly maligned: It was he, after all, who more than anyone had warned me about the political peril in pressing ahead with the healthcare bill. And as we're all prone to do when hurt or aggrieved, he couldn't help venting to friends around town. Unfortunately that circle of friends turned out to be too wide. About a month after the Massachusetts election, Washington Post columnist Dana Milbank wrote a piece in which he mounted a vigorous defense of Rahm, arguing that "Obama's greatest mistake was failing to listen to Emanuel on health care" and outlining why a scaled-back healthcare package would have been the smarter strategy.

我知道那个时候我们所有人都觉得自己犯了一个巨大的错误。评论家们也认同这种评估。专栏文章呼吁我更换我的团队，首先是换掉Rahm和Axe。我没有太在意。我觉得任何错误都是我的责任，而且我为在竞选期间和白宫内部建立了一种文化而自豪，在这种文化中，当事情变得不妙时，我们不会去寻找替罪羊。但是Rahm更难忽视这些传言。他的大部分职业生涯都在华盛顿度过，每天的新闻周期就是他衡量表现和自己在世界上位置的基准。他经常争取城市的意见领袖，知道获胜者会多么快地变成输家，以及白宫工作人员在任何失败之后会被无情地批评。在这种情况下，他觉得自己受到了不公正的指责：毕竟，正是他最提醒我在推进医改方案时存在政治危险。而当我们受伤或受委屈时，我们都会不由自主地向周围的朋友倾诉。不幸的是，他的这个朋友圈子太广了。在马萨诸塞州选举约一个月后，华盛顿邮报专栏作家达纳·米尔班克发表了一篇文章， vigourously捍卫Rahm，认为“奥巴马最大的错误是未能听从伊曼纽尔的医疗建议”，并叙述为什么一项精简的医疗保健方案将是更明智的策略。

Having your chief of staff appear to distance himself from you after you've been knocked down in a fight is less than ideal. Though I wasn't happy with the column, I didn't think Rahm had deliberately prompted it. I chalked it up to carelessness under stress. Not everyone, though, was so quick to forgive. Valerie, ever protective of me, was furious. Reactions among other senior staffers, already shaken by the Coakley loss, ranged from anger to disappointment. That afternoon, Rahm entered the Oval appropriately contrite. He hadn't meant to do it, he said, but he'd let me down and was prepared to tender his resignation.

當你在打鬥中被擊倒後，你的幕僚長似乎與你拉開了距離，這是不理想的。雖然我對這篇專欄不喜歡，但我不認為拉姆有故意引發它的意圖。我把它歸咎於壓力下的粗心大意。然而，並不是每個人都那麼容易原諒。瓦萊麗，一直保護著我，很生氣。其他高級職員的反應，已經被科克利的失敗所震撼，從憤怒到失望都有。那天下午，拉姆適當地表示了懊悔。他並不是有意做的，他說，但他讓我失望了，並準備辭職。

"You're not resigning," I said. I acknowledged that he'd messed up and would need to square things with the rest of the team. But I also told him he'd been a great chief of staff, that I was confident that the error would not be repeated, and that I needed him right where he was.

"Mr. President, I'm not sure—"

I cut him off. "You know what your real punishment is?" I said, clapping him on the back as I ushered him toward the door.

"What's that?"

"You have to go pass the goddamn healthcare bill!"

That I still considered this possible wasn't as crazy as it seemed. Our original plan—to negotiate a compromise bill between House and Senate Democrats and then pass that legislation through both chambers—was now out of the question; with only fifty-nine votes, we'd never avoid a filibuster. But as Phil had reminded me the night we'd received the Massachusetts results, we had one remaining path, and it didn't involve going back to the Senate. If the House could just pass the Senate bill without changes, they could send it straight to my desk for signature and it would become law. Phil believed that it might be possible to then invoke a Senate procedure called budget reconciliation—in which legislation that involved strictly financial matters could be put up for a vote with the agreement of a simple majority of senators rather than the usual sixty. This would allow us to engineer a limited number of improvements to the Senate bill via separate legislation. Still, there was no getting around the fact that we'd be asking House Democrats to swallow a version of healthcare reform they'd previously rejected out of hand—one with no public option, a Cadillac tax the unions opposed, and a cumbersome patchwork of fifty state exchanges instead of a single national marketplace through which people could buy their

insurance.我说：“你不辞职。”我承认他犯了错，需要与团队里的其他人协商解决。但是我也告诉他，他一直是一位出色的幕僚长，我相信这个错误不会再发生，我需要他留在原位。

“总统先生，我不确定……”

我打断了他。“你知道你真正的惩罚是什么吗？”我拍了拍他的背，把他带向门口。

“什么？”

“你必须通过他妈的医疗保健法案！”

我认为这仍然是有可能的，这并不像看起来那样疯狂。我们最初的计划是在众议院和参议院民主党人之间协商达成妥协法案，然后通过两个议院的立法程序。但是，只有五十九票，我们永远避免不了拖延战术。但是，正如菲尔在我们收到马萨诸塞州选举结果的那个晚上提醒我一样，我们还剩下一条路可走，这不涉及回到参议院。如果众议院能够不改动通过参议院的法案，他们就可以将它直接送到我桌前签署，成为法律。菲尔认为，如果可以通过一项叫做预算协调的参议院程序，就可以进行一定数量的改进，而不需要通常的六十名参议员的同意，只需要简单多数即可。这将使我们能够通过单独的立法来改进参议院法案的有限数量。不过，无论如何，我们都无法回避一个事实：我们需要众议院民主党人接受以前毫不接受的医疗改革版本——没有公共选项、企业工会反对的卡迪拉克税以及五十个州的不协调的补丁式医保交易市场，而不是一个人们可以通过其中买保险的单一全国市场。

“You still feeling lucky?” Phil asked me with a grin.

Actually, I wasn't.

But I was feeling confident in the Speaker of the House.

The previous year had only reinforced my appreciation for Nancy Pelosi's legislative skills. She was tough, pragmatic, and a master at herding members of her contentious caucus, often publicly defending some of her fellow House Democrats' politically untenable positions while softening them up behind the scenes for the inevitable compromises required to get things done.

I called Nancy the next day, explaining that my team had drafted a drastically scaled-back healthcare proposal as a fallback but that I wanted to push ahead with passing the Senate bill through the House and needed her support to do it. For the next fifteen minutes, I was subjected to one of Nancy's patented stream-of-consciousness rants—on why the Senate bill was flawed, why her caucus members were so angry, and why the Senate Democrats were cowardly, shortsighted, and generally incompetent.

“你还觉得自己很幸运吗？”菲尔面带笑问我。

实际上，我并不是很幸运。

但我对众议院议长南希·佩洛西充满信心。

前一年让我更加欣赏南希·佩洛西的立法技巧。她很强硬、务实，精通如何驾驭她阵营中的成员，经常公开维护一些民主党众议院成员不可行的立场，同时在幕后磨合，为不可避免的妥协做准备，以完成事情。

我隔天打电话给南希，解释说我的团队已经起草了一个大幅缩减的医疗保健提案作备选，但我想要继续推动将参议院的提案通过众议院，并需要她的支持。接下来的十五分钟里，我被南希的语言连篇的抱怨所摧残——关于为什么参议院的提案有缺陷，为什么她的阵营成员们如此愤怒，以及为什么参议院的民主党人懦弱、短视、总体来说无能。

“So does that mean you're with me?” I said when she finally paused to catch her breath.

“Well, that's not even a question, Mr. President,” Nancy said impatiently. “We've come too far to give up now.” She thought for a moment. Then, as if testing out an argument she'd later use with her caucus, she added, “If we let this go, it would be rewarding the Republicans for acting so terribly, wouldn't it? We're not going to give them the satisfaction.”

After I hung up the phone, I looked up at Phil and Nancy-Ann, who'd been milling around the Resolute desk, listening to my (mostly wordless) side of the conversation, trying to read my face for a sign of what was happening.當她終於停下來喘息時，我問：“那是不是意味著你站在我這邊？”

“唉，這還用問嗎，總統先生，”南希不耐煩地說，“我們已經走了這麼久的路，現在放棄太不值得了。”她想了一會兒，然後，好像在試探一下她稍後在民主黨內使用的論點，她補充道：“如果我們放棄了，那不是在獎勵共和黨人的可恥行為嗎？我們不會讓他們如意的。”

掛斷電話後，我看著一直在圍著堅毅辦公桌走動的菲爾和南希·安，他們只聽到了我的(大部分是無言的)對話，試圖從我的臉上讀出發生了什麼。

“I love that woman,” I said.

—

EVEN WITH THE SPEAKER fully on board, the task of rounding up the necessary votes in the House was daunting. Aside from having to drag progressives kicking and screaming to support a bill tailored to the sensibilities of Max Baucus and Joe Lieberman, the election of Scott Brown less than a year before the midterms had spooked every moderate Democrat who would be in a competitive race. We needed something to help shift the doom-and-gloom narrative and give Nancy time to work her members.

“我爱那个女人，”我说。

—

即使演讲者已经完全支持，但在众议院寻求所需的选票任务仍然艰巨。除了要将进步人士拖着踢踢蹬蹬地支持出台一项符合马克斯·鲍卡斯和乔·利伯曼感受的法案外，距中期选举不到一年的斯科特·布朗的当选使每个有竞争关系的温和民主党人都感到害怕。我们需要一些东西来帮助转移恐慌的叙述，并给南希时间与她的成员合作。

As it turned out, our opposition gave us exactly what we needed. Months earlier, the House Republican caucus had invited me to participate in a question-and-answer session at their annual retreat, scheduled for January 29. Anticipating that the topic of healthcare might come up, we suggested at

the last minute that they open the event to the press. Whether because he didn't want the hassle of dealing with pushback from excluded reporters or because he was feeling emboldened by the Scott Brown victory, John Boehner agreed.

结果证明，我们的反对派正是我们所需要的。几个月前，众议院共和党议员邀请我参加他们定于1月29日举行的年度撤退会议的问答环节。由于预料到可能会涉及到医疗保健的话题，我们建议最后一刻将该活动公开给媒体。无论是因为他不想应对被排除的记者的反弹麻烦或是因为他受到了斯科特·布朗胜利的鼓舞，约翰·博纳同意了我们的建议。

He shouldn't have. In a nondescript Baltimore hotel conference room, with caucus chair Mike Pence presiding and the cable networks capturing every exchange, I stood on the stage for an hour and twenty-two minutes fielding questions from Republican House members, mostly about healthcare. For anyone watching, the session confirmed what those of us who'd been working on the issue already knew: The overwhelming majority of them had little idea of what was actually in the bill they so vehemently opposed, weren't entirely sure about the details of their proposed alternatives (to the extent that they had any), and weren't equipped to discuss the topic outside the hermetically sealed bubble of conservative media outlets.

他不应该这么做。在一家普通的巴尔的摩酒店会议室里，众议院的主席迈克·彭斯主持，有线电视网络捕捉着每一次交流，我站在舞台上一个小时二十二分钟接受共和党众议院成员的提问，大部分是有关医疗保健的。对于任何观看的人来说，这次会议确认了我们正在处理的问题：绝大多数议员并不知道他们所强烈反对的法案中究竟包含了什么，对于他们所提出的替代方案的细节（在他们有的情况下）也并不完全确定，而且无法在保守媒体喉舌的密封气泡之外讨论这个话题。

Returning to the White House, I suggested that we press our advantage by inviting the Four Tops and a bipartisan group of key congressional leaders to come to Blair House for an all-day meeting on healthcare. Once again, we arranged to have the proceedings broadcast live, this time through C-SPAN, and again the format allowed Republicans to make whatever points or ask whatever questions they wanted. Having been caught off guard once, they came prepared with a script this time. House GOP whip Eric Cantor brought a copy of the House bill, all 2,700 pages of it, and plopped it on the table in front of him as a symbol of an out-of-control government takeover of healthcare. Boehner insisted that our proposal was "a dangerous experiment" and that we should start over. John McCain launched into a lengthy harangue about backroom deals, prompting me at one point to remind him that the campaign was over. But when it came to actual policy—when I asked GOP leaders what exactly they proposed to help drive down medical costs, protect people with preexisting conditions, and cover thirty million Americans who couldn't otherwise get insurance—their answers were as threadbare as Chuck Grassley's had been during his visit to the Oval months before.

回到白宫后，我建议我们利用优势邀请“四个层次”和一群重要的跨党派国会领袖来到布莱尔宅第进行一整天的医疗保健会议。再次安排通过C-SPAN直播会议，格式允许共和党人提出任何观点或问题。他们这次准备充分，带着一份脚本前来。众议院共和党鞭子埃里克·坎特带来了一份有2700页的众议院法案，放在他前面的桌子上，象征着政府正在控制医疗保健。纳尔指出我们的提案是“危险的实验”，并要求重新开始。约翰·麦凯恩展开一场漫长的长篇大论，谈论幕后交易，有一次我提醒他竞选已经结束了。但当涉及实际政策时——当我问共和党领袖他们究竟提出了什么来帮助降低医疗保健成本、保护有先天疾病的人和为3000万美国人提供不能得到的保险时——他们的回答如已经几个月来我曾遇见过的查克·格拉斯利一样站不住脚。

I'm sure that more people watched bowling that week than caught even five minutes of these conversations on TV, and it was clear throughout both sessions that nothing I said was going to have the slightest impact on Republican behavior (other than motivating them to bar TV cameras from my future appearances before their caucuses). What mattered was how the two events served to reinvigorate House Democrats, reminding them that we were on the right side of the healthcare issue, and that rather than focusing on the Senate bill's shortcomings, they could take heart in how the bill promised to help millions of people.

我相信那一周看保龄球比看这些电视会谈的人还要多，两次会谈都表明我们的言语对共和党的行为没有丝毫影响（除了激励他们在我的未来出现之前阻止电视摄影机进入他们的重要会议）。重要的是这两次事件如何重新激励了众议院民主党人，提醒他们我们在医保问题上站在正确的一边，他们可以放下对参议院法案的缺陷不放心，而是要重视这个法案承诺帮助数百万人的意义。

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BY THE BEGINNING of March, we had confirmed that Senate rules would allow us to clean up parts of the Senate bill through reconciliation. We enhanced the subsidies to help more people. We trimmed the Cadillac tax to placate the unions and got rid of the twin embarrassments of the "Cornhusker Kickback" and "Louisiana Purchase." Valerie's public engagement team did great work lining up endorsements from groups like the American Academy of Family Physicians, the American Medical Association, the American Nurses Association, and the American Heart Association, while a grassroots network of advocacy groups and volunteers worked overtime to educate the public and keep the pressure on Congress. Anthem, one of America's largest insurers, announced a 39 percent rate hike, conveniently reminding people of what they didn't like about the current system. And when the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops announced that it couldn't support the bill (convinced that the bill's language prohibiting the use of federal subsidies for abortion services wasn't explicit enough), an unlikely ally arrived in the form of Sister Carol Keehan, a soft-spoken, perpetually cheerful nun who headed up the nation's Catholic hospitals. Not only did the sixty-six-year-old Daughter of Charity break with the bishops by insisting that passage of the bill was vital to fulfilling her organization's mission of caring for the sick; she inspired the leaders of Catholic women's orders and organizations representing more than fifty thousand American nuns to sign a public letter endorsing the bill.

到三月初，我们已经确认参议院的规则会允许我们通过和解程序来清理部分参议院法案。我们加强了补贴来帮助更多的人。为了安抚工会，我们削减了“卡迪拉克税”并摆脱了“内布拉斯加回扣”和“路易斯安那购买”的尴尬场面。瓦莱丽领导的公共参与团队与医师学会、美国医学会、美国护士协会和美国心脏协会等组织获得了认可。与此同时，一支由倡导团体和志愿者组成的草根网络加倍努力，教育公众并继续向国会施压。美国最大的保险公司之一——安泰人寿公

司宣布将提高39%的费率，这方便地提醒了人们对现有系统的不满。当美国天主教主教会宣布，他们无法支持该法案（因为他们确信该法案限制联邦资助用于堕胎服务的措辞不够明确）时，一位不太可能的盟友以修女卡罗尔·基汉的身份出现了，她是神圣慈爱女修会的一员，担任全国天主教医院的负责人。这位66岁的修女不仅与主教会破裂，坚称通过这项法案对实现其组织关爱病人的使命至关重要，还鼓舞了天主教女修会领袖和代表超过五万名美国修女的组织签署一封公开信，支持该法案的通过。

“I love nuns,” I told Phil and Nancy-Ann.

Despite all this work, our tally still showed us at least ten votes shy of what we needed for passage. Public opinion remained sharply divided. The press had run out of fresh stories to write. There were no more dramatic gestures or policy tweaks that might make the politics easier. Success or failure now depended entirely on the choices of the thirty or so House Democrats who represented swing districts, all of whom were being told that a vote in favor of the ACA could cost them their seat.

我告诉Phil和Nancy-Ann，“我爱修女们”。尽管有这么多的工作，我们的计票仍然显示我们至少需要多出十个票才能通过。公众意见依然存在很大差异。新闻媒体已经没有新鲜故事可以写了。没有更多的戏剧性姿态或政策调整可以使政治更容易。成功或失败现在完全取决于约30个代表摇摆选区的众议员的选择，所有这些人都被告知，支持ACA的投票可能会让他们失去自己的席位。

I spent much of each day talking one-on-one to these members, sometimes in the Oval Office, more often by phone. Some cared only about the politics, closely monitoring polls in their district and letters and phone calls from constituents. I tried to give them my honest assessment: that support for the healthcare reform bill would improve once it passed, though maybe not until after the midterms; that a “no” vote was more likely to turn off Democrats than it was to win over Republicans and independents; and that whatever they did, their fates in six months would most likely hinge on the state of the economy and my own political standing.

我每天大部分的时间都是与这些成员一对一地交谈，有时在椭圆形办公室，更常通过电话。有些人只关心政治，密切关注他们选区的民意调查、来自选民的信函和电话。我试图给他们我的诚实评估：支持医改法案通过后会提高，尽管可能要等到中期选举后；在民主党人不支持的情况下，“否”票更可能失去共和党人和独立派的支持；不管他们做什么，六个月后他们的命运很可能取决于经济状况和我的政治立场。

A few were looking for White House support on some unrelated project or bill they were working on. I sent them to Rahm or Pete Rouse to see what we could do.

But most of the conversations weren’t transactional. In a roundabout way, what representatives were looking for was clarity—about who they were and what their consciences demanded. Sometimes I just listened as they ran through the pros and cons. Often, we compared notes about what had inspired us to get into politics, talking about the nervous excitement of that first race and all the things we’d hoped to accomplish, the sacrifices we and our families had made to get where we were and the people who’d helped us along the way.

有些人在尋求白宮對他們正在進行的某個無關項目或法案的支持。我把他們送到拉姆或皮特·羅斯那裡，看看我們能做些什麼。

但大部分的對話不是交易性的。代表們很迂迴地在尋求明確性，想知道他們是誰以及他們的良心要求什麼。有時候我只是聽他們列出優缺點。我們經常比較筆記，談論什麼激勵我們從政，談論第一次參選時的緊張興奮以及我們希望實現的一切，我們和我們的家人為到達目前位置所作出的犧牲以及幫助我們成長的人。

This is it, I’d say to them finally. The point of it all. To have that rare chance, reserved for very few, to bend history in a better direction.

And what was striking was how, more often than not, that was enough. Veteran politicians decided to step up despite active opposition in their conservative districts—folks like Baron Hill of southern Indiana, Earl Pomeroy of North Dakota, and Bart Stupak, a devout Catholic from Michigan’s Upper Peninsula who worked with me on getting the abortion funding language to a point where he could vote for it. So did political neophytes like Betsy Markey of Colorado, or John Boccieri of Ohio and Patrick Murphy of Pennsylvania, both young Iraq War vets, all of them seen as rising stars in the party. In fact, it was often those with the most to lose who needed the least convincing. Tom Perriello, a thirty-five-year-old human rights lawyer turned congressman who’d eked out a victory in a majority-Republican district that covered a wide swath of Virginia, spoke for a lot of them when he explained his decision to vote for the bill.

这就是了，我最后会对他们说。这就是全部意义所在。拥有那少数人才有的难得机会，将历史引向更好的方向。

更引人矚目的是，往往情况并非如此。即使在保守选区遭到激烈反对的情况下，经验丰富的政治人物也决定站出来——比如南印第安纳州的巴伦·希尔、北达科他州的厄尔·波莫洛伊和来自密歇根上半島的虔诚天主教徒巴特·斯图帕克，他与我一同努力让堕胎资金语言达到可以投票的程度。这样的情况也出现在政治新手身上，比如科罗拉多州的贝齐·马基、俄亥俄州的约翰·博西里和宾夕法尼亚州的派翠克·墨菲，他们都是年轻的伊拉克战争退伍军人，都被看作是党内的后起之秀。事实上，往往是那些最有失去的人最不需要说服。托姆·佩里罗是一个35岁的人权律师转型国会议员，在覆盖弗吉尼亚州大片共和党人选区中勉强赢得胜利，他在解释为什么要投票支持该法案时，代表了很多人的想法。

“There are things more important,” he told me, “than getting reelected.”

It’s not hard to find people who hate Congress, voters who are convinced that the Capitol is filled with poseurs and cowards, that most of their elected officials are in the pocket of lobbyists and big donors and motivated by a hunger for power. When I hear such criticism, I usually nod and acknowledge that there are some who live up to these stereotypes. I admit that watching the daily scrum that takes place on the House or Senate floor can sap even the hardiest spirit. But I also tell people about Tom Perriello’s words to me before the healthcare vote. I describe what he and many others did so soon after they’d first been elected. How many of us are tested in that way, asked to risk careers we’ve long dreamed of in the service of some greater good?

他告诉我，“有些事情比当选更重要。”并不难找到许多人憎恶国会，选民们深信国会充满了装腔作势、怯懦的人，他们的大多数民选官员被游说者和大型捐赠者所操纵，并受权力渴望的驱使。当我听到这样的批评时，我通常会点头承认，确实有些人符合这些刻板印象。我承认，看着国会大厦或参议院的现场混战，即使最坚强的精神也可能会被消磨。但我也告诉人们，都姆·佩里罗在医疗保健投票前对我说的话。我描述了他和许多其他人在首次当选后不久所做的事情。有多少人会在这种情况下被考验，被要求为了某种更伟大的目标而冒着长期梦想中的职业风险？

Those people can be found in Washington. That, too, is politics.

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THE FINAL VOTE on healthcare came on March 21, 2010—more than a year after we held that first White House summit and Ted Kennedy made his surprise appearance. Everyone in the West Wing was on edge. Both Phil and the Speaker had done informal head counts that showed us getting over the hump, but just barely. We knew it was always possible that a House member or two could have a sudden change of heart, and we had few, if any, votes to spare.

I had another source of worry, one I hadn't allowed myself to dwell on but that had been in the back of my mind from the start. We'd now marshaled, defended, fretted over, and compromised on a 906-page piece of legislation that would affect the lives of tens of millions of Americans. The Affordable Care Act was dense, thorough, popular with only one side politically, impactful, and surely imperfect. And now it would need to be implemented. Late in the afternoon, after Nancy-Ann and I had worked through a round of last-minute calls to members heading off to vote, I stood up and looked out the window, across the South Lawn.

这些人可以在华盛顿找到。这也是政治。

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卫生保健的最终投票在2010年3月21日进行——比我们召开第一次白宫峰会并与特德·肯尼迪进行惊喜亮相的时间晚了一年。白宫的每个人都很紧张。菲尔和发言人都进行了非正式的头数，显示我们即将超过门槛，但也只有一点点。我们知道有一两名众议员可能会突然改变想法，而我们并没有太多的选票争取。

我还有另一个烦恼，我一开始并没有让自己看得太多，但一直在我脑后。我们现在已经汇聚、辩护、忧虑、妥协了一份长达906页的法案，它将影响数千万美国人生活。《平价医疗法案》既深奥又全面，只有一方政治上受欢迎，有冲击力，并且肯定是不完美的。现在，它需要实施了。下午晚些时候，在南草坪对面，我和南希·安继续致电一些正在投票的成员，我站起身，看向窗外。

“This law better work,” I told her. “Because starting tomorrow, we own the American healthcare system.”

I decided not to watch the preliminary hours of speechmaking that went on in the House chamber, instead waiting to join the vice president and the rest of the team in the Roosevelt Room once the actual voting began, around seven-thirty p.m. One by one, the votes accumulated as House members pressed either “yea” or “nay” buttons on electronic voting panels, the running tally projected on the TV screen. As the “yeas” slowly ticked up, I could hear Messina and a few others muttering under their breath, “Come on...come on.” Finally the vote hit 216, one more than we needed. Our bill would go on to pass by a margin of seven votes.

我告诉她：“这个法案最好能够生效，因为从明天开始，我们将拥有美国的医疗保健系统。”我决定不去看众议院的初步演讲，而是等到实际投票开始，大约是晚上七点半左右，加入副总统和其他团队成员在罗斯福室。众议院成员按下电子投票面板上的“赞成”或“反对”按钮时，一票一票地累积，投票结果在电视屏幕上显示出来。随着“赞成票”的缓慢增加，我可以听到 Messina 和其他一些人在嘟囔：“来吧……来吧。”最终，投票数达到216，比我们需要的多一票。我们的法案将以七票的优势通过。

The room erupted in cheers, with people hugging and high-fiving as if they'd just witnessed their ball club winning with a walk-off home run. Joe grabbed me by the shoulders, his famous grin even wider than usual. “You did it, man!” he said. Rahm and I embraced. He'd brought his thirteen-year-old son, Zach, to the White House that evening to watch the vote. I leaned down and told Zach that because of his dad, millions of people would finally have healthcare if they got sick. The kid beamed. Back in the Oval, I made congratulatory calls to Nancy Pelosi and Harry Reid, and when I was done, I found Axelrod standing by the door. His eyes were a little red. He told me he'd needed some time alone in his office following the vote, as it had brought back a flood of memories of what he and his wife, Susan, had gone through when their daughter Lauren had been first stricken with epileptic seizures.

房间里爆发出喝彩声，人们拥抱互相高五，仿佛他们刚刚见证了自己的球队以走垒本垒打获胜。乔抓住我的肩膀，他的著名笑容比平常更宽。他说：“你做到了，伙计！”我和拉姆拥抱，他带着他十三岁的儿子扎克来到白宫观看投票。我弯下腰告诉扎克，因为他的父亲，如果有病的话，数百万人将最终拥有医疗保健。孩子笑容满面。回到椭圆形办公室，我给南希·佩洛西和哈里·里德打了祝贺电话，电话结束后，我发现阿克塞尔罗德站在门边。他的眼睛有点红。他告诉我，投票后他需要独自在办公室里呆一段时间，因为这让他回忆起他和妻子苏珊在他们的女儿劳伦第一次患上癫痫发作时经历过的事情涌上心头。

“Thanks for sticking with this,” Axe said, his voice choked up. I put my arm around him, feeling my own emotions swell.

“This is why we do the work,” I said. “This. Right here.”

I had invited everyone who worked on the bill up to the residence for a private celebration, about a hundred people in all. It was Sasha and Malia's spring break, and Michelle had taken them to New York for a few days, so I was on my own. The evening was warm enough that we could mingle outside on the Truman Balcony, with the Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial lit up in the distance, and I made an exception to my rule of weekday sobriety. Martini in hand, I made the rounds, hugging and thanking Phil, Nancy-Ann, Jeanne, and Kathleen for all the work they'd done. I shook hands with scores of junior staffers, many of whom I'd never met and who no doubt felt a little overwhelmed to be standing where they were. I knew they had toiled in the background, crunching numbers, preparing drafts, sending out press releases, and answering congressional inquiries, and I wanted them to know how critical their work had been.

艾克斯嗓音沙啞：“感謝你們堅定的支持。”我搭起手臂，感到自己的情緒也漲了起來。

“這就是為什麼我們要做這項工作。”我說，“就是這個原因。”

我邀請了所有參與此項法案的人，約一百人，到住所進行私人慶祝活動。此時是薩莎和瑪麗亞的春假，米歇爾帶她們去紐約玩了幾天，所以只有我一人。當天晚上氣候溫暖，我們可以在杜魯門陽台上交談，遠處華盛頓紀念碑和杰斐遜紀念堂照亮了周圍，而我也犯了平時不飲酒的例外，手裡端著馬丁尼，走進了人群，擁抱並感謝菲爾、南茜-安、琴和凱薩琳為此付出的辛勞。我也和許多年輕的幕僚們握手，其中很多人我從未見過，他們肯定感到站在這裡有些不知所措。我知道他們在背景中忙碌著，處理數據、準備草案、發布新聞稿和回應國會的詢問，我想告訴他們，他們所做的工作是多麼重要。

For me, this was a celebration that mattered. The night we'd had in Grant Park after winning the election had been extraordinary, but it had been just a promise, not yet realized. This night meant more to me, a promise fulfilled.

After everyone had left, well past midnight, I walked down the hallway to the Treaty Room. Bo was curled up on the floor. He'd passed much of the evening on the balcony with my guests, threading through the crowd, looking for a pat on the head or maybe a dropped canapé to snack on. Now he looked pleasantly fatigued, ready to sleep. I leaned down to give him a scratch behind the ears. I thought about Ted Kennedy, and I thought about my mom.

對我來說，這是一個有意義的慶典。我們在格蘭特公園贏得選舉後的那個夜晚是非凡的，但那只是一個承諾，尚未實現。這個夜晚對我來說更有意義，是一個承諾兌現的時刻。

在所有人都離開之後，已經深夜了，我走到了條約室。波波蜷曲在地板上。他今晚大部分時間都在陽台上，與我的客人一起穿梭於人群之間，尋找人們的賞識，也許還在尋找一些小食品。現在他看起來愉快的疲憊，準備睡覺。我彎下腰，給他腦後的一撥。我想起了泰德·肯尼迪，也想起了我的媽媽。

It was a good day.

今天是个好日子。

## PART FIVE

### THE WORLD AS IT IS

第五部分

現實世界

#### CHAPTER 18

JUST AS DELIVERING A SALUTE became second nature to me, repeated anytime I boarded Marine One or Air Force One or interacted with our troops, I slowly grew more comfortable—and efficient—in my role as commander in chief. The morning PDB became more concise as my team and I got better acquainted with a recurring cast of foreign policy characters, scenarios, conflicts, and threats. Connections that had once been opaque were now obvious to me. I could tell you off the top of my head which allied troops were where in Afghanistan and how reliable they were in a fight, which Iraqi ministers were ardent nationalists and which carried water for the Iranians. The stakes were too high, the problems too knotty, for any of this to ever feel entirely routine. Instead, I came to experience my responsibilities the way I imagine a bomb-disposal expert feels about clipping a wire or a tightrope walker feels as she steps off the platform, having learned to shed excess fear for the sake of focus—while trying not to get so relaxed that I made sloppy mistakes.

#### 第18章

正如向軍人致敬一樣變得對我來說是與生俱來的，每次我登上“陸战队一號”(Marine One)或“空軍一號”(Air Force One)或與我們的部隊互動時重複，我在指揮官的角色中慢慢變得更加自如和高效。隨著我的團隊和我更加熟悉一系列外交政策人物、情景、衝突和威脅，早間的總統日報變得更加簡潔。曾經不透明的聯繫現在對我來說顯而易見。我能夠脫口而出，告訴你哪些盟軍部隊在阿富汗的哪裏，以及他們在戰鬥中的可靠程度；哪些伊拉克部長是熱情的民族主義者，哪些是伊朗人的代言人。賭注太高，問題太棘手，任何時候都不要完全輕鬆自如。相反，我開始像拆彈專家剪線或懸索走鋼絲的人一樣，學會為了集中精力而擺脫多余的恐懼——同時努力不要變得太放鬆，犯下謬誤的錯誤。

There was one task that I never allowed myself to get even remotely comfortable with. Every week or so, my assistant Katie Johnson set on my desk a folder containing condolence letters to the families of fallen service members for me to sign. I'd close the door to my office, open the folder, and pause over each letter, reading the name aloud like an incantation, trying to summon an image of the young man (female casualties were rare) and what his life had been like—where he'd grown up and gone to school, the birthday parties and summer swims that had made up his childhood, the sports teams he'd played on, the sweethearts he'd pined for. I'd think about his parents, and his wife and kids if he had them. I signed each letter slowly, careful not to smudge the heavy beige paper with my left-handed, sideways grip of the pen. If the signature didn't look the way I wanted, I'd have the letter reprinted, knowing full well that nothing I did would ever be enough.有一項任務我從未讓自己變得即使是很熟悉了。每周左右，我的助手凱蒂·約翰遜會把一份裝有慰問信件的文件夾放在我的桌子上讓我簽名。我會關閉辦公室的門，打開文件夾，針對每封信暫停一下，大聲朗讀名字，試圖召喚出這位年輕人（女性的遇難者很少）的形象和他的生活經歷——他在哪裏長大，上哪所學校，童年時的生日聚會和夏季游泳，他曾參加過哪些運動隊，他曾經渴望的戀人。我會思考他的父母，如果他有的話，還有他的妻子和孩子。我會慢慢地簽下每封信，小心翼翼地避免用我這個左撇子的側面筆握弄沾重的米色信紙。如果簽名不好，我會讓信重新印刷，知道這樣做也永遠不夠。

I wasn't the only person to send such letters. Bob Gates also corresponded with the families of those killed in Iraq and Afghanistan, though we rarely if ever talked about it.

Gates and I had developed a strong working relationship. We met regularly in the Oval Office, and I found him to be practical, even-keeled, and refreshingly blunt, with the quiet confidence to both argue his case and occasionally change his mind. His skillful management of the Pentagon made me willing to overlook those times he tried to manage me as well, and he wasn't afraid to take on Defense Department sacred cows, including efforts to rein in the defense budget. He could be prickly, especially with my younger White House staffers, and our differences in age, upbringing, experience, and political orientation made us something short of friends. But we recognized in each other a common work ethic and sense of duty—not only to the nation that had trusted us to keep it safe but to the troops whose courage we witnessed every day, and to the families they had left behind.

我并不是唯一给在伊拉克和阿富汗失去亲人的家庭写信的人。鲍勃·盖茨也和他们通信，尽管我们很少谈论这个话题。

盖茨和我建立了牢固的工作关系。我们经常在椭圆形办公室见面，我发现他很实际、稳健和坦率，有自信心来为自己的观点辩护，并偶尔改变自己的想法。他精明地管理五角大楼使我愿意忽略他有时试图管理我的情况，他也不害怕挑战国防部的一些陈腐的做法，包括收紧国防预算。他有时候很固执，特别是对我的年轻的白宫工作人员，而我们之间在年龄、成长及政治导向方面存在差异，使得我们不是朋友。但是我们在对国家的职责感和对每天见证的勇敢部队及他们的家庭有共同的理念。

(Translated by AI)

It helped that on most national security issues our judgments aligned. Entering the summer of 2009, for example, Gates and I shared a guarded optimism about developments in Iraq. Not that the conditions there were rosy. The Iraqi economy was in shambles—the war had destroyed much of the country's basic infrastructure, while plunging world oil prices had sapped the national budget—and due to parliamentary gridlock, Iraq's government had difficulty carrying out even the most basic tasks. During my brief visit there in April, I'd offered Prime Minister Maliki suggestions for how he might embrace needed administrative reforms and more effectively reach out to Iraq's Sunni and Kurdish factions. He'd been polite but defensive (apparently he wasn't a student of Madison's "Federalist No. 10"): As far as he was concerned, Shiites in Iraq were the majority, his party's coalition had won the most votes, Sunnis and Kurds were hindering progress with their unreasonable demands, and any notions of accommodating the interests or protecting the rights of Iraq's minority populations were an inconvenience he assumed only as a result of U.S. pressure.

在大多数国家安全问题上，我们的判断是相符的，这有所帮助。例如，在2009年夏季，盖茨和我都对伊拉克的局势持有谨慎乐观的看法。并不是伊拉克的情况很好。伊拉克的经济一片狼藉——战争摧毁了该国的基础设施，世界油价的暴跌耗尽了国家预算，由于议会僵局，伊拉克政府甚至难以完成最基本的任務。在我四月的短暂访问中，我向总理马利基提出了他可能采用的行政改革和更有效地与伊拉克的逊尼派和库尔德派接触的建议。他礼貌但防御性很强（显然他不是麦迪逊《联邦党人文集》第10篇的学生）：在他看来，伊拉克的什叶派是占多数的，他的党派联盟赢得了最多的选票，逊尼派和库尔德派由于不合理的要求可能会阻碍进展，而在调解少数族裔利益或维护权利方面的任何想法都是他认为只是由于美国的压力所致的不便。

The conversation had been a useful reminder to me that elections alone don't produce a functioning democracy; until Iraq found a way to strengthen its civic institutions and its leaders developed habits of compromise, the country would continue to struggle. Still, the fact that Maliki and his rivals were expressing hostility and mistrust through politics rather than through the barrel of a gun counted as progress. Even with U.S. forces withdrawing from Iraqi population centers, AQI-sponsored terrorist attacks had continued to decline, and our commanders reported a steady improvement in the performance of Iraqi security forces. Gates and I agreed that the United States would need to play a critical role in Iraq for years to come—advising key ministries, training its security forces, breaking deadlocks between factions, and helping finance the country's reconstruction. But barring significant reversals, the end of America's war in Iraq was finally in sight.

这次交谈让我再次意识到选举本身并不能带来一个运作良好的民主政体。直到伊拉克找到一种强化公民机构、发展妥协习惯的方式，这个国家都将处于困境中。尽管如此，马利基和他的对手之间的敌对和互不信任仍然在政治上表现出来，而不是通过枪口。这可以视为进步。即便美军正在从伊拉克人口密集地区撤出，基地组织赞助的恐怖袭击数量持续下降，我们的指挥官也报告了伊拉克安全部队表现稳步提高的情况。盖茨和我一致认为，美国将需要在未来数年内在伊拉克发挥至关重要的作用——指导重要部门，培训安全部队，打破派系之间的僵局，并帮助财政上支持该国的重建。但是如果沒有重大逆转的话，美国在伊拉克战争的终结终于在望了。

The same couldn't be said about Afghanistan.

The additional troops I'd authorized in February had helped check Taliban gains in some areas and were working to secure the upcoming presidential election. But our forces had not reversed the country's deepening cycle of violence and instability, and as a result of increased fighting over a wider swath of territory, U.S. casualties had spiked.

Afghan casualties were also on the rise, with more civilians caught in the cross fire, falling prey to suicide attacks and sophisticated roadside bombs planted by insurgents. Afghans increasingly complained about certain U.S. tactics—nighttime raids on homes suspected of harboring Taliban fighters, for example—that they viewed as dangerous or disruptive but that our commanders deemed necessary to carry out their missions. On the political front, President Karzai's reelection strategy mainly consisted of buying off local power brokers, intimidating opponents, and shrewdly playing various ethnic factions against one another. Diplomatically, our high-level outreach to Pakistani officials appeared to have had no effect on their continued tolerance of Taliban safe havens inside their country. And all the while, a reconstituted al-Qaeda operating in the border areas with Pakistan still posed a major threat.

阿富汗情况不同。我二月份批准的额外部队在一些地区帮助控制了塔利班的战果，并在努力确保即将到来的总统选举的安全。但我们的部队并没有扭转这个国家愈发加深的暴力和不稳定的局势。由于更广泛的领土上爆发了更多的战斗，美军的伤亡人数飙升。阿富汗平民伤亡也在增加，越来越多的平民陷入交叉火力之中，成为叛乱分子布置的自杀袭击和复杂路边炸弹的牺牲品。阿富汗人越来越抱怨美军的某些战术，比如对被怀疑藏有塔利班战士的家庭进行的夜间突袭，他们认为这些战术危险或破坏性，但我们的指挥官认为这是实现任务所必需的。在政治方面，卡尔扎伊总统的连任策略主要包括贿赂地方权力经纪

人、恐吓反对派和狡猾地利用各个民族派系之间的矛盾。在外交上，我们高层次的接触巴基斯坦官员似乎对他们继续容忍塔利班在其境内的安全避难所没有产生影响。同时，一个在与巴基斯坦边境地区重组的基地组织仍然构成重大威胁。

Given the lack of meaningful progress, we were all eager to see what our new ISAF commander, General Stanley McChrystal, had to say about the situation. At the end of August, having spent weeks in Afghanistan with a team of military and civilian advisors, McChrystal turned in the top-to-bottom assessment that Gates had asked for. A few days later, the Pentagon sent it to the White House.

Rather than provide clear answers, it set off a whole new round of troublesome questions.

MOST OF MCCHRISTAL'S assessment detailed what we already knew: The situation in Afghanistan was bad and getting worse, with the Taliban emboldened, the Afghan army weak and demoralized, and Karzai, who prevailed in an election tainted by violence and fraud, still in charge of a government that was viewed by the Afghan people as corrupt and inept. What got everyone's attention, though, was the report's conclusion. To turn the situation around, McChrystal proposed a full-blown counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign: a military strategy meant to contain and marginalize insurgents not just by fighting them but by simultaneously working to increase stability for the country's wider population—ideally quelling some of the fury that had driven insurgents to take up arms in the first place.

由于缺乏有效的进展，我们都很渴望看看我们的新ISAF指挥官斯坦利·麦克里斯托尔将军对形势的看法。在八月底，麦克里斯托尔将军带领着一支由军事和民间顾问组成的团队在阿富汗待了数周时间，提交了盖茨要求的全面评估报告。几天后，五角大楼将其发给了白宫。然而，该报告并没有提供清晰的答案，反而引发了一系列新的问题。

大部分的麦克里斯托尔的评估报告详细阐述了我们已经知道的情况：阿富汗的形势越来越糟糕，塔利班变得越来越有底气，阿富汗军队弱小且士气低落，而卡尔扎伊在一场充斥着暴力与舞弊的选举中获胜，仍然掌管着一个被阿富汗人民视为腐败无能的政府。然而吸引人们注意的是该报告的结论。为了扭转局势，麦克里斯托尔提出了全面反叛运动（COIN）战略：这是一种不仅仅是通过战斗而是同时为国家其他人口增加稳定性的军事策略，理想情况下可以平息驱使叛乱分子首先拿起武器的那些怒火。

Not only was McChrystal proposing a more ambitious approach than what I'd envisioned when I'd adopted the Riedel report recommendations in the spring, he was also requesting at least forty thousand troops on top of those I'd already deployed—which would bring the total number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan close to one hundred thousand for the foreseeable future.

"So much for being the antiwar president," Axe said.

It was tough not to feel as if I'd been subjected to a bait and switch—that the Pentagon's acquiescence to my more modest initial increase of seventeen thousand troops and four thousand military trainers had been merely a temporary, tactical retreat on the path to getting more. Among members of my team, divisions over Afghanistan that had been evident back in February began to harden. Mike Mullen, the Joint Chiefs, and David Petraeus all endorsed McChrystal's COIN strategy in its entirety; anything less, they argued, was likely to fail and would signal a dangerous lack of American resolve to friends and foes alike. Hillary and Panetta quickly followed suit. Gates, who'd previously expressed concern over the wisdom of expanding our military footprint in a country famously resistant to foreign occupation, was more circumspect but told me he'd been persuaded by McChrystal that a smaller U.S. force wouldn't work, and that if we coordinated closely with the Afghan security forces to protect local populations and better trained our soldiers to respect Afghan culture, we could avoid the problems that had plagued the Soviets in the 1980s. Meanwhile, Joe and a sizable number of NSC staffers viewed McChrystal's proposal as just the latest attempt by an unrestrained military to drag the country deeper into a futile, wildly expensive nation-building exercise, when we could and should be narrowly focused on counterterrorism (CT) efforts against al-Qaeda.

不仅麦克里斯托尔提出了比我以前在春天采纳里德尔报告建议时设想的更雄心勃勃的方案，而且他还要求至少四万名军队，超过了我已经部署的——这将使未来可预见的时间内驻阿富汗的美国军队总数接近十万人。

"这个那个抗战总统就这样了。"埃克斯说。

很难不感觉自己被诱骗，五角大楼对我最初增加一万七千名士兵和四千名军事训练员的较为温和的提议不过是一次暂时的、策略性的退缩。2月份已经显而易见的阿富汗分歧在我的团队中开始变硬。迈克·马伦，联合参谋，和大卫·彼得雷乌斯都全力支持麦克里斯托尔的COIN战略；他们认为，任何低于此标准的方案都有可能失败，并且会向友敌都发出危险的美国决心缺乏的信号。希拉里和帕内塔很快跟进。盖茨之前曾表达过担忧，认为在一个出了名反对外国占领的国家扩大我们的军队存在风险，但他比较谨慎，告诉我他被麦克里斯托尔说服了，一个更小的美国军队不起作用，如果我们与阿富汗安全部队密切合作，保护当地人民，更好地训练我们的士兵尊重阿富汗文化，我们可以避免20世纪80年代苏联遭受的一些问题。与此同时，乔和相当数量的NSC员工认为麦克里斯托尔的提议只是一个不受限制的军方企图将国家卷入一个徒劳、极其昂贵的国家建设漩涡的最新尝试，而我们可以和应该专注于反恐(CT)行动，打击基地组织。

After reading McChrystal's sixty-six-page assessment, I shared Joe's skepticism. As far as I could tell, there was no clear exit strategy; under McChrystal's plan, it would take five to six years just to get U.S. troop numbers back down to what they were now. The costs were staggering—at least \$1 billion for every thousand additional troops deployed. Our men and women in uniform, some on their fourth or fifth tours after close to a decade of war, would face an even greater toll. And given the resilience of the Taliban and the dysfunction of Karzai's government, there was no guarantee of success. In their written endorsement of the plan, Gates and the generals acknowledged that no amount of U.S. military power could stabilize Afghanistan "as long as pervasive corruption and preying upon the people continue to characterize governance" inside the country. I saw no possibility of that condition being met anytime soon.

在閱讀麥克里斯托爾的六十六頁評估報告後，我和喬一樣懷疑這份計劃。就我所知，缺乏明確的退役策略；按照麥克里斯托爾的計劃，要想使美國的部隊數量回到現在的水平，至少需要五到六年時間。成本是驚人的，每增加一千名部隊的佈署，至少需要10億美元。我們的男女軍人，有些已經經歷了近十年的戰

爭，現在已經是第四或第五次前往世界各地，必須承擔更大的負擔。考慮到塔利班的韌性和卡爾扎伊政府的功能障礙，無法保證成功。在他們對該計劃的書面支持中，蓋茨和將軍們承認，只要在國內的治理中猖獗的腐敗和對人民的掠奪繼續存在，“美國的軍事力量無法穩定阿富汗”。我認為，在不久的將來，這種狀況不可能得以實現。

Still, some hard truths prevented me from rejecting McChrystal's plan out of hand. The status quo was untenable. We couldn't afford to let the Taliban return to power, and we needed more time to train more capable Afghan security forces and to root out al-Qaeda and its leadership. As confident as I felt in my own judgment, I couldn't ignore the unanimous recommendation of experienced generals who'd managed to salvage some measure of stability in Iraq and were already in the thick of the fight in Afghanistan. I therefore asked Jim Jones and Tom Donilon to organize a series of NSC meetings where—away from congressional politics and media grousing—we could methodically work through the details of McChrystal's proposal, see how they matched up with our previously articulated objectives, and settle on the best way forward.

然而，一些艰难的真相讓我無法徹底拒絕麥克里斯托爾的計劃。現狀是不可持續的。我們不能讓塔利班重新掌權，我們需要更多時間來訓練更有能力的阿富汗安全部隊，並根除基地組織及其領導層。儘管我對自己的判斷感到自信，但我不能忽視那些有經驗的將軍們的一致建議，他們在伊拉克挽救了一定程度的穩定，並已經身陷阿富汗的戰鬥。因此，我要求吉姆·瓊斯和湯姆·多尼隆組織一系列國家安全委員會會議，在那裡——遠離國會政治和媒體抱怨——我們可以有條不紊地逐步處理麥克里斯托爾的提議，看看它們與我們先前闡述的目標是否匹配，並確定最佳前进方式。

As it turned out, the generals had other ideas. Just two days after I received the report, The Washington Post published an interview with David Petraeus in which he declared that any hope for success in Afghanistan would require substantially more troops and a “fully resourced, comprehensive” COIN strategy. About ten days later, fresh off our first discussion of McChrystal's proposal in the Situation Room, Mike Mullen appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee for a previously scheduled hearing and made the same argument, dismissing any narrower strategy as insufficient to the goal of defeating al-Qaeda and keeping Afghanistan from becoming a future base for attacks against the homeland. A few days after that, on September 21, the Post published a synopsis of McChrystal's report that had leaked to Bob Woodward, under the headline MCCHRISTAL: MORE FORCES OR “MISSION FAILURE.” This was followed in short order by McChrystal giving an interview to 60 Minutes and delivering a speech in London, in both instances promoting the merits of his COIN strategy over other alternatives.

事實證明，將軍們有其他的想法。在我收到報告的兩天後，《華盛頓郵報》發表了一篇採訪戴維·彼得雷烏斯的文章，他在其中宣稱，要想在阿富汗取得成功，需要大量增派部隊，並採用“充分資源、全面的”COIN戰略。大約十天後，在我們在情報室首次討論麥克里斯托爾的提議之後，邁克·馬倫出現在參議院武裝服務委員會上，進行了一場之前安排好的聽證會，並提出了同樣的論點，認為任何狹隘的戰略都不能實現打敗基地組織和防止阿富汗成為未來反擊祖國的基地的目標。幾天後，《華盛頓郵報》刊登了一份麥克里斯托爾的報告概要，這份報告已經泄露出給鮑勃·伍德沃德，標題為“更多的部隊或‘任務失敗’”。接着，麥克里斯托爾接受了60分鐘的採訪，並在倫敦發表了演說，在這兩種情況下，他都宣傳了他的COIN戰略的優點，相比其他選擇。

The reaction was predictable. Republican hawks like John McCain and Lindsey Graham seized on the generals' media blitz, offering the familiar refrain that I should “listen to my commanders on the ground” and fulfill McChrystal's request. News stories appeared daily, hyping the ever-growing rift between the White House and the Pentagon. Columnists accused me of “dithering” and questioned whether I had the intestinal fortitude to lead a nation during wartime. Rahm remarked that in all his years in Washington, he'd never seen such an orchestrated, public campaign by the Pentagon to box in a president. Biden was more succinct:

反應是可以預測的。共和黨鷹派人士如約翰·麥凱恩和林賽·格雷厄姆抓住將軍們的媒體宣傳，提出熟悉的論調，要求我“聽取地面指揮官的意見”，並滿足麥克里斯托爾的要求。新聞報道每天都出現，炒作白宮和五角大樓之間越來越大的裂痕。專欄作家指責我“猶豫不決”，質疑我是否有領導國家在戰爭時期的勇氣。拉姆評論說，在他在華盛頓的所有年份中，他從未見過五角大樓如此有組織，公開地運行，試圖框定總統的活動。拜登更簡洁：

“It's fucking outrageous.”

I agreed. It was hardly the first time that disagreements inside my team had spilled into the press. But it was the first instance during my presidency when I felt as if an entire agency under my charge was working its own agenda. I decided it was also going to be the last. Shortly after Mullen's congressional testimony, I asked him and Gates to see me in the Oval Office.

“So,” I said after we'd taken our seats and I'd offered them coffee. “Did I not make myself clear about how I wanted time to evaluate McChrystal's assessment? Or does your building just have a basic lack of respect for me?”

“他媽的太過分了。”

我表示同意。這已經不是我的團隊內部分歧首次泄露到媒體了。但這是我擔任總統期間第一次感覺到整個負責的機構在為自己服務。我決定這也是最後一次。穆倫在國會作證之後不久，我要求他和蓋茨到橢圓形辦公室見我。

“那麼，”我們坐下來並我給他們提供了咖啡之後，我說。“我沒有清楚地表达我想要時間評估麥克里斯托的評估嗎？還是你們的機構就缺乏對我的基本尊重？”

The two men shifted uncomfortably on the couch. As is usually the case when I'm angry, I didn't raise my voice.

“From the day I was sworn in,” I continued, “I've gone out of my way to create an environment where everyone's views are heard. And I think I've shown myself willing to make unpopular decisions when I thought it was necessary for our national security. Would you agree with that, Bob?”

“I would, Mr. President,” Gates said.

“So, when I set up a process that's going to decide whether I send tens of thousands more troops into a deadly war zone at the cost of hundreds of billions of dollars, and I see my top military leaders short-circuiting that process to argue their position in public, I have to wonder. Is it because they

figure they know better and don't want to be bothered answering my questions? Is it because I'm young and didn't serve in the military? Is it because they don't like my politics...?"

兩個男人在沙發上不舒服地轉移了位置。像我生氣時通常的做法一樣，我沒有提高聲音。

「從我被宣誓就職的那一天開始，」我繼續道，「我就努力創造一個讓每個人的觀點都能被聽到的環境。而且我認為，當我認為這對於國家安全是必要的時候，我已經表現出願意做出不受歡迎的決定。Bob，你同意嗎？」

「我同意，總統先生，」蓋茨說。

「所以，當我建立一個流程來決定是否要花費數百億美元，派遣成千上萬的軍隊到一個致命的戰區，而我看到我的最高軍事領袖在公開場合中繞過了這個流程，爭論他們的立場時，我不得不想到。是因為他們覺得他們更懂，不想被打擾回答我的問題嗎？是因為我年輕，沒有在軍隊中服役嗎？是因為他們不喜歡我的政治立場……？」

I paused, letting the question linger. Mullen cleared his throat.

“I think I speak for all your flag officers, Mr. President,” he said, “when I say we have the highest respect for you and the office.”

I nodded. “Well, Mike, I'll take your word on that. And I give you my word that I'll make my decision about Stan's proposal based on the Pentagon's advice and what I believe best serves the interests of this country. But until I do,” I said, leaning in for emphasis, “I'd sure like to stop having my military advisors telling me what I have to do on the front page of the morning paper. Is that fair?”

我停了一下，讓問題懸臂。穆倫清了清喉嚨。

“我想我代表所有旗艦軍官，為您和這個職位深表敬意，總統先生，”他說。

我點了點頭。“嗯，那好吧，邁克，我會相信你的話。我向你保證，我會根據五角大廈的建議和對這個國家最有利的考慮來做出我的決定。但在那之前，”我強調地傾身向前，“我真的希望停止讓我的軍事顧問告訴我我必須在早晨報紙的頭版上做什麼。這樣公平嗎？”

He agreed that it was. We moved on to other matters.

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LOOKING BACK, I'm inclined to believe Gates when he said there was no coordinated plan by Mullen, Petraeus, or McChrystal to force my hand (although he'd later admit to hearing from a reliable source that someone on McChrystal's staff had leaked the general's report to Woodward). I know that all three men were motivated by a sincere conviction in the rightness of their position, and that they considered it to be part of their code as military officers to provide their honest assessment in public testimony or press statements without regard to political consequences. Gates was quick to remind me that Mullen's outspokenness had aggravated President Bush as well, and he was right to point out that senior officials in the White House were often just as guilty of trying to work the press behind the scenes.

他同意這一點。我們轉而討論其他事情。

回顾过去，我倾向于相信盖茨所说的，即穆伦、彼得雷乌斯或麦克里斯托尔没有协调计划来逼迫我作出决定（虽然他后来承认听说麦克里斯托尔的工作人员已向伍德沃德泄露了将军的报告）。我知道这三个人都出于对自己观点正确性的真诚信念，并认为在公开证言或新闻声明中提供他们的坦诚评估是作为军官的职责之一，而不考虑政治后果。盖茨迅速提醒我穆伦的直言不讳也激怒了小布什总统，他指出白宫高级官员经常试图在幕后工作，同样有罪。

But I also think that the episode illustrated just how accustomed the military had become to getting whatever it wanted during the Bush years, and the degree to which basic policy decisions—about war and peace, but also about America's budget priorities, diplomatic goals, and the possible trade-offs between security and other values—had been steadily farmed out to the Pentagon and the CIA. It was easy to see the factors behind this: the impulse after 9/11 to do whatever it took to stop the terrorists and the reluctance of the White House to ask any tough questions that might get in the way; a military forced to clean up the mess that resulted from the decision to invade Iraq; a public that rightly saw the military as more competent and trustworthy than the civilians who were supposed to make policy; a Congress that was chiefly interested in avoiding responsibility for hard foreign policy problems; and a press corps that could be overly deferential to anyone with stars on their shoulders.

但我也认为这一集展示了军方在布什时期多么习惯得到他们想要的一切，基本政策决策——关于战争与和平，美国预算重点，外交目标以及安全与其他价值之间的可能取舍——已经不断地被剥夺给五角大楼和中央情报局。看到这背后的因素是很容易的：在9/11后尽一切所能阻止恐怖分子的冲动，以及白宫不愿意提出任何可能会妨碍的艰难问题；面对因入侵伊拉克而造成的混乱而被迫清理的军队；公众正视军方比那些应制定政策的平民更能胜任和值得信赖；一直对避免难题负责的国会；和对拥有星星肩章的人过度尊重的新闻报道。

Men like Mullen, Petraeus, McChrystal, and Gates—all of them proven leaders with a singular focus on the hugely difficult tasks before them—had simply filled a vacuum. America had been lucky to have those men in the positions they were in, and when it came to the later phases of the Iraq War, they'd mostly made the right calls. But as I'd told Petraeus that first time we met in Iraq, right before I was elected, it was the job of the president to think broadly, not narrowly, and to weigh the costs and benefits of military action against everything else that went into making the country strong.

美國需要像穆倫、彼得雷烏斯、麥克裡斯特和蓋茨這樣的領袖，他們都以極其艱巨的任務為焦點，填補了真空。美國幸運地擁有這些人才，對於伊拉克戰爭的後期階段，他們大多做出了正確的決定。但正如我在我們首次會面時對彼得雷烏斯說的那樣，在當時我當選之前，總統的工作是要從廣泛的角度來思考，而不是狹隘地看待問題，並權衡軍事行動的代價和效益，以及所有能使國家強大的其他因素。

As much as any specific differences over strategy or tactics, such fundamental issues—the civilian control of policy making, the respective roles of the president and his military advisors in our constitutional system, and the considerations each brought to bear in deciding about war—became the subtext

of the Afghan debate. And it was on these issues that the differences between me and Gates became more obvious. As one of Washington's savviest operators, Gates understood as well as anybody congressional pressure, public opinion, and budgetary constraints. But for him, these were obstacles to navigate around, not legitimate factors that should inform our decisions. Throughout the Afghan debate, he was quick to ascribe any objections Rahm or Biden might raise—about the difficulty in rounding up the votes in Congress for the 30 to 40 billion a year in additional spending that McChrystal's plan might require, or the weariness that the nation might feel after close to a decade of war—as mere “politics.”

與策略或戰術上的具體差異一樣，這些基本問題——文職對決策制定的控制、總統及其軍事顧問在我們的憲政體制中的各自角色以及在決定戰爭方面帶來的考慮因素——成為阿富汗辯論的主旨。而在這些問題上，我和蓋茨之間的分歧變得更加顯著。作為華盛頓最精明的操作者之一，蓋茨能夠深刻理解國會施加的壓力、公眾輿論和預算限制等因素。但對他來說，這些只是需要避開的障礙，而非應該影響我們決策的合理因素。在整個阿富汗辯論中，他很快就將任何拉姆或拜登可能提出的異議——比如圓滿達成麥克里斯托的計劃可能需要每年300到400億美元的額外支出而尋求國會的支持，或者國家在進行近十年的戰爭之後可能感到疲勞——視為僅僅是“政治”，並將其排除在討論之外。

To other people, though never directly to me, Gates would sometimes question my commitment to the war and the strategy I'd adopted back in March, no doubt attributing it to “politics” as well. It was hard for him to see that what he dismissed as politics was democracy as it was supposed to work—that our mission had to be defined not only by the need to defeat an enemy but by the need to make sure the country wasn't bled dry in the process; that questions about spending hundreds of billions on missiles and forward operating bases rather than schools or healthcare for kids weren't tangential to national security but central to it; that the sense of duty he felt so keenly toward the troops already deployed, his genuine, admirable desire that they be given every chance to succeed, might be matched by the passion and patriotism of those interested in limiting the number of young Americans placed in harm's way.

儘管蓋茨沒有直接這麼說過，但他有時會懷疑我對戰爭和三月份制定的戰略的承諾，毫無疑問地把它歸咎於“政治”。對他來說，很難看出他所蔑視的“政治”實際上是民主的運作方式，我們的使命不僅需要打敗敵人，還要確保國家在過程中不會流盡所有資源。撥款數百億的問題，花費在導彈和前沿基地而不是學校或醫療保健上的問題，不是國家安全的邊緣問題，而是核心問題；他對已部署的部隊感到的義務感非常強烈，他真正的，令人欽佩的願望是讓他們有機會成功，這種願望可能會匹配那些對限制年輕美國人置身危險的人的熱情和愛國主義。

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MAYBE IT WASN'T Gates's job to think about those things, but it was mine. And so, from mid-September till mid-November, I presided over a series of nine two-to-three-hour meetings in the Sit Room to evaluate McChrystal's plan. The sheer length of the deliberations became a story in Washington, and though my talk with Gates and Mullen had put a stop to on-the-record editorializing from the top generals, leaks, anonymous quotes, and speculation continued to appear regularly in the press. I did my best to block out the noise, aided by the knowledge that many of my loudest critics were the same commentators and so-called experts who had actively promoted or been swept up in the rush to invade Iraq.

或許蓋茨不需要考慮這些事情，但這是我的工作。因此，從九月中旬到十一月中旬，我主持了一系列九個兩至三小時的會議，在Sit Room中評估麥克裡斯塔爾的計劃。這些討論的長度在華盛頓成為了一個故事，儘管我和蓋茨、穆倫的談話已經制止了高級將領們的公開言論，但泄漏、匿名引用和猜測仍然經常在新聞媒體上出現。我盡力阻擋噪音，因為我知道我最大聲的批評者往往是同一批所謂的評論家和專家，他們積極推動或被捲入了入侵伊拉克的匆忙行動中。

Indeed, one of the chief arguments for adopting McChrystal's plan was its similarities to the COIN strategy Petraeus had used during the U.S. surge in Iraq. As a general matter, Petraeus's emphasis on training local forces, improving local governance, and protecting local populations—rather than seizing territory and piling up insurgent body counts—made sense. But Afghanistan in 2009 wasn't Iraq in 2006. The two countries represented different circumstances demanding different solutions. With each Sit Room session, it became clearer that the expansive view of COIN that McChrystal imagined for Afghanistan not only went beyond what was needed to destroy al-Qaeda—it went beyond what was likely achievable within my term of office, if it was achievable at all.

事实上，采纳麦克里斯托的计划的主要论据之一是其与彼得雷乌斯在美国伊拉克增援期间使用的COIN战略的相似之处。一般而言，彼得雷乌斯强调培训当地部队、改善当地治理和保护当地居民，而不是占领领土和堆积叛乱分子的人数，这是有道理的。但2009年的阿富汗并非2006年的伊拉克。这两个国家代表了不同的情况，需要不同的解决方案。随着每次会议，越来越清楚的是，麦克里斯托为阿富汗设想的广泛COIN观念不仅超出了摧毁基地组织所需的范围，而且超出了我在任期内可能实现的范围，如果这是可以实现的话。

John Brennan reemphasized that unlike al-Qaeda in Iraq, the Taliban was too deeply woven into the fabric of Afghan society to be eradicated—and that despite their sympathies toward al-Qaeda, they showed no signs of plotting attacks outside Afghanistan against the United States or its allies. Our ambassador in Kabul, former general Karl Eikenberry, doubted that the Karzai government could be reformed and feared that a large troop infusion and further “Americanization” of the war would take all pressure off Karzai to get his act together. McChrystal's lengthy timetable for both installing troops and pulling them out looked less like an Iraq-style surge than a long-term occupation, leading Biden to ask why—with al-Qaeda in Pakistan and almost entirely targeted with drone strikes—we should commit one hundred thousand troops to rebuilding the country next door.

约翰·布伦南再一次强调，塔利班与伊拉克基地组织不同，他们与阿富汗社会紧密相连，无法被根除。尽管他们对基地组织怀有同情，但没有迹象表明他们在阿富汗以外的地方会对美国或其盟友发动攻击。我方驻喀布尔大使卡尔·艾肯贝里将军怀疑卡尔扎伊政府能否改革，并担心大量增兵和进一步“美国化”战争会让卡尔扎伊将压力翻倍。麦克里斯托的长期部署和撤军计划看起来更像是长期占领，而不是像伊拉克那样的军队增援。因此拜登问，既然基地组织已经在巴基斯坦几乎全面受到无人机打击，为什么我们还要派遣10万名军队重建旁边的国家呢？

In front of me, at least, McChrystal and the other generals dutifully responded to each of these concerns—in some cases persuasively, in others not so much. Despite their patience and good manners, they had trouble hiding their frustration at having their professional judgments challenged, especially by those who'd never put on a uniform. (McChrystal's eyes narrowed when, on more than one occasion, Biden started explaining to him what was necessary to carry out successful counterterrorism operations.) Tensions between White House staffers and the Pentagon got worse, with NSC staff feeling stonewalled when it came to getting information in a timely fashion and Gates quietly fuming over what he considered to be the NSC's constant micromanagement. The bad blood even spilled over into relationships within departments. Joint Chiefs vice chairman James "Hoss" Cartwright and Lieutenant General Douglas Lute—an NSC deputy and "war czar" during the final two years of the Bush administration whom I'd asked to stay on—would both see their stock drop inside the Pentagon the minute they agreed to help Biden flesh out a less troop-intensive, more CT-oriented alternative to McChrystal's plan. Hillary, meanwhile, considered Eikenberry's end runs around official State Department channels as verging on insubordination and wanted him replaced.

在我面前，麥克里斯托和其他將領都盡責回應這些擔憂——有些情況下是有說服力的，有些情況下則不然。儘管他們有耐心和良好的禮貌，但他們很難掩飾對他們的專業判斷受到質疑，尤其是那些從未穿過制服的人，他們對此感到挫敗和失望。（當拜登多次向他解釋進行成功的反恐行動所需時，麥克里斯托的眼睛緊緊地閉上了。）白宮職員和五角大廈之間的緊張局勢加劇，NSC工作人員在及時獲取信息方面感到被擋，蓋茨靜靜地憤怒地對待NSC的持續微觀管理。甚至惡性血案傳播到部門內的關係上。聯合參謀副主席詹姆斯“Hoss”卡特賴特和中將道格拉斯·路特——布什政府最後兩年的NSC副和“戰爭總指揮”，我要求他們留下來——一旦他們同意幫助拜登製定一個更少的部隊密集，更多的CT導向的替代麥克里斯托計劃，它們的股票便會在五角大廈下跌。與此同時，希拉里認為艾肯伯里繞過官方國務院渠道的行動近乎不服從，希望他被換掉。

It's fair to say, then, that by the third or fourth go-round of PowerPoint slides, battlefield maps, and balky video feeds, along with the ever-present fluorescent lighting, bad coffee, and stale air, everyone was sick of Afghanistan, sick of meetings, and sick of one another. As for me—well, I felt the weight of the office more than at any other time since I'd been sworn in. I tried not to let it show, keeping my expressions neutral as I asked questions, took notes, and occasionally doodled on the margins of the pad the staff had set out before me (abstract patterns, mostly, sometimes people's faces or beach scenes—a seagull flying over a palm tree and ocean waves). But every so often my frustrations would flare, especially whenever I heard anyone respond to a tough question by falling back on the argument that we needed to send more troops in order to show "resolve."

可以這樣說，當第三或第四個回合的PowerPoint頁面、戰場地圖、不順暢的視頻和常常伴隨的日光燈照明、壞咖啡和沒新鮮的空氣出現時，每個人都對阿富汗感到厭倦，厭倦開會，也厭倦了彼此。對我而言——嗯，自從我宣誓就任以來，我感到在辦公室裡的重負前所未有的。我試圖不表現出來，保持中立的表情，提出問題，做筆記，並偶爾在工作人員為我準備的記事本邊緣塗鴉（主要是抽象的圖案，有時是人臉或海灘風景——一隻海鷗飛過棕櫚樹和海浪）。但每當我聽到有人回答困難問題時，往往會退回到需要派更多士兵以顯示“決心”的論點時，我的挫敗感就會燃起來。

What does that mean exactly? I'd ask, sometimes too sharply. That we keep doubling down on bad decisions we've already made? Does anyone think that spinning our wheels in Afghanistan for another ten years will impress our allies and strike fear in our enemies? It reminded me, I'd later tell Denis, of the nursery rhyme about an old lady who swallowed a spider to catch a fly.

"She ends up swallowing a horse," I said.

"And she's dead, of course," Denis said.

Sometimes, after one of these marathon sessions, I'd wander back to the small pool house near the Oval to have a cigarette and soak in the silence, feeling the knots in my back, shoulders, neck—signs of sitting too much, but also of my state of mind. If only the decision on Afghanistan was a matter of resolve, I thought—just will and steel and fire. That had been true for Lincoln as he tried to save the Union, and for FDR after Pearl Harbor, with America and the world facing a mortal threat from expansionist powers. In such circumstances, you harnessed all you had to mount a total war. But in the here and now, the threats we faced—deadly but stateless terrorist networks; otherwise feeble rogue nations out to get weapons of mass destruction—were real but not existential, and so resolve without foresight was worse than useless. It led us to fight the wrong wars and careen down rabbit holes. It made us administrators of inhospitable terrain and bred more enemies than we killed. Because of our unmatched power, America had choices about what and when and how to fight. To claim otherwise, to insist that our safety and our standing in the world required us to do all that we could for as long as we could in every single instance, was an abdication of moral responsibility, the certainty it offered a comforting lie.那到底是什麼意思呢？我有時候會問，有時候也會語氣尖刻。這是指我們繼續在已經做出錯誤決定的基礎上繼續加倍努力嗎？有誰覺得在阿富汗再打十年的仗會打動我們的盟友，讓我們的敵人心生恐懼呢？這讓我想起了一首童謠，講的是一位老婦人吞下蜘蛛想抓住蒼蠅的故事。

「最後她吞下一匹馬，」我說。

「當然，她死了，」丹尼斯說。

有時，在我們進行漫長的討論後，我會漫步回總統辦公室附近的小游泳池房間，抽根煙，享受寧靜，感受背部、肩膀、脖子上的結節——這是久坐不動的徵兆，也是我內心狀態的表現。如果阿富汗的決定只是一個毅力的問題，我想——只需要意志、鋼鐵和火。這對於林肯試圖拯救聯邦，和在珍珠港之後的羅斯福來說是真實的，當時美國和整個世界都面臨著擴張主義強國的致命威脅。在這種情況下，你必須集中所有力量發起總體戰。但在當下，我們所面臨的威脅——致命但無國界恐怖網絡；其他沒有實力的流氓國家想要獲得大規模殺傷性武器——是真實但不至於毀滅，因此，沒有遠見的毅力比毫無用處更糟糕。它導致我們打了錯誤的戰爭，跑進了徒勞無功的洞穴。它讓我們成為荒涼地區的管理者，培養了比我們殺死的敵人更多。由於我們無與倫比的實力，美國可以選擇什麼、何時以及如何戰鬥。聲稱相反，堅持說我們的安全和我們在世界上的地位要求我們在每一個案例中盡我們所能做出最長久的努力，這是放棄道德責任的表現，它所提供的確定性是一個令人感到舒適的謊言。

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AROUND SIX in the morning on October 9, 2009, the White House operator jolted me from sleep to say that Robert Gibbs was on the line. Calls that early from my staff were rare, and my heart froze. Was it a terrorist attack? A natural disaster?

“You were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize,” Gibbs said.

“What do you mean?”

“They just announced it a few minutes ago.”

“For what?”

Gibbs tactfully ignored the question. Favas would be waiting outside the Oval to work with me on whatever statement I wanted to make, he said. After I hung up, Michelle asked what the call was about.

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在2009年10月9日，大约早上六点的时候，白宫操作员将我从睡梦中惊醒，告诉我罗伯特·吉布斯正在打电话。来自我的工作人员的早期电话很少，我的心几乎停止跳动。难道是恐怖袭击？自然灾害吗？

“你获得了诺贝尔和平奖，”吉布斯说。

“什么意思？”

“他们几分钟前刚刚宣布了。”

“为什么？”

吉布斯机智地忽略了这个问题。他说，费夫斯会在椭圆形办公室外等着我，一起工作，制定我想要发表的任何声明。我挂了电话后，米歇尔问这个电话是关于什么的。

“I’m getting the Nobel Peace Prize.”

“That’s wonderful, honey,” she said, then rolled over to get a little more shut-eye.

An hour and a half later, Malia and Sasha stopped by the dining room as I was having breakfast. “Great news, Daddy,” Malia said, hitching her backpack over her shoulders. “You won the Nobel Prize...and it’s Bo’s birthday!”

“Plus, it’s gonna be a three-day weekend!” Sasha added, doing a little fist pump. They both kissed me on the cheek before heading out the door for school.

In the Rose Garden, I told the assembled press corps that less than a year into my presidency, I didn’t feel that I deserved to be in the company of those transformative figures who’d been honored in the past. Instead, I saw the prize as a call to action, a means for the Nobel committee to give momentum to causes for which American leadership was vital: reducing the threats of nuclear weapons and climate change; shrinking economic inequality; upholding human rights; and bridging the racial, ethnic, and religious divides that so often fed conflict. I said I thought the award should be shared with others around the world who labored, often without recognition, for justice, peace, and human dignity.

「我得到了諾貝爾和平獎。」

「太好了，寶貝，」她說著翻過身去再睡一會兒。

一個半小時後，當我正在吃早餐時，瑪莉亞和薩莎來到了餐廳。「好消息，爸爸，」瑪莉亞說著垮上背包。「你贏得了諾貝爾獎……還是波的生日！」

「另外，這會是三天的週末！」薩莎加入道，做了一個拳頭動作。她們都在離開上門前親了我一下臉頰。

在玫瑰園裡，我告訴聚集的新聞界記者，總統職位任職不足一年，我不覺得自己配得上和那些過去受到嘉獎的改革性人物相提並論。反之，我視這個獎項為一個法團的號召，為需要美國領導力的各種事業提供動力：減少核武器和氣候變化帶來的風險，縮小經濟不平等，捍衛人權，以及橋接種族，民族和宗教間的分歧，通常會加劇衝突。我表示，我認為這個獎項應該與世界各地為正義，和平和人類尊嚴而努力的人分享。

Walking back into the Oval, I asked Katie to hold the congratulatory calls that were starting to come in and took a few minutes to consider the widening gap between the expectations and the realities of my presidency. Six days earlier, three hundred Afghan militants had overrun a small U.S. military outpost in the Hindu Kush, killing eight of our soldiers and wounding twenty-seven more. October would become the deadliest month for U.S. troops in Afghanistan since the start of the war eight years earlier. And rather than ushering in a new era of peace, I was facing the prospect of committing more soldiers to war.

回到橢圓形辦公室，我請凱蒂攔住開始接踵而來的祝賀電話，花了幾分鐘考慮總統職位的期望和現實之間的巨大差距。六天前，300名阿富汗武裝分子攻擊了位於印度喀什山脈的一座美國小型軍事哨所，造成8名士兵死亡，27人受傷。這個十月成為自八年前開戰以來美國軍隊在阿富汗傷亡最慘重的月份。而且，我面臨的不是迎來和平新時代的前景，而是更多士兵投入戰爭的前景。

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LATE THAT MONTH, Attorney General Eric Holder and I took a midnight flight to Dover Air Force Base, in Delaware, to witness the return to U.S. soil of the remains of fifteen U.S. soldiers and three drug enforcement agents who’d been killed in back-to-back incidents in Afghanistan—a deadly helicopter crash and two roadside bombings in Kandahar Province. A president’s attendance at these “dignified transfers,” as they were called, was rare, but I thought it important, now more than ever, to be present. Since the Gulf War, the Defense Department had barred media coverage of the homecomings of service members’ caskets, but with the help of Bob Gates, I’d reversed this policy earlier in the year—leaving the decision to individual families. Having at least some of these transfers publicly documented, I felt, gave our country a clearer means to reckon with the costs of war, the pain of each loss. And on this night, at the end of a devastating month in Afghanistan, with the future of the war under debate, one of the families had elected to have the moment recorded.

那個月的晚些時候，司法部長埃里克·霍爾德和我乘坐午夜飛機赴特拉華州的多佛空軍基地，見證了15名美國士兵和3名毒品執法特工在阿富汗連續發生的事件中喪生後返回美國的遺體。這是一個罕見的“尊嚴轉移”儀式，但我認為，現在比以往任何时候都更加重要。自海湾戰爭以來，國防部禁止媒體報道士兵棺材回國的情景，但在鮑勃·蓋茨的幫助下，我在今年早些時候撤銷了這一政策——將決定權交給個別家庭。我認為，至少有些這樣的轉移記錄的公開，可以讓

我们的国家更清晰地认识到战争的代价和每一次损失的痛苦。在这个阿富汗惨痛的一个月结束之际，面对战争前途的争议，其中一家家庭选择记录这一时刻。

There was a constant hush throughout the four or five hours I was on the base. In the small, plain chapel, where Holder and I joined the families who had gathered. Inside the cargo bay of the C-17 aircraft that held the eighteen flag-draped transfer cases, where an army chaplain's solemn prayer echoed against the metallic walls. On the tarmac, where we stood at attention and watched six pallbearers dressed in army fatigues, white gloves, and black berets carry the heavy cases one by one to the rows of waiting vehicles, the world silent except for the howl of wind and the cadence of steps.

在我在基地上的四五个小时里，一直保持着安静。在简陋的小礼堂里，Holder和我加入了聚集在那里的家属们。在C-17飞机的货舱内，那里装着18个覆盖着国旗的转移箱，一个军牧郑重的祷告在金属墙壁上回响。在停机坪上，我们肃立着，看着六个佩戴着陆军迷彩服、白手套和黑色贝雷帽的抬棺员，一次次将沉重的转移箱搬到等候的车辆旁，世界安静无声，只有风声和脚步声。

On the flight back, with sunrise still a few hours away, the only words I could remember from the entire visit were those of one soldier's mother: "Don't leave those boys who are still over there hanging." She looked exhausted, her face hollowed by grief. I promised I wouldn't, not knowing whether that meant sending more soldiers to finish the mission for which her son had made the ultimate sacrifice, or winding down a muddled and lengthy conflict that would cut short the lives of other people's children. It was left for me to decide.

在返回的飛行中，雖然日出還有幾個小時才到來，但我記得整個訪問中唯一的一句話就是一位士兵的母親所說的話：“不要讓那些還在那裡的孩子們被撇下。”她看起來疲憊不堪，臉上充滿了悲傷的凹陷。我答應她，不知道是要派更多的士兵去完成她兒子為之獻身的使命，還是停止一場混亂而長時間的衝突，以免其他人的孩子失去生命。這就留給我去決定了。

A week later, another disaster struck our military, this time closer to home. On November 5, a U.S. Army major and psychiatrist named Nidal Hasan walked into a building at the Fort Hood army base in Killeen, Texas, pulled out a semiautomatic pistol he'd purchased at a local gun store, and opened fire, killing thirteen people and wounding scores of others before being shot and apprehended by base police officers. Once again, I flew to comfort grieving families, then spoke at an outdoor memorial service. As a trumpet played taps, its plaintive melody punctuated by muffled sobs in the audience, my eyes traveled the memorials to the fallen soldiers: a framed photograph, a pair of empty combat boots, a helmet set atop a rifle.

一周后，军队又遭受了另一场灾难，这一次更接近家。11月5日，美国陆军少校、精神科医生纳达尔·哈桑（Nidal Hasan）走进德克萨斯州基林堡的胡德堡军事基地的一座建筑物里，拿出他在当地一家枪店购买的半自动手枪，开始射击，杀死了13人，伤害了数十人，然后被基地警察射击并抓获。我再次飞往安慰悲痛的家庭，然后在户外的追悼会上发表讲话。当一支小号演奏《军歌》时，其哀伤的旋律被观众们扼抑的哭泣所打断，我的目光穿过纪念那些逝去的士兵的碑文：一张框起来的照片、一双空空的战斗靴、一顶放在步枪上的头盔。

I thought about what John Brennan and FBI director Robert Mueller had told me in briefings on the shooting: Hasan, a U.S.-born Muslim with a troubling record of erratic behavior, appeared to have been radicalized over the internet. In particular, he'd been inspired by—and repeatedly sent emails to—a charismatic Yemeni American cleric named Anwar al-Awlaki, who had a broad international following and was believed to be the leading figure in al-Qaeda's increasingly active branch in Yemen. According to Mueller and Brennan, there were early indications that the Defense Department, the FBI, and the Joint Terrorism Task Force had all been alerted in one way or another to Hasan's possible drift toward radicalism, but that interagency information-sharing systems had failed to connect the dots in a way that might have headed off the tragedy.

我思考了 John Brennan 和 FBI 主任 Robert Mueller 在这起枪击事件中告诉我的事情：Hasan 是一个在美国出生的穆斯林，他有着不稳定表现的烦扰记录，似乎在网上被激进化了。特别是，他受到了一位颇具有影响力的美籍也门裔神职人员 Anwar al-Awlaki 的启发，并多次发送电子邮件给他。Anwar al-Awlaki 拥有广泛的国际追随者，并被认为是基地组织越来越活跃的也门分支的主要人物。据 Mueller 和 Brennan 表示，早期有迹象表明国防部、FBI 和联合反恐任务部队以各种方式被警告，Hasan 可能会向激进主义转变的可能性，但跨机构信息共享系统未能以可能避免这起悲剧的方式联系起来。

The eulogies ended. Taps began again. Across Fort Hood, I imagined soldiers busily preparing for deployments to Afghanistan and the fight against the Taliban. And I couldn't help but wonder whether the greater threat might now actually lie elsewhere—not just in Yemen or Somalia but also in the specter of homegrown terrorism; in the febrile minds of men like Hasan and a borderless cyberworld, the power and reach of which we didn't yet fully comprehend.

IN LATE NOVEMBER 2009, we held our ninth and final Afghan review session. For all the drama, the substantive differences between members of my team had by this point shrunk considerably. The generals conceded that eradicating the Taliban from Afghanistan was unrealistic. Joe and my NSC staff acknowledged that CT operations against al-Qaeda couldn't work if the Taliban overran the country or inhibited our intelligence collection. We landed on a set of achievable objectives: reducing the level of Taliban activity so they didn't threaten major population centers; pushing Karzai to reform a handful of key departments, like the Ministries of Defense and Finance, rather than trying to get him to revamp the entire government; accelerating the training of local forces that would eventually allow the Afghan people to secure their own country.

悼词结束了，号角声再次响起。我想象着在胡德堡，士兵们正忙着准备前往阿富汗打击塔利班。我不禁开始怀疑，现在真正的威胁可能存在于其他地方，不仅仅是也门或索马里，更在于本土恐怖主义的幽灵；在像哈桑这样的人和一个无边界的网络世界中，我们尚未完全理解其力量和影响力。

2009年11月底，我们进行了第九次也是最后一次阿富汗审查会。尽管有很多波折，但随着时间推移，我的团队成员之间的实质性分歧已经大大缩小。将军们承认，从阿富汗消灭塔利班是不现实的。乔和我的国家安全委员会工作人员承认，如果塔利班占领该国或限制我们的情报收集，那么对基地组织的打击行动就不起作用了。我们确定了一组可实现的目标：减少塔利班的活动水平，使其不威胁主要人口中心；推动卡尔扎伊改革一些关键部门，如国防和财政部，而不是试图让他重新组建整个政府；加速培训当地部队，最终使阿富汗人民能够保障自己的国家安全。

The team also agreed that meeting even these more modest objectives was going to require additional U.S. troops.

The only remaining dispute was how many and for how long. The generals continued to hold out for McChrystal's original request of forty thousand, without providing a good explanation for why the more limited set of objectives we'd agreed to didn't reduce by a single soldier the number of troops needed. The "CT Plus" option that Biden had worked up with Hoss Cartwright and Douglas Lute called for another twenty thousand troops to be devoted solely to CT operations and training—but it wasn't clear why either of those functions needed anything close to that many extra U.S. personnel. In both cases, I worried that the numbers were still being driven by ideological and institutional concerns rather than by the objectives we'd set. 小組也一致認識到，即使實行這些更為適度的目標也需要額外的美國軍隊支援。僅剩的糾紛在於需要多少人，需要多長時間。將軍們繼續持守麥克里斯托的原始要求，要求增派四萬名士兵，但未能提供充分的解釋，為什麼我們同意了更有限的目標集合後，不需要減少一名士兵。拜登與霍斯·卡特賴特以及道格拉斯·盧特共同設計的“CT Plus”選項需要再增派二萬名士兵，專門從事CT操作和培訓，但那麼多的美國人員並不是明顯必要的。對於這兩種情況，我擔心這些數字仍然受到意識形態和機構方面的影響，而不是由我們設定的目標所主導。

Ultimately it was Gates who came up with a workable resolution. In a private memo to me, he explained that McChrystal's request anticipated the United States replacing the ten thousand Dutch and Canadian troops their governments had pledged to bring home. If I authorized three brigades, for a total of thirty thousand U.S. troops, it might be possible to use that commitment to leverage the other ten thousand from our allies. Gates also agreed that we treat any infusion of new troops more as a surge than an open-ended commitment, both by accelerating the pace of their arrival and by setting a timetable of eighteen months for them to start coming home.

最终，盖茨提出了可行的解决方案。在一份私人备忘录中，他向我解释了麦克里斯托尔的请求预期美国将取代荷兰和加拿大政府已承诺撤回的一万名军队。如果我批准三个旅，总共三万名美军，可能可以利用这一承诺来影响我们的盟友提供另外一万名军队。盖茨还同意，我们将任何新兵的增撤更多地视为军事增援，而不是无限期的承诺，同时通过加快他们的到达速度并设定18个月的时间表使他们开始回家。

For me, Gates's acceptance of a timetable was particularly significant. In the past, he'd joined the Joint Chiefs and Petraeus in resisting the idea, claiming that timetables signaled to the enemy that they could wait us out. He was now persuaded that Karzai might never make hard decisions about his own government's responsibilities absent the knowledge that we'd be bringing troops home sooner rather than later.

After talking it over with Joe, Rahm, and the NSC staff, I decided to adopt Gates's proposal. There was a logic to it that went beyond simply splitting the difference between McChrystal's plan and the option Biden had worked up. In the short term, it gave McChrystal the firepower he needed to reverse the Taliban's momentum, protect population centers, and train up Afghan forces. But it set clear limits to COIN and put us firmly on the path of a narrower CT approach two years out. Haggling remained over how firm to make the thirty-thousand-troop cap (the Pentagon had a habit of deploying the approved number and then coming back with requests for thousands of "enablers"—medics, intelligence officers, and the like—which, it insisted, shouldn't count toward the total), and it took some time for Gates to sell the approach in his building. But a few days after Thanksgiving, I called an evening meeting in the Oval with Gates, Mullen, and Petraeus, as well as Rahm, Jim Jones, and Joe, where, in essence, I had everyone sign on the dotted line. NSC staffers had prepared a detailed memo outlining my order, and along with Rahm and Joe they'd persuaded me that having the Pentagon brass look me in the eye and commit to an agreement laid out on paper was the only way to avoid their publicly second-guessing my decision if the war went south.

對我來說，蓋茲接受時間表尤其顯著。過去，他和聯合參謀會議和彼得雷烏斯一起反對這個想法，聲稱時間表會向敵人發出信號，讓他們知道他們可以等我們出局。他現在被說服了，卡爾扎伊可能永遠不會在不知道我們早日撤軍的情況下作出有關政府責任的艱難決定。

在與喬、拉姆和NSC員工商量後，我決定採用蓋茲的提議。這其中還有更多的邏輯，不僅僅是在麥克福爾的計劃和拜登製定的選項之間達成妥協。在短期內，它為麥克福爾提供了必要的火力來扭轉塔利班的勢頭，保護人口中心和訓練阿富汗軍隊。但它明確地限制了COIN的範圍，並將我們堅定地走上了兩年後更加狹窄的CT途徑。人們仍然在爭論如何將三萬名士兵的上限訂得多麼嚴格（五角大廈有一個習慣，就是派遣批准的人數，然後提出補充需求，例如醫務人員、情報官員等，它堅稱這些不應計入總數），而且需要一些時間讓蓋茲在他的建築中推銷這個方法。但在感恩節幾天之後，我在橢圓形辦公室召集了一個晚上的會議，參加者包括蓋茲、穆倫和彼得雷烏斯，以及拉姆、吉姆·瓊斯和喬。NSC的工作者已經準備了一份詳細的備忘錄概述我的命令，與拉姆和喬一起說服我，讓五角大廈的人盯著我的眼睛，承諾在紙面上達成協議，這是避免他們在戰爭失敗時公開質疑我的決定唯一的途徑。

It was an unusual and somewhat heavy-handed gesture, one that no doubt grated on Gates and the generals and that I regretted almost immediately. A fitting end, I thought, to a messy, difficult stretch for my administration. I could take some satisfaction, though, in the fact that the review had served its purpose. Gates acknowledged that without producing a perfect plan, the hours of debate had made for a better plan. It forced us to refine America's strategic objectives in Afghanistan in a way that prevented mission creep. It established the utility of timetables for troop deployments in certain circumstances, something that had been long contested by the Washington national security establishment. Beyond putting an end to Pentagon freelancing for the duration of my presidency, it helped reaffirm the larger principle of civilian control over America's national security policy making.

這個舉動既不尋常也有些粗暴，毫無疑問這使蓋茲和將軍們感到不悅，而且我幾乎立刻就後悔了。我認為，對我的執政來說，這是一個混亂和困難時期的恰當結束。然而，在審查中，我可以因其達到了其目的，而感到一些滿意。蓋茲承認，在沒有制定完美計劃的情況下，透過數個小時的辯論，出現了更好的計劃。這迫使我們針對防止任務擴大的方式，進一步完善了美國在阿富汗的戰略目標。這確立了部分情況下宣布軍隊部署時間表的效用，這是華盛頓的國家安全機構長期以來一直爭論的問題。此外，在我任期內，終止五角大樓的自由行事，有助於重新確立民主控制美國國家安全政策制定的更大原則。

Still, the bottom line was that I'd be sending more young people to war.

We announced the planned troop deployment on December 1 at West Point, the oldest and most storied of America's service academies. A Continental Army post during the Revolutionary War, a little over an hour north of New York City, it's a beautiful place—a series of black-and-gray granite structures arranged like a small city high among green rolling hills, with a view over the broad and winding Hudson River. Before my speech, I visited with the West Point superintendent and glimpsed some of the buildings and grounds that had produced a who's who of America's most decorated military leaders: Grant and Lee, Patton and Eisenhower, MacArthur and Bradley, Westmoreland and Schwarzkopf.

然而，最終的結果是我將會派更多的年輕人去參戰。我們在12月1日在威斯特點宣布了預定的部隊部署計劃，威斯特點是美國最古老和最著名的軍事學院之一。在革命戰爭期間是一個大陸軍要塞，距離紐約市以北一個多小時的路程，這是一個美麗的地方 - 一系列黑色和灰色花崗岩結構高高地位於綠濤滾滾的山丘之上，俯瞰著寬闊而蜿蜒的哈德遜河。在我的演講之前，我與威斯特點的校長交談，並一瞥了一些建築和場地，這些地方孕育了美國最著名的軍事領袖：格蘭特和李，帕頓和艾森豪威爾，麥克阿瑟和布拉德利，韋斯特莫蘭德和施瓦茨科夫。

It was impossible not to be humbled and moved by the tradition those men represented, the service and sacrifice that had helped forge a nation, defeat fascism, and halt the march of totalitarianism. Just as it was necessary to recall that Lee had led a Confederate Army intent on preserving slavery and Grant had overseen the slaughter of Indian tribes; that MacArthur had defied Truman's orders in Korea to disastrous effect and Westmoreland had helped orchestrate an escalation in Vietnam that would scar a generation. Glory and tragedy, courage and stupidity—one set of truths didn't negate the other. For war was contradiction, as was the history of America.

不可能不被那些人所代表的传统所感动和谦卑，那些为国家打下基础、打败法西斯主义和阻止极权主义的服务和牺牲。就像我们需要记起，李将军曾领导邦联军队，意在维护奴隶制度，格兰特将军曾监管了印第安部落的屠杀；麦克阿瑟将军在韩战中违抗杜鲁门的命令，导致灾难性的后果，而韦斯特摩兰将军在越南升级冲突中进行策划，给一代人带来了创伤。光荣与悲剧，勇气和愚蠢，一个真理之类的东西并不会否定另一个。因为战争是矛盾的，美国的历史也是如此。

The large auditorium near the center of West Point's campus was full by the time I arrived, and aside from VIPs like Gates, Hillary, and the Joint Chiefs, the audience was made up almost entirely of cadets. They were in uniform: gray tunics with black trim over white collars. The sizable number of Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and women in their ranks offered vivid testimony to the changes that had taken place since the school graduated its first class in 1805. As I entered the stage to a band playing the ceremonial ruffles and flourishes, the cadets stood in unison and applauded; and looking out at their faces—so earnest and full of the glow of youth, so certain of their destiny and eager to defend their country—I felt my heart swell with an almost paternal pride. I just prayed that I and the others who commanded them were worthy of their trust.

西点军校校园中心附近的大礼堂已经爆满，除了像盖茨、希拉里和联合参谋首席一样的重要人物外，观众几乎全部由军校学员组成，他们身着制服：灰色上衣，黑色镶边，白色领挂。他们中的黑人、拉丁裔、亚裔美国人和女性的人数众多，生动地证明了自1805年以来该校已经发生的变化。当我走上舞台，踏着庄重的号手摇曳乐声，军校学员一致站起来鼓掌；看着他们的面孔——那么真诚、充满青春的光芒，那么确定自己的命运，渴望为自己的国家捍卫荣誉——我感到自己的心扉涌动着父爱般的骄傲。我只祈祷我和其他指挥他们的人配得上他们的信任。

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NINE DAYS LATER, I flew to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The image of those young cadets weighed on me. Rather than ignore the tension between getting a peace prize and expanding a war, I decided to make it the centerpiece of my acceptance address. With the help of Ben Rhodes and Samantha Power, I wrote a first draft, drawing on the writings of thinkers like Reinhold Niebuhr and Gandhi to organize my argument: that war is both terrible and sometimes necessary; that reconciling these seemingly contradictory ideas requires the community of nations to evolve higher standards for both the justification and the conduct of war; and that avoidance of war requires a just peace, founded on a common commitment to political freedom, a respect for human rights, and concrete strategies to expand economic opportunity around the world. I finished writing the speech in the dead of night aboard Air Force One as Michelle slept in our cabin, my weary eyes drawn away from the page every so often by the sight of a spectral moon over the Atlantic.

九天后，我飞往奥斯陆领取诺贝尔和平奖。那些年轻的军官们的形象仍然在我心中挥之不去。我决定不忽略获得和平奖和扩大战争之间的紧张关系，并将其作为我的接受演讲的核心。在本·罗兹和萨曼莎·鲍尔的帮助下，我起草了第一个版本，吸取了思想家如Reinhold Niebuhr和甘地（Gandhi）的著作，以组织我的论点：战争既是可怕的，有时又是必要的；化解这些看似矛盾的思想需要各个国家的社区不断提高对战争的正当性和行动的要求；避免战争需要公正的和平，建立在对政治自由，尊重人权，以及制定具体战略以扩大全球经济机会等共同承诺的基础上。我在空军一号机舱里的深夜写完演讲稿，米歇尔在睡觉，每当我疲惫的眼睛被大西洋上的幽灵月色吸引时，便会偏离阅读。

Like everything in Norway, the Nobel ceremony—held in a brightly lit auditorium seating a few hundred people—was sensibly austere: There was a lovely performance by the young jazz artist Esperanza Spalding, an introduction by the head of the Nobel committee, and then my address, all finished in around ninety minutes. The speech itself was well received, even by some conservative commentators who remarked on my willingness to remind European audiences of the sacrifices made by U.S. troops in underwriting decades of peace. That evening, the Nobel committee hosted a black-tie dinner in my honor, where I was seated next to the king of Norway, a gracious, elderly man who told me about sailing through his country's fjords. My sister Maya, along with friends like Marty and Anita, had flown in to join us, and everyone looked very sophisticated as they sipped champagne and chewed on grilled elk and later danced to a surprisingly good swing orchestra.像挪威的一切一样，诺贝尔颁奖典礼在一个坐着几百人的明亮礼堂举行，庄重而朴素：有年轻爵士艺术家埃丝佩兰萨·斯帕尔丁的美妙演出，诺贝尔委员会主席的介绍，然后是我的演讲，整个过程在90分钟内结束。演讲本身得到了良好的反响，甚至连一些保守的评论家也评论了我愿意提醒欧洲观众美国军队为维持几十年的和平所做的牺牲。当晚，诺贝尔委员会为了我主办了一场黑领晚

宴，我坐在挪威国王旁边，他是一位友好的老人，告诉我关于穿过他国家的峡湾。我的妹妹玛雅和像马蒂和阿妮塔这样的朋友也飞来加入我们，每个人都很优雅地品尝香槟，嚼着烤麋鹿肉，之后跳舞，享受出乎意料的优秀摇滚乐队。

What I remember most, though, was a scene that took place before dinner, at the hotel. Michelle and I had just finished getting dressed when Marvin knocked on the door and told us to look out our fourth-story window. Pulling back the shades, we saw that several thousand people had gathered in the early dusk, filling the narrow street below. Each person held aloft a single lit candle—the city's traditional way to express its appreciation for that year's peace prize winner. It was a magical sight, as if a pool of stars had descended from the sky; and as Michelle and I leaned out to wave, the night air brisk on our cheeks, the crowd cheering wildly, I couldn't help but think about the daily fighting that continued to consume Iraq and Afghanistan and all the cruelty and suffering and injustice that my administration had barely even begun to deal with. The idea that I, or any one person, could bring order to such chaos seemed laughable; on some level, the crowds below were cheering an illusion. And yet, in the flickering of those candles, I saw something else. I saw an expression of the spirit of millions of people around the world: the U.S. soldier manning a post in Kandahar, the mother in Iran teaching her daughter to read, the Russian pro-democracy activist mustering his courage for an upcoming demonstration—all those who refused to give up on the idea that life could be better, and that whatever the risks and hardships, they had a role to play.

我记忆中最深刻的一幕发生在酒店的晚餐前。当时，米歇尔和我正换好衣服，马文敲响了门，告诉我们去看一下四楼的窗外。我们拉开窗帘，看到几千人聚集在狭窄的街道上，手举点燃的蜡烛——这是这座城市传统的表达对当年和平奖得主的感激之情的方式。这是一个神奇的景象，就像星星的池塘从天空降临一般；当米歇尔和我伸出头挥手时，夜空凉爽的风吹着我们的脸，人群欢呼雀跃，我不禁想到每天还在继续肆虐的伊拉克和阿富汗的战争，所有的残忍、苦难和不公，而我的政府还没有真正解决。任何一个人都可能掌控如此混乱是可笑的，下面的人群在某种程度上欢呼的是一个幻象。但是，当那些蜡烛闪烁的时候，我看到了另一种东西。我看到了全世界数百万人的精神表达：在坎大哈扎守卫阵地的美国士兵，伊朗的母亲教女儿阅读的场景，俄罗斯的亲民主活动家为即将到来的游行鼓起勇气——所有那些拒绝放弃生活能变得更好的想法，无论面临什么风险和困难，他们都有自己的角色要发挥。

Whatever you do won't be enough, I heard their voices say.

Try anyway.

不管你做什麼都不夠好，我聽見他們的聲音說。

還是試著去做吧。

## CHAPTER 19

RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY, I'd promised Americans a different kind of foreign policy than the sort we'd been practicing since 9/11. Iraq and Afghanistan offered stark lessons in how quickly a president's options narrowed once a war had begun. I was determined to shift a certain mindset that had gripped not just the Bush administration but much of Washington—one that saw threats around every corner, took a perverse pride in acting unilaterally, and considered military action as an almost routine means of addressing foreign policy challenges. In our interactions with other nations, we had become obdurate and shortsighted, resistant to the hard, slow work of building coalitions and consensus. We'd closed ourselves off from other points of view. I believed that America's security depended on strengthening our alliances and international institutions. I saw military action as a tool of last, not first, resort.

### 第19章

我竞选总统时，承诺美国将采用不同于9/11以来的外交政策。伊拉克和阿富汗战争教给我们一个醒目的教训：一旦发生战争，总统的选择余地就会急剧缩小。我决心改变一个在不仅是布什政府，而且在华盛顿热衷于各种威胁、执意单打独斗、认为军事行动是解决外交挑战的惯常手段的心态。在我们同其他国家互动时，我们已经变得固执狭隘，不受欢迎，并且抵制建立联盟和共识的艰难而缓慢的工作。我们把自己封闭起来不愿听取其他观点。我认为，美国的安全取决于加强我们的联盟和国际机构。我认为军事行动应该是最后而不是第一选择。

We had to manage the wars we were in. But I also wanted to put this broader faith in diplomacy to the test.

It began with a change in tone. From the start of my administration, we made sure that every foreign policy statement coming out of the White House emphasized the importance of international cooperation and America's intention to engage other nations, big and small, on the basis of mutual interest and respect. We looked for small but symbolic ways to shift policy—like boosting the international affairs budget at the State Department or bringing the United States out of arrears on its U.N. dues after several years in which the Bush administration and the Republican-controlled Congress had withheld certain payments.

我们必须应对我们所处的战争。但我也想要对更广泛的外交信仰进行测试。

这始于语调的改变。从我执政的开始，我们确保白宫发表的每篇外交政策声明都强调国际合作的重要性和美国与其他国家，无论大小，基于互利和尊重的意愿进行接触。我们寻找小但具有象征意义的方式改变政策——比如增加国务院的国际事务预算或让美国摆脱几年来布什政府和共和党控制下的国会拖欠联合国会费的情况。

Consistent with the adage that 80 percent of success is a matter of showing up, we also made a point of visiting parts of the world that had been neglected by the Bush administration, with its all-consuming focus on terrorism and the Middle East. Hillary, in particular, was a whirlwind that first year, hopping from continent to continent as doggedly as she'd once campaigned for the presidency. Seeing the excitement her visits generated in foreign capitals, I felt vindicated in my decision to appoint her as America's top diplomat. It wasn't just that she was treated as a peer by world leaders. Wherever she went, the public saw her presence in their country as a sign that they really mattered to us.符合“成功的80%在于出现”的格言，我们还特别注意拜访那些布什政府所忽略的世界各地，并将全部注意力集中在反恐和中东问题上。尤其是在第一年，希拉里像竞选总统一样不停地飞跑各个大陆。看到她的访问在

外国首都引发的热情，我感到了自己任命她为美国最高外交官的决定是正确的。并不仅仅是因为她被世界领导人视为同等对待，还因为她走到哪里，公众都将她的存在视为我们真正重视他们的迹象。

“If we want other countries to support our priorities,” I told my NSC team, “we can’t just bully them into it. We’ve got to show them we’re taking their perspectives into account—or at least can find them on a map.”

To be known. To be heard. To have one’s unique identity recognized and seen as worthy. It was a universal human desire, I thought, as true for nations and peoples as it was for individuals. If I understood that basic truth more than some of my predecessors, perhaps it was because I’d spent a big chunk of my childhood abroad and had family in places long considered “backward” and “underdeveloped.” Or maybe it was because as an African American, I’d experienced what it was like not to be fully seen inside my own country.

“如果我们希望其他国家支持我们的优先事项”，我告诉我的NSC团队，“我们不能仅仅通过欺凌来逼迫他们。我们必须向他们展示我们考虑了他们的观点 - 或者至少能够在地图上找到它们。”

要被人知道。要被人听到。让自己独特的身份得到认可，被视为有价值。我认为这是一种普遍的人类欲望，对于国家和人民来说同样适用于个人。如果我比一些前任更了解这个基本真理，可能是因为我在童年时期在国外生活了很长时间，并且在长期被认为是“落后”和“欠发达”的地方有家人。或者可能是因为作为一个非裔美国人，我体验过在自己的国家内没有完全被看到的感觉。

Whatever the reason, I made a point of showing an interest in the history, culture, and people of the places we visited. Ben joked that my overseas speeches could be reduced to a simple algorithm: “[Greeting in foreign language—often badly pronounced.] It’s wonderful to be in this beautiful country that’s made lasting contributions to world civilization. [List of stuff.] There’s a long history of friendship between our two nations. [Inspiring anecdote.] And it’s in part due to the contributions of the millions of proud [hyphenated Americans] whose ancestors immigrated to our shores that the United States is the nation it is today.” It might have been corny, but the smiles and nods of foreign audiences showed the extent to which simple acts of acknowledgment mattered.

不管出於什麼原因，我都特別表現出對所造訪的地方的歷史、文化和人民的興趣。本開玩笑說，我的海外演講可以簡化為一個簡單的算法：“[用外語打招呼——通常發音不好。] 能夠身在這個美麗的國度，這個曾對世界文明做出過持久貢獻的國家，真是太棒了。[列舉一些東西。] 我們兩國之間有著悠久的友誼史。[激勵人心的軼事。] 而正是由於數以百萬計引來來我們國家的驕傲的[連字號的美國人的]祖先的貢獻，才使得美國成為如今的國家。” 這可能有點老套，但外國觀眾的微笑和點頭顯示了簡單承認的重要性。

For the same reason, we tried to include some high-profile sightseeing on all my foreign trips, something to get me out of hotels and beyond the palace gates. My interest in touring Istanbul’s Blue Mosque or visiting a local eatery in Ho Chi Minh City, I knew, would make a far more lasting impression on the average Turkish or Vietnamese citizen than any bilateral meeting or press conference talking point. Just as important, these stops gave me a chance to interact at least a little with ordinary people rather than just government officials and wealthy elites, who in many countries were viewed as out of touch.

出於同樣的原因，我們在所有的外國之旅中都試圖包括一些知名的觀光活動，讓我能走出旅館，超越宮殿的大門。我知道，在伊斯坦布爾的藍色清真寺進行觀光活動或在胡志明市拜訪當地的餐館，比任何雙邊會議或新聞發布會的談話重點對土耳其或越南普通市民的印象更加深刻。同樣重要的是，這些停留地給我一個機會至少在一定程度上與普通人互動，而不僅僅是與政府官員和富裕的精英互動，這在許多國家被視為脫離現實。

But our most effective public diplomacy tool came straight out of my campaign playbook: During my international trips, I made a point of hosting town hall meetings with young people. The first time we tried it, with a crowd of more than three thousand European students during the NATO summit in Strasbourg, we weren’t sure what to expect. Would I get heckled? Would I bore them with long, convoluted answers? But after an unscripted hour in which members of the audience enthusiastically questioned me on everything from climate change to fighting terrorism and offered their own good-humored observations (including the fact that “Barack” means “peach” in Hungarian), we decided to make it a regular feature of my foreign travel.

但是，我們最有效的公共外交工具直接來自我的競選策略：在我出訪期間，我特別舉辦了針對年輕人的市民大會。第一次嘗試這種方式時，我在參加北約峰會時，與三千多名歐洲學生見面。我們不確定會發生什麼，我會被嘲笑嗎？我會回答得冗長麻煩嗎？但在一個自由發揮的小時內，觀眾積極地向我提問，從氣候變化到反恐鬥爭的所有問題，並提出他們自己幽默的觀察（包括“Barack”在匈牙利語中意味著“桃子”），我們決定讓它成為我外國旅行的常規節目。

The town halls usually were broadcast live on the country’s national stations, and whether they emanated from Buenos Aires, Mumbai, or Johannesburg, they attracted a large viewership. For folks in many parts of the world, the sight of a head of state making him- or herself accessible for direct questioning from citizens was a novelty—and a more meaningful argument for democracy than any lecture I might give. In consultation with our local embassies, we often invited young activists from the host country’s marginalized groups—religious or ethnic minorities, refugees, LGBTQ students—to participate. By handing them a microphone and letting them tell their own stories, I could expose a nation of viewers to the justness of their claims.

镇政府通常在本国的国家电视台直播，无论是在布宜诺斯艾利斯、孟买还是约翰内斯堡，都吸引了大量的观众。对于许多世界各地的人来说，看到国家元首直接回答公民的提问是一件新奇的事情，也比我所做的任何演讲更有意义。我们经常在与当地大使馆的协商下，邀请来自东道国弱势群体-宗教或种族少数派、难民和LGBTQ学生-参加。通过给他们一个麦克风，让他们讲述自己的故事，我可以向全国观众展示他们请求的公正性。

The young people I met in those town halls were a steady source of personal inspiration. They made me laugh and sometimes made me tear up. In their idealism, they reminded me of the youthful organizers and volunteers who had propelled me into the presidency, and of the bonds we share across racial, ethnic, and national boundaries when we learn to set aside our fear. No matter how frustrated or discouraged I might have felt going in, I always came out

of those town halls feeling recharged, as if I'd been dipped in a cool forest spring. So long as young men and women like that exist in every corner of this earth, I told myself, there is reason enough to hope.

在那些城市大厅里遇到的年轻人是我个人的灵感源泉。他们让我开怀大笑，有时候也会让我热泪盈眶。在他们的理想主义中，他们让我想起年轻的组织者和志愿者，他们将我推向了总统职位，还让我想起我们共同的纽带，跨越种族、民族和国界的界限，当我们学会放下恐惧。无论我在进入时感到多么沮丧或灰心，我总是在那些城镇大厅里充满能量地出来，仿佛我已经被蘸入冰凉的森林泉水中。只要像他们这样的年轻男女在这个地球的每个角落存在，我告诉自己，有足够的理由去希望。

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AROUND THE WORLD, public attitudes toward the United States had steadily improved since I'd taken office, demonstrating that our early diplomatic work was paying off. This heightened popularity made it easier for our allies to sustain or even boost their troop contributions in Afghanistan, knowing that their citizens trusted our leadership. It gave me and Tim Geithner more leverage when coordinating the international response to the financial crisis. After North Korea started testing ballistic missiles, Susan Rice was able to get the Security Council to pass robust international sanctions, in part because of her skill and tenacity but also, she told me, because "a lot of countries want to be seen as being aligned with you."

在世界各地，公众对美国的态度自我就职以来稳步改善，这证明了我们早期的外交工作正在取得成果。这种提高的人气使我们的盟友更容易维持甚至增加在阿富汗的军队贡献，因为他们的公民信任我们的领导。这给了我和蒂姆·盖特纳更多的谈判筹码，在协调国际应对金融危机方面发挥作用。在朝鲜开始测试弹道导弹之后，苏珊·赖斯能够获得安理会通过强有力的国际制裁，这在一定程度上是因为她的技巧和韧性，但也是因为她告诉我，“很多国家想被视为与你对齐”。

Still, there were limits to what a diplomatic charm offensive could accomplish. At the end of the day, each nation's foreign policy remained driven by its own economic interests, geography, ethnic and religious schisms, territorial disputes, founding myths, lasting traumas, ancient animosities—and, most of all, the imperatives of those who had and sought to maintain power. It was the rare foreign leader who was susceptible to moral suasion alone. Those who sat atop repressive governments could for the most part safely ignore public opinion. To make progress on the thorniest foreign policy issues, I needed a second kind of diplomacy, one of concrete rewards and punishments designed to alter the calculations of hard, ruthless leaders. And, throughout my first year, interactions with the leaders of three countries in particular—Iran, Russia, and China—gave me an early indication of how difficult that would be.

然而，外交魅力攻势的成效始终有限。归根结底，每个国家的外交政策都受其经济利益、地理位置、种族和宗教分裂、领土争端、建国神话、持久创伤、古老敌意，以及最重要的那些拥有并试图维持权力的人的指令所驱动。那些坐镇镇压政府的领导人大多数情况下都可以安全地忽视民意。要在最棘手的外交政策问题上取得进展，我需要第二种外交手段，即针对硬邦邦的、残忍的领导人设计的具体奖惩措施，以改变其思考方式。在我第一年任职期间，与三个特定国家的领导人（伊朗、俄罗斯和中国）的互动为我展示了这一点有多难。

Of the three, Iran posed the least serious challenge to America's long-term interests but won the prize for "Most Actively Hostile." Heir to the great Persian empires of antiquity, once an epicenter of science and art during Islam's medieval golden age, Iran had for many years barely registered in the minds of U.S. policy makers. With Turkey and Iraq on its western border and Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east, it was generally viewed as just another poor Middle Eastern country, its territory shrunk by civil conflict and ascendant European powers. In 1951, though, Iran's secular, left-leaning parliament moved to nationalize the country's oil fields, seizing control of profits that had once gone to the British government, which owned a majority stake in Iran's biggest oil production and export company. Unhappy to be boxed out, the Brits imposed a naval blockade to prevent Iran from shipping oil to would-be buyers. They also convinced the Eisenhower administration that the new Iranian government was tilting toward the Soviets, leading Eisenhower to green-light Operation Ajax, a CIA-MI6-engineered coup that deposed Iran's democratically elected prime minister and consolidated power in the hands of the country's young monarch, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

在三個國家中，伊朗對美國的長期利益構成的威脅最小，但卻獲得了“最積極敵對”的獎項。作為古代波斯帝國的繼承者，在伊斯蘭教中世紀的黃金時期是科學和藝術的中心，伊朗多年來在美國政策制定者的思想中幾乎沒有什麼地位。由於土耳其和伊拉克位於伊朗的西部邊境，阿富汗和巴基斯坦位於東部，因此它通常被視為另一個貧窮的中東國家，其領土因內部衝突和崛起中的歐洲強國而縮小。然而，在1951年，伊朗的世俗、左翼國會決定國有化該國的石油田，掌握曾經歸英國政府所有的最大石油生產和出口公司的利潤。不滿被排擠，英國人實行海上封鎖，阻止伊朗向有意購買者運輸石油。他們還說服艾森豪威爾政府，新的伊朗政府正在偏向蘇聯，導致艾森豪威爾批准執行Ajax計劃，一個由中央情報局和英國情報局MI6策劃的政變，推翻了伊朗民主選舉產生的總理，並將權力集中在該國年輕的君主——穆罕默德·禮薩·巴勒維的手中。

Operation Ajax set a pattern for U.S. miscalculation in dealing with developing countries that lasted throughout the Cold War: mistaking nationalist aspirations for Communist plots; equating commercial interests with national security; subverting democratically elected governments and aligning ourselves with autocrats when we determined it was to our benefit. Still, for the first twenty-seven years, U.S. policy makers must have figured their gambit in Iran had worked out just fine. The shah became a stalwart ally who extended contracts to U.S. oil companies and bought plenty of expensive U.S. weaponry. He maintained friendly relations with Israel, gave women the right to vote, used the country's growing wealth to modernize the economy and the education system, and mingled easily with Western businesspeople and European royalty.

「阿贾克斯行动」为美国在处理发展中国家事务时计算失误设置了一个模式，并贯穿于冷战期间：将民族主义的渴望误认为共产主义阴谋；把商业利益等同于国家安全；颠覆民选政府并在我们认为有利时与独裁者结盟。然而，前27年，美国政策制定者一定认为他们在伊朗的策略是成功的。沙阿成了一个坚定

的盟友，扩大了美国石油公司的合同并购买了大量昂贵的美国武器。他与以色列保持友好关系，赋予妇女选举权，利用国家日益增长的财富来现代化经济和教育体系，并轻松地与西方商人和欧洲皇室交往。」

Less obvious to outsiders was a simmering discontent with the shah's extravagant spending, ruthless repression (his secret police were notorious for torturing and killing dissidents), and promotion of Western social mores that, in the eyes of conservative clerics and their many followers, violated the core tenets of Islam. Nor did CIA analysts pay much attention to the growing influence of an exiled messianic Shiite cleric, Ayatollah Khomeini, whose writings and speeches denounced the shah as a Western puppet and called on the faithful to replace the existing order with an Islamic state governed by sharia law. So U.S. officials were caught by surprise when a series of demonstrations inside Iran at the start of 1978 blossomed into a full-blown populist revolution. In successive waves, followers of Khomeini's were joined in the streets by disaffected workers, unemployed youths, and pro-democracy forces seeking a return to constitutional rule. By the beginning of 1979, with the number of demonstrators swelling into the millions, the shah quietly fled the country and was briefly admitted into the United States for medical treatment. America's nightly newscasts were filled with images of the ayatollah—white-bearded, with the smoldering eyes of a prophet—stepping off a plane in triumphant return from exile before a sea of adoring supporters.

对于外人来说，更不明显的是对沙阿奢侈开支、残酷镇压（他的秘密警察因拷打和杀害异见人士而声名狼藉）以及推广西方社会风俗的不满，这在保守派神职人员及其许多追随者看来违反了伊斯兰教的核心原则。CIA分析师也没有过多关注被流放的弥赛亚什叶派神职人员Khomeini的影响力增长，他的著作和演讲谴责沙阿是西方的傀儡，并呼吁信徒们用伊斯兰法统治的国家取代现存的秩序。因此，当1978年初伊朗国内一系列示威活动演变成为一个全面的民粹主义革命时，美国官员被惊讶地发现了这一点。随着时间的推移，Khomeini的追随者在街头得到了不满工人、失业青年和寻求恢复宪政规则的亲民主派的支持。到1979年初，示威者的数量增至数百万，沙阿悄然逃离国家，被短暂地允许进入美国接受医治。美国的夜间新闻节目充斥着白胡子的伊玛目——具有预言家般的燃眉之急——在一个崇拜者海洋前从流亡中凯旋归来的画面。

Most Americans knew little about this history as the revolution unfolded—or why people in a faraway country were suddenly burning Uncle Sam in effigy and chanting “Death to America.” I sure didn’t. I was seventeen at the time, still in high school and just on the cusp of political awareness. I only vaguely understood the details of all that happened next: how Khomeini installed himself as supreme leader and sidelined former secular and reformist allies; how he formed the paramilitary Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) to crush anybody who challenged the new regime; and how he used the drama that unfolded when radicalized students stormed the U.S. embassy and took American hostages to help solidify the revolution and humiliate the world’s most powerful nation.

當革命爆發時，大多數美國人對這段歷史知之甚少，也不知道為什麼一個遙遠的國家的人們會突然焚燒Uncle Sam的肖像並高呼“死亡美國”。我當時也一樣。當時我十七歲，還在上高中，剛開始對政治有一點認識。我只模模糊糊地了解了接下來發生的一切細節：穆罕默德·魯霍拉·霍梅尼(Khomeini)如何成為至高無上的領袖，邊緣化了以前的世俗和改革派盟友；他如何成立伊斯蘭革命衛隊(IRGC)來壓制任何挑戰新政府的人；以及他如何利用當極端主義學生衝擊美國大使館並綁架美國人質的事件來鞏固革命、羞辱全球最強大的國家。

But it's hard to overstate just how much, thirty years later, the fallout from these events still shaped the geopolitical landscape of my presidency. Iran's revolution inspired a slew of other radical Islamic movements intent on duplicating its success. Khomeini's call to overthrow Sunni Arab monarchies turned Iran and the House of Saud into bitter enemies and sharpened sectarian conflict across the Middle East. Iraq's attempted 1980 invasion of Iran and the bloody eight-year war that followed—a war in which the Gulf states provided Saddam Hussein with financing while the Soviets supplied Khomeini's military with arms, including chemical weapons—accelerated Iran's sponsorship of terrorism as a way to offset its enemies' military advantages. (The United States, under Reagan, cynically tried to have it both ways, publicly backing Iraq while secretly selling arms to Iran.) Khomeini's vow to wipe Israel off the map—manifest in the IRGC's support for armed proxies like the Lebanon-based Shiite militia Hezbollah and the military wing of the Palestinian resistance group Hamas—made the Iranian regime Israel's single greatest security threat and contributed to the general hardening of Israeli attitudes toward possible peace with its neighbors. More broadly, Khomeini's rendering of the world as a Manichaean clash between the forces of Allah and those of “the Great Satan” (America) seeped like a toxin into the minds not just of future jihadists but of those in the West already inclined to view Muslims as objects of suspicion and fear.然而，三十年后，这些事件的后遗症对我的总统任期塑造了地缘政治局势产生了巨大的影响，这一点很难言过其实。伊朗的革命激发了一系列其他激进的伊斯兰运动，旨在复制其成功。霍梅尼呼吁推翻逊尼派阿拉伯君主制，将伊朗和沙特王室变成了激烈的敌人，并加剧了中东地区的派系冲突。伊拉克在1980年试图入侵伊朗，随后爆发了为期八年的血腥战争，海湾国家提供萨达姆·侯赛因财政支持，苏联提供呼吁军事平衡的工农红军的武器，包括化学武器，加速了伊朗作为对抗敌人军事优势的恐怖主义赞助人的形象。（里根政府曾试图公开支持伊拉克，但私下里卖武器给伊朗。）霍梅尼誓言抹掉以色列的存在，这一点表现在伊朗伊斯兰革命卫队支持黎巴嫩什叶派民兵组织“真主党”和巴勒斯坦抵抗组织军事翼之上，使伊朗政权成为以色列的最大安全威胁，促进了以色列对与邻国可能和平的态度的普遍硬化。更广泛地说，霍梅尼将世界描绘为阿拉和“大撒旦”（美国）之间的曼纳根派系冲突，在未来的圣战者中，也在西方倾向于将穆斯林视为怀疑和恐惧的对象的人们的头脑中，像毒物般渗透。

Khomeini died in 1989. His successor, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, a cleric who'd barely traveled outside his own country and never would again, apparently matched Khomeini in his hatred of America. Despite his title as supreme leader, Khamenei's authority wasn't absolute—he had to confer with a powerful council of clerics, while day-to-day responsibility for the running of the government fell to a popularly elected president. There'd been a period toward the end of the Clinton administration and the start of the Bush administration when more moderate forces inside Iran had gained a little traction, offering the prospect of a thaw in U.S.-Iranian relations. After 9/11, Iran's then president, Mohammad Khatami, had even reached out to the Bush administration with offers to help with America's response in neighboring Afghanistan. But U.S. officials had ignored the gesture, and once President Bush named Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, as part of an “axis of evil” in his 2002 State of the Union speech, whatever diplomatic window existed effectively slammed shut.

霍梅尼于1989年去世。他的继任者是阿亚图拉·阿里·哈梅内伊，一个几乎没有离开自己国家过的神职人员，也永远不会再离开。显然，他与霍梅尼一样憎恨美国。尽管他是最高领袖，但哈梅内伊的权威并不绝对——他必须与一个强大的神职人员委员会进行协商，而日常政府运作的责任则落在一个普选的总统身上。在克林顿政府末期和布什政府初期，伊朗内部的更温和的力量曾经获得了一些进展，提供了美伊关系解冻的前景。9/11事件后，伊朗当时的总统穆罕默德·哈塔米甚至向布什政府伸出援手，提供帮助对付邻国阿富汗的局势。但美国官员选择忽视这一举动，而布什总统在2002年的国情咨文演说中将伊朗、伊拉克和朝鲜列为“邪恶轴心”的一部分后，任何外交缓冲期实际上都被彻底关闭了。

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BY THE TIME I took office, conservative hard-liners were firmly back in charge in Tehran, led by a new president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whose manic anti-Western outbursts, Holocaust denial, and persecution of gays and others he considered a threat made him a perfect distillation of the regime's most hateful aspects. Iranian weapons were still being sent to militants intent on killing American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. The U.S. invasion of Iraq had greatly strengthened Iran's strategic position in the region by replacing its sworn enemy, Saddam Hussein, with a Shiite-led government subject to Iranian influence. Hezbollah, Iran's proxy, had emerged as the most powerful faction in Lebanon, with Iranian-supplied missiles that could now reach Tel Aviv. The Saudis and Israelis spoke in alarming tones of an expanding "Shiite Crescent" of Iranian influence and made no secret of their interest in the possibility of a U.S.-initiated regime change.當我上任時，保守派強硬分子已在德黑蘭牢牢掌權，由一位名叫馬哈茂德·艾哈邁迪內賈德的新總統領導，他瘋狂反西方的言論、否認大屠殺以及對同性戀者等視為威脅的人的迫害，成為了政權最令人憎惡的一面。伊朗武器仍在寄送給為殺死伊拉克和阿富汗美軍而心懷不滿的激進份子。美國對伊拉克的入侵極大地增強了伊朗在該地區的戰略地位，因為它用什葉派領導的政府取代了它的敵人薩達姆·侯賽因。真主黨，伊朗的代理人，在黎巴嫩成為了最強大的派系，憑借伊朗提供的飛彈，它現在能夠攻擊特拉維夫。沙特和以色列以令人擔憂的口吻談論著伊朗影響力擴大的“什葉派新月”並不掩飾他們對美國發動政權更迭的可能性的興趣。

Under any circumstances, then, Iran would have been a grade A headache for my administration. But it was the country's accelerating nuclear program that threatened to turn a bad situation into a full-blown crisis.

The regime had inherited nuclear facilities built during the time of the shah, and under the U.N.'s Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—to which Iran had been a signatory since its ratification in 1970—it had the right to use nuclear energy for peaceful means. Unfortunately the same centrifuge technology used to spin and enrich the low-enriched uranium (LEU) that fueled nuclear power plants could be modified to produce weapons-grade, highly enriched uranium (HEU). As one of our experts put it, "With enough HEU, a smart high school physics student with access to the internet can produce a bomb." Between 2003 and 2009, Iran boosted its total number of uranium-enriching centrifuges from a hundred to as many as five thousand, far more than any peaceful program could justify. The U.S. intelligence community was reasonably confident that Iran didn't have a nuclear weapon yet. But it was also convinced that the regime had narrowed its "breakout capacity"—the window of time needed to produce enough uranium to build a viable nuclear weapon—to a potentially dangerous point.然而，在任何情況下，伊朗都將是我政府头疼的首選。但是，該國加速的核計劃威脅著將糟糕的局面變成全面危機。

该政权继承了沙阿时期建造的核设施，并根据联合国《核不扩散条约》（伊朗自1970年批准以来一直是该条约的缔约国）的规定，有权利利用核能进行和平目的。不幸的是，用于旋转和富集低浓铀（LEU）的离心技术可以修改为产生武器级别的高度富集铀（HEU）。正如我们的一位专家所说，“有足够的HEU，只要有互联网接入权限的高中物理学生就可以制造一个原子弹。”2003年至2009年间，伊朗将其总数为一百个的浓缩铀离心机的数量提高到了多达五千个，远远超过任何和平计划所能证明的数量。美国情报界相当确信，伊朗尚未拥有核武器。但它也确信，该政权已经将其“突圍能力”缩小到一个潜在危险的点，需要足够的时间来生产足够的铀以建立可行的核武器。

An Iranian nuclear arsenal wouldn't need to threaten the U.S. homeland; just the possibility of a nuclear strike or nuclear terrorism in the Middle East would severely limit a future U.S. president's options to check Iranian aggression toward its neighbors. The Saudis would likely react by pursuing their own rival "Sunni bomb," triggering a nuclear arms race in the world's most volatile region. Meanwhile, Israel—reportedly holding a trove of undeclared nuclear weapons itself—viewed a nuclear-armed Iran as an existential threat and was allegedly drawing up plans for a preemptive strike against Iran's facilities. Any action, reaction, or miscalculation by any of these parties could plunge the Middle East—and the United States—into yet another conflict at a time when we still had 180,000 highly exposed troops along Iran's borders, and when any big spike in oil prices could send the world economy deeper into a tailspin. At times during my administration we gamed out the scenarios for what a conflict with Iran would look like; I left those conversations weighed down by the knowledge that if war became necessary, nearly everything else I was trying to achieve would likely be upended.

伊朗的核武库不一定需要威胁美国本土；仅可能发生的核打击或核恐怖主义活动就足以严重限制未来美国总统检查伊朗对其邻国侵略的选择。沙特可能会通过追求其自己的对手“逊尼派原子弹”作出反应，引发全球最不稳定地区的核武竞赛。同时，以色列——据称自己持有大量未申报的核武器——将伊朗拥有核武器视为存在威胁，并据称正在制定对伊朗设施的先发制人打击计划。这些任何一方的任何行动、反应或错误判断都可能使中东，甚至美国，陷入另一场冲突，而这时我们仍有18万高度暴露的军队驻扎在伊朗边境，并且任何油价大幅上涨都可能使世界经济陷入更深的低谷。在我的执政期间，我们有时会模拟与伊朗冲突的场景；我离开那些对话时，深感如果需要战争，我所试图实现的几乎一切都可能被颠覆。

For all these reasons, my team and I had spent much of the transition discussing how to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon—ideally through diplomacy rather than by starting another war. We settled on a two-step strategy. Because there had been almost no high-level contact between the United States and Iran since 1980, step one involved direct outreach. As I'd said in my inaugural address, we were ready to extend a hand to those willing to unclench their fists. Within weeks of taking office, I'd sent a secret letter to Ayatollah Khamenei through a channel we had with Iranian diplomats at the United Nations, suggesting that we open a dialogue between our two countries on a range of issues, including Iran's nuclear program. Khamenei's answer was blunt: Iran had no interest in direct talks. He did, however, take the opportunity to suggest ways the United States could stop being an imperialist bully.

出于这些原因，我的团队和我在过渡期间花了很多时间讨论如何通过外交手段而不是再开启一场战争来防止伊朗获得核武器。我们制定了一个两步战略。由于自1980年以来，美国与伊朗进行了几乎没有高层联系，所以第一步需要进行直接接触。正如我在就职演讲中所说的那样，我们愿意向那些愿意放松拳头的人伸出援手。在上任几周内，我通过我们与联合国伊朗外交官之间的联系渠道，向哈梅内伊阿亚图拉秘密发去一封信，建议我们两个国家在包括伊朗核计划在内的一系列问题上展开对话。哈梅内伊的回答很直接：伊朗对直接对话没有兴趣。然而，他却利用这个机会向美国建议了停止成为帝国主义欺凌者的方法。

“Guess he’s not unclenching his fist anytime soon,” Rahm said after reading a copy of Khamenei’s letter, which had been translated from Farsi.

“Only enough to give me the middle finger,” I said.

The truth was, none of us in the White House had expected a positive response. I’d sent the letter anyway because I wanted to establish that the impediment to diplomacy was not America’s intransigence—it was Iran’s. I reinforced a message of openness to the broader Iranian public through a traditional Persian New Year’s (Nowruz) greeting that we put online in March.

「拉姆看完哈梅内伊的信，從翻譯的波斯文本得知：『我猜他不會很快松開握緊的拳頭。』」

「除非只是想竖中指給我看。」我回答。

事實上，在白宮裡，我們都沒有預料到他會回應肯定的訊息。不過，我還是寄了信因為我想要讓所有人知道，外交進程的障礙不是由於美國的頑固，而是由伊朗造成的。我還透過在三月份上線的波斯傳統新年（Nowruz）問候，傳達出對廣大伊朗民眾開放的訊息。」

As it was, any prospects of an early breakthrough were extinguished in June 2009, when Iranian opposition candidate Mir-Hossein Mousavi credibly accused government officials of vote rigging to help reelect Ahmadinejad to a second term as president. Millions of protesters inside Iran took to the streets to challenge the election results, launching a self-described “Green Movement” that posed one of the most significant internal challenges to the Islamic state since the 1979 Revolution.

The ensuing crackdown was merciless and swift. Mousavi and other opposition leaders were placed under house arrest. Peaceful marchers were beaten, and a significant number were killed. One night, from the comfort of my residence, I scanned the reports of the protests online and saw video of a young woman shot in the streets, a web of blood spreading across her face as she began to die, her eyes gazing upward in reproach.然而，机会在2009年6月烟消云散，当时伊朗反对派候选人穆萨维可信地指责政府官员操纵选票，以帮助艾哈迈迪内贾德连任总统。数百万伊朗境内的抗议者走上街头，挑战选举结果，发起了一场自称为“绿色运动”的抗议活动，这是自1979年革命以来对伊斯兰国家最重要的内部挑战之一。

随之而来的镇压是无情的和迅速的。穆萨维和其他反对派领袖都被软禁。和平的游行者被打了，很多人被杀了。有一天晚上，在我住所的舒适环境中，我浏览网络上有关抗议活动的报告，看到了一位年轻女子在街上被枪杀的视频，一团血在她脸上蔓延，她的眼睛仰望着上方，责备着。

It was a haunting reminder of the price so many people around the world paid for wanting some say in how they were governed, and my first impulse was to express strong support for the demonstrators. But when I gathered my national security team, our Iran experts advised against such a move.

According to them, any statement from me would likely backfire. Already, regime hard-liners were pushing the fiction that foreign agents were behind the demonstrations, and activists inside Iran feared that any supportive statements from the U.S. government would be seized upon to discredit their movement. I felt obliged to heed these warnings, and signed off on a series of bland, bureaucratic statements—“We continue to monitor the entire situation closely”; “The universal rights to assembly and free speech must be respected”—urging a peaceful resolution that reflected the will of the Iranian people.

這是對世界上許多人為了想要參與管治付出的代價的不祥提醒，我的第一個衝動是表達對示威者的強烈支持。但當我集合我們的國家安全團隊時，我們的伊朗專家反對這樣做。根據他們的說法，我發表的任何聲明都可能會產生反效果。已經有政權強硬派推動外國特工是示威活動的幕後推手的說法，而伊朗內部的活動人士擔心美國政府的任何支持性言論都會被用來抹黑他們的運動。我感到有義務聽取這些建議，簽署了一系列平淡無奇、官僚的聲明 - “我們持續密切關注整個局勢”；“大家必須尊重集會和言論自由的普世權利” - 呼籲和平解決問題，反映伊朗人民的意志。

As the violence escalated, so did my condemnation. Still, such a passive approach didn’t sit well with me—and not just because I had to listen to Republicans howl that I was coddling a murderous regime. I was learning yet another difficult lesson about the presidency: that my heart was now chained to strategic considerations and tactical analysis, my convictions subject to counterintuitive arguments; that in the most powerful office on earth, I had less freedom to say what I meant and act on what I felt than I’d had as a senator—or as an ordinary citizen disgusted by the sight of a young woman gunned down by her own government.

随着暴力事件不断升级，我的谴责也随之升级。然而，这种消极的方法并不让我感到舒服——这不仅仅是因为我必须听共和党人怒吼说我在纵容一个杀人政权。我正在学习有关总统职位的又一重难题：我的心现在被战略考虑和战术分析所束缚，我的信念受到了违反直觉的争论影响；在世界上最有权力的职位里，我没有像参议员或是一名普通公民那样有自由去说出我的意思、表达我的感受，因为我要考虑到某些反常的情况。我看到年轻女孩被自己的政府枪杀，感到震惊，而现在我拥有的自由比之前更少了。

Having been rebuffed in our attempts to open a dialogue with Iran, and with the country spiraling into chaos and further repression, we shifted to step two of our nonproliferation strategy: mobilizing the international community to apply tough, multilateral economic sanctions that might force Iran to the negotiating table. The U.N. Security Council had already passed multiple resolutions calling on Iran to halt its enrichment activities. It had also authorized limited sanctions against Iran and formed a group called the P5+1—representing the five permanent Security Council members (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China) plus Germany—to meet with Iranian officials in the hope of pushing the regime back into Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty compliance.

在我们试图与伊朗开展对话但被拒绝后，加上该国正在陷入混乱和进一步镇压，我们转向了非扩散战略的第二步：动员国际社会施加严厉的多边经济制裁，以迫使伊朗走上谈判桌。联合国安理会已经通过多项决议，呼吁伊朗停止其浓缩活动。它还批准了对伊朗的有限制裁，并组建了一个名为P5 + 1的小组——代表五个常任安理会成员国（美国，英国，法国，俄罗斯和中国）以及德国，与伊朗官员会面，希望将该政权推回到《核不扩散条约》的遵从性中。

The problem was that the existing sanctions were too weak to have much of an impact. Even U.S. allies like Germany continued to do a healthy amount of business with Iran, and just about everyone bought its oil. The Bush administration had unilaterally imposed additional U.S. sanctions, but those were largely symbolic, since U.S. companies had been blocked from doing business with Iran since 1995. With oil prices high and its economy growing, Iran had been more than happy to string along the P5+1 with regular negotiating sessions that produced nothing other than a commitment to more talking.

問題在於現有的制裁力量太弱，以至於幾乎沒有影響。即使是美國的盟友德國仍然和伊朗做出大量的生意，幾乎所有人都買了它的石油。布什政府已經單方面實施了額外的美國制裁，但這些制裁在很大程度上都是象徵性的，因為美國公司自1995年以來就被禁止與伊朗做生意。由於油價高漲，經濟增長，伊朗一直很樂意與P5 + 1保持定期的談判，除了承諾進一步談判外，沒有產生任何其他成果。

To get Iran's attention, we'd have to persuade other countries to tighten the vise. And that meant getting buy-in from a pair of powerful, historic adversaries that didn't like sanctions as a matter of principle, had friendly diplomatic and commercial relations with Iran—and mistrusted U.S. intentions almost as much as Tehran did.

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HAVING COME OF AGE in the 1960s and '70s, I was old enough to recall the Cold War as the defining reality of international affairs, the force that chopped Europe in two, fueled a nuclear arms race, and generated proxy wars around the globe. It shaped my childhood imagination: In schoolbooks, newspapers, spy novels, and movies, the Soviet Union was the fearsome adversary in a contest between freedom and tyranny.

要引起伊朗的注意，我们必须说服其他国家加强压力。这意味着需要得到一对强大的历史对手的认可，他们本质上不喜欢制裁，与伊朗保持友好的外交和商业关系，并且与德黑兰一样不信任美国的意图。

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我在20世纪60年代和70年代成长，因此记得冷战是国际事务的决定性现实，这股力量将欧洲分为两半，引发核武器竞赛，并在全球范围内制造代理战争。它塑造了我的童年想象：在课本、报纸、间谍小说和电影中，苏联是一场自由与暴政之间的可怕对手。

I was also part of a post-Vietnam generation that had learned to question its own government and saw how—from the rise of McCarthyism to support for South Africa's apartheid regime—Cold War thinking had often led America to betray its ideals. This awareness didn't stop me from believing we should contain the spread of Marxist totalitarianism. But it made me wary of the notion that good resided only on our side and bad on theirs, or that a people who'd produced Tolstoy and Tchaikovsky were inherently different from us. Instead, the evils of the Soviet system struck me as a variation on a broader human tragedy: The way abstract theories and rigid orthodoxy can curdle into repression. How readily we justify moral compromise and relinquish our freedoms. How power can corrupt and fear can compound and language can be debased. None of that was unique to Soviets or Communists, I thought; it was true for all of us. The brave struggle of dissidents behind the Iron Curtain felt of a piece with, rather than distinct from, the larger struggle for human dignity taking place elsewhere in the world—including America.

我也是越戰後一代人的一份子，他們學會質疑自己的政府，並且看到了自從麥卡錫主義興起到支持南非種族隔離政權的時候，冷戰思維往往使美國背叛了自己的理想。這種意識並沒有阻止我相信我們應當遏制馬克思主義的極權主義擴散。但它使我警覺到善良只存在我們這一邊，而邪惡存在對方那一邊的想法，或者認為一個曾經產出托爾斯泰和柴可夫斯基的民族與我們本質不同。相反，蘇聯體制的邪惡讓我想起更廣泛的人類悲劇變體：抽象理論和死板的正統主義如何變成壓制。我們有多容易為了道德妥協而放棄自由，權力如何腐敗和恐懼可以加劇、語言可以被貶低。我認為這一切都是蘇聯人或共產黨人所特有的，而是適用於我們所有人的真實狀況。鐵幕後的持不同政見者們的勇敢鬥爭，我覺得是與其他地方人類尊嚴的更大鬥爭相一致，包括美國。

When, in the mid-1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev took over as the general secretary of the Communist Party and ushered in the cautious liberalization known as perestroika and glasnost, I studied what happened closely, wondering if it signaled the dawning of a new age. And when, just a few years later, the Berlin Wall fell and democratic activists inside Russia lifted Boris Yeltsin to power, sweeping aside the old Communist order and dissolving the Soviet Union, I considered it not just a victory for the West but a testimony to the power of a mobilized citizenry and a warning for despots everywhere. If the tumult that engulfed Russia in the 1990s—economic collapse, unfettered corruption, right-wing populism, shadowy oligarchs—gave me pause, nevertheless I held out hope that a more just, prosperous, and free Russia would emerge from the inevitably difficult transition to free markets and representative government.

當在1980年代中期，米哈伊爾·戈爾巴喬夫接任共產黨總書記，引入謹慎的自由化改革及公開性政策，我格外關注此事，想知道它是否象徵著新時代的開始。當數年後柏林圍牆倒下，俄羅斯內部的民主活動家推舉鮑里斯·葉利欽上臺，不僅讓舊共產主義秩序一掃而空，也是對全球獨裁者的警醒和對西方的勝利。即使90年代俄羅斯所爆發的動盪—經濟崩潰、腐敗猖獗、右翼民粹主義、神秘黑手寡頭—使我停下來反思，我仍然期望來自轉向自由市場及代議制政府過程的更公正、繁榮、自由的俄羅斯。

I'd mostly been cured of that optimism by the time I became president. It was true that Yeltsin's successor, Vladimir Putin, who had come to power in 1999, claimed no interest in a return to Marxism-Leninism ("a mistake," he once called it). And he had successfully stabilized the nation's economy, in large part thanks to a huge increase in revenues brought about by rising oil prices. Elections were now held in accordance with the Russian constitution, capitalists were everywhere, ordinary Russians could travel abroad, and pro-democracy activists like the chess master Garry Kasparov could get away

with criticizing the government without an immediate trip to the Gulag. 我成为总统时，我大多数已经治愈了乐观主义。普京自1999年上台以来，宣称对马克思列宁主义毫无兴趣（他曾称之为“一个错误”），并成功稳定了国家经济，这在很大程度上得益于油价的上涨带来的巨额收入增长。现在，选举是按照俄罗斯宪法进行的，资本家无处不在，普通俄罗斯人可以出国旅行，像国际象棋大师加里·卡斯帕罗夫这样的亲民主派活动家可以在没有立即前往古拉格的情况下批评政府得逞了。

And yet, with each year that Putin remained in power, the new Russia looked more like the old. It became clear that a market economy and periodic elections could go hand in hand with a “soft authoritarianism” that steadily concentrated power in Putin’s hands and shrank the space for meaningful dissent. Oligarchs who cooperated with Putin became some of the world’s wealthiest men. Those who broke from Putin found themselves subject to various criminal prosecutions and stripped of their assets—and Kasparov ultimately did spend a few days in jail for leading an anti-Putin march. Putin’s cronies were handed control of the country’s major media outlets, and the rest were pressured into ensuring him coverage every bit as friendly as the state-owned media had once provided Communist rulers. Independent journalists and civic leaders found themselves monitored by the FSB (the modern incarnation of the KGB)—or, in some cases, turned up dead.

然而，普京继续掌权的每一年，新俄罗斯看起来更像旧俄罗斯。很明显，市场经济和间歇性选举可以与“柔性威权主义”相结合，稳步地将权力集中在普京手中，并缩小了有意义的异议空间。与普京合作的寡头成为世界上最富有的人之一。那些与普京决裂的人发现自己面临各种刑事起诉并被剥夺了财产 - 卡斯帕罗夫最终因领导反普京游行而被囚禁了几天。普京的亲信手握国家主要媒体机构的控制权，其他人则被迫确保他的报道与国有媒体曾经为共产主义者提供的报道一样友好。独立记者和公民领袖发现自己受到联邦安全局（克格勃的现代化身）的监视 - 或者，在某些情况下，他们会死亡事件。

What’s more, Putin’s power didn’t rest on simple coercion. He was genuinely popular (his approval ratings at home rarely dipped below 60 percent). It was a popularity rooted in old-fashioned nationalism—the promise to restore Mother Russia to its former glory, to relieve the sense of disruption and humiliation so many Russians had felt over the previous two decades.

Putin could sell that vision because he’d experienced those disruptions himself. Born into a family without connections or privilege, he’d methodically climbed the Soviet ladder—reservist training with the Red Army, law studies at Leningrad State University, a career in the KGB. After years of loyal and effective service to the state, he’d secured a position of modest stature and respectability, only to see the system he’d devoted his life to capsize overnight when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. (He was at that time stationed with the KGB in Dresden, East Germany, and he reportedly spent the next few days scrambling to destroy files and standing guard against possible looters.) He’d made a quick pivot to the emerging post-Soviet reality, allying himself to democratic reformer Anatoly Sobchak, a mentor from law school who became mayor of St. Petersburg. Moving into national politics, Putin rose through the ranks of the Yeltsin administration with breathtaking speed, using his power in a variety of posts—including director of the FSB—to pick up allies, dole out favors, gather secrets, and outmaneuver rivals. Yeltsin appointed Putin prime minister in August 1999 and then four months later—hobbled by corruption scandals, bad health, a legendary drinking problem, and a record of catastrophic economic mismanagement—surprised everyone by vacating his office. That made Putin, then forty-seven, the acting president of Russia and provided him with the head start he needed to get elected to a full presidential term three months later. (One of Putin’s first acts was to grant Yeltsin a blanket pardon for any wrongdoing.)

此外，普京的权力不仅仅是建立在简单的强制手段上。他真正受到欢迎（国内的支持率很少低于60%）。这种受欢迎程度源于传统的民族主义——承诺将母亲俄罗斯恢复到其昔日的辉煌，缓解许多俄罗斯人在过去二十年中感受到的动荡和屈辱感。

因为普京自己曾经经历过这些动荡。他出生在一个没有关系或特权的家庭，他一步步地攀登了苏联的阶梯——红军预备役训练，列宁格勒国立大学的法学研究，KGB的职业生涯。在对国家的忠诚和有效服务多年后，他获得了一个地位适中和受人尊敬的职位，只见他所致力终身的制度在1989年柏林墙倒塌时一夜之间倒闭了。（当时他驻扎在东德的德累斯顿，据报道他花了接下来的几天时间赶紧销毁文件并保卫可能的盗贼。）他迅速转向新兴的后苏联现实，与民主改革者安纳托利·索博恰克（一位他在法学院时的导师，之后成为圣彼得堡市长）结盟。进入国家政治后，普京以惊人的速度在叶利钦政府中崛起，利用他在各种职位上的权力寻找盟友、分配好处、收集秘密和挫败竞争对手。叶利钦于1999年8月任命普京为总理，然后在四个月后由于贪污丑闻、身体状况不佳、饮酒问题和灾难性的经济管理记录而出人意料地辞职。这使当时47岁的普京成为俄罗斯的代理总统，并为他在三个月后当选总统提供了必要的领先优势。

（普京最初的一项行动之一是为叶利钦授予了任何不当行为的全面豁免。）

In the hands of the shrewd and the ruthless, chaos had proven a gift. But whether out of instinct or calculation, Putin also understood the Russian public’s longing for order. While few people had an interest in returning to the days of collective farming and empty store shelves, they were tired and scared and resented those—both at home and abroad—who appeared to have taken advantage of Yeltsin’s weakness. They preferred a strong hand, which Putin was only too happy to provide.

He reasserted Russian control over the predominantly Muslim province of Chechnya, making no apologies for matching the brutal terrorist tactics of separatist rebels there with unrelenting military violence. He revived Soviet-style surveillance powers in the name of keeping the people safe. When democratic activists challenged Putin’s autocratic tendencies, he dismissed them as tools of the West. He resurrected pre-Communist and even Communist symbols and embraced the long-suppressed Russian Orthodox Church. Fond of showy public works projects, he pursued wildly expensive spectacles, including a bid to host the Winter Olympics in the summer resort town of Sochi. With the fastidiousness of a teenager on Instagram, he curated a constant stream of photo ops, projecting an almost satirical image of masculine vigor (Putin riding a horse with his shirt off, Putin playing hockey), all the while practicing a casual chauvinism and homophobia, and insisting that Russian values were being infected by foreign elements. Everything Putin did fed the narrative that under his firm, paternal guidance, Russia had regained its mojo. 在精明和无情的手中，混乱已被证明是一份礼物。但无论出于本能还是计算，普京也理解了俄罗斯公众对秩序的渴望。虽然很少有兴趣回到集体农场和空荡荡的商店货架的日子，但他们感到疲倦、害怕并且怨恨那些似乎利用叶利钦的软弱处境的人——无论是国内还是国外的人。他们更喜欢有强势领导，而普京只乐意提供这个。

他重新确立俄罗斯对主要由穆斯林组成的车臣省的控制，对分裂分子使用残忍的恐怖主义战术毫不道歉，并以不懈的军事暴力作出回应。他恢复了苏联式的监视权力，以保护人民安全为名。当民主活动家挑战普京的独裁倾向时，他把他们视为西方的工具。他复兴了前共产主义甚至是共产主义的象征，并拥抱被长期压制的俄罗斯正教会。他喜欢引人注目的公共工程项目，并追求非常昂贵的壮观景象，包括在夏季度假胜地索契举办冬季奥运会的申请。像Instagram上的青少年一样井井有条，他策划了一个不断流动的摆拍，展现出一种近乎讽刺的男性活力形象（普京骑马脱衬衫、普京打曲棍球），同时实践着潇洒的沙文主义和恐同症，并坚称俄罗斯的价值观正在受到外部因素的影响。普京所做的一切都符合这样的叙述，即在他坚定而慈父般的指导下，俄罗斯重新获得了它的活力。

There was just one problem for Putin: Russia wasn't a superpower anymore. Despite having a nuclear arsenal second only to our own, Russia lacked the vast network of alliances and bases that allowed the United States to project its military power across the globe. Russia's economy remained smaller than those of Italy, Canada, and Brazil, dependent almost entirely on oil, gas, mineral, and arms exports. Moscow's high-end shopping districts testified to the country's transformation from a creaky state-run economy to one with a growing number of billionaires, but the pinched lives of ordinary Russians spoke to how little of this new wealth trickled down. According to various international indicators, the levels of Russian corruption and inequality rivaled those in parts of the developing world, and its male life expectancy in 2009 was lower than that of Bangladesh. Few, if any, young Africans, Asians, or Latin Americans looked to Russia for inspiration in the fight to reform their societies, or felt their imaginations stirred by Russian movies or music, or dreamed of studying there, much less immigrating. Shorn of its ideological underpinnings, the once-shiny promise of workers uniting to throw off their chains, Putin's Russia came off as insular and suspicious of outsiders—to be feared, perhaps, but not emulated. 對於普京來說，只有一個問題：俄羅斯不再是超級大國了。儘管擁有僅次於我們自己的核武庫，但俄羅斯缺乏讓美國在全球範圍內投射軍事力量的龐大聯盟和基地網絡。俄羅斯經濟仍然小於意大利、加拿大和巴西，幾乎完全依賴石油、天然氣、礦物和武器出口。莫斯科的高端購物區體現了該國從一個不堪重負的國營經濟轉變為擁有越來越多億萬富翁的國家的轉變，但普通俄羅斯人的窘迫生活表明這種新財富如何滲透。根據各種國際指標，俄羅斯的腐敗和不平等程度與發展中地區的一些地區不相上下，2009年男性預期壽命還低於孟加拉國。沒有多少非洲、亞洲或拉丁美洲的年輕人會把俄羅斯作為改革社會的靈感來源，也沒有人會因俄羅斯的電影或音樂而振奮，更不要說留學或移民了。沒有了意識形態的基礎，曾經光輝燦爛的工人團結起來推翻自己的枷鎖的承諾，普京的俄羅斯顯得孤立、對外面有所戒備，也許值得擔心，但不是值得效仿的。

It was this gap between the truth of modern-day Russia and Putin's insistence on its superpower status, I thought, that helped account for the country's increasingly combative foreign relations. Much of the ire was directed at us: In public remarks, Putin became sharply critical of American policy. When U.S.-backed initiatives came before the U.N. Security Council, he made sure Russia blocked them or watered them down—particularly anything touching on human rights. More consequential were Putin's escalating efforts to prevent former Soviet bloc countries, now independent, from breaking free of Russia's orbit. Our diplomats routinely received complaints from Russia's neighbors about instances of intimidation, economic pressure, misinformation campaigns, covert electioneering, contributions to pro-Russian political candidates, or outright bribery. In the case of Ukraine, there'd been the mysterious poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko, a reformist activist turned president whom Moscow opposed. And then, of course, there had been the invasion of Georgia during the summer of 2008. 我认为，现代俄罗斯的真相与普京坚持其超级大国地位之间的差距，是导致该国外交关系越来越激烈的部分原因。对我们来说，愤怒的许多都是指向我们的：普京公开发表言论，对美国政策进行尖锐批评。当美国支持的倡议提交联合国安理会时，他确保俄罗斯封锁或削减它们，特别是涉及人权的任何事情。更重要的是，普京不断加剧努力，阻止现在独立的前苏联国家脱离俄罗斯的轨道。我们的外交官经常收到俄罗斯邻国的投诉，涉及恐吓、经济压力、虚假宣传、秘密干涉选举、对亲俄政治人物的贡献或明目张胆的贿赂。在乌克兰的情况下，存在着反对莫斯科的改革派活动家转变成总统的维克托·尤先科(Viktor Yushchenko)被神秘毒害的事件。当然，2008年夏季的格鲁吉亚入侵也是其中之一。

It was hard to know how far down this dangerous path Russia planned to go. Putin was no longer Russia's president: Despite dominating the polls, he'd chosen to abide by Russia's constitutional prohibition against three consecutive terms, swapping places with Dmitry Medvedev, his former deputy, who upon being elected president in 2008 had promptly installed Putin as his prime minister. The consensus among analysts was that Medvedev was merely keeping the presidential seat warm until 2012, when Putin would be eligible to run again. Still, Putin's decision not just to step down but to promote a younger man with a reputation for relatively liberal, pro-Western views suggested he at least cared about appearances. It even offered the possibility that Putin would eventually leave elective office and settle into the role of power broker and elder statesman, allowing a new generation of leadership to put Russia back on the path toward a modern, lawful democracy.

俄罗斯计划走多远这条危险之路很难确定。普京已不再是俄罗斯总统：尽管在民意调查中占主导，他选择遵守俄罗斯宪法对三个连续任期的禁止，与其前副手德米特里·梅德韦杰夫互换位置，梅德韦杰夫在2008年当选总统后迅速任命普京为总理。分析人士的共识是，梅德韦杰夫仅是在等到2012年，普京再次有资格参选总统之前，暂时守护总统的位置。然而，普京不仅选择下台，而且还提拔一个名声相对自由和亲西方的年轻人，这表明他至少在乎形象。这甚至提供了普京最终离开选举职位并定居为权力经纪人和长者政治家的可能性，让新一代领导层将俄罗斯重新引回现代、合法的民主之路。

All that was possible—but not likely. Since the time of the czars, historians had noted Russia's tendency to adopt with much fanfare the latest European ideas—whether representative government or modern bureaucracy, free markets or state socialism—only to subordinate or abandon such imported notions in favor of older, harsher ways of maintaining the social order. In the battle for Russia's identity, fear and fatalism usually beat out hope and change. It was an understandable response to a thousand-year history of Mongol invasions, byzantine intrigues, great famines, pervasive serfdom, unbridled tyranny, countless insurrections, bloody revolutions, crippling wars, years-long sieges, and millions upon millions slaughtered—all on a frigid landscape that forgave nothing.

所有这些都是可能的，但不太可能发生。自沙皇时代以来，历史学家就注意到俄罗斯倾向于用浮夸的方式接受最新的欧洲观念，无论是代议制政府还是现代官僚制度、自由市场还是国家社会主义，然后将这些进口的概念屈从或放弃，转而采取更古老、更严酷的方式来维持社会秩序。在争取俄罗斯身份的斗争

中，恐惧和宿命感通常会战胜希望和变革。这是对千年历史上蒙古入侵、拜占庭阴谋、大饥荒、普遍的农奴制度、不受约束的暴政、无数叛乱、血腥革命、使人瘫痪的战争、长达数年的围攻以及数百万人被屠杀的回应—而所有这些都发生在一片不会原谅任何人的寒冷地带。

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IN JULY, I flew to Moscow for my first official visit to Russia as president, accepting the invitation Medvedev had extended at the G20 meeting in April. My thought was that we could continue with our proposed “reset”—focusing on areas of common interest while acknowledging and managing our significant differences. School was out for the summer, which meant that Michelle, Malia, and Sasha could join me. And under the pretext of needing help with the girls (and with the promise of a tour of the Vatican and an audience with the pope when we continued on to Italy for a G8 summit), Michelle convinced my mother-in-law and our close friend Mama Kaye to come along as well. 七月份，我作为总统飞往莫斯科进行我在俄罗斯的第一次正式访问，接受了梅德韦杰夫在四月份20国集团会议上延伸的邀请。我的想法是，我们可以继续我们提出的“重启”—专注于共同关心的领域，同时认识和处理我们之间的重大分歧。学校放暑假了，这意味着米歇尔、玛利亚和萨莎也可以和我一起去。并且在需要女孩们的帮助的借口下（并且在我们前往意大利参加G8峰会期间承诺游览梵蒂冈和拜见教皇），米歇尔说服了我的岳母和我们的密友Kay一起来。

Our daughters had always been great travelers, cheerfully enduring our annual nine-hour round-trip commercial flights between Chicago and Hawaii, never whining or throwing tantrums or kicking the seats in front of them, instead engrossing themselves in the games, puzzles, and books that Michelle doled out with military precision at regular intervals. Flying on Air Force One was a definite upgrade for them, with a choice of in-flight movies, actual beds to sleep in, and a flight crew plying them with all kinds of snacks. But still, traveling overseas with the president of the United States presented a new set of challenges. They got woken up just a few hours after falling asleep to put on new dresses and fancy shoes and have their hair combed tight so that they’d be presentable once we landed. They had to smile for photographers as we walked down the stairs, then introduce themselves to a row of gray-haired dignitaries who stood waiting on the tarmac—careful to maintain eye contact and not mumble, as their mother had taught them, and trying not to look bored as their dad engaged in meaningless chitchat before everyone climbed into the awaiting Beast. Rolling down a Moscow freeway, I asked Malia how she was holding up. She looked catatonic, her big brown eyes staring blankly at a spot over my shoulder. 我们的女儿一直都是伟大的旅行者，愉快地忍受我们每年在芝加哥和夏威夷之间往返9小时的商业航班，从未发出抱怨、发脾气或踢前面的座位，而是沉浸在游戏、拼图和书籍中，米歇尔定时监督他们。乘坐空军一号对她们来说是升级了，有选择的机上电影、真正的床以及飞行机组人员提供各种零食。但是，与美国总统一起出国旅行带来了新的挑战。她们在刚刚入睡几个小时之后被叫醒，换上新裙子、漂亮的鞋子，梳紧头发，以便在我们降落后表现得得体。她们必须在我们下楼梯时对着摄影师微笑，然后向等待在停机坪上的一排灰发尊贵人士介绍自己，小心维持眼神联系，不要咕哝，像她们的母亲教导她们的那样，尽量不让她们的父亲在大家爬上等待的野兽之前进行毫无意义的闲聊时显得无聊。在莫斯科的高速公路上滚动的时候，我问玛丽亚她能坚持多久。她看起来僵化，她的大棕色眼睛茫然地盯着我肩上的一个地方。

“I think,” she said, “this is the most tired I’ve ever been in my entire life.”

A midmorning nap seemed to cure the girls’ jet lag, and there are moments of us together in Moscow that I recall as if they happened yesterday. Sasha striding beside me through the grand, red-carpeted halls of the Kremlin, followed by a set of towering uniformed Russian officers, her hands in the pockets of a tan trench coat as if she were a pint-sized secret agent. Or Malia trying to suppress a grimace after she gamely agreed to taste caviar in a rooftop restaurant overlooking Red Square. (True to form, Sasha refused the heap of slimy black stuff on my spoon, even at the risk of not getting a crack at the ice cream station later.)

“我想，”她说，“这是我整个生命中最累的时候。”

中午小睡似乎治愈了女孩们的时差，我们在莫斯科一起的时刻让我回想起昨天发生的事情。萨莎在克里姆林宫的宏伟、铺着红地毯的大厅里，在一排高大的俄罗斯制服官员的跟随下，沿着我走过，她的手插在一件米色风衣的口袋里，仿佛她是一名袖珍特工。或者是玛丽亚在屋顶餐厅品尝红场的鱼子酱后试图掩盖她的苦笑。（与她的风格一致，萨莎拒绝了我勺子上的一堆黑黑的黏糊物，甚至冒着后面吃不到冰淇淋的风险。）

But traveling as the First Family wasn’t the same as traveling during the campaign, when we’d ride an RV from town to town and Michelle and the girls would stay at my side through parades and county fairs. I now had my itinerary and they had theirs—along with their own support staff, briefings, and official photographer. At the end of our first night in Moscow, when we reunited at the Ritz-Carlton, the four of us lay on the bed and Malia asked why I hadn’t gone with them to see the Russian dancers and dollmakers. Michelle leaned over and whispered conspiratorially, “Your father’s not allowed to have fun. He has to sit in boring meetings all day.”

但作为第一家庭旅行与竞选时不同，我们曾经乘坐房车从一个城镇到另一个城镇，Michelle和女儿们会在游行和县集市中与我并肩而行。现在我有我的行程表，而她们有自己的—以及自己的支持团队，简报和官方摄影师。在莫斯科的第一晚结束时，当我们在丽思卡尔顿酒店重聚时，我们四个人躺在床上，Malia问我为什么没有跟他们一起去看俄罗斯舞蹈和玩偶制作人。米歇尔俯身轻声说：“你父亲不能玩乐。他必须整天坐在无聊的会议中。”

“Poor Daddy,” Sasha said, patting me on the head.

The setting for my official meeting with Medvedev was suitably impressive: one of the palaces within the Kremlin complex, its high, gilded ceilings and elaborate appointments restored to their former czarist glory. Our discussion was cordial and professional. At a joint press conference, we artfully finessed the continuing friction around Georgia and missile defense, and we had plenty of “deliverables” to announce, including an agreed-upon framework for the negotiation of the new strategic arms treaty, which would reduce each side’s allowable nuclear warheads and delivery systems by up to one-third. Gibbs was more excited by Russia’s agreement to lift restrictions on certain U.S. livestock exports, a change worth more than \$1 billion to American farmers and ranchers.

“可怜的爸爸。”萨莎拍了拍我的头。

我和梅德韋傑夫的正式會議設在克里姆林宮內的一座宮殿，氣氛相當壯觀：高高的金色天花板和華麗的裝飾被還原到沙皇時期的榮耀中。我們的討論友好而專業。在聯合新聞發布會上，我們巧妙地處理了格魯吉亞和反彈道導彈防禦問題，並宣布了許多“可交付成果”，包括達成一個協定框架，用於談判新的戰略武器條約，該協議可以將每一方的核彈頭和運輸系統數量減少多達三分之一。吉布斯對俄羅斯同意解除對某些美國家畜出口的限制更為興奮，這一變化對美國農民和牧場主價值超過10億美元。

“Something folks back home actually care about,” he said with a grin.

That evening, Michelle and I were invited to Medvedev’s dacha, a few miles outside the city center, for a private dinner. From reading Russian novels, I’d imagined a larger but still-rustic version of the traditional country home. Instead, we found ourselves on an enormous estate cloistered in a bank of tall trees. Medvedev and his wife, Svetlana—a cheerful, matronly blonde with whom Michelle and the girls had spent much of the day—greeted us at the front door, and after a brief tour, we walked out through a garden to dine in a large, wood-beamed gazebo.“这是故乡人实际关心的事情，”他咧着嘴笑道。那天晚上，米歇尔和我受邀到位于城市中心外几英里处的梅德韦杰夫別墅进行私人晚宴。从读俄罗斯小说的经验来看，我想象中的应该是一个更大但仍然具有传统农家风格的住宅。然而，我们发现自己身处一个被高树包围的巨大庄园。梅德韦杰夫和他的妻子斯维特拉娜——一位快乐的、多么妈妈般的金发女性，米歇尔和女孩们在白天大部分时间都陪伴在她身边——在前门迎接我们，参观了一下后，我们走出花园，在一个大的木梁凉亭中就餐。

Our conversation barely touched on politics. Medvedev was fascinated by the internet and quizzed me about Silicon Valley, expressing his desire to boost Russia’s tech sector. He took a keen interest in my workout routine, describing how he swam for thirty minutes each day. We shared stories about our experiences teaching law, and he confessed his affection for hard rock bands like Deep Purple. Svetlana expressed concerns about how their thirteen-year-old son, Ilya, would manage adolescence with the added attention of being the president’s son—a challenge Michelle and I understood all too well. Medvedev speculated that the boy would eventually prefer attending university abroad.

我们的对话很少涉及政治。梅德韦杰夫对互联网非常着迷，并向我询问了硅谷的情况，表达了他促进俄罗斯科技行业发展的愿望。他对我的锻炼方式非常感兴趣，描述了他每天游泳三十分钟的经历。我们分享了关于教授法律的经验，并且他坦言自己喜欢Deep Purple等硬摇滚乐队。斯维特兰娜对他们13岁的儿子伊利亚如何应对作为总统的儿子带来的额外关注表示担忧，这是米歇尔和我也非常理解的挑战。梅德韦杰夫推测，这个孩子最终会更喜欢去国外上大学。

We bid the Medvedevs farewell shortly after dessert, taking care that the members of our team were fully loaded into the travel van before our motorcade snaked out of the compound. Gibbs and Marvin had been entertained by members of Medvedev’s team elsewhere on the property, plied with vodka shots and schnapps, putting them in a jovial mood that wouldn’t survive the next morning’s wake-up call. As Michelle fell asleep beside me in the darkness of the car, I was struck by just how ordinary the night had been—how, with the exception of the translators who’d sat discreetly behind us while we ate, we could have been attending a dinner party in any well-to-do American suburb. Medvedev and I had more than a few things in common: Both of us had studied and taught law, gone on to marry and start families a few years later, dabbled in politics, and been helped along by older, cagier politicians. It made me wonder how much the differences between us could be explained by our respective characters and dispositions, and how much was merely the result of our different circumstances. Unlike him, I had the good fortune of having been born in a nation where political success hadn’t required me to ignore billion-dollar kickbacks or the blackmailing of political opponents.

吃完甜点后，我们告别了梅德韦杰夫一家，确保我们团队的成员已经完全坐上旅行车，在车队离开这座庄园之前。吉布斯和马文在庄园的其他地方被梅德韦杰夫的团队成员招待，喝了伏特加和甜杏仁酒，让他们兴奋不已，一直持续到第二天早上的提醒电话。当米歇尔在我身边黑暗中入睡时，我被这个晚上的普通之处所震撼——除了翻译者在我们吃饭时谨慎坐在我们后面之外，我们似乎就像参加了一个常见的美国富裕社区的晚宴。我和梅德韦杰夫有许多相似之处：我们两个都学习和教授法律，几年后结婚成家，涉足政治，并得到年长而狡猾的政治家的帮助。这让我想知道我们之间的差异在多大程度上可以解释为我们各自的性格和性情，以及多少仅仅是因为我们的不同环境造成的。与他不同的是，我有幸出生在一个政治成功不需要我忽略数十亿美元回扣或者对政治对手施加勒索的国家。

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I MET VLADIMIR PUTIN for the first time the following morning when I traveled to his dacha, located in a suburb outside Moscow. Our Russia experts, Mike McFaul and Bill Burns, as well as Jim Jones, joined me for the ride. Having had some past interactions with Putin, Burns suggested that I keep my initial presentation short. “Putin’s sensitive to any perceived slights,” Burns said, “and in his mind, he’s the more senior leader. You might want to open the meeting by asking him his opinion about the state of U.S.-Russian relations and let him get a few things off his chest.”

當我旅行到他在莫斯科郊區的別墅時，第二天早上我第一次見到了弗拉基米爾·普京。我們的俄羅斯專家邁克·麥克發和比爾·伯恩斯，以及吉姆·瓊斯也加入了這次旅程。伯恩斯曾經和普京有過一些交流，他建議我保持簡短地進行最初的演示。“普京對任何被認為是輕蔑的言論都很敏感，”伯恩斯說，“在他心目中，他是更資深的領袖。你可能想開始會議，問他對美俄關係的看法，讓他發表一些意見。”

After turning through an imposing gate and continuing down a long driveway, we pulled up in front of a mansion, where Putin welcomed us for the obligatory photo op. Physically, he was unremarkable: short and compact—a wrestler’s build—with thin, sandy hair, a prominent nose, and pale, watchful eyes. As we exchanged pleasantries with our respective delegations, I noticed a casualness to his movements, a practiced disinterest in his voice that indicated someone accustomed to being surrounded by subordinates and supplicants. Someone who’d grown used to power.穿过一扇巍峨的大门，沿着一条长长的车道前行，我们停在了一座豪宅前，普京在那里迎接我们进行了强制性的合影。从外貌上看，他并不惹眼：身材短小、紧凑——像一个摔跤手一样的身材，头发细细的、发白、鼻子突出、目光灰白且警觉。在各自的代表团交换寒暄时，我注意到他动作随意，声音中透着一种习惯于被下属和顾客包围的熟练漠不关心。一个习惯于权力的人。

Accompanied by Sergey Lavrov, Russia's urbane foreign minister and former U.N. representative, Putin led us to a broad outdoor patio, where an elaborate spread had been arranged for our benefit, with eggs and caviar, breads and teas, served by male waiters in traditional peasant dress and high leather boots. I thanked Putin for his hospitality, noted the progress our countries had made with the previous day's agreements, and asked for his assessment of the U.S.-Russia relationship during his time in office.

在俄罗斯外交部长和前联合国代表谢尔盖·拉夫罗夫的陪同下，普京引领我们前往一个宽敞的户外露台，那里已经为我们安排了一桌精心准备的佳肴，包括鸡蛋和鱼子酱、面包和茶水，由穿着传统农民服装和高帮皮靴的男服务员提供。我感谢普京的款待，指出我们两国在前一天的协议中取得的进展，询问了他在任期内对美国-俄罗斯关系的评估。

Burns hadn't been kidding when he said the man had a few things to get off his chest. I'd barely finished the question before Putin launched into an animated and seemingly endless monologue chronicling every perceived injustice, betrayal, and slight that he and the Russian people had suffered at the hands of the Americans. He'd liked President Bush personally, he said, and had reached out after 9/11, pledging solidarity and offering to share intelligence in the fight against a common enemy. He'd helped the United States secure airbases in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan for the Afghan campaign. He'd even offered Russia's help in handling Saddam Hussein.

當伯恩斯說這個人有幾件事要訴說時，他說的並不是開玩笑的。我剛問完問題，普京就開始陳述一個似乎永無止盡的、充滿活力的獨白，講述他和俄羅斯人民在美國人手中所遭受到的每一種不公、背叛和屈辱。他表示，他喜歡小布希總統，他在9/11之後曾主動援手，表示團結一致，並提供分享情報以對抗共同的敵人。他協助美國在吉爾吉斯斯坦和烏茲別克斯坦取得空軍基地，用於阿富汗戰役。他甚至提供俄羅斯的幫助來處理薩達姆·侯賽因。

And where had it gotten him? Rather than heed his warnings, he said, Bush had gone ahead and invaded Iraq, destabilizing the entire Middle East. The U.S. decision seven years earlier to pull out of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and its plans to house missile defense systems on Russia's borders continued to be a source of strategic instability. The admission of former Warsaw Pact countries into NATO during both the Clinton and Bush administrations had steadily encroached on Russia's "sphere of influence," while U.S. support for the "color revolutions" in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan—under the specious guise of "democracy promotion"—had turned Russia's once-friendly neighbors into governments hostile to Moscow. As far as Putin was concerned, the Americans had been arrogant, dismissive, unwilling to treat Russia as an equal partner, and constantly trying to dictate terms to the rest of the world—all of which, he said, made it hard to be optimistic about future relations.

他到底得到了什麼？他說，布什沒有聽從他的警告，反而前往伊拉克發動了入侵，破壞了整個中東地區的穩定。美國七年前退出了反彈道導彈條約，計劃在俄羅斯邊境部署導彈防禦系統，這引起了戰略不穩定。在克林頓和布什政府期間，歐洲東部前華沙條約國家加入北約，逐漸侵犯了俄羅斯的“勢力範圍”，而美國支持格魯吉亞、烏克蘭和吉爾吉斯斯坦的“顏色革命”，在“民主促進”的虛假幌子下，讓俄羅斯曾經友好的鄰國變成對莫斯科敵視的政府。普京認為，美國人傲慢自大，不願意把俄羅斯當作平等的夥伴對待，經常試圖向世界其他地區佈道，這一切讓人很難對未來的關係持樂觀態度。

About thirty minutes into what was supposed to have been an hour-long meeting, my staffers started sneaking glances at their watches. But I decided not to interrupt. It seemed clear that Putin had rehearsed the whole thing, but his sense of grievance was real. I also knew that my continued progress with Medvedev depended on the forbearance of Putin. After about forty-five minutes, Putin finally ran out of material, and rather than trying to stick to our schedule, I began answering him point by point. I reminded him that I'd personally opposed the invasion of Iraq, but I also rejected Russia's actions in Georgia, believing that each nation had the right to determine its own alliances and economic relationships without interference. I disputed the idea that a limited defense system designed to guard against an Iranian missile launch would have any impact on Russia's mighty nuclear arsenal, but mentioned my plan to conduct a review before taking further steps on missile defense in Europe. As for our proposed "reset," the goal wasn't to eliminate all differences between our two countries, I explained; it was to get past Cold War habits and establish a realistic, mature relationship that could manage those differences and build on shared interests.

在原本打算持續一小時左右的會議進行了約30分鐘後，我的工作人員開始偷看他們的手錶。但我決定不打擾。普京似乎已經排練了整個演講，但他的不滿是真實存在的。我也知道我繼續與梅德韋傑夫的進展取決於普京的容忍。約45分鐘後，普京終於耗盡了材料，而我決定不堅持時間表，開始一條一條地回應他。我提醒他，我個人反對入侵伊拉克，但我也反對俄羅斯在格魯吉亞的行動，認為每個國家有權決定自己的聯盟和經濟關係，不受干涉。我反駁了有限的防禦系統設計，旨在防禦伊朗的導彈發射，對俄羅斯強大的核武庫系統不會有任何影響，但提到我計劃在進一步推進歐洲的彈道導彈防禦之前進行審查。至於我們提出的“重啟”，目標不是消除我們兩國之間的所有差異，我解釋道；而是要擺脫冷戰的習慣，建立一種現實、成熟的關係，以管理那些差異並建立共同的利益。

At times, the conversation got contentious, especially on Iran. Putin dismissed my concerns about Iran's nuclear program and bristled at my suggestion that he suspend a pending sale of the powerful Russian-designed S-300 surface-to-air missile system to the regime. The system was purely defensive, he said, adding that renegeing on a contract worth \$800 million would risk both the bottom line and the reputation of Russian arms manufacturers. But for the most part he listened attentively, and by the end of what had turned into a two-hour marathon, he expressed openness, if not enthusiasm, for the reset effort.

有时候，我们讨论伊朗的问题时，情绪会变得紧张。普京不理我的担忧伊朗的核计划，并反感我暗示他暂停向伊朗政权出售强大的俄罗斯设计的S-300地对空导弹系统。他说这个系统是纯粹的防御性质，放弃价值八亿美元的合同将会面临损失和严重的声誉问题。但总体来说，他认真地倾听了我的观点，并在两小时的谈话马拉松后表示对复位方案持开放态度，即使不是热切支持。

"Of course, on all these issues, you will have to work with Dmitry," Putin told me as he walked me to my waiting motorcade. "These are now his decisions." Our eyes met as we shook hands, both of us knowing that the statement he'd just made was dubious, but for now, at least, it was the closest

thing I was going to get to an endorsement.

The meeting with Putin wreaked havoc on the rest of the day's schedule. We raced back to Moscow, where I was slated to deliver the commencement address to bright-eyed young Russians studying international business and finance. Beforehand, in a holding room off the stage, I had a brief pull-aside with former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Seventy-eight years old and still robust, with the signature red birthmark splashed across his head, he struck me as a strangely tragic figure. Here was a man who'd once been one of the most powerful people on earth, whose instincts for reform and efforts at denuclearization—no matter how tentative—had led to an epic global transformation and earned him the Nobel Peace Prize. He now found himself largely disdained within his own country, both by those who felt he'd surrendered to the West and by those who considered him a Communist throwback whose time was long past. Gorbachev told me he was enthusiastic about a reset and my proposals for a nuclear-free world, but after fifteen minutes I had to cut the conversation short to deliver my speech. Although he said he understood, I could tell he was disappointed—a reminder for both of us of the fleeting, fickle nature of public life.

普京告诉我，当然了，在所有这些问题上，你将不得不与德米特里合作。这些现在是他的决定。我们握手时目光相遇，我们两个都知道他刚刚说的话是可疑的，但至少目前为止，这是我能得到的最接近认可的事情。

与普京的会面对当天的日程安排造成了麻烦。我们赶回莫斯科，在那里我要发表演讲，为那些研究国际商业和金融的年轻俄罗斯人提供启示。在舞台背后的一个休息室里，我与前苏联领导人米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫有了短暂的拉开距离。七十八岁的他仍然强壮，标志性的红色胎记洒在他的头上，他让我感到有点悲剧。这个曾经是世界上最最有权势的人之一的人，他的改革和去核努力——无论多么犹豫——驱动了一场史诗般的全球变革，并为他赢得了诺贝尔和平奖。他现在在自己的国家里被许多人鄙视，既包括认为他向西方投降的人，也包括认为他是共产党老派的人。戈尔巴乔夫告诉我，他对重置和我提出的无核化世界的建议充满热情，但经过十五分钟，我不得不打断谈话，去发表演讲。虽然他说他理解，但我可以看出他很失望——这提醒我们两个公共生活的瞬息万变的本质。

Then it was off to an abbreviated Kremlin lunch with Medvedev and a ballroom of important personages, followed by a roundtable discussion with U.S. and Russian business leaders, where boilerplate appeals for greater economic cooperation were exchanged. By the time I arrived at the summit of U.S. and Russian civil society leaders that McFaul had organized, I could feel jet lag kicking in. I was content to take a seat, catch my breath, and listen to the remarks of those speaking before me.

It was my kind of crowd: democracy activists, heads of nonprofits, and community organizers working at a grassroots level on issues like housing, public health, and political access. They mostly toiled in obscurity, jostled for money to keep their operations afloat, and rarely had a chance to travel outside their home cities, much less do so at the invitation of a U.S. president. One of the Americans was even someone I'd worked with during my organizing days back in Chicago.

然后，我与梅德韦杰夫参加了一个缩短版的克里姆林宫午餐，还有一群重要人物，在舞厅内进行了一个圆桌会议，与美国和俄罗斯商界领袖交换了推动更大经济合作的诉求。当我到达麦克福尔组织的美俄民间领袖峰会时，我感觉到时差的影响。我很乐意坐下来休息一下，听听前面发言者的讲话。

这是我喜欢的人群：民主活动家、非营利组织负责人和社区组织者，他们在基层层面上从事像住房、公共卫生和政治参与等问题的工作。他们大多默默无闻，为了维持运营而竞争资金，很少有机会出城，更不用说接受美国总统的邀请旅行了。其中甚至有一个美国人是我在芝加哥组织工作期间的同事。

Maybe it was the juxtaposition of my past and my present that kept me thinking about my conversation with Putin. When Axe asked for my impressions of the Russian leader, I'd said that I found him strangely familiar, "like a ward boss, except with nukes and a U.N. Security Council veto." This prompted a laugh, but I hadn't meant it as a joke. Putin did, in fact, remind me of the sorts of men who had once run the Chicago machine or Tammany Hall—tough, street smart, unsentimental characters who knew what they knew, who never moved outside their narrow experiences, and who viewed patronage, bribery, shakedowns, fraud, and occasional violence as legitimate tools of the trade. For them, as for Putin, life was a zero-sum game; you might do business with those outside your tribe, but in the end, you couldn't trust them. You looked out for yourself first and then for your own. In such a world, a lack of scruples, a contempt for any high-minded aspirations beyond accumulating power, were not flaws. They were an advantage.

也许是我过去和现在的交叉使我一直在思考与普京的对话。当 Axe 问我对俄罗斯领袖的印象时，我说我觉得他很奇怪地熟悉，“像一个狱卒头子，只不过他有核武器和联合国安理会的否决权。”这引起了笑声，但我并不是说笑。实际上，普京确实让我想起那些曾经运营芝加哥机器或坦曼尼大厅的人 - 坚强、街头智慧、不动感情的人，他们知道自己知道的，从未走出自己的狭窄经验，将帮派、贿赂、敲诈勒索、欺诈和偶尔的暴力视为合法的工具。对于他们来说，就像对普京来说一样，生活是一个零和游戏；你可以与部落外的人做生意，但最终你不能信任他们。你首先要照顾好自己，然后才是你自己的人。在这样的世界里，缺乏道德，蔑视除了积累权力之外的任何高尚抱负，不是缺陷，而是优势。

In America, it had taken generations of protest, progressive lawmaking, muckraking journalism, and dogged advocacy to check, if not fully eliminate, such raw exercises of power. That reform tradition was in large part what had inspired me to enter politics. And yet, in order to reduce the risk of nuclear catastrophe or another Middle East war, I'd just spent the morning courting an autocrat who no doubt kept dossiers on every Russian activist in the room and could have any one of them harassed, jailed, or worse whenever he pleased. If Putin did go after one of these activists, how far would I go in taking him to task—especially knowing that it probably wouldn't change his behavior? Would I risk the completion of START negotiations? Russian cooperation on Iran? And how did one measure such trade-offs anyway? I could tell myself that compromises existed everywhere, that in order to get things done back home, I'd cut deals with politicians whose attitudes weren't so different from Putin's and whose ethical standards didn't always bear scrutiny. But this felt different. The stakes were higher—on both sides of the ledger.在美国，为了遏制甚至消除这样的权力滥用，需要几代人的抗议、进步立法、揭发性新闻和坚定的倡导。这种改革传统在很大程度上激励我进入政治。然而，为了降低核灾难或另一场中东战争的风险，我刚刚花了一个上午来接近一位独裁者，他无疑会保留每个俄罗斯活动家的档案，并可以在他想要的时候骚扰、拘留或更糟的事情。如果普京确实追捕其中一位活动家，我会采取什么行动呢，

特别是知道这可能不会改变他的行为？我会冒着完成新削减战略武器条约谈判、得到俄罗斯在伊朗的合作的风险吗？而如何衡量这样的权衡？我可以告诉自己，妥协无处不在，为了在家里完成任务，我会与政治家达成一些协议，他们的态度与普京并没有太大的不同，他们的道德标准也不总是可以经得起审查。但这感觉不同。赌注比较高——在账簿的两边。

Standing up finally to speak, I praised the people in the room for their courage and dedication and urged them to focus not just on democracy and civil rights but also on concrete strategies to provide jobs, education, healthcare, and decent housing. Addressing the Russians in the audience, I said that America couldn't and shouldn't fight their battles for them, that Russia's future was for them to determine; but I added that I would be rooting for them, firm in my conviction that all people aspire to the principles of human rights, the rule of law, and self-governance.

站起來發言時，我讚揚在場的人們的勇氣和奉獻精神，並敦促他們不僅關注民主和公民權利，還要關注提供就業、教育、醫療和體面住房的具體策略。向在場的俄羅斯人說，美國不能也不應該為他們的戰鬥而戰，俄羅斯的未來由他們決定；但我補充說，我會為他們加油，堅信所有人都渴望人權、法治和自治的原則。

The room burst into applause. McFaul beamed. I felt glad about being able to lift, however briefly, the spirits of good people doing hard and sometimes dangerous work. I believed that, even in Russia, it would pay off in the long run. Still, I couldn't shake the fear that Putin's way of doing business had more force and momentum than I cared to admit, that in the world as it was, many of these hopeful activists might soon be marginalized or crushed by their own government—and there'd be very little I could do to protect them.

房间爆发出掌声。麦克福尔笑容满面。我很高兴能够短暂地鼓舞那些辛勤工作、有时危险的好人们的士气。我相信，即使在俄罗斯，这种做法将在长期内得到回报。然而，我无法摆脱一种恐惧，认为普京的经营方式比我所承认的更具有力量和动力，现实世界中，许多这些有希望的活动家可能很快就会被自己的政府边缘化或压制，而我几乎没有保护他们的能力。

## CHAPTER 20

THE NEXT TIME I MET with Medvedev in person was in late September, when heads of state and government from around the world converged on Manhattan for the annual opening session of the U.N. General Assembly. “UNGA Week,” we called it, and for me and my foreign policy team it represented a seventy-two-hour, sleep-depriving obstacle course. With roads blocked and security tightened, New York traffic was more hellish than usual, even for the presidential motorcade. Practically every foreign leader wanted a meeting, or at least a photo for the folks back home. There were consultations with the U.N. secretary-general, meetings for me to chair, luncheons to attend, receptions to be hosted, causes to be championed, deals to be brokered, and multiple speeches to be written—including a major address before the General Assembly, a sort of global State of the Union that, in the eight years we worked together, Ben and I somehow never managed to finish writing until fifteen minutes before I was due to speak.第20章

我下一次与梅德韦杰夫亲自会面是在9月底，当时来自世界各地的国家和政府首脑聚集在曼哈顿参加联合国大会的年度开幕式。我们称之为“UNGA周”，对于我和我的外交团队来说，它代表了一个让人失眠的72小时障碍赛。由于道路被封锁，安全得到加强，即使对于总统车队来说，纽约的交通也比平常更加恶劣。几乎每个外国领导人都想要会面，或者至少要为国内的人拍照。我们需要就联合国秘书长进行磋商，我需要主持会议，参加午餐会，主持招待会，支持事业，促成协议，并写多个演讲稿——其中包括一份主要的演讲稿，这是一份全球性国情咨文，在我们合作的八年中，Ben和我竟然一直没有在我演讲前15分钟之前完成它。

Despite the crazy schedule involved, the sight of the U.N. headquarters—its main building a soaring white monolith overlooking the East River—always put me in a hopeful, expectant mood. I attributed this to my mother. I remember as a boy, maybe nine or ten, asking her about the U.N., and having her explain how, after World War II, global leaders decided that they needed a place where people from a diversity of countries could meet to resolve their differences peacefully.

“Humans aren't that different from animals, Bar,” she told me. “We fear what we don't know. When we're afraid of people and feel threatened, it's easier to fight wars and do other stupid things. The United Nations is a way for countries to meet and learn about each other and not be so afraid.”

儘管忙碌的行程，聯合國總部的景象——其主建築是一座高聳的白色巨塔，俯瞰東河——總是會讓我感到充滿希望、期待的心情。我覺得這是因為我母親的影響。我記得小時候，大概九、十歲的時候，我問她有關聯合國的問題，然後她向我講解說，在第二次世界大戰之後，全球領袖們決定需要一個地方，讓來自不同國家的人們可以和平地解決他們的分歧。

「人和動物其實沒有很大的區別，Bar。」她告訴我。「我們害怕我們不了解的東西。當我們害怕別人，並感到受到威脅時，就更容易發動戰爭或做出其他愚蠢的決定。聯合國是一個讓各國相互了解、不再害怕的方式。」

As always, my mother possessed a reassuring certainty that despite humanity's primal impulses, reason, logic, and progress would eventually prevail. After our conversation, I imagined the goings-on at the U.N. to be like an episode of Star Trek, with Americans, Russians, Scots, Africans, and Vulcans exploring the stars together. Or the “It's a Small World” display at Disneyland, where moon-faced children with different skin tones and colorful costumes would all sing a cheerful tune. Later, for a homework assignment, I read the U.N.'s 1945 founding charter and was struck by how its mission matched my mother's optimism: “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,” “reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights,” “establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,” and “promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.”一如既往，我母亲有一种令人放心的确定性，即尽管人类具有原始的冲动，理性、逻辑和进步最终会取得胜利。我们交谈后，我想象联合国的场景就像《星际迷航》中的一集，美国人、俄罗斯人、苏格兰人、非洲人和瓦肯人一起探索星际空间。又或者像迪士尼乐园中那个“小小世界”的场景，不同肤色和色彩缤纷的孩子一起唱着愉快的歌曲。后来，我为一项家庭作业读了联合国1945年的创立宪章，惊叹于它

的使命与我母亲的乐观主义相匹配：“拯救后代免于战争的灾难”，“重申对基本人权的信仰”，“建立能够维持条约和其他国际法律义务敬重和公正的条件”以及“促进社会进步和更高自由度的生活标准”。

Needless to say, the U.N. hadn't always lived up to these lofty intentions. Like its ill-fated predecessor, the League of Nations, the organization was only as strong as its most powerful members allowed it to be. Any significant action required consensus among the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union (later Russia), the United Kingdom, France, and China—each possessing an absolute veto. In the middle of the Cold War, the chances of reaching any consensus had been slim, which is why the U.N. had stood idle as Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary or U.S. planes dropped napalm on the Vietnamese countryside.

不用说，联合国并非始终能够达到这些高妙的意图。跟它命运多舛的前身——国际联盟一样，这个组织的强度其实跟最富有权势的成员国有多强相关。任何重大动作都需要安全理事会五个常任理事国——美国、苏联（后来为俄罗斯）、英国、法国和中国——的一致同意，每个国家都拥有绝对否决权。在冷战期间，达成任何共识的机会都很渺茫，这也是为什么联合国毫无作为地旁观苏联坦克进入匈牙利或者美国飞机在越南乡村投下凝固汽油的原因。

Even after the Cold War, divisions within the Security Council continued to hamstring the U.N.'s ability to tackle problems. Its member states lacked either the means or the collective will to reconstruct failing states like Somalia, or prevent ethnic slaughter in places like Sri Lanka. Its peacekeeping missions, dependent on voluntary troop contributions from member states, were consistently understaffed and ill-equipped. At times, the General Assembly devolved into a forum for posturing, hypocrisy, and one-sided condemnations of Israel; more than one U.N. agency became embroiled in corruption scandals, while vicious autocracies like Khamenei's Iran and Assad's Syria would maneuver to get seats on the U.N. Human Rights Council. Within the Republican Party, the U.N. became a symbol of nefarious one-world globalism. Progressives bemoaned its impotence in the face of injustice.

即便在冷战结束后，联合国安理会内部的分歧依旧阻碍着其解决问题的能力。该机构的成员国缺乏重建失败国家（如索马里）或阻止种族屠杀（如斯里兰卡）的手段和集体意愿。其维和任务依赖于成员国自愿的部队贡献，往往人手不足且装备不齐。有时，联合国大会会变成一个炫耀、虚伪和单方面谴责以色列的论坛；超过一个联合国机构被卷入了腐败丑闻；而像哈梅内伊的伊朗和阿萨德的叙利亚这样的恶毒专制国家却会争取在联合国人权理事会上获得席位。在共和党内，联合国成为了邪恶的一世界主义象征。进步派则为其在面临不公正时的无能感到哀叹。

And yet I remained convinced that, for all its shortcomings, the U.N. served a vital function. U.N. reports and findings could sometimes shame countries into better behavior and strengthen international norms. Because of the U.N.'s work in mediation and peacekeeping, cease-fires had been brokered, conflicts had been averted, and lives had been saved. The U.N. played a role in more than eighty former colonies becoming sovereign nations. Its agencies helped lift tens of millions of people out of poverty, eradicated smallpox, and very nearly wiped out polio and Guinea worm. Whenever I walked through the U.N. complex—my Secret Service detail brushing back the crowds of diplomats and staffers who typically milled along the wide, carpeted corridors for a handshake or a wave, their faces reflecting every shape and hue of the human family—I was reminded that inside were scores of men and women who pushed against boulders every day, trying to convince governments to fund vaccination programs and schools for poor children, rallying the world to stop a minority group from being slaughtered or young women from being trafficked. Men and women who anchored their lives to the same idea that had anchored my mother, an idea captured in a verse woven into a tapestry that hung in the great-domed General Assembly hall:然而我仍然坚信联合国尽管有缺点，但它扮演了重要的角色。联合国的报告和调查有时能够让国家为了更好的行为而感到羞愧，同时加强国际规范。由于联合国在调解和维和方面的工作，停火协议得以达成，冲突得以避免，生命得以挽救。联合国在80多个前殖民地成为主权国家的过程中起到了作用。它的机构帮助数千万人摆脱贫困，消灭了天花，几乎根除了脊髓灰质炎和吉尼斯蚯蚓病。每当我穿过联合国大楼时，我的特勤队保护我，推开通常沿着宽敞的地毯走廊漫游的外交官和工作人员围堵，这些人的面孔反映了人类家族的各种形状和色彩，我就想起大厅里悬挂的一件用织物编织的挂毯上的一句诗，那是我母亲坚持的一种思想，那就是：“不管多么荒芜不毛，我仍然要播种，因为我知道，收获一定会来临。”这些人在日复一日地推动，试图说服政府为贫困儿童的疫苗接种和学校提供资金，呼吁全球制止少数群体的屠杀或年轻女性的贩卖。他们的生活就像我母亲坚持的那个理念一样，这个理念被编织在大圆顶总议会厅悬挂的挂毯上。

Ben informed me that those lines were written by the thirteenth-century Persian poet Sa'adi, one of the most beloved figures in Iranian culture. We found this ironic, given how much of my time at UNGA was devoted to trying to curb Iran's development of nuclear weapons. Apparently, Khamenei and Ahmadinejad didn't share the poet's gentle sensibilities.

Since rejecting my offer of bilateral talks, Iran had shown no signs of scaling back its nuclear program. Its negotiators continued to stall and bluster in sessions with P5+1 members, insisting that Iran's centrifuges and enriched uranium stockpiles had entirely civilian purposes. These claims of innocence were spurious, but they provided Russia and China with enough of an excuse to keep blocking the Security Council from considering tougher sanctions against the regime.

本告诉我，这些诗句是由十三世纪波斯诗人萨迪创作的，他是伊朗文化中最受喜爱的人物之一。这让我们感到讽刺，因为我在联合国大会上花了很多时间试图遏制伊朗发展核武器。显然，哈梅内伊和艾哈迈迪内贾德没有分享这位诗人的温和情感。

自从拒绝我的双边谈判提议以来，伊朗并没有显示出缩减核计划的迹象。它的谈判代表继续在与五常成员的会谈中拖延和吹嘘，坚称伊朗的离心机和浓缩铀库存完全用于民用目的。这些无辜的声明是虚假的，但它们为俄罗斯和中国提供了足够的借口，以阻止安理会考虑对该政权采取更严厉的制裁。

We continued to press our case, and a pair of new developments helped bring about a shift in Russian attitudes. First, our arms control team, ably headed by nonproliferation expert Gary Samore, had worked with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on a creative new proposal meant to test Iran's true intentions. Under the proposal, Iran would ship its existing stockpile of LEU to Russia, which would process it into HEU; Russia would then transport the HEU to France, where it would be converted into a form of fuel that met Iran's legitimate civilian needs but had no possible military application. The proposal was a stopgap measure: It left Iran's nuclear architecture in place and wouldn't prevent Iran from enriching more LEU in the future. But depleting its current stockpiles would delay "breakout capacity" by up to a year, thus buying us time to negotiate a more permanent solution.

Just as important, the proposal made Russia a key implementation partner and showed Moscow our willingness to exhaust all reasonable approaches when it came to Iran. During the course of UNGA, Russia signed off on the idea; we even referred to it as “the Russia proposal.” Which meant that when the Iranians ultimately rejected the proposal at a P5+1 meeting held later that year in Geneva, they weren’t just thumbing their noses at the Americans. They were snubbing Russia, one of their few remaining defenders.

我们继续坚持我们的立场，一对新的进展有助于改变俄罗斯的态度。首先，我们的军控团队，在以不扩散专家加里·萨莫尔为首的带领下与国际原子能机构（IAEA）共同制定了一个富有创意的新提议，旨在测试伊朗真正的意图。根据这个提议，伊朗将把其现有的低浓缩铀库存运往俄罗斯，由俄罗斯将其处理成高浓缩铀；然后俄罗斯将把高浓缩铀运到法国，在那里将其转化为符合伊朗合法民用需求但不存在任何可能的军事应用的燃料形式。这个提议是一个临时措施：它没有改变伊朗的核架构，也无法阻止伊朗将来再次进行低浓缩铀浓缩。但消耗其现有存货将延迟“突破能力”高达一年，这样就为我们谈判更持久的解决方案争取了时间。同样重要的是，这个提议使俄罗斯成为了一个重要的实施伙伴，也表明了我们在处理伊朗问题时愿意尽尝一切合理的方法。在联合国大会期间，俄罗斯签署了这个提议；我们甚至把它称为“俄罗斯提议”。这意味着，当伊朗人最终在日内瓦的P5+1会议上拒绝这个提议时，他们不仅是在对美国人置之不理，也是在违背俄罗斯，他们剩下的几个维护者之一。

Cracks in the Russia-Iran relationship deepened after I handed Medvedev and Lavrov an intelligence bombshell during a private meeting on the margins of UNGA: We’d discovered that Iran was on the verge of completing construction of a secret enrichment facility buried deep inside a mountain near the ancient city of Qom. Everything about the facility—its size, configuration, and location on a military installation—indicated Iran’s interest in shielding its activities from both detection and attack, features inconsistent with a civilian program. I told Medvedev we were showing him the evidence first, before we made it public, because the time for half measures was over. Without Russian agreement on a forceful international response, the chance for a diplomatic resolution with Iran would likely slip away.

在聯合國大會期間，我私下會見梅德韋杰夫和拉夫羅夫，向他們爆出一項情報彈藥，加劇了俄羅斯和伊朗之間的裂痕：我們發現伊朗即將完成在古城賈姆附近一座山洞深處建造的秘密濃縮設施。該設施的一切特徵，包括大小、配置和位於軍事基地，表明伊朗對屏蔽其活動免受偵測和攻擊感興趣，這些特徵與民用計劃不一致。我告訴梅德韋杰夫，我們先向他展示證據，然後再公開，因為採取一半措施的時間已經結束。如果沒有俄羅斯對強有力的國際回應的同意，與伊朗的外交解決方案的機會可能會失去。

Our presentation seemed to rattle the Russians. Rather than try to defend Iran’s actions, Medvedev expressed his disappointment with the regime and acknowledged the need for a recalibration of the P5+1’s approach. He went even further in public remarks afterward, telling the press that “sanctions rarely lead to productive results...but in some cases sanctions are inevitable.” For our side, the statement was a welcome surprise, confirming our growing sense of Medvedev’s reliability as a partner.

We decided against revealing the existence of the Qom facility during a U.N. Security Council meeting on nuclear security issues that I was scheduled to chair; although the iconic setting would have made for good theater, we needed time to thoroughly brief the IAEA and the other P5+1 members. We also wanted to avoid drawing comparisons to the dramatic—and ultimately discredited—Security Council presentation regarding Iraqi WMDs made by Colin Powell in the run-up to the Iraq War. Instead, we gave the story to The New York Times just before G20 leaders were scheduled to meet in Pittsburgh.

我们的演示似乎让俄罗斯感到不安。梅德韦杰夫并没有试图为伊朗的行为辩护，他表达了对该政权的失望，并承认需要重新调整 P5+1 的方针。他在随后的公开讲话中更是进一步表示：“制裁很少能产生积极的结果……但在某些情况下，制裁是不可避免的。”对我们而言，这是一个受欢迎的惊喜，确认了我们越来越感到梅德韦杰夫是一个可靠的合作伙伴。

在我计划主持的有关核安全问题的联合国安理会会议上，我们决定不透露关于库姆设施的存在；虽然这个标志性的场所会为好的戏剧效果，但我们需要时间来彻底向国际原子能机构和其他 P5+1 成员介绍情况。我们还想避免与科林·鲍威尔在伊拉克战争前为伊拉克 WMD 做出的戏剧性、最终被证明是错误的安理会报告作比较。因此，我们在二十国集团领导人定于匹兹堡会晤之前将这个故事提供给了《纽约时报》。

The effect was galvanizing. Reporters speculated about possible Israeli missile strikes on Qom. Members of Congress called for immediate action. At a joint press conference with French president Sarkozy and British prime minister Brown, I emphasized the need for a strong international response but refrained from getting specific on sanctions so as to avoid boxing in Medvedev before he’d had a chance to work through the issue with Putin. Assuming we could keep Medvedev engaged, we had just one more major diplomatic hurdle to clear: convincing a skeptical Chinese government to cast a vote for sanctions against one of its main oil suppliers.

效果是激动人心的。记者们猜测以色列可能对科姆发动导弹袭击。国会议员呼吁立即采取行动。在与法国总统萨科齐和英国首相布朗的联合记者招待会上，我强调了强有力的国际反应的必要性，但没有具体提到制裁，以避免在梅德韦杰夫有机会通过普京处理这个问题之前限制他。假设我们能保持梅德韦杰夫的积极参与，我们只有一个更大的外交障碍要清除：说服持怀疑态度的中国政府投票支持对其主要石油供应国之一的制裁。

“How likely is that?” McFaul asked me.

“Don’t know yet,” I said. “Turns out avoiding a war is harder than getting into one.”

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SEVEN WEEKS LATER, Air Force One touched down in Beijing for my first official visit to China. We were instructed to leave any non-governmental electronic devices on the plane and to operate under the assumption that our communications were being monitored.

Even across oceans, Chinese surveillance capabilities were impressive. During the campaign, they’d hacked into our headquarters’ computer system. (I took it as a positive sign for my election prospects.) Their ability to remotely convert any mobile phone into a recording device was widely known. To make calls involving national security matters from our hotel, I had to go to a suite down the hall fitted with a sensitive compartmented information facility

(SCIF)—a big blue tent plopped down in the middle of the room that hummed with an eerie, psychedelic buzz designed to block any nearby listening devices. Some members of our team dressed and even showered in the dark to avoid the hidden cameras we could assume had been strategically placed in every room. (Marvin, on the other hand, said he made a point of walking around his room naked and with the lights on—whether out of pride or in protest wasn't entirely clear.)

“那有多可能？”麦克福尔问我。

“还不知道。”我说，“事实证明，避免战争比参与其中更困难。”

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七周后，空军一号降落在北京，我第一次正式访问中国。我们被要求将非政府电子设备留在飞机上，并在假定我们的通信正在被监视的情况下进行操作。即使隔着大洋，中国的监视能力也是令人印象深刻的。在竞选期间，他们侵入了我们总部的计算机系统。（我认为这对我的选举前景是一个积极的迹象。）他们能够远程将任何手机转换为录音设备的能力是广为人知的。为了从我们的酒店打涉及国家安全事务的电话，我不得不去到一个装有敏感隔离信息设施（SCIF）的套房——一个大蓝色帐篷，被放置在房间中央，发出奇怪的、迷幻的嗡嗡声，旨在阻止任何附近的窃听设备。我们团队的一些成员甚至穿衣服和淋浴在黑暗中，以避免我们可以假定已经被策略性地放置在每个房间里的隐藏摄像机。（另一方面，马文说他故意走来走去，光着身子，灯打开——他是为了表示自己的自豪还是抗议，还不太清楚。）

Occasionally, the brazenness of Chinese intelligence verged on comedy. At one point, my commerce secretary, Gary Locke, was on his way to a prep session when he realized he'd forgotten something in his suite. Upon opening the door, he discovered a pair of housekeepers making up his bed while two gentlemen in suits carefully thumbed through the papers on his desk. When Gary asked what they were doing, the men walked wordlessly past him and disappeared. The housekeepers never looked up, just moved on to changing out the towels in the bathroom as if Gary were invisible. Gary's story generated plenty of head shakes and chuckles from our team, and I'm sure that someone down the diplomatic food chain eventually filed a formal complaint. But no one brought up the incident when we sat down later for our official meeting with President Hu Jintao and the rest of the Chinese delegation. We had too much business to do with the Chinese—and did enough of our own spying on them—to want to make a stink.

有時，中國情報機構的厚顏無恥讓人想笑。我們商務部長駐華的時候，加里·鎖克曾經準備去一個會議，發現自己忘了拿什麼東西，回到自己的房間時，他發現兩個男士穿著西裝站在他的書桌旁仔細地翻閱文件，而兩個女傭則正在為他整理床鋪。當鎖克問他們在幹什麼時，那些男人沒有回答他的話，而是走過他走出了房間。女傭們從未抬起頭，就像鎖克不存在一樣繼續著浴室裡的工作。鎖克的經歷讓我們的團隊大受震驚和發笑，我相信在外交食物鏈下面肯定會有人提出正式投訴。但是當我們在稍後與胡錦濤主席和中國代表團進行正式會晤時，沒有人提及這件事情。我們要與中國進行太多的商務合作，且經常對他們進行間諜活動，所以我們也不希望引起麻煩。

This about summed up the state of U.S.-China affairs at the time. On the surface, the relationship we'd inherited looked relatively stable, without the high-profile diplomatic ruptures we'd seen with the Russians. Out of the gate, Tim Geithner and Hillary had met repeatedly with their Chinese counterparts and formalized a working group to address various bilateral concerns. In my meetings with President Hu during the London G20, we'd talked of pursuing win-win policies that could benefit our two countries. But beneath the diplomatic niceties lurked long-simmering tensions and mistrust—not only around specific issues like trade or espionage but also around the fundamental question of what China's resurgence meant for the international order and America's position in the world.

這基本上概括了當時美中關係的狀況。從表面上看，我們繼承的關係相對穩定，沒有像對俄羅斯那樣高調的外交破裂。出門前，提姆·蓋特納（Tim Geithner）和希拉里（Hillary）已多次與中方同行會面，並建立了一個工作小組來處理各種雙邊關注事項。在倫敦二十國集團（G20）期間與胡錦濤主席的會晤中，我們談到了追求雙贏政策，這有助於我們兩個國家。但在外交禮節之下潛藏著久煮的緊張關係和不信任感，這不僅涉及特定問題，如貿易或間諜活動，而且還涉及到中國復興對國際秩序以及美國在世界上的地位意味著什麼基本問題。

That China and the United States had managed to avoid open conflict for more than three decades was not just luck. From the start of China's economic reforms and decisive opening to the West back in the 1970s, the Chinese government had faithfully followed Deng Xiaoping's counsel to "hide your strength and bide your time." It prioritized industrialization over a massive military buildup. It invited U.S. companies searching for low-wage labor to move their operations to China and cultivated successive U.S. administrations to help it obtain World Trade Organization (WTO) membership in 2001, which in turn gave China greater access to U.S. markets. Although the Chinese Communist Party maintained tight control over the country's politics, it made no effort to export its ideology; China transacted business with all comers, whether democracies or dictatorships, claiming virtue in not judging the way other countries managed their internal affairs. China could throw its elbows around when it felt its territorial claims being challenged, and it bristled at Western criticism of its human rights record. But even on flashpoints like U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, Chinese officials did their best to ritualize disputes—registering displeasure through strongly worded letters or the cancellation of bilateral meetings but never letting things escalate to the point where they might impede the flow of shipping containers full of Chinese-made sneakers, electronics, and auto parts into U.S. ports and a Walmart near you.

中國和美國三十年來成功避免公開衝突，不僅僅是運氣好而已。從中國經濟改革和1970年代的決定性開放西方開始，中國政府一直忠實地遵循鄧小平的建議，“韜光養晦”，將工業化置於大規模軍事建設之上。它邀請尋找低工資勞動力的美國公司將其業務轉移到中國，並培養連續的美國政府，以幫助中國於2001年獲得世界貿易組織（WTO）會員身份，進而獲得更多進入美國市場的機會。儘管中國共產黨對該國政治實行嚴格控制，但它未曾試圖將其意識形態出口；中國與所有來者一樣進行業務，無論是民主國家還是獨裁國家，並宣揚不評價其他國家管理其內部事務的美德。中國可能會在感覺到其領土主張受到挑戰時大力施壓，並對西方批評其人權紀錄的行為採取避諱態度。但即使在臺灣武器銷售等緊張局勢上，中國官員也會盡力將爭端禮儀化—通過措辭強烈的信件或取消雙邊會議來表達不悅，但從未讓事情升級至可能妨礙中國製造的運輸集裝箱，包括運往美國港口和沃爾瑪的跑鞋、電子產品和汽車零件。

This strategic patience had helped China husband its resources and avoid costly foreign adventures. It had also helped obscure how systematically China kept evading, bending, or breaking just about every agreed-upon rule of international commerce during its “peaceful rise.” For years, it had used state subsidies, as well as currency manipulation and trade dumping, to artificially depress the price of its exports and undercut manufacturing operations in the United States. Its disregard for labor and environmental standards accomplished the same thing. Meanwhile, China used nontariff barriers like quotas and embargoes; it also engaged in the theft of U.S. intellectual property and placed constant pressure on U.S. companies doing business in China to surrender key technologies to help speed China’s ascent up the global supply chain.

这种战略耐心帮助中国保护其资源并避免昂贵的国外冒险。它也帮助掩盖中国如何系统地规避、扭曲或违反国际商业的几乎所有约定的规则，在其“和平崛起”过程中。多年来，它一直使用国家补贴、货币操纵和贸易倾销来人为压低其出口价格并削弱美国制造业。其对劳工和环境标准的漠视也起到了同样的作用。与此同时，中国使用非关税壁垒，如配额和禁运；它还进行了对美国知识产权的盗窃，并对在中国经商的美国公司施加了持续的压力，要求其放弃关键技术，以帮助加速中国在全球供应链上的崛起。

None of this made China unique. Just about every rich country, from the United States to Japan, had used mercantilist strategies at various stages of their development to boost their economies. And from China’s perspective, you couldn’t argue with the results: Only a generation after millions died of mass starvation, China had transformed itself into the world’s third-largest economy, accounting for nearly half of the world’s steel production, 20 percent of its manufacturing, and 40 percent of the clothing Americans bought.

這些都沒有使中國成為獨特的國家。從美國到日本的每個富裕國家，在其發展的不同階段都使用了重商主義策略來促進經濟發展。而從中國的角度來看，其結果毫無爭議：僅僅一代人之後，中國已經成為世界第三大經濟體，佔全球鋼鐵生產的近一半，製造業佔20%，還有40%的服裝是美國人買的。

What was surprising was Washington’s mild response. Back in the early 1990s, leaders of organized labor had sounded the alarm about China’s increasingly unfair trading practices, and they’d found plenty of congressional Democrats, particularly from rust-belt states, to champion the cause. The Republican Party had its share of China critics as well, a mix of Pat Buchanan-style populists enraged by what they saw as America’s slow surrender to a foreign power and aging Cold War hawks still worried about communism’s godless advance.

令人惊讶的是，华盛顿方面的回应是温和的。早在上世纪90年代，有组织劳工的领袖们就对中国日益不公平的贸易行为发出了警报，并且找到了很多国会民主党人特别是来自锈带地区的人来捍卫这个事业。共和党也有其批评中国的人，包括一些像派特·布坎南（Pat Buchanan）的民粹主义者，他们对美国缓慢地向外国势力的屈服感到愤怒，以及一些老年冷战鹰派，他们仍然担心共产主义的无神论进攻。

But as globalization shifted into overdrive during the Clinton and Bush years, these voices found themselves in the minority. There was too much money to be made. U.S. corporations and their shareholders liked the reduced labor costs and soaring profits that resulted from shifting production to China. U.S. farmers liked all the new Chinese customers buying their soybeans and pork. Wall Street firms liked the scores of Chinese billionaires looking to invest their newfound wealth, as did the slew of lawyers, consultants, and lobbyists brought on to service the expanding U.S.-China commerce. Even as most congressional Democrats remained unhappy with China’s trading practices, and the Bush administration filed a handful of complaints against China with the WTO, by the time I took office, a rough consensus had emerged among U.S. foreign-policy-making elites and big party donors: Instead of engaging in protectionism, America needed to take a page from the Chinese playbook. If we wanted to stay number one, we needed to work harder, save more money, and teach our kids more math, science, engineering—and Mandarin.

但隨著全球化在克林頓和布什政府時期加速發展，這些聲音發現自己處於少數派。有太多的錢可以賺了。美國企業及其股東喜歡將生產轉移到中國所帶來的降低勞動成本和飛漲的利潤。美國農民喜歡大批新客戶從中國購買他們的大豆和豬肉。華爾街公司喜歡中國的成批億萬富翁，這些人想要投資他們的新財富，這也讓律師、顧問和遊說者為擴大的美中貿易提供了服務。雖然大多數國會民主黨人對中國的貿易實踐仍然不滿，布什政府也向世界貿易組織提出了少數幾項投訴，但到我就職時，美國外交政策和大黨捐贈者之間形成了一個大致一致的共識：我們需要採取中國的策略，而不是從事貿易保護主義。如果我們想維持第一，我們需要更加努力地工作，節省更多的錢，教育我們的孩子更多的數學、科學、工程和普通話。

My own views on China didn’t fit neatly in any camp. I didn’t share my union supporters’ instinctive opposition to free trade, and I didn’t believe we could fully reverse globalization, any more than it was possible to shut down the internet. I thought that Clinton and Bush had made the right call in encouraging China’s integration into the global economy—history told me that a chaotic and impoverished China posed a bigger threat to the United States than a prosperous one. I considered China’s success at lifting hundreds of millions of people out of extreme poverty to be a towering human achievement.

我的看法并不简单地属于任何阵营。我不赞同我的工会支持者对自由贸易的本能反对，也不认为我们能够完全扭转全球化，就像关闭互联网一样不可能。我认为克林顿和布什在鼓励中国融入全球经济方面做出了正确的决定——历史告诉我，一个混乱贫穷的中国对美国的威胁比一个繁荣的中国更大。我认为中国成功地使数亿人脱离极端贫困是一项巨大的人类成就。

Still, the fact remained that China’s gaming of the international trading system had too often come at America’s expense. Automation and advanced robotics may have been the bigger culprit in the decline of U.S. manufacturing jobs, but Chinese practices—with the help of corporate outsourcing—had accelerated those losses. The flood of Chinese goods into the United States had made flat-screen TVs cheaper and helped keep inflation low, but only at the price of depressing the wages of U.S. workers. I’d promised to fight on those workers’ behalf for a better deal on trade, and I intended to keep that promise.

然而，事实仍然存在，中国在国际贸易体系中的操纵往往是以美国为代价的。自动化和先进机器人可能是导致美国制造业就业减少的主要罪犯，但在企业外包的帮助下，中国人的做法加速了这些损失。中国货物的涌入使平板电视更便宜，并帮助保持通货膨胀率低，但这只是以压低美国工人的工资为代价。我曾承

诺要为这些工人争取更好的贸易条件，并打算遵守这个承诺。

With the world's economy hanging by a thread, though, I had to consider when and how best to do that. China held more than \$700 billion in U.S. debt and had massive foreign currency reserves, making it a necessary partner in managing the financial crisis. To pull ourselves and the rest of the world out of the recession, we needed China's economy growing, not contracting. China wasn't going to change its trading practices without firm pressure from my administration; I just had to make sure we didn't start a trade war that tipped the world into a depression and harmed the very workers I'd vowed to help.

由于世界经济悬而未决，我必须考虑何时何地最适合做出这样的决定。中国持有超过7000亿美元的美国国债和庞大的外汇储备，成为管理金融危机不可或缺的合作伙伴。为了让我们和世界走出衰退，我们需要中国的经济保持增长，而不是萎缩。中国不会在没有我的政府的坚定压力下改变其贸易惯例，我只需要确保我们不会引发一场贸易战，将世界推向萧条，伤害那些我发誓要帮助的工人们。

In the run-up to our China trip, my team and I settled on a strategy to thread the needle between too tough and not tough enough. We'd start by presenting President Hu with a list of problem areas we wanted to see fixed over a realistic time frame, while avoiding a public confrontation that might further spook the jittery financial markets. If the Chinese failed to act, we'd steadily ratchet up the public pressure and take retaliatory actions—ideally in an economic environment that was no longer so fragile.

在我們前往中國之前，我和我的團隊商定了一個策略，旨在在太嚴厲和不夠嚴厲之間謹慎抉擇。我們將開始向胡主席提交一份問題清單，希望在合理的時間框架內解決這些問題，同時避免公開對抗，以免進一步擾亂不安的金融市場。如果中國人沒有採取行動，我們將逐步加大公開壓力，採取報復行動，最好是在經濟環境再次穩定之後。

To nudge China toward better behavior, we also hoped to enlist the help of its neighbors. That was going to take some work. The Bush administration's total absorption with problems in the Middle East, as well as the Wall Street fiasco, had led some Asian leaders to question America's relevance in the region. Meanwhile, China's booming economy made even close U.S. allies like Japan and South Korea increasingly dependent on its markets and wary of getting on its bad side. The one thing we had going for us was that in recent years China had started overplaying its hand, demanding one-sided concessions from weaker trading partners and threatening the Philippines and Vietnam over control of a handful of small but strategic islands in the South China Sea. U.S. diplomats reported a growing resentment toward such heavy-handed tactics—and a desire for a more sustained American presence as a counterweight to Chinese power.

為了促使中國改善行為，我們也希望得到其鄰國的幫助。這需要一些工作。布什政府對中東問題和華爾街的失敗的全面吸引，使一些亞洲領袖質疑美國在該地區的相關性。與此同時，中國經濟的蓬勃發展使得即使對美國的親密盟友如日本和韓國，也越來越依賴其市場並警惕與中國的交惡。我們唯一能夠做的是，在近年來，中國已開始過度發揮其作用，在向較弱的貿易夥伴要求單方面讓步，威脅菲律賓和越南控制南海中一些小而戰略性的島嶼。美國外交官報告了對此類措施日益增長的反感-並要求更持久的美國存在作為中國力量的對衝。

To take advantage of this opening, we scheduled stops for me in Japan and South Korea, as well as a meeting in Singapore with the ten countries that made up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Along the way, I'd announce my intention to pick up the baton on an ambitious new U.S.-Asia trade agreement the Bush administration had started to negotiate—with an emphasis on locking in the types of enforceable labor and environmental provisions that Democrats and unions complained had been missing in previous deals, like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). We explained to reporters that the overall goal of what we later called a “pivot to Asia” wasn't to contain China or stifle its growth. Rather, it was to reaffirm U.S. ties to the region, and to strengthen the very framework of international law that had allowed countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region—including China—to make so much progress in such a short time.

為了利用這個機會，我們安排了停留在日本和南韓，以及在新加坡與東南亞國家聯盟（東盟）的十個國家舉行會議。一路上，我會宣布我打算接棒完成布什政府開始談判的一項野心勃勃的新美國 - 亞洲貿易協定，著重於鞏固強制執行的勞工和環境條款，這些條款在之前的協議中被民主黨和工會批評缺失，如《北美自由貿易協定》。我們向記者解釋，我們所謂的“東亞轉移”（“pivot to Asia”）的總體目標不是遏制中國或阻礙其增長。相反，它是為了重申美國與該地區的聯繫，並加強國際法的框架，這框架已經允許整個亞太地區的國家 - 包括中國 - 在短時間內取得如此大的進展。

I doubted the Chinese would see it that way.

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IT HAD BEEN more than twenty years since I'd traveled to Asia. Our seven-day tour started in Tokyo, where I delivered a speech on the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance and met with Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama to discuss the economic crisis, North Korea, and the proposed relocation of the U.S. Marine base in Okinawa. A pleasant if awkward fellow, Hatoyama was Japan's fourth prime minister in less than three years and the second since I'd taken office—a symptom of the sclerotic, aimless politics that had plagued Japan for much of the decade. He'd be gone seven months later.

我懷疑中國人不會這樣看。

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從我上次前往亞洲已經超過二十年了。我們七天的旅行從東京開始，我在那裡發表了有關美日聯盟未來的演講，並與當時的總理鳩山由紀夫會面，討論經濟危機、北韓以及美國海軍陸戰隊基地搬遷到沖繩的計劃。鳩山是個和藹可親卻又有點尷尬的人，他是日本三年內的第四任總理，而這期間我已經入主白宮七個月了。這是反映出困擾著日本很長一段時間的僵化、無目標的政治環境的病態現象。他七個月後就下臺了。

A brief visit with Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko at the Imperial Palace left a more lasting impression. Diminutive and well into their seventies, they greeted me in impeccable English, with him dressed in a Western suit and her in a brocaded silk kimono, and I bowed as a gesture of respect. They led me into a receiving room, cream-colored and sparsely decorated in the traditional Japanese style, and over tea they inquired about Michelle, the girls, and my impression of U.S.-Japan relations. Their manners were at once formal and self-effacing, their voices soft as the patter of rain, and I found myself trying to imagine the emperor's life. What must it have been like, I wondered, to be born to a father who'd been considered a god, and then forced to assume a largely symbolic throne decades after the Japanese Empire had suffered its fiery defeat? The empress's story interested me even more: The daughter of a wealthy industrialist, she'd been educated in Catholic schools and graduated from college with a degree in English literature; she was also the first commoner in the twenty-six-hundred-year history of the Chrysanthemum Throne to marry into the imperial family—a fact that endeared her to the Japanese public but reputedly caused strains with her in-laws. As a departing gift, the empress gave me a composition she'd written for the piano, explaining with surprising frankness how her love of music and poetry had helped her survive bouts of loneliness.与明仁天皇和美智子皇后在皇宫的简短会见给我留下了深刻的印象。他们颇有年纪，但身形娇小，用无可挑剔的英语问候我，他穿着西装，她则穿着锦缎的和服，我鞠躬以示尊敬。他们带我走进一个接待室，室内以传统日式为主，装饰简约，颜色为米色。在喝茶的时候，他们询问米歇尔、女儿和我对美日关系的印象。他们的举止既正式又谦逊，声音如雨点般柔和，我竭尽所能地想象皇帝的生活。我在想，生来就是神的儿子，然而在日本帝国遭受惨败数十年后被迫承担大部分象征性的皇位，这是什么感受？更让我感兴趣的是皇后的故事：她是富有实业家的女儿，在天主教学校接受教育，获得了英语文学学位，在2600年的菊花王座历史上，她也是第一个嫁入皇室的平民——这让她受到日本民众的喜爱，但据说也引起了她的姻亲的不满。作为告别的礼物，皇后送给我一首她为钢琴而作的作品，坦率地解释了她如何通过音乐和诗歌来应对孤独。

Later, I learned that my simple bow to my elderly Japanese hosts had sent conservative commentators into a fit back home. When one obscure blogger called it "treasonous," his words got picked up and amplified in the mainstream press. Hearing all this, I pictured the emperor entombed in his ceremonial duties and the empress, with her finely worn, graying beauty and smile brushed with melancholy, and I wondered when exactly such a sizable portion of the American Right had become so frightened and insecure that they'd completely lost their minds.

後來，我才知道我對日本年長主人的簡單鞠躬讓保守評論家在國內大吵大鬧。當某個默默無聞的博客將其稱為“叛國行為”時，他的言論被主流媒體所放大。聽到這一切，我想象皇帝被埋葬在他的儀式職責中，皇后則擁有精美的灰色禮服和滿佈憂鬱的微笑，並且我不知道美國右翼的這樣大一部分人什麼時間變得如此害怕和不安，以至於他們已完全失去了理智。

From Tokyo, I traveled to Singapore to meet with the leaders of the ten ASEAN countries. My attendance wasn't without potential controversy: Myanmar, one of ASEAN's members, had been ruled for more than forty years by a brutal, repressive military junta, and both Presidents Clinton and Bush had declined invitations to meet with the group so long as Myanmar was included. To me, though, alienating nine Southeast Asian countries to signal disapproval toward one didn't make much sense, especially since the United States maintained friendly relations with a number of the ASEAN countries that were hardly paragons of democratic virtue, including Vietnam and Brunei. With Myanmar, the United States had comprehensive sanctions in place. Our best chance of influencing its government beyond that, we decided, would come from showing a willingness to talk.

我從東京前往新加坡，與十國東協的領袖會面。我出席可能會引起爭議：緬甸是東協的成員之一，一個殘酷的、壓制的軍政府統治了這個國家超過四十年，克林頓總統和布什總統都拒絕了與東協會面的邀請，只要緬甸還在其中。然而，對於我來說，為了顯示對一個國家的不滿而疏遠九個東南亞國家是沒有多大意義的，特別是美國與一些東協國家保持友好關係，這些國家不是民主典範，包括越南和文萊。對於緬甸，美國已經實施了全面制裁。我們決定，除此之外，影響其政府的最佳機會就是表現出願意對話的態度。

Myanmar's prime minister was a mild-mannered, elfish general named Thein Sein, and as it turned out my interaction with him went no further than a brief handshake and didn't cause much of a stir. The ASEAN leaders expressed enthusiasm for our message of U.S. reengagement, while the Asian press emphasized my childhood ties to the region—a first for an American president and evident, they said, in my fondness for local street food and my ability to greet the Indonesian president in Bahasa.

The truth is that I'd forgotten most of my Indonesian beyond simple greetings and ordering off a menu. But despite my long absence, I was struck by how familiar Southeast Asia felt to me, with its languorous, humid air, the whiffs of fruit and spice, the subtle restraint in the way people interacted. Singapore, though, with its wide boulevards, public gardens, and high-rise office buildings, was hardly the tidy former British colony I remembered from childhood. Even in the 1960s, it had been one of the region's success stories—a city-state populated by Malays, Indians, and Chinese that, thanks to a combination of free-market policies, bureaucratic competence, minimal corruption, and notoriously stringent political and social control, had become a center for foreign investment. But globalization and broader growth trends in Asia had sent the country's economy soaring even higher. With its fine restaurants and designer stores packed with businessmen in suits and young people in the latest hip-hop fashion, the wealth on display now rivaled that of New York or Los Angeles.

緬甸的總理是一位性格溫和、類似精靈的將軍——瑞盈。事實上，我和他的互動僅限於握手寒暄，並沒有引起太大的關注。東盟領袖表達了對我們重返亞洲的喜悅，亞洲媒體強調了我與這個地區的童年聯繫，這是美國總統首次達成的，這表現在我對當地街頭美食的喜愛和我用Bahasa向印度尼西亞總統問好上。

事實上，除了簡單的問候和點餐，我已經忘記了大部分的印尼語。但儘管我長期不在這裡，東南亞對我來說仍然很熟悉，悠閒的潮濕空氣、水果和香料的氣息，人們互動的微妙節制。新加坡有寬闊的林蔭大道、公共花園和高層辦公樓，它已經不是我童年記憶中的整潔的前英國殖民地了。即使在20世紀60年代，這裡也是該地區的成功故事之一——一個由馬來人、印度人和華人組成的城市國家，通過自由市場政策、官方效率、最低限度的腐敗以及臭名昭著嚴格的政治和社會控制，已成為外國投資的中心。但全球化和亞洲更廣泛的增長趨勢使該國的經濟更加蓬勃發展。現在，它的精品餐廳和滿是西裝革履的商人和時尚青年的設計師店，展示的財富已經可以與紐約或洛杉磯媲美。

In a sense, Singapore remained exceptional: Most of the other ASEAN countries still struggled with varying levels of entrenched poverty, just as their commitment to democracy and the rule of law remained wildly uneven. One thing they seemed to have in common, though, was a shift in how they imagined themselves. The people I talked to—whether heads of state, businesspeople, or human rights activists—remained respectful of American power. But they no longer viewed the West as the center of the world, with their own countries inalterably cast as bit players. Instead, they considered themselves at least equal to their former colonizers, their dreams for their people no longer capped by geography or race.

在某种意义上，新加坡依然是个例外：大多数其他东盟国家仍在努力摆脱根深蒂固的贫困，他们对民主和法治的承诺也表现出各自不同的不稳定性。然而，他们似乎有一个共同点，那就是他们对自己的想象方式发生了转变。我与各国领袖、商人或人权活动家的交流中，他们仍然尊重美国的权力。但他们再也不会将西方视为世界的中心，将自己国家不可改变地定位为小演员。相反，他们认为自己与其前殖民者至少是平等的，他们为自己的国家和人民的梦想不再受到地理或种族的限制。

As far as I was concerned, that was a good thing, an extension of America's faith in the dignity of all people and a fulfillment of the promise we'd long made to the world: Follow our lead, liberalize your economies, and hopefully your governments and you, too, can share in our prosperity. Like Japan and South Korea, more and more ASEAN countries had taken us at our word. It was part of my job as U.S. president to make sure that they played fair—that their markets were as open to us as our markets were to them, that their continued development didn't depend on exploiting their workers or destroying the environment. So long as they competed with us on a level playing field, I considered Southeast Asia's progress something for America to welcome, not fear. I wonder now whether that's what conservative critics found so objectionable about my foreign policy, why something as minor as a bow to the Japanese emperor could trigger such rage: I didn't seem threatened, as they were, by the idea that the rest of the world was catching up to us.

就我而言，那是一件好事，延伸了美国对于所有人尊严的信仰，同时也实现了我们向世界承诺的承诺：跟着我们的步伐，自由化你们的经济，有希望自由化你们的政府，这样你们也可以分享到我们的繁荣。像日本和韩国一样，越来越多的东盟国家相信我们。作为美国总统，我的一项工作是确保他们公平竞争，他们的市场对我们的开放程度与我们的市场对他们的开放程度相同，他们的持续发展不依赖于剥削工人或破坏环境。只要他们在公平竞争的基础上与我们竞争，东南亚的进步对于美国来说是值得欢迎而不是害怕的。我现在想知道保守派批评家为什么对我的外交政策感到如此反感，为什么像对日本皇帝的鞠躬一样微不足道的事情会引发如此激烈的愤怒：我没有像他们那样感到受到威胁，因为其他国家正在追赶我们的脚步。

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SHANGHAI—OUR FIRST stop in China—seemed like Singapore on steroids. Visually, it lived up to the hype, a sprawling, modern metropolis of twenty million cacophonous souls, every inch of it bustling with commerce, traffic, construction cranes. Huge ships and barges loaded with goods bound for the world's markets glided up and down the Huangpu. Throngs of people strolled along the expansive river walk, stopping every so often to admire the futuristic skyscrapers that stretched in all directions and at night were as bright as the Las Vegas Strip. At an ornate banquet hall, the mayor of the city—an up-and-comer in the Communist Party who, with his tailored suit and jaunty sophistication, somehow reminded me of Dean Martin—pulled out all the stops for a luncheon between our delegation and Chinese and American business leaders, with rare delicacies and wine pairings that would suit a high-end wedding at the Ritz. Reggie Love, my ever-constant body man, was most impressed with a waitstaff made up entirely of stunning young women in flowing white gowns, as slender and tall as runway models.

上海——我们在中国的第一站——像是增强版的新加坡。从视觉上来看，它达到了超乎想象的水平——一个占地广阔的现代化大都市，拥有着两千万繁忙的灵魂，每一个角落都充满着商业、交通、建筑的喧嚣声。巨型船舶和货船满载着商品驶过浦江，驶向世界市场。人们沿着广阔的河滨散步，不时停下来赞赏四面八方延伸的未来主义摩天大楼，晚上它们闪耀如同拉斯维加斯的彩灯。在一座华丽的宴会厅里，这座城市的市长——一个正崛起的共产党员，在他的定制西装和俏皮的着装下，不知何故让我想起了迪恩·马丁——为我们的代表团和中美商界领袖之间的午餐拉开了所有的停车位，并提供了适合丽思卡尔顶级婚礼的珍馐和葡萄酒搭配。我的一贯贴身保镖里奇·洛夫被全部由流动的白色礼服装扮的令人惊叹的年轻女性服务人员所印象深刻，她们如同T台模特一样苗条高挑。

“Who knew Communists looked like that,” he said, shaking his head.

The contradiction between China's official ideology and such conspicuous displays of wealth didn't come up when I met with several hundred college students at a town hall that same day. The Chinese authorities, wary of my usual unscripted format, had handpicked the participants from some of Shanghai's most elite universities—and although they were courteous and enthusiastic, their questions had little of the probing, irreverent quality that I was used to hearing from youth in other countries. (“So what measures will you take to deepen this close relationship between cities of the United States and China?” was about as tough as it got.) I couldn't decide whether party officials had prescreened all the questions or the students just knew better than to say anything that could land them in hot water.

“誰知道共產主義者長得那樣，”他搖著頭說。

當天我在一個市民廳與幾百名大學生會面時，沒有人提及中國官方意識形態和奢華消費之間的矛盾。中國當局對我的非常規問答節目格外小心，從上海一些最精英的大學中特意挑選了參加者。即便他們禮貌熱情，他們的問題遠不如我在其他國家聽到的年輕人的探究性和不敬。（“那你們會採取什麼措施來加深美中城市之間的緊密關係？”是他們提出的最棘手的問題。）我無法決定黨的官員是否預先篩選了所有問題，或者學生們只是比任何時候都更明智地選擇了不說對他們不利的話。

After shaking hands and chatting with some of the students at the end of the program, I concluded that at least some of their earnest patriotism wasn't simply for show. They were too young to have experienced the horrors of the Cultural Revolution or witnessed the crackdown in Tiananmen Square; that history wasn't taught in school, and I doubted their parents talked about it. If some of the students chafed against the way the government blocked their access to websites, they likely experienced the full weight of China's repressive apparatus mainly as an abstraction, as remote from their personal

experience as the U.S. criminal justice system might be to middle-class, suburban white kids back home. For the entirety of their lives, China's system had lifted them and their families along an upward trajectory, while from a distance, at least, Western democracies seemed stuck in neutral, full of civic discord and economic inefficiency.

在节目结束时与一些学生握手和聊天后，我得出结论，至少部分学生的真诚爱国并不仅仅是为了炫耀。他们太年轻了，没有经历过文化大革命的恐怖，也没有目睹天安门广场的镇压；这段历史也没有在学校教授，我怀疑他们的父母也没谈论过这个话题。如果有些学生对政府封锁网站的方式感到不满，他们可能主要将中国镇压系统的全重压力看作是一个抽象的概念，与美国刑事司法系统可能对于中产阶级的郊区白人孩子们来说一样遥远，远离他们的个人经历。在他们的整个生命中，中国的制度让他们及其家人沿着向上的轨迹前进，而从远处看，至少西方民主国家似乎停滞不前，充满了公民纷争和经济低效。

It was tempting to think that the attitudes of these students would change over time, either because a slowdown in China's growth rate would thwart their material expectations or because, having reached a certain measure of economic security, they would start wanting those things the GDP couldn't measure. But that was hardly guaranteed. In fact, China's economic success had made its brand of authoritarian capitalism a plausible alternative to Western-style liberalism in the minds of young people not just in Shanghai but across the developing world. Which of those visions they ultimately embraced would help determine the geopolitics of the next century; and I left the town hall acutely aware that winning over this new generation depended on my ability to show that America's democratic, rights-based, pluralistic system could still deliver on the promise of a better life.

有誘惑性的想法是，這些學生的態度會隨著時間的推移而改變，可能是因為中國經濟增長放緩阻礙了他們的物質期望，或者因為他們已經獲得了一定程度的經濟安全，開始渴望那些GDP無法衡量的事物。但這並不是肯定的。事實上，中國的經濟成功已經在發展中世界的年輕人心中，不僅僅是在上海，成為西式自由主義的可靠替代方案的威權資本主義品牌。他們最終採納哪一種願景將有助於決定下一個世紀的地緣政治；而我離開市政廳時深刻意識到，贏得這一代人的支持取決於我展示美國民主、基於權利和多元主義的系統仍然可以實現更美好生活的承諾的能力。

Beijing wasn't as flashy as Shanghai, though driving from the airport we passed what seemed like twenty straight miles of newly built high-rises, as if ten Manhattans had been erected overnight. Business districts and residential areas gave way to government buildings and imposing monuments once we reached the city's core. As usual, my meeting with President Hu Jintao was a sleepy affair: Whatever the topic, he liked to read from thick stacks of prepared remarks, pausing every so often for translations to English that seemed to have been prepared in advance and, somehow, always lasted longer than his original statement. When it was my turn to speak, he'd shuffle through his papers, looking for whatever response his aides had prepared for him. Efforts to break the monotony with personal anecdotes or the occasional joke ("Give me the name of your contractor," I told him after learning that the massive, columned Great Hall of the People had been built in less than a year) usually resulted in a blank stare, and I was tempted more than once to suggest that we could save each other time by just exchanging papers and reading them at our leisure.

北京不像上海那么华丽，但当我们从机场驱车而过时，我们经过了好像连续二十英里的新建高楼大厦，仿佛十座曼哈顿在一夜之间被建成了。当我们到达市中心时，商业区和住宅区让位于政府大楼和宏伟的纪念碑。像往常一样，我与胡锦涛主席的会晤是一件令人困倦的事情：无论谈论什么话题，他都喜欢从堆积如山的准备好的发言稿中念出来，偶尔为了英文翻译而停顿一下，似乎那也是提前准备好的，而且总是比他的原始声明更持久。轮到我讲话时，他会翻阅他的文件，寻找他的助手为他准备的任何反应。使用个人轶事或偶然的玩笑来打破单调（“告诉我你的承包商的名字，”我告诉他，当我得知大而有柱的人民大会堂在不到一年的时间内建成时），通常会导致茫然的凝视，我不止一次想建议，我们可以互相节省时间，只需交换文件并在自己的空闲时间里阅读。

Still, my time with Hu gave me the chance to put down a set of clear markers on U.S. priorities: managing the economic crisis and North Korea's nuclear program; the need to peacefully resolve maritime disputes in the South China Sea; the treatment of Chinese dissidents; and our push for new sanctions against Iran. On the last item, I appealed to Chinese self-interest, warning that without meaningful diplomatic action, either we or the Israelis might be forced to strike Iran's nuclear facilities, with far worse consequences for Chinese oil supplies. As expected, Hu was noncommittal on sanctions, but judging by his shift in body language and the furious notetaking by his ministers, the seriousness of our message on Iran got his attention.

我的時間與胡同志讓我有機會確立了一系列明確的美國優先事項：管理經濟危機和朝鮮的核計劃；和平解決南海爭端的需要；對待中國異見人士；以及我們推動對伊朗實施新制裁。在最後一個問題上，我呼籲中國有所作為，並警告說，如果沒有有意義的外交行動，不是我們就是以色列可能會被迫襲擊伊朗的核設施，對中國石油供應會產生更糟糕的影響。如預期，胡同志在制裁問題上持不表態的態度，但根據他的肢體語言轉變和他的部長們狂熱的筆記記錄來判斷，我們對伊朗的問題的重要性引起了他的關注。

I took a similarly blunt approach on trade issues when I met the next day with Premier Wen Jiabao, who, despite the lesser title, served as China's key economic decision maker. Unlike President Hu, Wen seemed comfortable exchanging views extemporaneously—and was straightforward in his defense of China's trade policies. "You must understand, Mr. President, that despite what you see in Shanghai and Beijing, we're still a developing country," he said. "One-third of our population still lives in severe poverty...more people than in the entire United States. You can't expect us to adopt the same policies that apply to a highly advanced economy like your own."

當我隔天與疏於標題、但扮演中國重要經濟決策者角色的溫家寶總理會面時，我也採取了類似的直率方式討論貿易問題。溫家寶總理與胡錦濤主席不同的是，他貌似能即興交流，並且直言不諱地捍衛了中國的貿易政策。他說：“您必須明白，總統先生，儘管您在上海和北京看到的是不同的景象，但我們仍是一個發展中國家。我們三分之一的人口仍生活在嚴重的貧困中……比整個美國的人口還要多。你不能指望我們採取適用於像你的高度發達經濟體一樣的政策。”

He had a point: For all of his country's remarkable progress, the average Chinese family—especially outside the major cities—still had a lower income than all but the very poorest of Americans. I tried to put myself in Wen's shoes, having to integrate an economy that straddled the information age and feudalism while generating enough jobs to meet the demands of a population the size of North and South America combined. I would have sympathized

more had I not known that high-ranking Communist Party officials—including Wen—had a habit of steering state contracts and licenses to family members and siphoning billions into offshore accounts.

他说得有道理：尽管中国取得了惊人的进步，但平均而言，中国家庭的收入仍然比美国除最贫穷的人以外的所有人都要低，尤其是在主要城市之外。我尝试想象自己处在温家宝的鞋子里，要整合一个既存在信息时代又存在封建制度的经济体，同时创造足够的就业机会来满足人口规模相当于北美和南美总和的需求。如果我不知道高级共产党官员，包括温家宝，有将国家的合同和许可证分配给家庭成员并将数十亿资金转移到海外账户的习惯，我会更为同情他们。

As it was, I told Wen that given the massive trade imbalances between our two countries, the United States could no longer overlook China's currency manipulation and other unfair practices; either China started changing course or we'd have to take retaliatory measures. Hearing this, Wen tried a different tack, suggesting that I just give him a list of U.S. products we wanted China to buy more of and he'd see what he could do. (He was especially keen on including military and high-tech items that America barred from export to China for national security reasons.) I explained that we needed a structural solution, not piecemeal concessions, and in the back-and-forth between us, I felt like I was haggling over the price of chickens at a market stall rather than negotiating trade policy between the world's two largest economies. I was reminded once again that for Wen and the rest of China's leaders, foreign policy remained purely transactional. How much they gave and how much they got would depend not on abstract principles of international law but on their assessment of the other side's power and leverage. Where they met no resistance, they'd keep on taking.

我告诉温家宝，考虑到我们两国之间巨大的贸易失衡，美国不能再忽视中国的货币操纵和其他不公平的做法；要么中国开始改变方向，要么我们将不得不采取报复措施。听到这个，温家宝尝试着采取不同的策略，建议我列出美国产品清单，希望中国购买更多的产品，他会尽力而为。（他特别热衷于包括因国家安全原因被美国禁止向中国出口的军事和高科技产品）我解释说，我们需要结构性的解决方案，而不是零散的让步，在我们之间的来回交流中，我感觉自己就像在市场摊位上讨价还价鸡肉的价格，而不是在世界上两个最大经济体之间谈判贸易政策。我再次想起，对温和中国其他领导人来说，外交政策仍然是纯粹的交易行为。他们所给和所得的取决于他们对另一方的实力和影响力的评估，而不是国际法的抽象原则。在他们没有遇到阻力的地方，他们会继续采取。

Our first day in Beijing ended with the obligatory state dinner, complete with a cultural program that included classic Chinese opera; a medley of performances by Tibetan, Uighur, and Mongolian dance troupes (the emcee helpfully noted that all minority groups were respected in China, which would have been news to thousands of Tibetan and Uighur political prisoners); and a rendition of Stevie Wonder's "I Just Called to Say I Love You" by the People's Liberation Army Orchestra in my honor. ("We know he's your favorite," President Hu leaned over to tell me.) After five days on the road with our clocks turned upside down, our entire crew was running on fumes; at the table next to ours, Larry Summers was fast asleep, his mouth open and his head lolling back, causing Favs to shoot out an email to the group: "It looks like SOMEONE's in need of a second stimulus."

我们在北京的第一天以强制性的国宴结束，包括经典的中国戏曲文化节目；由西藏，维吾尔和蒙古舞蹈团队表演的曲目混搭（主持人帮助指出中国尊重所有少数民族，这将成千上万名西藏和维吾尔政治犯的消息）；人民解放军管弦乐团为了我而演出的Stevie Wonder的"I Just Called to Say I Love You"（“我们知道他是你最喜欢的，”胡主席俯身告诉我）。经过五天的路途，我们的整个组员都已经疲惫不堪；在我们旁边的桌子上，拉里·萨默斯已经熟睡了，嘴巴张开，头往后倾，Favs向小组发出一封电子邮件：“看来有人需要第二次刺激。”

Groggy but determined, everyone (including Larry) fought through their jet lag the next day to visit a nearby section of the Great Wall. The day was cold, the wind cutting, the sun a dim watermark on the gray sky, and no one said much as we trudged up the steep stone ramparts that snaked along the mountain's spine. Sections of the Great Wall had been maintained since 200 B.C., our guide explained, although the portion where we were standing dated to the fifteenth century, an effort by the Ming dynasty to keep out Mongol and Manchu invaders. For hundreds of years, the wall had held. This prompted Reggie to ask me how the Ming dynasty finally ended.

頭昏昏沉沉，但每個人（包括 Larry）在隔天克服時差困擾，前往附近的長城。天氣又冷又刮風，陽光如同灰色天空上的淡淡水印，當我們踏著蜿蜒於山脊上的陡峭石頭城牆攀登時，沒有人言語。我們的導遊解釋說部分長城自公元前200年以來得以保養，然而我們所站的範圍是十五世紀以後的建築，是明朝為防禦蒙古和滿族入侵而所建立的。數百年來，長城一直都存在。這讓 Reggie 問我明朝最終是如何結束的。

"Internal strife," I said. "Power struggles, corruption, peasants starving 'cause the rich got greedy or just didn't care..."

"So, the usual," Reggie said.

I nodded. "The usual."

THE PRESIDENCY CHANGES your time horizons. Rarely do your efforts bear fruit right away; the scale of most problems coming across your desk is too big for that, the factors at play too varied. You learn to measure progress in smaller steps—each of which may take months to accomplish, none of which merit much public notice—and to reconcile yourself to the knowledge that your ultimate goal, if ever achieved, may take a year or two or even a full term to realize.

“內部鬥爭”，我說道。“權力爭奪、腐敗、農民因為富人貪婪或漠不關心而挨餓...”

“所以，就跟往常一樣，”雷吉說。

我點頭。“一如往常。”

擔任總統會改變你的時間範圍。很少有你的努力能立即見效；你桌上的大部分問題規模都太大了，參與的因素太多。你學會了用較小的步驟來衡量進展，每個步驟可能需要幾個月才能實現，但沒有一個值得大眾注意，你也學會了接受一個事實：如果實現的話，你的最終目標可能需要一年或兩年甚至一整個任期才能實現。

Nowhere is this truer than in the conduct of foreign policy. So when, in the spring of 2010, we began to see results from some of our major diplomatic initiatives, I felt pretty encouraged. Tim Geithner reported that the Chinese had quietly started letting their currency appreciate. In April, I flew back to Prague, where Russian president Medvedev and I held a signing ceremony for the New START, which would cut the number of deployed nuclear warheads by a third on each side, with rigorous inspection mechanisms to ensure compliance.

在外交政策的落实上，这句话不仅仅是真理。所以，当我们在2010年春季开始看到一些主要外交倡议的成果时，我感到相当鼓舞。蒂姆·盖特纳报告说，中国人已经开始暗自让他们的货币升值。四月份，我回到布拉格，俄罗斯总统梅德韦杰夫和我举行了一次签字仪式，签署了新的START协议，该协议将削减每一方部署的核弹头数量三分之一，而且还有一套严格的检查机制来确保遵守。

And in June, with key votes from both Russia and China, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1929, imposing unprecedented new sanctions on Iran, including a ban on weapons sales, a suspension of new international financial activities by Iranian banks, and a broad mandate to bar any commerce that could help Iran expand its nuclear weapons program. It would take a couple of years for Iran to feel the full effects, but in combination with a new set of U.S. sanctions, we now had the tools we needed to bring Iran's economy to a halt unless and until it agreed to negotiate. It also gave me a powerful rationale for counseling patience in conversations with Israelis and others who saw the nuclear issue as a handy excuse for a U.S.-Iran military confrontation.

在六月份，联合国安理会得到了来自俄罗斯和中国的关键投票，通过了第1929号决议，对伊朗实施了前所未有的新制裁，包括禁止武器销售、暂停伊朗银行的新国际金融活动，并授权禁止任何可能帮助伊朗扩大其核武器计划的商业活动。尽管需要几年时间才能让伊朗感受到全面影响，但结合一系列新的美国制裁，我们现在拥有了必要的工具来迫使伊朗接受谈判，否则我们将使其经济陷入停滞。这也给了我一个有力的理由，在与以色列人和其他把核问题视为美伊军事对抗的便利借口的人谈话中，建议耐心等待。

Getting Russia and China on board had been a team effort. Hillary and Susan Rice spent countless hours cajoling, charming, and occasionally threatening their Russian and Chinese counterparts. McFaul, Burns, and Samore all provided critical strategic and technical support, helping us knock down or work around whatever objections the Russian and Chinese negotiators might present. And my relationship with Medvedev proved decisive in getting the sanctions finally in place. On the margins of each international summit I attended, he and I carved out time to work through logjams in the negotiations; as we got closer to the Security Council vote, it seemed as if we talked by phone once a week ("Our ears are getting sore," he joked toward the end of one marathon session). Time and again, Medvedev ended up going further than either Burns or McFaul had thought possible, given Moscow's long-standing ties to Iran and the millions that well-connected Russian arms manufacturers stood to lose once the new sanctions went into effect. On June 9, the day of the Security Council vote, Medvedev surprised us once again by announcing the cancellation of S-300 missiles sales to Iran, a reversal not only of his previous position but also of Putin's. To offset some of Russia's losses, we agreed to lift existing sanctions on several Russian firms that had previously sold arms to Iran; I also committed to speed up negotiations on Russia's belated entry into the WTO. Still, by aligning with us on Iran, Medvedev showed himself willing to stake his presidency on a closer relationship with the United States—a promising sign for future collaboration on our other international priorities, I told Rahm, "so long as Putin doesn't cut him off at the knees."俄羅斯和中國的加入是團隊努力的成果。希拉里和蘇珊·萊斯花費了無數個小時來哄騙、迷人和偶爾威脅他們的俄羅斯和中國對手。麥克福爾、伯恩斯和薩莫爾都提供了關鍵的戰略和技術支持，幫助我們擊敗或克服了俄羅斯和中國談判代表可能提出的任何異議。而我與梅德韋杰夫的關係在最終實施制裁方面起到了決定性作用。在我參加的每一次國際峰會的邊緣，他和我都會抽出時間來解決談判中的困境；隨著我們越來越接近安理會的投票，他們似乎每周會有一次的電話交流（在一次馬拉松式的會議結束時，他開玩笑說：“我們的耳朵都快疼死了。”）。一次又一次，即使是對於與伊朗長期建立關係以及依靠出售武器獲利的百萬富翁的俄羅斯也無法阻止梅德韋杰夫不斷推進我們的方案。在安理會投票的那一天，也就是6月9日，梅德韋杰夫再次給我們帶來了驚喜，宣布取消向伊朗出售S-300導彈的計劃，這不僅是對他以前的立場的倒退，也是對普京的倒退。為了彌補俄羅斯的一些損失，我們同意解除對幾家曾經向伊朗出售武器的俄羅斯公司的現有制裁；我還承諾加速談判俄羅斯的遲到加入WTO。然而，通過與我們在伊朗的立場上保持一致，梅德韋杰夫表現出願意拿自己的總統地位來承擔與美國關係更加密切的風險——我告訴拉姆，這是未來在其他國際重點問題上合作的一個有希望的信號，“只要普京不把他扔進牢裡。”

The passage of sanctions, the signing of the New START, some movement by China on improving its trade practices: These didn't qualify as world-changing victories. Certainly none of them merited a Nobel Prize—although had they happened eight or nine months earlier, I might have felt a little less sheepish about receiving the award. At most, these were building blocks, steps on a long and uncharted road. Could we create a nuclear-free future? Would we prevent another war in the Middle East? Was there a way to coexist peacefully with our most formidable rivals? None of us knew the answers—but for the moment, at least, it felt like we were on the path forward.

制裁的通過、新開始協議的簽署、中國在改善貿易實踐方面的一些進展，這些都不足以成為改變世界的勝利。當然，這些都不值得諾貝爾獎，雖然如果這些事情發生在八九個月之前，我可能會對獲得這個獎項感到少許不好意思。最多，這些都是建設基礎，未知長路上的一步。我們能創造一個無核未來嗎？我們能否阻止中東爆發另一場戰爭？我們是否有辦法與最強大的競爭對手和平共處？我們都不知道答案，但至少現在感覺我們正在向前的路上努力。

## CHAPTER 21

AT DINNER ONE NIGHT, Malia asked me what I was going to do about tigers.

"What do you mean, sweetie?"

"Well, you know they're my favorite animal, right?"

Years earlier, during our annual Christmas visit to Hawaii, my sister Maya had taken a then-four-year-old Malia to the Honolulu Zoo. It was a small but charming place, tucked into the corner of Kapi'olani Park near Diamond Head. As a kid I'd spent hours there, climbing the banyan trees, feeding the pigeons that waddled through the grass, howling at the long-limbed gibbons high up in the bamboo rafters. Malia had been captivated by one of the tigers during the visit, and her auntie had bought her a small, stuffed version of the great cat at the gift shop. "Tiger" had fat paws, a round belly, and an

inscrutable Mona Lisa smile, and he and Malia became inseparable—though by the time we got to the White House, his fur was a little worse for wear, having survived food spills, several near losses during sleepovers, multiple washings, and a brief kidnapping at the hands of a mischievous cousin.

## 第21章

一天晚上吃晚餐的时候，玛莉娅问我打算如何处理老虎的问题。

“你说什么，亲爱的？”

“嗯，你知道老虎是我最喜欢的动物，对吧？”

好几年前，在我们每年圣诞节去夏威夷度假的时候，我的妹妹玛雅曾经带着当时四岁的玛莉娅去了檀香山动物园。那是一个小巧而迷人的地方，坐落在卡皮奥拉尼公园(Diamond Head)靠近角落里。当我还是孩子的时候，我在那里度过了几个小时，爬上榕树，喂草地里蹒跚而行的鸽子，听高高在竹梁上长臂猿的嚎叫声。玛莉娅在参观期间被一只老虎所吸引，她的阿姨在礼品店给她买了一只小巧可爱的豹子玩具。豹子有着肥肥的爪子，圆圆的肚子和无懈可击的蒙娜丽莎笑容。他和玛莉娅变得形影不离——尽管到了白宫时，她的玩具猫的毛发已经有些破损，因为他经历了食物溢出、几次失落夜宿、多次清洗和一个短暂的被恶作剧表弟绑架的经历。

I had a soft spot for Tiger.

“Well,” Malia continued, “I did a report about tigers for school, and they’re losing their habitat because people are cutting down the forests. And it’s getting worse, ’cause the planet’s getting warmer from pollution. Plus, people kill them and sell their fur and bones and stuff. So tigers are going extinct, which would be terrible. And since you’re the president, you should try to save them.”

Sasha chimed in, “You should do something, Daddy.”

I looked at Michelle, who shrugged. “You are the president,” she said.

我对老虎有特别的感情。

“好吧，”玛莉亚继续说，“我在学校做了一个有关老虎的报告，它们正失去它们的栖息地，因为人们在砍伐森林。而且，由于污染导致地球变得更加温暖。此外，人们杀死老虎，卖它们的皮毛和骨头等东西。所以老虎在灭绝，这将是可怕的。既然您是总统，您应该试图拯救它们。”

萨沙也参与进来，“爸爸，您应该做点什么。”

我看了看米歇尔，她耸了耸肩。“你是总统，”她说。

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THE TRUTH IS, I was grateful that my young daughters weren’t shy about pointing out the responsibility of the adults around them to help preserve a healthy planet. Although I’ve lived all my life in cities, many of my best memories involve the outdoors. Some of this is just the product of my Hawaiian upbringing, where hikes through lush mountain forests or afternoons slicing through turquoise waves are a birthright, as easy as stepping out your front door—pleasures that cost nothing, belonged to no one, and were accessible to all. My time in Indonesia, running along terraced paddy fields as water buffalo glanced up with mud-covered snouts, had reinforced a love of open space; so did my travels in my twenties, a time when—thanks to a lack of attachments and a tolerance for cheap lodgings—I’d had the chance to trek through Appalachian trails, paddle a canoe down the Mississippi, and watch the sun rise over the Serengeti.事實是，我感激我的小女兒們毫不遜色地指出了成年人的責任，幫助保持一個健康的地球。雖然我一直生活在城市裡，但我最美好的回憶之一就是在戶外度過的時光。這部分是我夏威夷的教育方式造成的，穿越茂密山林或者下午切斷湛藍波浪是每個人的天賦，就像走出門口一樣輕易自如——這些樂趣不需要花錢，不屬於任何人，對所有人都可以接觸。我在印度尼西亞的時光，沿著梯田小路奔跑時，水牛抬頭睜大泥濘的嘴巴，這讓我更加熱愛自然空間。我20幾歲時的旅行也讓我更加喜愛空闊的自然環境——由於沒有負擔和容忍負擔住宿的簡陋，我有機會穿越阿巴拉契亞山脈的小徑，划著獨木舟泛舟密西西比河，看著太陽在塞倫蓋蒂大草原上升起。

My mother reinforced this affinity for the natural world. In the grandeur of its design—the skeleton of a leaf, the labors of an ant colony, the glow of a bleach-white moon—she experienced the wonder and humility that others reserved for religious worship, and in our youth, she’d lectured Maya and me about the damage humans could inflict when they were careless in building cities or drilling oil or throwing away garbage. (“Pick up that candy wrapper, Bar!”) She’d pointed out, as well, how the burdens of such damage most often fell on the poor, who had no choice about where to live and couldn’t shield themselves from poisoned air and contaminated water.

我的母親加強了我對自然界的親近感。在它壯麗的設計中——葉子的骨架，螞蟻群的勞動，漂白白色月亮的光芒中——她體驗到了其他人對宗教崇拜所保留的驚奇和謙卑。在我們年輕時，她曾向瑪雅和我講授人類在建造城市、鑽探石油或丟棄垃圾時會造成的損害。（“撿那個糖紙，Bar！”）她還指出，這種損害的負擔往往落在貧困人口的身上，他們沒有選擇居住的地方，也無法避免受到污染空氣和污染水的影響。

But if my mother was an environmentalist at heart, I don’t remember her ever applying the label to herself. I think it’s because she’d spent most of her career working in Indonesia, where the dangers of pollution paled in comparison to more immediate risks—like hunger. For millions of struggling villagers who lived in developing countries, the addition of a coal-fired electrical generator or a new, smoke-belching factory often represented their best chance for more income and relief from backbreaking toil. To them, worrying about maintaining pristine landscapes and exotic wildlife was a luxury only Westerners could afford.

但是，即使我母亲内心是一位环保主义者，我也记不起她曾经自称过这个标签。我想这是因为她大部分职业生涯都在印度尼西亚工作，在那里，污染的危险相比其他更为紧迫的风险（比如饥饿）相形见绌。对于数以百万计居住在发展中国家的艰苦民众来说，增加一座燃煤发电厂或者一个新的冒烟工厂通常代表了他们获得更多收入和减轻劳动负担的最佳机会。对他们来说，担心维护原始景观和珍稀野生动物是只有西方人才能承担得起的奢侈之举。

“You can't save trees by ignoring people,” my mother would say.

This notion—that for most of humankind, concern about the environment came only after their basic material needs were met—stuck with me. Years later, as a community organizer, I helped mobilize public housing residents to press for the cleanup of asbestos in their neighborhood; in the state legislature, I was a reliable enough “green” vote that the League of Conservation Voters endorsed me when I ran for the U.S. Senate. Once on Capitol Hill, I criticized the Bush administration's efforts to weaken various anti-pollution laws and championed efforts to preserve the Great Lakes. But at no stage in my political career had I made environmental issues my calling card. Not because I didn't consider them important but because for my constituents, many of whom were working-class, poor air quality or industrial runoff took a backseat to the need for better housing, education, healthcare, and jobs. I figured somebody else could worry about the trees.

“只顾树木，忽视了人群，是无法挽救环境的。”我的母亲说过这句话。这种观念——对于大多数人而言，关心环境只有在基本物质需求得到满足之后才会出现——一直深深地印在我的脑海里。多年后，作为社区组织者，我帮助动员公共住房居民，要求清除他们社区中的石棉；在州议会中，我是一个足够“环保”的投票人，当我竞选美国参议院时，自然资源保护协会就支持了我。进入国会以后，我批评了布什政府削弱各种反污染法律的努力，并努力保护大湖。但在我的政治职业生涯中，我从未把环境问题作为我的招牌。不是我认为它们不重要，而是对于我的选民，其中许多人是工人阶级，对空气质量不佳或工业废水排放的需求远低于更好的住房、教育、医疗和工作。我想，其他人可以担心树木。

The ominous realities of climate change forced a shift in my perspective.

Each year, it seemed, the prognosis worsened, as an ever-increasing cloud of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases—from power plants, factories, cars, trucks, planes, industrial-scale livestock operations, deforestation, and all the other hallmarks of growth and modernization—contributed to record temperatures. By the time I was running for president, the clear consensus among scientists was that in the absence of bold, coordinated international action to reduce emissions, global temperatures were destined to climb another two degrees Celsius within a few decades. Past that point, the planet could experience an acceleration of melting ice caps, rising oceans, and extreme weather from which there was no return.

氣候變化帶來的不祥現實迫使我轉變觀點。每年，隨著越來越多的二氧化碳和其他溫室氣體從發電廠、工廠、汽車、卡車、飛機、工業大型畜牧業、森林砍伐和現代化發展等各種標誌性活動排放，破記錄的高溫日益惡化。當我競選總統時，科學家的明確共識是，在缺乏大膽、協調的國際行動減少排放的情況下，全球氣溫在未來幾十年內注定會再次上升兩度攝氏。超過這點後，地球可能會經歷融冰加劇、海平面上升和極端天氣的加劇，並且無法逆轉。

The human toll of a rapid climate shift was hard to predict. But the best estimates involved a hellish combination of severe coastal flooding, drought, wildfires, and hurricanes that stood to displace millions of people and overwhelm the capacities of most governments. This in turn would increase the risk of global conflict and insect-borne disease. Reading the literature, I pictured caravans of lost souls wandering a cracked earth in search of arable land, regular Katrina-sized catastrophes across every continent, island nations swallowed up by the sea. I wondered what would happen to Hawaii, or the great glaciers of Alaska, or the city of New Orleans. I imagined Malia, Sasha, and my grandchildren living in a harsher, more dangerous world, stripped of many of the wondrous sights I'd taken for granted growing up.一次迅速的气候变化所造成的人类损失是难以预测的。但最好的估计涉及到严重的海岸洪水、干旱、野火和飓风，这将迫使数百万人民流离失所，并超出大多数政府的能力。这反过来又会增加全球冲突和昆虫传播疾病的风险。阅读文献时，我想象着迷失的灵魂在裂开的土地上寻找可耕种的土地，每个大陆都发生着定期的卡特里娜级别灾难，岛国被海水吞噬。我想知道夏威夷会发生什么，或者阿拉斯加的巨大冰川会怎么样，新奥尔良市会怎么样。我想象着玛莉亚、萨莎和我的孙子们生活在一个更加艰苦、更加危险的世界中，失去了我小时候视为稀世之宝的众多奇景。

If I aspired to lead the free world, I decided, I'd have to make climate change a priority of my campaign and my presidency.

But how? Climate change is one of those issues governments are notoriously bad at dealing with, requiring politicians to put in place disruptive, expensive, and unpopular policies now in order to prevent a slow-rolling crisis in the future. Thanks to the work of a few farsighted leaders, like former vice president Al Gore, whose efforts to educate the public on global warming had garnered a Nobel Peace Prize and who remained active in the fight to mitigate climate change, awareness was slowly growing. Younger, more progressive voters were especially receptive to calls for action. Still, key Democratic interest groups—especially the big industrial unions—resisted any environmental measures that might threaten jobs for their members; and in polls we conducted at the start of my campaign, the average Democratic voter ranked climate change near the bottom of their list of concerns.

如果我想要成为自由世界的领袖，我决定我必须将气候变化作为我的竞选和总统任期的重中之重。但是怎么做呢？气候变化是政府在处理时极其不擅长的问题，需要政治家立即实施昂贵、不受欢迎的政策以避免未来的危机。得益于一些有远见的领导者（例如前副总统戈尔），他们努力教育公众关于全球变暖所做的工作已经获得了诺贝尔和平奖，并继续参与缓解气候变化的斗争，意识正在缓慢增长。更年轻、更进步的选民尤其愿意听从呼吁采取行动。不过，关键的民主党利益集团（特别是大型工业联合会）反对任何可能威胁其成员就业的环保措施；在我竞选开始时进行的民意调查中，普通民主党选民把气候变化排在了最不关心的问题之列。

Republican voters were even more skeptical. There'd been a time when the federal government's role in protecting the environment enjoyed the support of both parties. Richard Nixon had worked with a Democratic Congress to create the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970. George H. W. Bush championed a strengthening of the Clean Air Act in 1990. But those times had passed. As the GOP's electoral base had shifted to the South and the West, where conservation efforts had long rankled oil drillers, mining interests, developers, and ranchers, the party had turned environmental protection into another front in the partisan culture war. Conservative media outlets portrayed climate change as a job-killing hoax hatched by tree-hugging extremists. Big Oil funneled millions of dollars into a web of think tanks and public relations firms committed to obscuring the facts about climate change.

共和黨選民更加懷疑。曾經有一段時間，聯邦政府在保護環境方面的角色得到了兩党的支持。1970年，理查德·尼克松與民主黨國會合作創立了環境保護署（EPA）。1990年，喬治·H·W·布什提倡加強《清潔空氣法》。但那些時候已經過去了。隨著共和黨的選民基地轉移到南方和西部，保護環境的努力長期以來

一直令石油開采商、礦業利益、開發商和牧場主感到困擾，而共和黨已將環境保護轉化為黨派文化戰爭的另一個前線。保守派媒體描繪氣候變化為一種由樹擁抱極端分子發起的破壞性騙局。大型石油公司向一系列致力於混淆氣候變化事實的智囊團和公共關係公司注入了數百萬美元。

In contrast to his father, George W. Bush and members of his administration actively downplayed evidence of a warming planet and refused to engage in international efforts to curb greenhouse gases, despite the fact that for the first half of his presidency the United States ranked as the world's largest emitter of carbon dioxide. As for congressional Republicans, just acknowledging the reality of human-made climate change invited suspicion from party activists; suggesting shifts in policy to deal with it might get you a primary opponent.

与其父亲相反，乔治·W·布什和他的政府成员积极淡化有关地球变暖的证据，并拒绝参与国际减缓温室气体的努力，尽管在他的总统任期的前半段，美国排放的二氧化碳排放量居世界首位。至于国会共和党人，仅仅承认人类制造的气候变化的现实也会引起党派活动人士的怀疑；建议改变政策来应对这个问题甚至可能会遭遇初选对手的挑战。

“We’re like pro-life Democrats,” a former Republican Senate colleague with a nominally pro-environmental voting record told me ruefully one day. “We’ll soon be extinct.”

Faced with these realities, my team and I had done our best to highlight climate change during the campaign without costing ourselves too many votes. I came out early in favor of an ambitious “cap-and-trade” system to reduce greenhouse gases but avoided getting into details that might give future opponents a juicy target for attack. In speeches, I minimized the conflict between action on climate change and economic growth and made a point of emphasizing the nonenvironmental benefits of improving energy efficiency, including its potential to reduce our dependence on foreign oil. And in a nod to the political center, I promised an “all of the above” energy policy that would allow for continued development of domestic oil and gas production as America transitioned to clean energy, as well as funding for ethanol, clean coal technologies, and nuclear power—positions that were unpopular with environmentalists but mattered deeply to swing-state constituencies.

我们就像支持生命第一阵营却属于民主党一样，”一位曾在共和党参议院工作，名义上持有环境保护投票记录的同行苦恼地告诉我。“我们很快就会灭绝了。”

面对这些现实，我的团队和我尽力在竞选中强调气候变化问题，同时又不至于失去太多选票。我早早地支持了一项雄心勃勃的“限额交易”系统以减少温室气体排放，但避免了过多细节的讨论，这可能会成为未来对手攻击的好机会。在演讲中，我将应对气候变化与经济增长之间的冲突最小化，并强调提高能源效率的非环境收益，包括减少我们对外国油的依赖。为了示意政治中间地带，我承诺了一项“各种能源并行”的政策，这将支持美国向清洁能源转型的同时，继续开发国内石油和天然气生产，以及资助乙醇、清洁煤技术和核能力量，这些立场虽然不受环保主义者欢迎，但对摇摆州选民来说却很重要。

My happy talk about a painless shift to a carbon-free future prompted grumbling from some climate change activists. They hoped to hear me issue a call for bigger sacrifice and harder choices—including a moratorium or outright ban on oil and gas drilling—in order to confront an existential threat. In a perfectly rational world, that might have made sense. In the actual and highly irrational world of American politics, my staff and I were pretty sure that having me paint doomsday scenarios was a bad electoral strategy.

我關於無痛轉向低碳未來的樂觀談話引起了一些氣候變化活動家的不滿。他們希望聽到我發出對更大的犧牲和更艱難的抉擇的呼籲，包括暫停或直接禁止石油和天然氣開采，以應對一個存在主義威脅。在完全理性的世界裡，這可能是有道理的。在美國政治的實際和高度非理性的世界裡，我的工作人員和我相當確定，讓我描繪世界末日情況是一種糟糕的選舉策略。

“We won’t be doing anything to protect the environment,” Plouffe had barked when questioned by a group of advocates, “if we lose Ohio and Pennsylvania!”

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WITH THE ECONOMY in a tailspin, the politics around climate change actually worsened after the election (“Nobody gives a shit about solar panels when their home’s in foreclosure,” Axe said bluntly), and there was speculation in the press that we might quietly put the issue on the back burner. I suppose it’s a measure of both my cockiness at the time and the importance of the issue that the thought never crossed my mind. Instead, I told Rahm to put climate change on the same priority footing as healthcare, and to start assembling a team capable of moving our agenda forward.當受到一群倡導者的質問時，普洛夫大聲嚷道：“如果我們輸掉俄亥俄州和賓夕法尼亞州，我們就不會為保護環境做任何事情！”由於經濟衰退，氣候變化的政治局勢實際上在選舉後變得更加惡化（Axe直言不諱地說：“當他們的住宅被收回時，沒有人會在安裝太陽能板！”），媒體上甚至有傳言說我們可能會悄悄將這個問題放在後爐。我想這既是在我當時的傲慢，也體現了這個問題的重要性，因為我從未想過這個問題。相反，我告訴拉姆要把氣候變化與醫療保健放在同等重視的地位，並開始組建一個能夠推動我們議程的團隊。

We got off to a good start when we convinced Carol Browner—who’d headed the EPA during the Clinton administration—to serve in the newly created position of White House “climate czar,” coordinating our efforts across key agencies. Tall and willowy, with an endearing mix of nervous energy and can-do enthusiasm, Carol possessed intimate knowledge of the issue, contacts across Capitol Hill, and credibility with all the major environmental groups. To lead the EPA, I appointed Lisa Jackson, an African American chemical engineer who’d spent fifteen years at the agency and later became New Jersey’s commissioner of environmental protection. She was a savvy political operator, with the charm and easy humor of her native New Orleans. To fully understand the scientific frontiers involved in transforming America’s energy sector, we relied on my secretary of energy, Steven Chu—a Nobel Prize-winning physicist from Stanford and the previous director of California’s renowned Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory. Steve looked the part of an academic, with wire-rimmed glasses and an earnest but slightly distracted air, and more than once staffers would have to search the White House grounds because he’d lost track of his schedule and wandered off just as we were about to start a meeting. But he was as smart as his résumé indicated, with a gift for explaining highly technical issues in terms that smaller-brained humans like me could actually understand.

當我們說服曾在克林頓政府擔任美國環保局局長的卡羅爾·布朗納擔任新成立的白宮“氣候專員”協調我們在關鍵機構的努力時，我們開始良好。卡羅爾高大瘦削，既有神經質的能量又充滿做事的熱情，對這個問題有著深入的認識，與國會山的眾多聯繫，且在所有主要環保團體中都有信譽。我任命了黑人化學工程師麗莎·傑克遜擔任美國環保局局長，她在環保局工作了十五年，後來成為新澤西州環境保護廳的副廳長。她是一位精明的政治操作者，擁有新奧爾良本土人的魅力和輕快幽默。為了全面了解轉型美國能源部門所涉及的科學前沿，我們依靠我的能源部長史蒂文·楚，他是一位來自斯坦福大學的諾貝爾物理學家，曾擔任加利福尼亞州著名的勞倫斯伯克利國家實驗室主任。史蒂夫看起來就像一個學者，戴著金屬框眼鏡，有一種認真但有些心不在焉的氣氛，有時工作人員會不得不在白宮裡搜索他，因為他失去了時間表，就在我們即將開始開會時走失了。但他是一個智商與履歷表上所說相當的人，有著解釋高度技術問題的天賦，讓像我這樣的普通人也能理解。

With Carol playing point, our climate change brain trust proposed a comprehensive policy agenda that included, among other measures, setting a hard cap on carbon emissions, which—if successful—could cut U.S. greenhouse gas emissions by 80 percent by 2050. It wouldn't be enough to keep the planet's temperature from rising more than two degrees Celsius, but it would at least get the ball rolling and provide a framework for more aggressive cuts down the road. Just as important, establishing an ambitious but realistic target would give America the standing to push the world's other major emitters—especially China—to follow our example. The goal was to negotiate and sign a major international climate agreement before the end of my presidency. We began with the Recovery Act, understanding that we had an opportunity to use stimulus dollars to transform the energy sector, making investments in clean energy research and development that would lead to steep declines in the cost of wind and solar power. Our calculus was simple: To hit our greenhouse gas reduction targets, we would have to wean the U.S. economy off fossil fuels—and we couldn't do that without effective alternatives.

在卡羅爾擔任負責人的情況下，我們的氣候變化智囊團提出了綜合政策議程，其中包括採取硬性碳排放上限措施，成功的話，到2050年，美國溫室氣體排放量可以減少80%。這還不足以阻止地球溫度上升超過兩攝氏度，但至少可以讓事情開始並為以後更具攻擊性的減排提供框架。同樣重要的是，設定一個雄心勃勃但現實可行的目標會讓美國有資格推動世界上其他主要排放國跟隨我們的榜樣，特別是中國。我們的目標是在我總統任期結束之前達成一項重大國際氣候協議。我們從恢復法案開始，意識到我們有機會利用刺激資金來轉變能源部門，投資於清潔能源研究和發展，領導風能和太陽能成本陡然下降。我們的計算很簡單：為了達到溫室氣體減排目標，我們必須讓美國經濟擺脫化石燃料，而這是沒有有效替代品的情況下無法實現的。

Keep in mind that in 2009, electric cars were still a novelty. Solar panel manufacturers catered only to a niche market. And solar- and wind-generated power accounted for only a small fraction of America's total electricity output—both because it still cost more than power from coal- and gas-fueled generators and because there were legitimate questions about its reliability when the sun didn't shine or the wind didn't blow. Experts were confident that costs would keep dropping as more clean power generators came online, and that the development of more efficient battery storage technologies could solve the reliability problem. But building new power plants took lots of money, as did energy R&D, and neither private sector investors nor major utility companies had shown much of an appetite for making what felt like risky bets. Certainly not now, when even the most successful clean power companies were scrambling to keep their doors open.

請記住，2009年電動車仍然是新奇事物。太陽能電池製造商只服務於小眾市場，太陽能和風能發電僅占美國總電力產量的一小部分——因為它仍然比燃煤和燃氣發電廠的電力成本高，而且在沒有陽光或風力的情況下，可靠性也存在合理的疑問。專家們相信隨著越來越多的清潔能源發電設備上線，成本將不斷下降，並且更高效的電池儲存技術的研發可以解決可靠性問題。但建造新電廠需要大量的資金，能源研發也是如此，私人部門投資者和主要公用事業公司都沒有表現出對進行風險投資的強烈意願。尤其是現在，即使是最成功的清潔動力公司也在竭力保持業務正常。

In fact, just about every renewable energy company, from advanced vehicle manufacturers to biofuel producers, faced the same dilemma: No matter how good their technology was, they still had to operate in an economy that for more than a century had been constructed almost entirely around oil, gas, and coal. This structural disadvantage wasn't simply the result of free-market forces. Federal, state, and local governments had invested trillions of dollars—whether through direct subsidies and tax breaks or through the construction of infrastructure like pipelines, highways, and port terminals—to help maintain both the steady supply of and the constant demand for cheap fossil fuels. U.S. oil companies were among the world's most profitable corporations and yet still received millions in federal tax breaks each year. To have a fair chance to compete, the clean energy sector needed a serious boost.

事實上，幾乎每個可再生能源公司，從先進的車輛製造商到生物燃料生產商，都面臨著同樣的困境：無論他們的技術有多好，他們仍然必須在一個建立在石油、天然氣和煤炭基礎上超過一個世紀的經濟中運作。這種結構性劣勢不僅僅是市場自由力量的結果。聯邦、州和地方政府投資了數萬億美元，無論是通過直接補貼和稅收優惠還是通過建設基礎設施，如管道、高速公路和港口碼頭，均旨在幫助維持提供廉價化石燃料的穩定供應和不斷需求。美國石油公司是世界上利潤最高的公司之一，每年仍然獲得數百萬美元的聯邦稅收優惠。為了有公平競爭的機會，清潔能源部門需要得到重大提振。

That's what we hoped the Recovery Act could deliver.

Of the roughly 800 billion in available stimulus, we directed more than 90 billion toward clean energy initiatives across the country. Within a year, an Iowa Maytag plant I'd visited during the campaign that had been shuttered because of the recession was humming again, with workers producing state-of-the-art wind turbines. We funded construction of one of the world's largest wind farms. We underwrote the development of new battery storage systems and primed the market for electric and hybrid trucks, buses, and cars. We financed programs to make buildings and businesses more energy efficient, and collaborated with Treasury to temporarily convert the existing federal clean energy tax credit into a direct-payments program. Within the Department of Energy, we used Recovery Act money to launch the Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy (ARPA-E), a high-risk, high-reward research program modeled after DARPA, the famous Defense Department effort launched after Sputnik that helped develop not only advanced weapons systems like stealth technology but also an early iteration of the internet, automated voice activation, and GPS.

我们曾希望《经济复苏法案》能够实现这一点。

在大约8,000亿美元的可用经济刺激资金中，我们将超过900亿美元用于全国范围的清洁能源项目。一年之内，我曾在竞选期间访问过的艾奥瓦州Maytag工厂因经济衰退而关闭，现在再次运转起来，工人们正在生产最先进的风力涡轮机。我们资助建设了全球最大的风电场之一。我们承保了新型电池储存系统的开发，并为电动和混合动力汽车、公交车和卡车打下了市场基础。我们资助了使建筑物和企业更加节能的计划，并与财政部合作，将现有联邦清洁能源税收抵免暂时转变为直接支付计划。在能源部门，我们使用《经济复苏法案》中的资金启动了“高级研究计划署-能源”(ARPA-E)，这是一个类似于在苏联发射人造卫星后启动的著名国防部努力DARPA的高风险、高回报研究项目，DARPA有助于发展了不仅是隐形技术等先进武器系统，还有早期版本的互联网、语音自动激活和GPS技术。

It was exciting stuff—although our pursuit of game-changing energy breakthroughs almost guaranteed that some Recovery Act investments wouldn't pan out. The most conspicuous flop involved a decision to expand an Energy Department loan program started during the Bush administration that offered long-term working capital to promising clean energy companies. On the whole, the Energy Department's Loan Guarantee Program would yield an impressive track record, helping innovative companies like the carmaker Tesla take their businesses to the next level. The default rate on its loans was a measly 3 percent, and the idea was that the fund's successes would more than make up for its handful of failures.这是激动人心的事情 - 尽管我们追求划时代的能源突破几乎保证了一些复苏法案的投资不会成功。最引人注目的失败涉及扩大布什政府期间启动的一项能源部贷款计划，该计划向有前途的清洁能源公司提供长期运营资本。总的来说，能源部的贷款担保计划将产生令人印象深刻的记录，帮助像汽车制造商特斯拉这样的创新公司将业务提升到下一个级别。贷款的违约率仅为3%，该基金的成功将超过其少数失败。

Unfortunately one of the larger defaults would occur on my watch: a whopping \$535 million loan to a solar panel company named Solyndra. The company had patented what was then considered revolutionary technology, but of course the investment carried risk. As the Chinese flooded the markets with cheap, heavily subsidized solar panels of their own, Solyndra began to teeter and in 2011 would go belly-up. Given the size of the default—not to mention the fact that my team had arranged for me to visit the company's California facility just as the first financial warning bells were beginning to ring—Solyndra became a PR nightmare. The press would spend weeks highlighting the story. Republicans reveled.很不幸，我在任期内面对了一宗庞大的违约事件：一家名为Solyndra的太阳能电池公司拖欠了5.35亿美元的贷款。该公司曾推销被认为是革命性技术，但投资自然存在风险。随着中国向市场倾销廉价、大幅补贴的太阳能电池板，Solyndra开始动摇，并在2011年破产。鉴于这样的高额违约金额，更不用说在金融预警警钟的第一声敲响时，我的团队已经安排我前往该公司的加州设施，Solyndra成为了一场公关噩梦。媒体花费数周时间强调此事，而共和党人则沉浸其中。

I tried to take it in stride. I reminded myself that it was part and parcel of the presidency for nothing to ever work exactly as planned. Even successful initiatives—well executed and with the purest of intentions—usually harbored some hidden flaw or unanticipated consequence. Getting things done meant subjecting yourself to criticism, and the alternative—playing it safe, avoiding controversy, following the polls—was not only a recipe for mediocrity but a betrayal of the hopes of those citizens who'd put you in office.

我試圖以平常心面對。我提醒自己，對於總統來說，沒有什麼完全按計劃進行的事情是很正常的。即使成功的舉措，也往往會隱藏一些缺陷或意外後果，更別說出現問題的舉措了。完成任務意味著需要承受批評，而避免爭議、按照民意進行的替代方法不僅是平庸的做法，而且是對那些選你當選的公民的希望的背叛。

Still, as time went by, I couldn't help but fume (sometimes I'd actually picture myself with steam puffing out of my ears, as in a cartoon) at how Solyndra's failure stood to overshadow the Recovery Act's remarkable success in galvanizing the renewable energy sector. Even in its first year, our "clean energy moonshot" had begun to invigorate the economy, generate jobs, trigger a surge in solar- and wind-power generation, as well as a leap in energy efficiency, and mobilize an arsenal of new technologies to help combat climate change. I delivered speeches across the country, explaining the significance of all this. "It's working!" I wanted to shout. But environmental activists and clean energy companies aside, no one seemed to care. It was nice to know, as one executive assured us, that without the Recovery Act "the entire solar and wind industry in the U.S. would've probably been wiped out." That didn't stop me from wondering how long we could keep championing policies that paid long-term dividends but still somehow resulted in us getting clobbered over the head.

然而，随着时间的流逝，我不禁怒火中烧（有时我甚至会想象自己像卡通中的人物一样头上冒着蒸汽），因为Solyndra的失败会掩盖恢复法案在激励可再生能源行业方面的显著成功。即使在第一年，我们的“清洁能源登月计划”已经开始为经济注入活力，创造就业机会，引发了太阳能和风能的激增，以及能源效率的提高，并动员了一系列新技术来帮助对抗气候变化。我在全国各地发表讲话，解释所有这些的重要性。“它正在发挥作用！”我想喊叫。但是除了环保活动家和清洁能源公司，似乎没有人在意。尽管有一位高管向我们保证，如果没有恢复法案，“美国的整个太阳能和风能产业可能会被摧毁”，但这并没有让我不再想知道我们能够多久支持这些付出长期回报的政策，但仍然导致我们遭受重创。

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OUR INVESTMENT IN clean energy was only the first step in meeting our greenhouse gas emissions targets. We also had to change America's day-to-day energy habits, whether that meant companies rethinking how they heated and cooled their buildings or families deciding to go green on the next car they bought. We hoped to bring about some of this through a climate change bill designed to tilt incentives toward clean energy across the economy. But according to Lisa and Carol, we didn't need to wait for congressional action to alter at least some business and consumer behavior. We just had to take full advantage of our regulatory powers under existing law.

我们对清洁能源的投资仅是实现温室气体减排目标的第一步。我们还必须改变美国日常的能源习惯，无论是公司重新思考如何加热和冷却他们的建筑物，还是家庭决定在下次购买汽车时选择绿色能源。通过一项气候变化法案，我们希望促进在整个经济中向清洁能源倾斜的激励措施。但根据丽莎和卡罗尔的说法，我们不需要等待国会行动来改变至少一些企业和消费者行为。我们只需要充分利用现有法律规定下的监管权力。

The most important of those laws was the Clean Air Act, the 1963 landmark legislation that authorized the federal government to monitor air pollution, leading to the establishment of enforceable clean air standards in the 1970s. The law, which had been reaffirmed with support from both parties in Congress as recently as 1990, stated that the EPA “shall by regulation” set standards to curb auto emissions that “in [its] judgment cause, or contribute to, air pollution which may reasonably be anticipated to endanger public health or welfare.”

其中最重要的法律是《清潔空氣法》，這是1963年具有里程碑意義的立法，授權聯邦政府監測空氣污染，並在1970年代建立了可強制執行的潔淨空氣標準。該法律最近已經得到了國會兩黨的支持，在1990年重新確認，規定EPA “應通過法規”制定標準，以限制汽車排放，“在[其]判斷下，導致或有助於可能合理預期危及公共健康或福利的空氣污染。”

If you believed in climate science, then the carbon dioxide pouring out of automobile tailpipes clearly qualified as air pollution. Apparently, President Bush’s EPA administrator didn’t (believe in science, that is). In 2003, he determined that the Clean Air Act wasn’t meant to give the agency authority to regulate greenhouse gases—and that even if it did, he still wouldn’t use it to change emission standards. Several states and environmental organizations sued, and in the 2007 ruling *Massachusetts v. EPA*, a narrow majority of the U.S. Supreme Court held that President Bush’s EPA had failed to apply “reasoned judgment” based on science in making its determination and ordered the agency to go back and redo its homework.

如果您相信气候科学，那么汽车尾气中排放的二氧化碳显然符合空气污染的标准。显然，布什总统的环保署署长并不相信气候科学。2003年，他认为《清洁空气法》并没有授予环保署管理温室气体的权力，即使授予了这种权力，他也不会使用它来改变排放标准。几个州和环保组织提起诉讼，并在2007年的马萨诸塞州诉美国环保署案件中，美国最高法院的狭隘多数裁定布什总统的环保署未能根据科学作出“有理判断”，并命令该机构重新做功课。

For the next two years the Bush administration did nothing, but we were now in a position to take the Supreme Court’s decision out for a spin. Lisa and Carol recommended that we gather up the scientific evidence, issue a finding that greenhouse gases were subject to EPA regulation, and immediately use that authority to raise fuel-efficiency standards for all cars and trucks built or sold in the United States. Circumstances couldn’t have been more favorable for that sort of rulemaking: Although U.S. carmakers and the United Auto Workers (UAW) generally opposed higher fuel-efficiency standards, my decision to continue devoting billions in TARP money to keep their industry afloat had made them “more open-minded,” as Carol so delicately put it. If we acted fast enough, Lisa thought, we could have regulations in place before the automakers’ next model year. The resulting drop in U.S. gasoline consumption could save roughly 1.8 billion barrels of oil and reduce our annual greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent; we’d also establish a useful precedent for having the EPA regulate other greenhouse gas sources in future years.

在接下来的两年里，布什政府毫无作为，但我们现在有了一个机会来试用最高法院做出的决定。莉莎和卡罗尔建议我们收集科学证据，发布一个结论，即温室气体应受到环保局的管制，并立即利用这种权力提高所有在美国建造或销售的汽车和卡车的燃油效率标准。现实情况对这种规则制定来说更有利：尽管美国汽车制造商和美国汽车工人联合会(UAW)通常反对提高燃油效率标准，但我的决定继续投入数十亿美元的TARP资金来维持其产业的发展，让他们变得“更开放”，正如卡罗尔所说的那样。如果我们足够快地行动，莉莎认为，我们可以在汽车制造商的下一个车型年之前制定出规章制度。由此产生的美国汽油消耗的下降可以节省大约18亿桶石油，并将我们的年温室气体排放减少20%；我们还将为将来几年环保局管制其他温室气体来源奠定有用的新例。

To me, the plan was a no-brainer, though Rahm and I agreed that even with the automakers on board, having the EPA issue new mileage standards would generate plenty of political static. After all, GOP leaders considered the rollback of federal regulations a tier-one priority, right up there with lowering taxes on the rich. Business groups and big conservative donors like the Koch brothers had invested heavily in a decades-long campaign to make “regulation” a dirty word; you couldn’t open the editorial pages of The Wall Street Journal without finding some attack on an out-of-control “regulatory state.” To the anti-regulation crowd, the pros and cons of higher mileage standards mattered less than what a new rule symbolized: yet another example of unelected Washington bureaucrats trying to micromanage people’s lives, sap America’s economic vitality, violate private property rights, and undermine the Founding Fathers’ vision of representative government.對我來說，這個計劃是易如反掌的，但是Rahm和我都同意即使汽車製造商都同意，EPA發布新的里程標準還是會產生很多政治上的反彈。畢竟，共和黨領袖認為撤回聯邦法規和降低富人稅收一樣重要。商業團體和大型保守派捐款人如科赫兄弟已經在長達幾十年的運動中重金投資，以使“法規”成為一個詆毀詞語；你甚至無法打開《華爾街日報》的社論版，而不發現對失控的“法規國家”進行攻擊的文章。對反法規國家的人來說，汽車的里程標準的利弊比新規定象徵的更重要：又一個不被選舉產生的華盛頓官僚試圖微觀管理人們的生活、削弱美國的經濟活力、侵犯私有財產權利，並破壞建國元勳對代議政府的願景。

I didn’t put a lot of stock in such arguments. As far back as the Progressive Era, oil trusts and railroad monopolies had used similar language to attack government efforts to loosen their stranglehold on the U.S. economy. So had opponents of FDR’s New Deal. And yet throughout the twentieth century, in law after law and in cooperation with presidents of both parties, Congress had kept delegating regulatory and enforcement authority to a host of specialized agencies, from the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). The reason was simple: As society grew more complex, corporations grew more powerful, and citizens demanded more from the government, elected officials simply did not have time to regulate so many diverse industries. Nor did they have the specialized knowledge required to set rules for fair dealing across financial markets, evaluate the safety of the latest medical device, make sense of new pollution data, or anticipate all the ways employers might discriminate against their employees on account of race or gender.

我并不十分重视这样的论点。早在进步时期，石油信托和铁路垄断利用类似的语言攻击政府努力放松他们对美国经济的控制。罗斯福的新政的反对者也这样做过。然而在整个20世纪中，在法律和与两党总统的合作中，国会一直在将监管和执法职权委托给一系列专业机构，从美国证券交易委员会（SEC）到职业安全与健康管理局（OSHA）再到联邦航空管理局（FAA）。原因很简单：随着社会变得更加复杂，企业变得更加强大，公民们要求政府提供更多的帮助，当选官员根本没有时间来监管如此多样化的行业。而且他们也没有必要拥有制定合理的金融市场交易规则、评估最新医疗设备的安全性、理解新污染数据或者预测雇主可能因种族或性别而歧视员工的所有方式所需的专业知识。

In other words, if you wanted good government, then expertise mattered. You needed public institutions stocked with people whose job it was to pay attention to important stuff so the rest of us citizens didn't have to. And it was thanks to those experts that Americans could worry less about the quality of the air we breathed or the water we drank, that we had recourse when employers failed to pay us the overtime we were due, that we could count on over-the-counter drugs not killing us, and that driving a car or flying on a commercial airplane was exponentially safer today than it had been just twenty or thirty or fifty years ago. The "regulatory state" conservatives complained so bitterly about had made American life a hell of a lot better.

換句話說，如果你想要良好的政府，專業知識是很重要的。你需要公共機構裡的人們專注於重要事務，以便其他公民不必操心。感謝這些專家的貢獻，美國人不必太擔心我們呼吸的空氣和飲用的水的質量，當僱主未給我們應有的加班費時，我們可以有依靠，我們可以相信我們不會被賣於櫃台的藥物致死，而現在開車或坐商業飛機比二十年、三十年或五十年前更安全了許多。保守派所抱怨的“監管國家”使美國生活變得更好了。

That's not to say that every criticism of federal regulation was bogus. There were times when bureaucratic red tape burdened businesses unnecessarily or delayed innovative products from getting to market. Some regulations really did cost more than they were worth. Environmental groups, in particular, hated a 1980 law that required an obscure executive branch subagency called the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA) to perform a cost-benefit analysis on every new federal regulation. They were convinced that the process favored corporate interests, and they had a point: It was a lot easier to measure a business's profits and losses than it was to put a price on preserving an endangered bird or reducing the probability that a kid got asthma.

這並不是說對聯邦法規的每一個批評都是虛假的。有時官僚主義的紅色繩索無謂地加重了企業的負擔，或者延遲了創新產品上市的時間。有些規定的成本確實比它們的價值高。尤其是環保團體，他們非常討厭1980年的一項法律，該法律要求一個名為信息和監管事務局（OIRA）的行政分支機構對每一項新的聯邦法規進行成本效益分析。他們相信這個過程偏向企業利益，他們說得有道理：衡量一家企業的利潤和損失比起保護瀕危鳥類或減少孩子患哮喘的可能性要容易得多。

Still, for both policy and political reasons, I felt that progressives couldn't afford to ignore economics. Those of us who believed in the government's ability to solve big problems had an obligation to pay attention to the real-world impact of our decisions and not just trust in the goodness of our intentions. If a proposed agency rule to preserve wetlands was going to lop acreage off a family farm, that agency should have to take the farmer's losses into account before moving forward.

It was precisely because I cared about getting this stuff right that I appointed Cass Sunstein, a former colleague at the University of Chicago Law School, to head up OIRA and serve as our resident cost-benefit expert. An eminent constitutional scholar who'd written a dozen books and was often mentioned as a future Supreme Court justice, Cass actually lobbied me for the OIRA post, an indication of his passion for service, his indifference to prestige, and a high nerd quotient that made him ideally suited for the job. (He was also sweet as can be, a world-class squash player, and the individual with the single most slovenly desk I ever set eyes on.) Over the next three years, Cass and his small team would grind away in the nondescript OIRA office across the street from the White House, ensuring that the regulations we proposed actually helped enough people to justify their costs. I also asked him to lead a thorough review of all existing federal regulations so that we could get rid of those that were unnecessary or obsolete.然而，出于政策和政治原因，我认为进步派不能够忽视经济学。那些相信政府有能力解决大问题的人们，有责任关注我们的决策对现实世界的影响，而不仅仅是相信我们的意图是善良的。如果一个为保护湿地而制定的规定将会从一个家庭农场中减少土地面积，那个机构在继续推进之前就应该考虑到农民的损失。

正是因为我关心这些的正确性，我任命了卡斯·桑斯坦作为OIRA负责人，担任我们的成本效益专家。卡斯是一位杰出的宪法学者，曾写过十几本书，被提名为未来的最高法院法官。卡斯亲自向我游说OIRA职位，这表明了他对服务的热情，对声望的漠不关心以及他非常适合这个工作的高Nerd指数。接下来的三年里，卡斯和他的小团队会在白宫街对面那个平凡无奇的OIRA办公室里辛勤工作，确保我们所提出的规定实际上足够有利于人们来证明它们的成本。我还要求他对所有现有的联邦规定进行全面评估，以便我们废除那些不必要或过时的规定。

Cass unearthed some doozies: old requirements that forced hospitals, doctors, and nurses to spend more than 1 billion annually on paperwork requirements and administrative burdens; a bizarre environmental regulation that classified milk as "oil" 100 million; and a pointless mandate imposed on truckers to spend \$1.7 billion in wasted time filling out forms after each run. But the vast majority of regulations Cass reviewed stood up to scrutiny—and by the end of my presidency, even Republican analysts would find that the benefits of our regulations outweighed their costs by a six-to-one margin.

卡斯挖掘出了一些异乎寻常的事情：旧的要求迫使医院、医生和护士每年花费超过10亿美元进行文书工作和行政负担；一项奇怪的环境监管将牛奶列为“石油”，使奶农每年的成本超过1亿美元；以及对卡车司机施加的无意义的要求，要求他们在每次运行后花费17亿美元的时间填写表格。但是，卡斯审查的绝大多数法规经得起审查，到我担任总统期间，甚至连共和党分析师也会发现我们法规的好处超过了成本六比一的比例。

Lisa and Carol's proposal to raise mileage standards ended up being one of those regulations. As soon as I gave them the go-ahead, they got to work. They had a good partner in my secretary of transportation, Ray LaHood, a former congressman from Peoria and a gentlemanly old-school Republican whose gregarious nature and earnest commitment to bipartisanship made him popular on both sides of the aisle. On a sunny day in May, I found myself standing in the Rose Garden, flanked by a group of auto-industry leaders, as well as the president of the UAW, to announce an agreement that would boost fuel efficiency on all new cars and light trucks from 27.5 miles per gallon to 35.5 by 2016. The plan stood to cut greenhouse gas emissions by more than 900 million metric tons over the lifetime of the new vehicles, the equivalent of taking 177 million cars off the road or shutting down 194 coal-fired power plants.

莉莎和卡罗尔提出提高里程标准的提议最终成为了那些法规之一。我一给予批准，她们便着手工作。我的交通部长雷·拉胡德是个好伙伴，他是来自皮奥里亚的前国会议员，是一位文雅老派的共和党人，他和蔼的性格和真诚的致力于两党合作令他受到两党的青睐。五月的一个阳光明媚的日子，我发现自己站在白宫玫瑰园，身边是一群汽车行业领袖和汽车工会的主席，公布了一个协议，到2016年所有新的汽车和轻型卡车的燃油效率将从每加仑27.5英里提高到35.5英里。这个计划有望在新车的寿命内减少超过9亿公吨温室气体排放，相当于从道路上撤销177万辆汽车或关闭194座燃煤电厂。

In their remarks that day, the automakers stayed on message, expressing confidence in their ability to meet the new targets and the benefits to their business of having a single national standard rather than a patchwork of different state laws. The speed and lack of contentiousness with which we'd arrived at a deal took reporters by surprise, and several of them asked Carol what role the auto bailout might have played in sparking this newfound kumbaya spirit. "Not once did we ever mention bailouts during negotiations," she insisted. Later, in the Oval, I asked her if what she'd said was true.

在那天的评论中，汽车制造商保持了信息一致，表达了对实现新目标以及拥有一个单一的国家标准而不是不同州法律的拼凑的业务利益的信心。我们达成协议的速度和缺乏争议性使记者们感到惊讶，其中一些人问Carol汽车救助计划在激发这种新发现的kumbaya精神方面扮演了什么角色。她坚持说：“在谈判中我们从未提到过救助计划。”后来，在橄榄形的房间里，我问她她说的是否属实。

“Absolutely,” she answered. “Of course, I can't say the bailouts never crossed their minds...”

Meanwhile, I set Steve Chu on a mission to update every efficiency standard he could find, using the power of a little-enforced 1987 law that gave the Department of Energy authority to set energy-efficiency standards on everything from lightbulbs to commercial air conditioners. The man was like a kid in a candy store, regaling me with detailed explanations of his latest standard-setting exploits. (“You'd be amazed at the environmental impact of just a five percent improvement on refrigerator efficiency!”) And although it was hard to match his excitement over washers and dryers, the results really were pretty amazing: By the time I left office, those new appliance standards were on track to remove another 210 million metric tons of greenhouse gases from the atmosphere annually.

“當然可以。”她回答說：“但我不能說救助計劃從未出現在他們的腦海中.....”

與此同時，我指派史蒂夫·朱負責更新所有可能的效率標準，利用一項不受重視的1987年法律賦予能源部設定從燈泡到商業空調等所有東西的能效標準的權限。他像一個孩子在糖果店裡一樣興高采烈，向我娓娓道來他最新的標準制定壯舉。（“你絕對會對冰箱效率僅提高5%而產生的環境影響感到驚訝！”）雖然很難與他對洗衣機和烘幹機的興奮相提並論，但結果確實非常驚人，因為在我離任時，這些新的電器標準已經有望每年減少2.1億公噸的溫室氣體排放量。

Over the next several years, carmakers and appliance manufacturers hit the higher efficiency goals we'd set without much fuss and ahead of schedule, confirming Steve's assertion that when done properly, ambitious regulatory standards actually spurred businesses to innovate. If consumers noticed that the energy-efficient models of cars or appliances were sometimes more expensive, they didn't complain; they were likely to make up the difference in lower electricity bills or fuel costs, and prices typically settled back down once the new technologies became the norm.

未来数年内，汽车制造商和家电制造商在没有太多麻烦的情况下提前实现了我们设定的更高效率目标，证实了史蒂夫的说法：当雄心勃勃的监管标准得到正确实施时，实际上激发了企业的创新。如果消费者注意到节能汽车或家电的型号有时更贵，他们也不会抱怨；他们很可能会通过降低电费或燃料成本弥补差价，并且价格通常会在新技术变成常态后重新稳定下来。

To our surprise, even McConnell and Boehner didn't get particularly worked up about our energy regulations—perhaps because they didn't think it was a winning issue for them and didn't want to divert attention from their efforts to defeat Obamacare. Not all Republicans showed such restraint. One day, Pete Rouse wandered into the Oval to show me media clips containing various remarks from Congresswoman Michele Bachmann of Minnesota, founder of the House Tea Party Caucus and an eventual Republican candidate for president. Bachmann had been decrying newfangled energy-efficient lightbulbs as an un-American “Big Brother intrusion” and a threat to public health; they also signaled what she declared to be a larger plot by Democrats to impose a radical “sustainability” agenda, in which all U.S. citizens would eventually be forced to “move to the urban core, live in tenements, [and] take light rail to their government jobs.”

讓我們驚訝的是，即使是麥康奈爾和博納也沒有對我們的能源法規特別感到激動 - 或許是因為他們認為這對他們不是一個贏得選舉的問題，也不想轉移人們對擊敗奧巴馬醫改的注意力。不是所有的共和黨人都表現得這麼克制。有一天，皮特·羅斯走進橢圓形辦公室給我看含有來自明尼蘇達州議員米歇爾·巴赫曼的各種言論的媒體片段。巴赫曼是眾議院茶黨議會的創始人，也是後來的共和黨總統候選人。巴赫曼一直在譴責新款節能燈泡為不道德的“大兄弟侵入”，也對公共健康構成威脅，他們還預示著民主黨人的更大陰謀，“實現基於可持續性的‘議程，最終將迫使所有美國公民‘搬到城市中心，在公寓里生活，乘坐輕軌去上班。”

“Looks like our secret is out, Mr. President,” Pete said.

I nodded gravely. “Better hide the recycling bins.”

—

WHILE ENERGY-SAVING cars and dishwashers were a step forward, the ultimate pathway to lasting change, we knew, lay in getting comprehensive climate legislation through Congress. A bill had the potential to reach every sector of the economy that contributed to greenhouse gas emissions, not just vehicles and appliances. On top of that, the news stories and public dialogue sparked by the legislative process would help drive home the perils of rising global temperatures, and—if all went well—Congress would feel a sense of ownership of the final product. Perhaps most important, federal legislation would have genuine staying power, unlike regulations, which could be reversed unilaterally by a future Republican administration.

“看來我們的秘密已經被揭露了，總統先生。”彼得說。

我嚴肅地點頭。“最好把回收垃圾箱藏起來。”

雖然節能汽車和洗碗機是邁向永久改變的一步，但我們知道，實現全面的氣候立法才是最終的出路。一部法案有可能覆蓋對溫室氣體排放有貢獻的各個經濟領域，而不僅僅是車輛和家電。此外，立法進程引發的新聞報道和公眾對話將有助於強調全球氣溫上升的危險，如果一切順利，國會將對最終產品有一種所有權感。也許最重要的是，聯邦立法將具有真正的持久力，而不像規定，可以被未來的共和黨政府單方面撤銷。

Of course, legislation depended on our ability to overcome a Senate filibuster. And unlike the situation with the Recovery Act, where when push came to shove we'd been able to marshal every Democratic vote we needed, Harry Reid warned me that we were certain to lose at least a couple of Senate Dems from oil- and coal-producing states who were looking at tough reelections. To get sixty votes, we were going to need to convince at least two or three Republicans to support a bill that a majority of their voters firmly opposed, and that Mitch McConnell had sworn to defeat.

當然，立法取決於我們克服參議院的阻撓能力。與《恢復法案》的情況不同，當處於關鍵時刻時，我們能夠動員所有需要的民主黨的投票，但哈利·里德警告我們，我們一定會失去至少幾位石油和煤炭生產州的參議員，他們正在面臨艱難的連任競選。為了得到六十張票，我們需要說服至少兩到三位共和黨人支持一個大多數選民堅決反對並且米奇·麥康奈爾發誓要擊敗的法案。

Initially, at least, we thought our best bet was the guy I'd beat in the race for president.

John McCain had downplayed his support for climate change legislation during his campaign, especially after he selected a running mate whose energy policy—“Drill, baby, drill!”—proved to be a Republican crowd favorite. But to his credit, McCain had never fully abandoned the position he'd staked out earlier in his Senate career, and in the (very) brief halo of good feeling right after the election, he and I had discussed working together to get a climate bill passed. Around the time I was sworn into office, McCain had reportedly joined forces with his best buddy in the Senate, Joe Lieberman, to put together a bipartisan alternative to more liberal legislation being proposed by Barbara Boxer, the California Democrat who chaired the Environment and Public Works Committee.

最初，我们认为最好的选择是我在竞选总统时打败的那个人。约翰·麦凯恩在竞选期间淡化了他对气候变化立法的支持，特别是在他选择了一个能源政策被证明是共和党人的人气最高的竞选搭档后，“开采，宝贝，开采！”但值得赞扬的是，麦凯恩从未完全放弃他在参议院职业生涯早期所坚持的立场，在选举后不久的短暂时间里，他和我讨论过合作通过气候法案的事宜。在我宣誓就职时，据报道，麦凯恩已经与他在参议院最好的朋友乔·利伯曼结盟，制定了一项与芭芭拉·巴克斯特，加州民主党主席的更自由的立法提议相反的两党立场。

Unfortunately, inside GOP circles, McCain's brand of bipartisan compromise was badly out of fashion. Right-wingers despised him more than ever, blaming his lack of conservative conviction for Republican losses in the House and Senate. In late January 2009, a former congressman and right-wing radio host named J. D. Hayworth floated the possibility of running against McCain in the Arizona primary the next year—the first serious challenge McCain had faced since joining the Senate twenty-two years earlier. I imagine the sheer indignity of the situation must have made McCain's blood boil, but the politician in him dictated that he quickly shore up his right flank—and joining forces with me on major environmental legislation certainly wasn't going to do that. We soon got word through Lieberman's office that McCain was off the bill.

不幸的是，在共和黨圈子裡，麥凱恩所提倡的跨黨派妥協已經不流行了。右翼人士更加鄙視他，指責他的缺乏保守派信念導致了共和黨在眾議院和參議院的失利。2009年年初，一位前國會議員和右翼廣播主持人J-D·海沃斯思考在明年的亞利桑那州初選中挑戰麥凱恩，這是麥凱恩自22年前加入參議院以來面臨的第一個重大挑戰。我想這種局面的屈辱肯定讓麥凱恩惱羞成怒，但他內心的政治家告訴他要迅速拉攏右派，與我在重要的環境立法上合作顯然不會起到這樣的效果。我們很快通過李伯曼的辦公室得知，麥凱恩退出了這項法案。

At the same time, not a single House Republican would even consider cosponsoring climate legislation. That left the two senior Democrats on the relevant committee, Henry Waxman of California and Ed Markey of Massachusetts, content to draft a bill on their own and pass it solely with Democratic votes. In the short term, this made our lives easier: Waxman and Markey broadly aligned with us on policy, their staffs knew what they were doing, and they welcomed our suggestions. But it also meant that the two congressmen felt little need to consider views less liberal than existed inside their own caucus, raising the prospect that the bill they produced could end up reading like an environmental group's wish list and send a number of fence-sitting Senate Democrats into cardiac arrest.

與此同時，任何一位眾議院共和黨人都不會考慮作為氣候立法的共同發起人。這讓負責相關委員會的兩位民主黨高級議員，加利福尼亞州的亨利·瓦克斯曼和馬薩諸塞州的艾德·馬基，滿意地自行起草一項法案，僅依靠民主黨的票數通過。短期內，這使我們的生活變得更簡單：瓦克斯曼和馬基對於政策持廣泛觀點，他們的工作人員知道他們在做什麼，並且他們歡迎我們的建議。但這也意味著，這兩位共和黨議員很少有必要考慮比自己內部圈子更不那麼自由的觀點，這提高了他們可能製定的法案如同環保組織的心願清單，並將一些猶豫不決的參議院民主黨人嚇到心臟病發作的可能性。

Hoping to head off a House/Senate impasse, Rahm gave Phil Schiliro the unenviable task of urging Waxman to start a dialogue with the likely sponsors of a Senate bill, including Lieberman, so that we could get a jump on narrowing the differences between the two sides. A week or so later, I called Phil into the Oval and asked how the conversation with Waxman had gone. Phil dropped his gangly frame onto the couch, grabbed an apple from the bowl I kept on the coffee table, and shrugged.

“Not great,” he said, his voice landing somewhere between a chuckle and a sigh. Before joining my team, Phil had spent years working in Waxman's office, most recently as chief of staff, so the two knew each other well. Waxman had given him an earful, he said, channeling the frustration that House

Dems already felt toward the Senate Dems (and us) for what they considered to be a litany of previous sins: scaling back the Recovery Act, failing to even bring various House bills up for a vote for fear of putting moderate or conservative senators in a bind, and generally being spineless tools.

希望避免众议院和参议院之间的僵局，拉姆（Rahm）给菲尔·斯希利罗（Phil Schiliro）下达了一个艰巨的任务，敦促瓦克斯曼（Waxman）与可能的参议院法案发起人对话，包括李伯曼（Lieberman），以便我们在两个方面的分歧缩小之前就迅速采取行动。一周左右后，我把菲尔叫到了椭圆形办公室（Oval）并询问了与瓦克斯曼的对话情况。菲尔挤压在沙发上，从我放在咖啡桌上的水果碗里拿起一个苹果，耸了耸肩。

“不太好，”他说，语气介于笑声和叹息之间。在加入我的团队之前，菲尔在瓦克斯曼的办公室工作了多年，最近担任过幕僚长，所以两人相互了解。他说瓦克斯曼大发雷霆，向他发泄众议院民主党人已经对参议院民主党人（和我们）因为种种前因后果而感到的挫败感：缩减恢复法案，不敢在恐怖困扰较温和或保守的参议员情况下提出各种众议院法案的投票，以及总体上软弱无力的工具。

“He said the Senate is ‘the place where good ideas go to die,’” Phil said.

“Can’t argue with him there,” I said.

“We’ll just have to sort it all out in a conference committee, after each chamber’s passed its own bill,” Phil said, trying his best to project an upbeat tone. In our effort to keep the House and Senate bills at least within shouting distance of each other, we did have one thing working in our favor: Lieberman and Boxer, as well as the House Dems and most environmental groups, had embraced a cap-and-trade system similar to what I’d endorsed during the campaign as the preferred mechanism to achieve big cuts in greenhouse gases. Here’s how it worked: The federal government would cap the amount of greenhouse gas companies could emit, leaving it up to each company to figure out how to hit those targets. Companies exceeding their limit would pay a penalty. Companies that stayed below their limit could sell their unused pollution “credits” to less-efficient businesses. By setting a price on pollution and creating a market for environmentally friendly behavior, a cap-and-trade approach gave corporations an incentive to develop and adopt the latest green technologies; and with each technological advance, the government could lower the caps even further, encouraging a steady and virtuous cycle of innovation.

“他说参议院是‘好想法去死的地方’，”Phil说。

“我不反对他的说法，”我说。

“我们只能在议会委员会中将这一切分类清楚。在每个议院通过自己的法案之后，”Phil尽力传达着一种积极的语气。

在我们努力使众议院和参议院的法案尽可能地接近时，我们也有一个有利的因素：李伯曼、博克斯以及众议院民主党和大多数环境组织都支持类似于我在竞选中支持的碳排放交易系统，作为实现温室气体大幅减排的首选机制。这是它的工作方式：联邦政府将限制公司排放温室气体的数量，由每家公司决定如何达到这些目标。超过限制的公司将面临罚款。保持在限制范围内的公司可以将未使用的污染“信用额度”出售给效率较低的企业。通过对污染定价和创建环保行为市场，碳排放交易系统为企业开发和采用最新的绿色技术提供了激励；随着每一次技术进步，政府可以进一步降低排放限额，鼓励稳定和良性的创新循环。

There were other ways to put a price on greenhouse gas pollution. Some economists thought it was simpler, for example, to impose a “carbon tax” on all fossil fuels, discouraging their use by making them more expensive. But one of the reasons everyone had converged on a cap-and-trade proposal was that it had already been successfully tried—and by a Republican president, no less. Back in 1990, George H. W. Bush’s administration had put a cap-and-trade system in place to curb the sulfur dioxide coming out of factory smokestacks and contributing to acid rain, which was destroying lakes and forests across the East Coast. Despite dire predictions that the measure would lead to factory closures and mass layoffs, the offending companies had quickly figured out cost-efficient ways to retrofit their factories, and within a few years, the problem of acid rain had all but disappeared.还有其他方法来定价温室气体污染。一些经济学家认为更简单的方法是对所有化石燃料征收“碳税”，通过让它们更加昂贵来阻止它们的使用。但所有人都采取了一个限额交易提案的原因之一是因为它已经被成功地尝试过了——而且是由一个共和党总统来实现的。回到1990年，乔治·H·W·布什政府已经实施了一个限额交易制度来遏制工厂烟囱排放的二氧化硫，这些排放物导致酸雨，摧毁了美国东海岸的湖泊和森林。尽管对该措施的预测是它将导致工厂关闭和大规模裁员，但犯罪公司很快就找到了经济成本高效的改装工厂的方法，几年内，酸雨问题几乎消失了。

Setting up a cap-and-trade system for greenhouse gas emissions involved a whole new level of scale and complexity. The fights over each detail promised to be fierce, with lobbyists swarming and every member of Congress whose vote we needed angling for this or that concession. And as the struggle to pass healthcare legislation was also teaching me, the mere fact that Republicans had once supported a policy idea championed by one of their own did not mean they’d support the exact same idea coming from a Democratic president.

建立一个碳排放配额交易系统，需要达到更高层次的规模和复杂度。每一个细节都必须争取，而游说团众多，我们需要得到每个国会议员的支持，他们都希望获得某些优惠。同时，在通过医疗保健立法的斗争中也教会了我一个道理，那就是共和党曾经支持某一政策主张，並不意味着他们会支持同样的概念从一位民主黨總統而來。

Still, I had to believe that having a successful precedent gave us a real shot at getting a deal done. Carol, Phil, and the rest of the White House legislative staff spent much of spring 2009 shuttling back and forth between chambers, prodding the action along, smoothing over problems, and providing the main players and their staffs with whatever technical support or policy guidance they needed. All this was happening while we were still trying to mend the economy, pull the healthcare bill into shape, put an immigration package together, get judicial nominees confirmed, and move a dozen other smaller initiatives through Congress—a testament to how hard the team drove itself. It also lent Rahm’s office—sparsely decorated, the big conference table at its center usually littered with coffee cups, cans of Diet Coke, and the occasional half-eaten snack—the overcaffeinated atmosphere of an air traffic control center.

然而，我仍然相信成功的先例让我们有了达成交易的真正机会。卡罗尔、菲尔和其他白宫立法工作人员在2009年春季大部分时间穿梭于两院之间，促进行动，平息问题，并向主要参与者及其工作人员提供他们需要的任何技术支持或政策指导。而我们仍在努力恢复经济，完善医疗保健法案，制定移民方案，确认司法提名，以及通过国会移动其他十几项较小的倡议——这是团队努力的证明。这也让拉姆的办公室——陈设简朴，大会议桌中央通常散落着咖啡杯、健怡可乐罐和偶尔的吃剩下的零食——充满了空气交通管制中心那种似是而非的氛围。

Then, on a muggy day in late June, our labors started to pay off. The White House Social Office had arranged for a staff picnic on the South Lawn, and I had just begun circulating through the crowd, holding babies and posing for pictures with the proud parents of staff members, when Rahm came bounding across the grass, a sheet of paper rolled up in his hand.

“The House just passed a climate bill, Mr. President,” he said.

“That’s great!” I said, giving him a high five. “How close was the vote?”

Rahm showed me his tally: 219–212. “We actually got eight moderate Republicans. We lost a couple of Dems we were counting on, but I’ll deal with them. In the meantime, you should call Nancy, Waxman, and Markey to thank them. They had to work the members pretty hard.”然后，在6月下旬一个潮湿的日子里，我们的努力开始得到回报。白宫社交办公室安排了一个员工野餐活动在南草坪上，当我开始在人群中穿梭，抱着婴儿和与员工家长拍照时，拉姆跨过草地，手里拿着一张卷着的纸。

“众议院刚刚通过了一项气候法案，总统先生，”他说。

“太棒了！”我高兴地说着，和他击掌庆祝。“得票有多接近？”

拉姆向我展示了他的计票结果：219-212。“我们实际上得到了八名中间派共和党人。我们失去了一些民主党人的支持，但我会处理他们的。同时，你应该打电话感谢南希·沃克斯曼和马基，他们必须努力说服成员们。”

Rahm lived for days like this, when we scored a clear win. But as we walked back to the Oval, stopping to greet others along the way, I noticed that my usually irrepressible chief of staff seemed a little subdued. Rahm went on to explain what was nagging at him: So far, the Senate had failed to even release its version of a climate bill, much less start moving it through the relevant committees. McConnell, meanwhile, was displaying a singular talent for grinding Senate votes to a halt. Given the already slow process, the window for us getting a climate bill done before Congress adjourned in December was rapidly closing. And after that, we’d likely have even more trouble making it to the finish line, since Democrats in both the House and the Senate would be reluctant to vote on yet another big, controversial bill just as they started campaigning for the midterms.

拉姆期待像这样的日子，当我们取得明显的胜利。但当我们走回椭圆形办公室时，在一路上向其他问好时，我注意到我的通常活泼的幕僚长似乎有点沮丧。拉姆接着解释了困扰他的问题：到目前为止，参议院甚至还没有公布其气候法案的版本，更不用说开始将其提交到相关委员会了。与此同时，麦康奈尔展示了把参议院投票阻滞的独特才能。考虑到已经缓慢的进程，我们在12月休会前完成气候法案的窗口正在迅速关闭。之后，我们可能会更难走到终点，因为众议院和参议院的民主党人在开始竞选中期选举时，不太可能投票支持又一个大而有争议的法案。

“Gotta have faith, brother,” I said, clapping him on the back.

Rahm nodded, but his eyes, even darker than usual, betrayed doubt.

“I just don’t know if we’ve got enough runway to land all these planes,” he said.

The implication being that one or more might crash.

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THE SKITTISH MOOD in Congress was not the only reason I hoped to have cap-and-trade legislation in hand by December: There was a U.N. global summit on climate change due to happen in Copenhagen that same month. After eight years of the United States absenting itself from international climate negotiations under George W. Bush, expectations abroad were soaring. And I could hardly urge other governments to act aggressively on climate change if the United States didn’t lead by example. I knew that having a domestic bill would improve our bargaining position with other nations and help spur the kind of collective action needed to protect the planet. Greenhouse gases, after all, don’t respect borders. A law reducing emissions in one country might make its citizens feel morally superior, but if other nations didn’t follow suit, temperatures would just keep rising. So as Rahm and my legislative team were busy in the halls of Congress, my foreign policy team and I looked for a way to restore America’s stature as a leader in international climate efforts.“兄弟，信仰可不可以坚定一点，”我拍了拍他的后背说道。

拉姆点了点头，但他的眼睛，比平常还要黑暗，隐藏着怀疑。

“我不知道我们是否有足够的时间降落这些飞机，”他说。

这意味着其中一个或多个可能会坠毁。

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国会的紧张气氛并不是我希望在十二月之前拥有排放交易立法的唯一原因：那个月还有联合国关于气候变化的全球峰会将要举行。在乔治·W·布什执政期间，美国缺席国际气候谈判长达八年，在海外，人们的期望越来越高。如果美国不以身作则，我几乎无法敦促其他政府在气候变化方面采取积极行动。我知道，拥有国内法案将提高我们与其他国家的谈判地位，有助于推动保护地球所需的集体行动。毕竟，温室气体并不尊重边界。一个国家的减排法律可能会让其公民觉得道德居高临下，但如果其他国家不跟进，温度将继续上升。因此，当拉姆和我的立法团队忙于国会大厅时，我的外交政策团队和我寻找了一种方式来恢复美国在国际气候努力中的领袖地位。

Our leadership on this front had once been all but presumed. In 1992, when the world convened in Rio de Janeiro for what became known as the “Earth Summit,” President George H. W. Bush joined representatives from 153 other nations in signing the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change—the first global agreement to try to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations before they reached catastrophic levels. The Clinton administration soon took up the baton, working with other nations to translate the broad goals announced at Rio into a binding treaty. The final result, called the Kyoto Protocol, laid

out detailed plans for coordinated international action, including specific greenhouse gas reduction targets, a global carbon-trading system similar to cap-and-trade, and financing mechanisms to help poor countries adopt clean energy and preserve carbon-neutralizing forests like the Amazon.

我們曾經在這方面的領導地位幾乎被視為理所當然。1992年，當世界在里約熱內盧聚集在一起，展開了被稱為“地球高峰會”的會議時，老布希總統加入了來自153個國家的代表，簽署了聯合國氣候變化框架公約 - 這是首個旨在在溫室氣體濃度達到災難性水平之前穩定其濃度的全球協議。幾乎立刻，克林頓政府接手了這一使命，與其他國家合作，把里約宣布的廣泛目標轉化為具有約束力的條約。最終的結果被稱為《京都議定書》，其中詳細規劃了協調國際行動的具體綠色氣體減排目標、類似於碳排放配額交易的全球碳交易系統以及金融機制，幫助貧困國家採用清潔能源，保護像亞馬遜這樣的碳中和森林。

Environmentalists hailed Kyoto as a turning point in the fight against global warming. Around the world, participating countries got their governments to ratify the treaty. But in the United States, where treaty ratification requires an affirmative vote from two-thirds of the Senate, Kyoto hit a brick wall. It was 1997, Republicans controlled the Senate, and few considered climate change to be a real problem. Indeed, the then chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, archconservative Jesse Helms, proudly despised environmentalists, the U.N., and multilateral treaties in equal measure. Powerful Democrats like West Virginia senator Robert Byrd were also quick to oppose any measures that might hurt fossil fuel industries vital to their state.

環保人士將京都議定書譽為對抗全球暖化的一個轉折點。全球各參與國家都使他們的政府批准了條約。但在美國，條約批准必須獲得參議院三分之二的肯定票，京都議定書卻遇到了一堵牆。當時是1997年，共和黨控制著參議院，很少有人認為氣候變化是一個真正的問題。實際上，當時的參議院外交關係委員會主席、極端保守派傑茲·赫爾姆斯非常鄙視環保主義者、聯合國和多邊條約。而強大的民主黨人，如西維吉尼亞州參議員羅伯特·伯德，也迅速反對可能損害其州燃料化石品行業的任何措施。

Seeing the writing on the wall, President Clinton decided not to send Kyoto to the Senate for a vote, preferring delay to defeat. Though Clinton's political fortunes would recover after he'd survived impeachment, Kyoto remained mothballed for the remainder of his presidency. Any glimmer of hope for the treaty's eventual ratification was snuffed out entirely once George W. Bush beat Al Gore in the 2000 election. Which is how it came to pass that in 2009, a year after the Kyoto Protocol finally went into full effect, the United States was one of only five nations not party to the agreement. The other four, in no particular order: Andorra and Vatican City (both of which were so tiny, with a combined population of about eighty thousand, that they were granted "observer" status rather than asked to join); Taiwan (which would have been happy to participate but couldn't because its status as an independent nation was still contested by the Chinese); and Afghanistan (which had the reasonable excuse of having been shattered by thirty years of occupation and a bloody civil war).

看到牆上的字跡，克林頓總統決定不將京都議定書提交參議院投票，他更喜歡延緩而不是失敗。雖然克林頓在經受彈劾後政治運勢得以恢復，但京都議定書仍在其總統任期剩餘的時間被擱置。當喬治·W·布什在2000年的選舉中擊敗阿爾·戈爾後，任何有關該條約最終批准的一絲希望都被完全擊破。因此，在2009年京都議定書最終得以全面生效的一年後，美國成為五個未簽署該協定的國家之一。其他四個國家分別是：安道爾和梵蒂岡（兩者規模都非常小，人口只有約八萬人，所以它們被授予“觀察員”地位，而不是被要求加入）；台灣（樂意參與但無法參與，因為它的獨立地位仍在中國的爭議中）；和阿富汗（有合理的藉口是因為該國經歷了三十年的占領和血腥的內戰而四分五裂）。

“You know things have hit a low point when our closest allies think we're worse on an issue than North Korea,” Ben said, shaking his head. Reviewing this history, I sometimes imagined a parallel universe in which the United States, without rival immediately following the end of the Cold War, had put its immense power and authority behind the climate change fight. I imagined the transformation of the world's energy grid and the reduction in greenhouse gases that might have been achieved; the geopolitical benefits that would have flowed from weakening the grip of petrodollars and the autocracies supported by those dollars; the culture of sustainability that could have taken root in developed and developing countries alike. But as I huddled with my team to chart a strategy for this universe, I had to acknowledge a glaring truth: Even with the Democrats now in charge of the Senate, there was still no way for me to secure sixty-seven votes to ratify the existing Kyoto framework.

本说：“当我们最亲密的盟友认为我们在某个问题上比朝鲜还糟糕时，我们就知道事情已经到了低谷。”他摇摇头。

回顾这段历史，我有时会想象一个平行宇宙，在那里冷战结束后，美国能够无与伦比地发挥其巨大的力量和权威来应对气候变化。我想象着世界能源网络的转型以及可能实现的温室气体减排；从削弱石油美元的控制和支持这些美元的独裁统治获得的地缘政治利益；以及可在发达国家都能生根发芽的可持续发展文化。但是，当我与我的团队一起制定这个宇宙的战略时，我不得不承认一个惊人的事实：即使现在民主党掌控了参议院，我仍无法获得67票来批准现有的京都协议。

We were having enough trouble getting the Senate to come up with a workable domestic climate bill. Barbara Boxer and Massachusetts Democrat John Kerry had spent months drafting potential legislation, but they'd been unable to find a Republican colleague willing to cosponsor it, signaling that the bill was unlikely to pass and that a new, more centrist approach might be in order.

Having lost John McCain as a Republican ally, our hopes shifted to one of his closest friends in the Senate, Lindsey Graham of South Carolina. Short in stature, with a pugnacious face and a gentle southern drawl that in an instant could flip from warm to menacing, Graham was known primarily as an ardent national security hawk—a member, along with McCain and Lieberman, of the so-called Three Amigos, who'd served as the biggest boosters of the Iraq War. Graham was also smart, charming, sarcastic, unscrupulous, media savvy, and—thanks partly to his genuine adoration of McCain—occasionally willing to stray from conservative orthodoxy, most notably in his support for immigration reform. Having been reelected to another six-year term, Graham was in a position to take some risks, and although he'd never shown much interest in climate change in the past, he seemed intrigued by the possibility of filling McCain's shoes and brokering a meaningful bipartisan deal. Early in October, he offered to help deliver the handful of Republicans needed to get

climate legislation through the Senate—but only if Lieberman helped steer the process and Kerry could convince environmentalists to offer up concessions on subsidies for the nuclear power industry and the opening up of additional U.S. coastlines to offshore oil drilling.

我們本已因讓參議院制定可行的國內氣候法案而遇到足夠的麻煩。芭芭拉·博克斯和馬薩諸塞州的民主黨參議員約翰·克里花了數月起草潛在的立法，但他們未能找到一位共和黨同事願意共同支持，這表明該法案不太可能通過，需要採取一種新的、更加中間路線的方法。由於失去了約翰·麥凱恩作為共和黨盟友，我們的希望轉向了他在參議院中的最親密的朋友之一，來自南卡羅來納州的林賽·格雷厄姆。格雷厄姆矮小、有著狗狗般的臉孔和一種溫柔的南方口音，一瞬間能夠從溫暖變為威脅。他主要是以堅定的國家安全鷹派著稱，與麥凱恩和利伯曼一起擔任所謂的三位好友中的成員，他們是伊拉克戰爭的最大支持者。格雷厄姆也很聰明、迷人、諷刺、不拘手段、媒體精通，而且由於對麥凱恩的真正崇敬，他偶爾願意偏離保守主義教條，最著名的是他對移民改革的支持。格雷厄姆已經連任六年，有機會冒一些風險，盡管他過去從沒表現出對氣候變化的興趣，但他對填補麥凱恩的鞋子並網絡建設有意，並且為了讓氣候立法通過而提供幫助——但前提是利伯曼幫助引導進程，而克里則必須說服環保主義者在補貼核電產業和開放額外美國海岸石油鑽探方面作出讓步。

I wasn't wild about having to depend on Graham. I knew him from my time in the Senate as someone who liked to play the role of the sophisticated, self-aware conservative, disarming Democrats and reporters with blunt assessments of his party's blind spots, extolling the need for politicians to break out of their ideological straitjackets. More often than not, though, when it came time to actually cast a vote or take a position that might cost him politically, Graham seemed to find a reason to wriggle out of it. ("You know how in the spy thriller or the heist movie, you're introduced to the crew at the beginning?" I told Rahm. "Lindsey's the guy who double-crosses everyone to save his own skin.") Realistically, though, our options were limited ("Unless Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt are walking through that door, buddy," Rahm replied, "he's all we got"); and mindful that any close association with the White House might spook him, we decided to give Graham and his fellow cosponsors a wide berth as they crafted their version of the bill, figuring we could fix any troublesome provisions later in the process.

我并不喜欢依靠格雷厄姆。我在参议院时认识他，他喜欢扮演成为精明自觉的保守派，用直接的评估自己党派盲点的方式来安抚民主党人和记者，并赞扬政治家需要打破意识形态的桎梏。但通常情况下，当需要实际投票或采取可能在政治上使他付出代价的立场时，格雷厄姆似乎总能找到理由狡辩（“你知道在间谍惊悚片中或者抢劫电影中，你一开始认识到这个团队？”我告诉拉姆，“林赛是那个为了自己利益出卖大家的人。”）。但现实是，我们的选择很有限（“除非林肯和西奥多·罗斯福正在那扇门外面走过，伙计，否则他就是我们唯一的选择”拉姆回答说）；并且为了避免过于亲近白宫而使他恐慌，我们决定让格雷厄姆和其他共同提案人在起草议案时拥有更广泛的自由度，认为我们可以在进程的后期修正任何有问题的条款。

Meanwhile, we prepared for what lay ahead in Copenhagen. With the Kyoto Protocol set to expire in 2012, U.N.-sponsored negotiations for a follow-up treaty had been under way for over a year already, with the goal of finalizing an agreement in time for the December summit. We weren't, however, inclined to sign a new treaty modeled too closely on the original. My advisors and I had concerns about Kyoto's policy design—in particular, its use of a concept called "common but differentiated responsibilities," which placed the burden of cutting greenhouse gas emissions almost exclusively on advanced, energy-intensive economies like those of the United States, the European Union, and Japan. As a matter of fairness, asking rich countries to do more about climate change than poor countries made complete sense: Not only was the existing buildup of greenhouse gases largely the result of a hundred years of Western industrialization, but rich countries also had a much higher per capita carbon footprint than other places. And there were limits to how much you could expect poor countries like Mali, Haiti, or Cambodia—places where lots of people still lacked even basic electricity—to cut their already negligible emissions (and possibly slow their short-term growth). After all, Americans or Europeans could achieve far greater effects simply by adjusting their thermostats up or down a few degrees.

與此同時，我們為哥本哈根的未來做好了準備。隨著《京都議定書》於2012年到期，聯合國贊助的後續條約談判已經進行了一年多，目標是在12月份的峰會前完成協議。然而，我們不太傾向於簽署一份過於接近原議定書的新協議。我和我的顧問們對《京都議定書》的政策設計有所擔憂，特別是使用了一個叫做“共同但有區別的責任”的概念，這個概念將減少溫室氣體排放的負擔幾乎全部放在了高度發達、高能耗的經濟體上，例如美國、歐盟和日本。從公平的角度來看，讓富裕國家比貧窮國家更多地擔負氣候變化的責任是很合理的。這不僅是因為現有的溫室氣體積累很大程度上是由百年來西方工業化的結果，而且富裕國家的人均碳排放量遠高於其他地方。而且，在像馬里、海地或柬埔寨這些很多人甚至缺乏基本電力的國家裡，你不可能指望他們減少已經微不足道的排放量（並可能減緩他們的短期增長）。畢竟，美國或歐洲人只需將他們的恒溫器調高或調低幾度就能取得更大的效果。

The trouble was, the Kyoto Protocol had interpreted "differentiated responsibilities" to mean that emerging powers like China, India, and Brazil had no binding obligations to curb their emissions. This might have made sense when the protocol was drawn up, twelve years earlier, before globalization had fully transformed the world economy. But in the middle of a brutal recession, with Americans already seething over the steady outsourcing of U.S. jobs, a treaty that placed environmental constraints on domestic factories without asking for parallel action from those operating in Shanghai or Bangalore just wasn't going to fly. As it was, China had surpassed the United States in annual carbon dioxide emissions in 2005, with India's numbers also on the rise. And while it remained true that the average Chinese or Indian citizen consumed a fraction of the energy used by the average American, experts projected a doubling of those countries' carbon footprints in the coming decades, as more and more of their two billion-plus people aspired to the same modern conveniences that folks in rich countries enjoyed. If that happened, then the planet was going to be underwater regardless of what anybody else did—an argument that Republicans (at least those who didn't deny climate change altogether) liked to use as an excuse for having the United States do nothing at all.

问题在于，京都议定书将“区别对待的责任”解释为新兴大国如中国、印度和巴西没有约束减少排放的义务。在全球化充分改变世界经济之前，这可能有意义。但在严峻的经济衰退中，美国已经对不断外包美国工作感到愤怒，一项只对国内工厂施加环境限制而不要求那些在上海或班加罗尔运营的工厂采取平行行动的条约是不会被接受的。至少2005年以来，中国的年二氧化碳排放量已超过美国，印度的数据也在上升。虽然平均而言，中国或印度的普通公民消耗的能源只有富裕国家普通公民的一小部分，但专家预计，在未来几十年中，这些国家的碳足迹将翻倍，因为越来越多的20多亿人民渴望享受跟富有国家一样的

现代便利设施。如果这种情况发生了，那么无论其他国家采取了什么措施，这个星球都会沉入水底——共和党人（至少那些没有完全否认气候变化的人）喜欢用这个论点来为美国不采取任何行动提供借口。

We needed a fresh approach. With critical guidance from Hillary Clinton and the State Department's special envoy for climate change, Todd Stern, my team came up with a proposal for a scaled-back interim agreement, anchored around three shared commitments. First, the agreement would require every nation—including emerging powers like China and India—to put forward a self-determined plan for greenhouse gas reduction. Each country's plan would differ based on its wealth, energy profile, and stage of development and would be revised at regular intervals as that country's economic and technological capacities increased. Second, while these national plans wouldn't be enforceable under international law the way treaty obligations were, each country would agree to measures allowing the other parties to independently verify that it was following through on its pledged reductions. Third, wealthy countries would provide poor countries with billions of dollars in aid for climate mitigation and adaptation, so long as those poor countries met their (far more modest) commitments.

需要一种新的方法。在希拉里·克林顿和国务院气候变化特使托德·斯特恩的重要指导下，我的团队提出了一个简化的临时协议方案，围绕三个共同承诺。首先，协议要求每个国家，包括中国和印度等新兴大国，提出自己确定的温室气体减排计划。每个国家的计划将根据其财富、能源配置和发展阶段等因素而异，并将在该国经济和技术能力提高时定期修订。其次，虽然这些国家计划不会像条约义务那样受到国际法的强制执行，但每个国家都将同意采取措施，允许其他各方独立核查其已经实施的减排承诺。第三，富裕国家将向穷国提供数十亿美元的气候适应和缓解援助，前提是这些穷国能够履行其（更加谨慎的）承诺。

Designed right, this new approach would force China and other emerging powers to start putting skin in the game, while also retaining the Kyoto concept of “common but differentiated responsibilities.” By establishing a credible system to validate other countries’ efforts to reduce emissions, we’d also strengthen our case with Congress for the need to pass our own domestic climate change legislation—and, we hoped, lay the groundwork for a more robust treaty in the near future. But Todd, an intense, detail-oriented lawyer who’d served as the Clinton administration’s senior negotiator at Kyoto, warned that our proposal would be a tough sell internationally. The E.U. countries, all of which had ratified Kyoto and taken steps to reduce emissions, were anxious to come up with a pact that included legally binding reduction commitments from the United States and China. China, India, and South Africa, on the other hand, liked the status quo just fine and were fiercely resisting any changes to Kyoto. Activists and environmental groups from around the globe were scheduled to attend the summit. Many of them saw Copenhagen as a make-or-break moment and would consider anything short of a binding treaty with tough new limits as a failure.

如果设计得当，这种新方法将迫使中国和其他新兴大国开始参与其中，同时保留《京都议定书》的“共同但有区别的责任”理念。通过建立一个可信的系统来验证其他国家减少排放的努力，我们也可以在国会中加强我们通过制定自己的国内气候变化立法的必要性的论据，同时，我们希望为不久的将来达成更牢固的条约打下基础。但是，作为克林顿政府在京都的高级谈判代表，一位强调细节的律师托德警告说，我们的提议在国际上将很难销售。欧盟国家已经批准了京都议定书并采取了缩减排放的措施，他们渴望达成一个协议，其中包括来自美国和中国的具有法律约束力的缩减承诺。而中国、印度和南非则对现状感到满意，他们正在激烈地抵制对京都的任何变动。来自全球各地的活动家和环保组织计划参加峰会。他们中的许多人将认为哥本哈根是一个成败攸关的时刻，除了具有严格限制的有约束力的条约之外，任何一种短缺的举措被视为失败。

More specifically, my failure.

“It’s not fair,” Carol said, “but they think that if you’re serious about climate change, you should be able to get Congress and other countries to do whatever’s necessary.”

I couldn’t blame environmentalists for setting a high bar. The science demanded it. But I also knew it was pointless to make promises I could not yet keep. I’d need more time and a better economy before I could persuade the American public to support an ambitious climate treaty. I was also going to need to convince China to work with us—and I was probably going to need a bigger majority in the Senate. If the world was expecting the United States to sign a binding treaty at Copenhagen, then I needed to lower expectations—starting with those of the secretary-general of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon.

更具體地說，是我的失敗。

「這不公平，」卡羅爾說，「但他們認為如果你認真對待氣候變化，你應該能夠讓國會和其他國家做必要的事情。」

我不能怪環保主義者設定了很高的標準。科學需要這樣。但我也知道，許下我現在還無法兌現的承諾是沒有意義的。在我說服美國公眾支持一份有野心的氣候協定之前，我需要更多的時間和更好的經濟。我還需要說服中國與我們合作 - 我可能還需要在參議院贏得更大的多數票。如果世界期望美國在哥本哈根簽署有約束力的協議，那麼我需要降低期望 - 從聯合國秘書長潘基文開始。

Two years into his term as the world’s most prominent diplomat, Ban Ki-moon had yet to make much of an impression on the global stage. Some of this was just the nature of the job: Although the U.N. secretary-general presides over a budget of many billions of dollars, a sprawling bureaucracy, and a host of international agencies, his or her power is largely derivative, dependent on an ability to herd 193 countries toward something resembling a common direction. Ban’s relatively low profile was also the result of his understated, methodical style—a paint-by-numbers approach to diplomacy that had undoubtedly served him well during his thirty-seven-year career in his native South Korea’s foreign service and diplomatic corps but that stood in sharp contrast to the urbane charisma of his predecessor at the U.N., Kofi Annan. You didn’t go into a meeting with Ban expecting to hear captivating stories, witty asides, or dazzling insights. He didn’t ask how your family was doing or share details of his own life outside the job. Instead, after a vigorous

handshake and repeated thank-yous for seeing him, Ban would dive headlong into a stream of talking points and factoids, delivered in fluent but heavily accented English and the earnest, formulaic jargon of a U.N. communiqué.

在担任全球最知名外交官员两年后，潘基文并没有在全球舞台上留下太多印象。这在某种程度上是这个职位的天性所致。尽管联合国秘书长管理着数十亿美元的预算、一个庞大的官僚机构和一系列国际机构，但他或她的权力在很大程度上是依赖于将193个国家引向类似于共同方向的能力。潘基文相对低调的形象也是他内敛、methodical的风格造成的一一这种方法或许在他在韩国外交服务和外交部门担任37年的职业生涯中表现出色，但与联合国前任安南精明能干、魅力四射的形象形成鲜明对比。你不会去与潘基文见面期待听到迷人的故事、风趣的点子或令人眼花缭乱的见解。他不会问候你的家人或分享他在职业之外的生活细节。相反，在热情洋溢地握手并反复感谢你见他之后，潘基文会立即钻入一系列谈话要点和事实，用流利但重口音、认真而公式化的联合国公报术语进行传递。

Despite his lack of pizzazz, I would come to like and respect Ban. He was honest, straightforward, and irrepressibly positive, someone who on several occasions stood up to pressure from member states in pursuit of much-needed U.N. reforms and who instinctively came down on the right side of issues even if he didn't always have the capacity to move others to do the same. Ban was also persistent—especially on the topic of climate change, which he had designated as one of his top priorities. The first time we met in the Oval Office, less than two months after I'd taken office, he'd started pressing me for a commitment to attend the Copenhagen summit.

儘管缺乏活力，我仍然喜歡和尊重班。他誠實、直率、無法壓抑的積極性，多次在追求急需聯合國改革的壓力下站起來，直覺地站在正確的問題方面，即使他並不總是有能力讓其他人做出相同的選擇。班還非常堅持不懈——尤其是在氣候變化問題上，他已將其指定為他的前幾大優先事項之一。我上任不到兩個月的時候，我們第一次在白宮橢圓形辦公室見面，他就開始向我施加承諾參加哥本哈根峰會的壓力。

“Your presence, Mr. President,” Ban said, “will send a very powerful signal about the urgent need for international cooperation on climate change. Very powerful.”

I had explained all that we planned to do domestically to cut U.S. emissions, as well as the challenges of getting any Kyoto-style treaty through the Senate anytime soon. I described our idea of an interim agreement, and how we were forming a “major emitters group,” separate from U.N.-sponsored negotiations, to see if we could find common ground with China on the issue. As I spoke, Ban nodded politely, occasionally jotting down notes or adjusting his glasses. But nothing I said appeared to knock him off his principal mission.

“梵秀先生，您的到来将会发出一个非常强烈的信号，表明国际合作解决气候变化问题的紧迫性。非常强烈。”

我已经向他解释了我们国内削减排放的计划，以及在短时间内让类似于《京都议定书》的条约在参议院通过所面临的挑战。我还描述了我们的临时协议的想法，以及我们正在组建的“主要排放国小组”，与联合国赞助的谈判分开，试图在该问题上找到与中国的共同点。我讲话的时候，梵秀礼貌地点头，偶尔记录笔记或者调整眼镜。但是，没有一句话似乎能够让他转换主要任务的注意力。

“With your critical engagement, Mr. President,” he said, “I’m sure we can drive these negotiations to a successful agreement.”

And so it went for months to come. No matter how many times I repeated my concerns about the course the U.N.-sponsored negotiations were taking, no matter how blunt I was about the U.S. position on a binding, Kyoto-style treaty, Ban would return to underscoring the need for my presence at Copenhagen in December. He brought it up at G20 meetings. He raised it at G8 meetings. Finally, at the U.N. General Assembly plenary in New York in September, I relented, promising the secretary-general I’d do my best to attend so long as the conference appeared likely to produce an agreement we could live with. Afterward, I turned to Susan Rice and said I felt like a high schooler who’d been pressured to go to the prom with the nerdy kid who’s too nice to reject.

“憑藉您的重要參與，總統先生，”他說，“我確信我們能夠推動這些談判達成成功的協議。”接下來的幾個月都是這樣的。無論我多少次重申我對聯合國贊助的談判進程的擔憂，無論我多麼直言不諱地談論美國對一份約束力的、類似京都議定書的條約的立場，潘基文都會強調我在十二月份哥本哈根的出席是必要的。他在G20會議上提到了這件事，他在G8會議上提到了這件事。最終，在9月份的聯合國大會全體會議中，我妥協了，承諾秘書長只要會議看起來有可能達成我們可以接受的協議，我就會盡力出席。之後，我轉向蘇珊·萊斯說，我感覺自己像一個被迫和一個過於善良而被拒絕的書呆子一起去參加舞會的高中生。

By the time the Copenhagen conference kicked off in December, it seemed that my worst fears were coming to pass. Domestically, we were still waiting for the Senate to schedule a vote on cap-and-trade legislation, and in Europe, the treaty dialogue had hit an early deadlock. We’d sent Hillary and Todd ahead of me to try to drum up support for our proposed interim agreement, and over the phone, they described a chaotic scene, with the Chinese and other BRICS leaders dug in on their position, the Europeans frustrated with both us and the Chinese, the poorer countries clamoring for more financial assistance, Danish and U.N. organizers feeling overwhelmed, and the environmental groups in attendance despairing over what increasingly looked like a dumpster fire. Given the strong odor of imminent failure, not to mention the fact that I was still busy trying to get other critical legislation through Congress before the Christmas recess, Rahm and Axe questioned whether I should even make the trip.

當十二月份的哥本哈根會議開始時，我的最壞的擔憂似乎正在成為現實。國內方面，我們仍在等待參議院安排一次有關碳交易立法的投票，而在歐洲，條約對話已經提前陷入僵局。我們派了希拉里和托德先走，試圖為我們提出的臨時協議爭取支持，通過電話，他們描述了一個混亂的場面，中國和其他金磚國家的領導人對自己的立場堅持不讓，歐洲人對我們和中國都感到沮喪，較窮國家呼籲獲得更多財政援助，丹麥和聯合國的組織者感到不知所措，與會的環保團體對越來越像垃圾場火災的情況感到絕望。考慮到即將到來的失敗的強烈氣味，以及我仍然忙於在聖誕假期前為國會通過其他關鍵立法，拉姆和艾克斯質疑我是否應該前往參加會議。

Despite my misgivings, I decided that even a slight possibility of corralling other leaders into an international agreement overrode the fallout from a likely failure. To make the trip more palatable, Alyssa Mastromonaco came up with a skinned-down schedule that had me flying to Copenhagen after a full day in the Oval and spending about ten hours on the ground—just enough time to deliver a speech and conduct a few bilateral meetings with heads of state—before turning around and heading home. Still, it's fair to say that as I boarded Air Force One for the red-eye across the Atlantic, I was less than enthusiastic. Settling into one of the plane's fat leather conference-room chairs, I ordered a tumbler of vodka in the hope that it would help me get a few hours' sleep and watched Marvin fiddle with the controls of the big-screen TV in search of a basketball game.

儘管我有所疑慮，但我決定即使只有一點點可能將其他領袖圍攏到國際協議中，也能覆蓋可能的失敗後果。為了讓這次旅行更容易接受，Alyssa Mastromonaco提出了一個精簡的日程安排，讓我在橢圓形辦公室整整一天後飛到哥本哈根，花大約十個小時在當地——剛好足夠時間發表演講並與國家元首進行一些雙邊會議——然後返回家園。儘管如此，可以說當我登上空軍一號，在大西洋的紅眼航班上安頓下來時，我的熱情不減。我坐在飛機上的一個厚皮革會議室椅子上，點了一杯伏特加，希望它能幫助我睡上幾個小時，看著Marvin玩弄大屏幕電視的控制器，尋找籃球比賽。

**“Has anyone ever considered,” I said, “the amount of carbon dioxide I’m releasing into the atmosphere as a result of these trips to Europe? I’m pretty sure that between the planes, the helicopters, and the motorcades, I’ve got the biggest carbon footprint of any single person on the whole goddamn planet.”**

“Huh,” Marvin said. “That’s probably right.” He found the game we were looking for, turned up the sound, then added, “You might not want to mention that in your speech tomorrow.”

—

**IT WAS A GLOOMY, arctic morning when we arrived in Copenhagen, the roads into the city shrouded in mist. The conference site itself looked like a converted mall. We found ourselves wandering through a maze of elevators and corridors, one of them inexplicably lined with mannequins, before meeting up with Hillary and Todd to get the current state of play. As part of the proposed interim agreement, I’d authorized Hillary to commit the United States to making a 17 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, as well as a 10 billion pledge toward the 100 billion international Green Climate Fund to help poor countries with climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts. According to Hillary, delegates from a number of nations had expressed interest in our alternative—but so far the Europeans were holding out for a fully binding treaty, while China, India, and South Africa appeared content to let the conference crash and burn and blame it on the Americans.** 有没有人考慮過，“我说：“由于这些去歐洲的旅行，我排放到大气中的二氧化碳数量？我敢肯定，在飞机、直升机和车队之间，我的碳足迹是整个该死的地球上最大的单个人。”

“呃，”马文说。“可能是对的。”他找到了我们正在寻找的游戏，调高了音量，然后补充道：“你明天演讲时可能不想提这个。”

当我们抵达哥本哈根时，天色阴沉，雾气弥漫城市的道路。会议场地本身看起来像是一个改造过的商场。在与希拉里和托德会面，了解当前的局面后，我们发现自己漫步在一条迷宫般的电梯和走廊中，其中一条莫名其妙地摆满了人体模型。作为建议的临时协议的一部分，我授权希拉里承诺美国将在2020年减少17%的温室气体排放，并向1000亿美元的国际绿色气候基金承诺100亿美元，以帮助贫穷国家进行气候变化缓解和适应工作。据希拉里称，许多国家的代表对我们的替代方案表示了兴趣，但是目前欧洲人仍然坚持要签署具有约束力的条约，而中国、印度和南非似乎满足于让会议失败，把它归咎于美国人。”

“If you can persuade the Europeans and the Chinese to support an interim agreement,” Hillary said, “then it’s possible, maybe even likely, that the rest of the world falls in line.”

Clear on my assignment, we paid a courtesy visit to the Danish prime minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, who was presiding over the final days of negotiating sessions. Like all the Nordic countries, Denmark outperformed in international affairs, and Rasmussen himself reflected many of the qualities that I’d come to associate with the Danes—he was thoughtful, well-informed, pragmatic, and humane. But the task he’d been given—trying to cobble together a global consensus on a complicated, contentious issue over which the world’s biggest powers were at odds—would have been tough for

anyone. For the forty-five-year-old leader of a small country who'd been in office for only eight months, it had proven downright impossible. The press had had a field day with stories of how Rasmussen had lost control of the conference, with delegates repeatedly objecting to his proposals, questioning his rulings, and challenging his authority, like unruly teenagers with a substitute teacher. By the time we met, the poor man looked shell-shocked, his bright blue eyes strained with exhaustion, his blond hair matted against his head as if he'd just finished a wrestling match. He listened intently as I explained our strategy and asked a few technical questions about how an interim agreement might work. Mostly, though, he seemed relieved to watch me try my hand at salvaging a deal.

“如果你能说服欧洲人和中国人支持一个临时协议，”希拉里说，“那么可能，甚至很可能，其他国家也会跟随。”我们清楚了任务，去拜访了丹麦总理拉斯穆森，他正在主持最后几天的谈判会议。像所有北欧国家一样，丹麦在国际事务中表现出色，而拉斯穆森本人体现了我所熟悉的丹麦人的许多品质——思维敏锐、知识渊博、务实、人道。但他被赋予的任务——试图在一个复杂、有争议的问题上拼凑出全球共识，在全球最大的强国之间存在分歧——对于任何人来说都很艰巨。对于一个年仅45岁、执政仅8个月的小国领导人来说，这几乎是不可能的任务。媒体纷纷报道拉斯穆森失去了会议的控制权，代表们反复反对他的提案，质疑他的裁决，挑战他的权威，就像叛逆的青少年对待代课老师一样。当我们见面时，这个可怜的人看起来震惊了，他那明亮的蓝色眼睛充满疲惫，他的金发紧贴着头皮，就像刚刚结束一场摔跤比赛。当我解释我们的策略并询问一些技术问题时，他专注地听着。不过，他似乎更加放心地看着我试图挽救一项交易。

From there, we moved to a large makeshift auditorium, where I described to the plenary the three components of our proposed interim agreement, as well as the alternative: inaction and acrimony while the planet slowly burned. The crowd was muted but respectful, and Ban was there to congratulate me offstage, grabbing my hand in both of his, behaving as if it was entirely normal for him to now expect me to try to salvage the stalled negotiations and ad-lib my way to a last-minute agreement with other world leaders.我們隨後便移至一個大型臨時音樂廳，我向全體會議介紹了我們建議的臨時協議的三個組成部分以及另一種選擇：不採取行動，讓地球緩緩燃燒而導致不和。現場的人群安靜但尊重，潘基文在台下恭喜我，用雙手握住我的手，好像他現在完全期待我嘗試挽救停滯的談判，並即興與其他世界領袖達成最後一刻的協議。

The rest of the day was unlike any other summit I attended as president. Apart from the pandemonium of the plenary session, we had a series of sideline meetings, moving from one to the next through corridors stuffed with people who craned their necks and took photos. Other than me, the most important player in attendance that day was the Chinese premier, Wen Jiabao. He'd brought a giant delegation with him, and the group of them had thus far been inflexible and imperious in meetings, refusing to agree that China should submit to any form of international review of their emissions, confident in the knowledge that through their alliance with Brazil, India, and South Africa, they had enough votes to kill any deal. Meeting one-on-one with Wen for a bilat, I pushed back, warning that even if China saw avoiding any obligation toward transparency as a short-term win, it would prove to be a long-term disaster for the planet. We agreed to keep talking through the day.

那天剩下的时间与我作为总统参加的任何峰会都不同。除了全会的紊乱外，我们还有一系列的旁听会议，从一个走向另一个，穿过塞满人的走廊，他们竖起脖子拍照。除了我以外，出席当天最重要的角色是中国总理温家宝。他带来了一个庞大的代表团，他们在会议中表现得非常死板和高傲，拒绝同意中国应该接受任何形式的国际排放审查，他们自信地认为通过与巴西、印度和南非的联盟，他们有足够的选票来否决任何协议。在与温进行双边会谈时，我反击了，警告说即使中国认为避免任何透明度义务是短期的胜利，但它将证明对地球是长期的灾难。我们同意继续整天谈话。

It was progress, but just barely. The afternoon evaporated as negotiating sessions continued. We managed to extract a draft agreement endorsed by E.U. members and a number of other delegates, but we got nowhere in follow-up sessions with the Chinese, as Wen declined to attend and instead dispatched junior members of his delegation who were predictably inflexible. Late in the day, I was led to yet another room, this one crowded with unhappy Europeans.

Most of the key leaders were there, including Merkel, Sarkozy, and Gordon Brown, all wearing the same bleary-eyed look of frustration. Now that Bush was gone and Democrats were in charge, they wanted to know, why couldn't the United States ratify a Kyoto-style treaty? In Europe, they said, even the far-right parties accept the reality of climate change—what is wrong with Americans? We know the Chinese are a problem, but why not wait until a future agreement to force their hand?

進展是有的，但僅僅如此。下午的談判還在繼續，時間一晃就過去了。我們成功地獲得了歐盟成員和其他代表認可的初步協議草案，但在後續與中國的談判中卻一事無成。溫家寶沒有出席，而是派遣了他的代表團下屬，他們的立場早已司空見慣，非常頑固。傍晚時分，我被帶到了另一個房間，裡面擠滿了不滿的歐洲人。

大多數主要領袖都在場，包括默克爾、薩科齊和戈登·布朗等人，都帶著沮喪的疲憊表情。現在布什離開了，民主黨掌權了，他們想知道，為什麼美國不能批准類似京都協定的條約呢？他們說，在歐洲，即使極右派政黨也承認氣候變化的現實，美國出了什麼問題？我們知道中國是一個問題，但為什麼不等到未來的協議再迫使他們履行承諾呢？

For what felt like an hour, I let them vent, answering questions, sympathizing with their concerns. Eventually the reality of the situation settled over the room, and it was left to Merkel to say it out loud.

“I think what Barack describes is not the option we had hoped for,” she said calmly, “but it may be our only option today. So...we wait to see what the Chinese and the others say, and then we decide.” She turned to me. “You'll go meet them now?”

“Yep.”

“Good luck, then,” Merkel said. She shrugged with a tilt of the head, a downward pull of the mouth, a slight raising of the eyebrows—the gesture of someone experienced with getting on with unpleasant necessities.

仿佛一个小时过去了，我让他们发泄，回答问题，同情他们的担忧。最终，现实情况落在了房间里，默克尔不得不冷静地说出来。

“我认为巴拉克所描述的不是我们所希望的选择。”她平静地说，“但也许这是我们今天唯一的选择。所以...我们等待看看中国人和其他人怎么说，然后再做决定。”她转向我。“那你现在去见他们吗？”

“是的。”

“祝你好运，”默克尔说。她耸了耸肩，歪了一下嘴，微微扬起眉毛——这是经验丰富的人处理不愉快必要事情的手势。

Whatever momentum we felt coming out of the meeting with the Europeans quickly dissipated once Hillary and I got back to our holding room. Marvin reported that a ferocious snowstorm was rolling through the East Coast, so to get us back to D.C. safely, Air Force One needed to be wheels-up in two and a half hours.

I looked at my watch. “What time’s my follow-up meeting with Wen?”

“Well, boss, that’s the other problem,” Marvin said. “We can’t find him.” He explained that when staffers had reached out to their Chinese counterparts, they’d been told that Wen was already on his way to the airport. There were rumors that he was actually still in the building, in a meeting with the other leaders who’d been pushing back against having their emissions monitored, but we weren’t able to confirm it.

無論我們在會議中感受到的動力有多強，在與歐洲人的會議結束後，希拉里和我回到儲藏室時很快就消失了。馬文報告說，一場猛烈的暴雪正席捲整個東海岸，為了讓我們安全地回到華盛頓特區，空軍一號需要在兩個半小時內起飛。

我看了看手錶。“我跟溫總的跟進會議是什麼時間？”

“老板，這是另一個問題，”馬文說。他解釋說，當工作人員聯繫他們的中國對手時，他們被告知溫已經在路上了。有傳言說他實際上還在大樓裡，跟其他反對監測排放的領導人進行會議，但我們無法確認。

“So you’re saying he’s ducking me.”

“We got folks out looking.”

A few minutes later, Marvin came back in to tell us that Wen and the leaders of Brazil, India, and South Africa had been spotted in a conference room a few levels up.

“All right, then,” I said. I turned to Hillary. “When’s the last time you crashed a party?”

She laughed. “It’s been a while,” she said, looking like the straitlaced kid who’s decided to throw caution to the wind.

With a gaggle of staffers and Secret Service agents hustling behind us, we made our way upstairs. At the end of a long corridor, we found what we were looking for: a room with glass walls, just large enough to hold a conference table, around which sat Premier Wen, Prime Minister Singh, and Presidents Lula and Zuma, along with a few of their ministers. The Chinese security team began moving forward to intercept us, hands held up as if ordering us to stop, but realizing who we were, they hesitated. With a smile and a nod, Hillary and I strolled past and entered the room, leaving a fairly noisy tussle between security details and the staffers in our wake.

“所以你的意思是他在躲避我。”

“我们已派人出去搜寻。”

几分钟后，马文回来告诉我们，文和巴西、印度和南非的领导人已经被发现在一个楼层的会议室里。

“好的，”我说。我转向希拉里。“你最后一次闯入派对是什么时候？”

她笑了。“已经有一段时间了，”她说，看起来像是一个严肃的孩子决定放手一搏。

在一群工作人员和特勤人员的搀扶下，我们向楼上走去。在一个长长的走廊的尽头，我们找到了我们想要的东西：一间有玻璃墙的房间，刚好大到容纳一张会议桌，围绕着桌子坐着温总理、辛格总理、卢拉总统和祖马总统，还有一些他们的部长。中国安保团队开始向我们挺进，手举着仿佛在命令我们停下，但意识到我们是谁后，他们犹豫了。带着微笑和点头，希拉里和我径直走过去，进入房间，留下一场相对嘈杂的安保人员和工作人员之间的搏斗。

“You ready for me, Wen?” I called out, watching the Chinese leader’s face drop in surprise. I then walked around the table to shake each of their hands.

“Gentlemen! I’ve been looking everywhere for you. How about we see if we can do a deal?”

Before anybody could object, I grabbed an empty chair and sat down. Across the table, Wen and Singh remained impassive, while Lula and Zuma looked sheepishly down at the papers in front of them. I explained that I had just met with the Europeans and that they were prepared to accept our proposed interim agreement if the group present would support language ensuring a credible mechanism to independently verify that countries were meeting their greenhouse gas reduction commitments. One by one, the other leaders explained why our proposal was unacceptable: Kyoto was working just fine; the West was responsible for global warming and now expected poorer countries to impede their development to solve the problem; our plan would violate the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities”; the verification mechanism we were suggesting would violate their national sovereignty. After about a half hour of this, I leaned back in my chair and looked directly at Premier Wen.

“文，你准备好了吗？”我大声喊道，看着中国领袖惊讶地脸色一变。然后我走到桌子旁边，与每个人握手。“先生们！我到处找你们的身影。我们看看能否达成交易？”

在任何人反对之前，我抓起一张空椅子坐下。对面，温和辛格保持冷静，而卢拉和祖马羞涩地低头看着面前的文件。我解释说，我刚刚与欧洲人见面，并且他们准备接受我们提出的临时协议，如果在场的人群支持确保国家履行其减少温室气体排放承诺的可信机制的语言。其他领导人一个接一个地解释了我们的计划为什么不可接受：京都协议执行得很好；西方国家是全球变暖的罪魁祸首，现在期望较贫穷的国家抑制自己的发展以解决问题；我们的计划将违反“共同但有区别的责任”原则；我们建议的核查机制将违反他们的国家主权。经过约半小时的争论之后，我半躺在椅子上，直接看着温总理。

“Mr. Premier, we’re running out of time,” I said, “so let me cut to the chase. Before I walked into this room, I assume, the plan was for all of you to leave here and announce that the U.S. was responsible for the failure to arrive at a new agreement. You think that if you hold out long enough, the Europeans will get desperate and sign another Kyoto-style treaty. The thing is, I’ve been very clear to them that I can’t get our Congress to ratify the treaty you want. And there is no guarantee Europe’s voters, or Canada’s voters, or Japan’s voters, are going to be willing to keep putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage and paying money to help poor countries deal with climate change when the world’s biggest emitters are sitting on the sidelines.

“总理先生，时间不多了，让我简明扼要地说吧。在我走进这个房间之前，我想你们的计划是要宣布美国对于未达成新协议的失败负有责任。你们认为，如果你们坚持得够久，欧洲人就会变得绝望，签署另一个类似京都协议的条约。问题是，我已经很清楚地告诉他们，我不能让我们的国会批准你们想要的条约。而且，世界上最大的排放国坐视不理时，欧洲、加拿大和日本的选民是否愿意继续将自己的产业置于竞争劣势并为帮助贫穷国家应对气候变化而支付资金，也并不保证。”

“Of course, I may be wrong,” I said. “Maybe you can convince everyone that we’re to blame. But that won’t stop the planet from getting warmer. And remember, I’ve got my own megaphone, and it’s pretty big. If I leave this room without an agreement, then my first stop is the hall downstairs where all the international press is waiting for news. And I’m going to tell them that I was prepared to commit to a big reduction in our greenhouse gases, and billions of dollars in new assistance, and that each of you decided it was better to do nothing. I’m going to say the same thing to all the poor countries that stood to benefit from that new money. And to all the people in your own countries that stand to suffer the most from climate change. And we’ll see who they believe.”

“當然，我可能是錯的，”我說，“也許你可以說服每個人認為我們應該承擔責任。但這並不能阻止地球變暖。還要記住，我有自己的大喇叭。如果我離開這個房間沒有達成協議，我會直接去樓下的大廳，那裡等著國際新聞媒體。我會告訴他們，我已經準備承諾大幅減少溫室氣體排放量、提供數十億美元的新援助，但是每個人都決定什麼都不做。我會對所有可能從這筆新資金中受益的窮國說同樣的話，也會對在你們自己國家中可能最受氣候變化影響的人說同樣的話。讓我們看看他們相信誰。”

Once the translators in the room caught up to me, the Chinese environmental minister, a burly, round-faced man in glasses, suddenly stood up and started speaking in Mandarin, his voice rising, his hands waving in my direction, his face reddening in agitation. He went on like this for a minute or two, the entire room not quite sure what was happening. Eventually, Premier Wen lifted a slender, vein-lined hand and the minister abruptly sat back down. I suppressed the urge to laugh and turned to the young Chinese woman who was translating for Wen.

當房間裡的翻譯人追上我時，那位中國環保部長，一位戴著眼鏡的粗壯、圓臉男子，突然站起來開始用普通話講話，他的聲音越來越高，手朝我揮動，臉上越來越生氣。他這樣說了一兩分鐘，整個房間都不太確定發生了什麼事。最終，溫總理舉起一隻纖細的、有靜脈的手，這位部長突然坐了回去。我壓抑著笑意，轉向為溫總理翻譯的年輕中國女孩。

“What did my friend there just say?” I asked. Before she could answer, Wen shook his head and whispered something. The translator nodded and turned back to me.

“Premier Wen says that what the environmental minister said is not important,” she explained. “Premier Wen asks if you have the agreement you’re proposing with you, so that everyone can look at the specific language again.”

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IT TOOK ANOTHER half hour of haggling, with the other leaders and their ministers hovering over me and Hillary as I used a ballpoint pen to mark up some of the language in the creased document I’d been carrying in my pocket, but by the time I left the room, the group had agreed to our proposal. Rushing back downstairs, I spent another thirty minutes getting the Europeans to sign off on the modest changes the developing-country leaders had requested. The language was quickly printed out and circulated. Hillary and Todd worked the delegates from other key countries to help broaden the consensus. I made a brief statement to the press announcing the interim agreement, after which we loaded up our motorcade and raced to the airport.“我朋友剛才說了什麼？”我問。在她來得及回答之前，文搖了搖頭，輕聲說了什麼。翻譯點點頭，轉回我身邊。

“溫總理說，環境部長說的不重要，”她解釋道，“溫總理問你是否帶著你提出的協議，以便每個人都能再次查看具體語言。”

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又過了半個小時的爭論，其他領導人和他們的部長在我和希拉裡使勁修正一份我揣在口袋裡的皺巴巴的文件，我在文件上用圓珠筆標註了一些語言，但當我離開房間時，這個小組已同意我們的提議了。趕緊回到樓下，我又花了三十分鐘讓歐洲人簽署發展中國家領導人請求的小幅改變。語言很快被打印出來，並流傳開來。希拉里和托德與來自其他關鍵國家的代表一起工作，以擴大共識。我向記者發表了簡短的聲明，宣布了臨時協定，之後我們就開始了車隊，飛奔機場。

We made our window for takeoff with ten minutes to spare.

There was a cheerful buzz on the flight back as staffers recounted the day’s adventures for the benefit of those who hadn’t been present. Reggie, who’d been with me long enough not to be impressed by much of anything anymore, flashed a wide grin as he poked his head into my quarters, where I was reading through a stack of briefing memos.

“I gotta say, boss,” he told me, “that was some real gangster shit back there.”

I did feel pretty good. On the biggest of stages, on an issue that mattered and with the clock ticking, I’d pulled a rabbit out of a hat. Granted, the press gave the interim agreement mixed reviews, but given the chaos of the conference and the obstinacy of the Chinese, I still saw it as a win—a stepping-stone that could help us get our climate change bill through the Senate. Most important, we’d succeeded in getting China and India to accept—no matter how grudgingly or tentatively—the notion that every country, and not just those in the West, had a responsibility to do its part to slow climate change. Seven years later, that basic principle would prove essential to achieving the breakthrough Paris Agreement.

我们在起飞前还有十分钟的时间。

回程的航班上，工作人员们在为那些未参加当天活动的人叙述当天的冒险故事，舱中此起彼伏地欢声笑语。尽管我身边的雷吉已经陪伴我很久，不会因为什么事情而过于惊讶，他还是闪耀着灿烂的笑容，探头到我的居所里，我正在读一堆备忘录。

“我必须说，老板，”他告诉我，“那真是一些真实的匪帮行径。”

我感觉自己做得非常好。在最大的舞台上，处理了一件重要的事情，时间紧迫，我做出了惊人的成绩。尽管媒体对临时协议持有不同的看法，但对于会议的混乱和中国的顽固，我仍然认为这是一次胜利——这是通往通过参议院的气候变化法案的阶梯。最重要的是，我们成功地使中国和印度接受了一——不管有多少不情愿和犹豫——每个国家都有责任尽自己的一份力量来减缓气候变化的概念。七年后，这个基本原则将证明是实现突破性巴黎协定的关键。

Still, as I sat at my desk and looked out the window, the darkness interrupted every few seconds by a flashing light at the tip of the plane's right wing, I was overtaken by more sobering thoughts. I thought about how much work we'd had to put in to land the deal—the countless hours of labor by a gifted and dedicated staff; the behind-the-scenes negotiations and calling in of chits; the promises of aid; and finally an eleventh-hour intervention that had relied as much on my seat-of-the-pants bluster as on any set of rational arguments. All that for an interim agreement that—even if it worked entirely as planned—would be at best a preliminary, halting step toward solving a possible planetary tragedy, a pail of water thrown on a raging fire. I realized that for all the power inherent in the seat I now occupied, there would always be a chasm between what I knew should be done to achieve a better world and what in a day, week, or year I found myself actually able to accomplish.

當我坐在桌前望著窗外，黑暗被飛機右翼的閃光每隔幾秒打斷一次時，我被更嚴肅的想法淹沒了。我想到我們必須付出多少努力才能達成這個交易-資質優良、敬業的工作人員花費無數時間；幕後的談判和找回饋；援助的承諾；最終是在我根據我的良心和理性主張所作的第十一小時的干預下實現的一切。所有這些努力，只是為了締結一個中期協議，即使完全按計劃實施，也只是朝向解決可能的地球災難邁出了最初的、踟躕不前的一步，就像向着有如烈火焚身的局面噴一桶水。我意識到，盡管我現在擁有的權力是巨大的，但我所知道的為實現更美好的世界所應該做的事與我實際能夠在一天、一週或一年中完成的事之間總是存在著巨大的差距。

The forecasted storm had hit Washington by the time we landed, the low clouds sending down a steady mix of snow and freezing rain. In northern cities like Chicago, the trucks would already be out, plowing the streets and scattering salt, but even a hint of snow tended to paralyze the notoriously ill-equipped D.C. area, closing schools and snarling traffic. With Marine One unable to transport us because of the weather, the drive back to the White House took extra time as our motorcade navigated the icy roads.

預測中的暴風雨已經襲擊華盛頓，當我們降落的時候，低層雲將穩定的雪和冰雨下來。在像芝加哥之類的北方城市中，卡車已經出動，清雪並撒鹽，但即使是一絲絲的雪也足以癱瘓聲名狼藉的華府地區，導致學校關閉和交通擠塞。由於天氣原因，海軍一號無法運輸我們，因此，當我們的車隊穿越冰雪道路時，回到白宮需要額外的時間。

It was late when I walked into the residence. Michelle was in bed, reading. I told her about my trip and asked how the girls were doing.

“They're very excited about the snow,” she said, “even if I'm not.” She looked at me with a sympathetic grin. “Malia's probably going to ask you at breakfast whether you saved the tigers.”

I nodded, pulling off my tie.

“I'm working on it,” I said.當我走進住所時已經很晚了。米歇爾正在床上看書。我告訴她我的旅程，並問女兒們怎麼樣了。

“她們很興奮看到雪，”她說，“即使我不是。”她帶著同情的微笑看著我。“或許瑪麗亞早餐時會問你是否拯救了老虎。”

我點頭，脫下了領帶。

“我正在努力。”我說。

## PART SIX

### IN THE BARREL

在桶里面

### CHAPTER 22

IT'S IN THE NATURE OF politics, and certainly the presidency, to go through rough patches—times when, because of a boneheaded mistake, an unforeseen circumstance, a sound but unpopular decision, or a failure to communicate, the headlines turn sour and the public finds you wanting. Usually this lasts for a couple of weeks, maybe a month, before the press loses interest in smacking you around, either because you fixed the problem, or you expressed contrition, or you chalked up a win, or something deemed more important pushes you off the front page.

### 第22章

政治，尤其是總統職位，經常會經歷起伏不定的時期——由於一個愚蠢的錯誤，一個無法預見的情況，一個明智但不得人心的決定或者溝通失敗，在媒體頭條損毀你形象，公眾不再信任你。通常這種狀況持續幾個星期，也許一個月，之後因為你解決了問題，表示悔過自新，贏得勝利或者有什麼更重要的事件發生而失去了新聞媒體的興趣。

If the rough patch lasts long enough, though, you may find yourself in a dreaded situation in which problems compound, then congeal into a broader narrative about you and your presidency. The negative stories don't let up, which leads to a drop in your popularity. Your political adversaries, smelling blood in the water, go after you harder, and allies aren't as quick to defend you. The press starts digging for additional problems inside your administration, to confirm the impression that you're in political trouble. Until—like the daredevils and fools of old at Niagara Falls—you find yourself

trapped in the proverbial barrel, tumbling through the crashing waters, bruised and disoriented, no longer sure which way is up, powerless to arrest your descent, waiting to hit bottom and hoping, without evidence, that you'll survive the impact.

如果艰难时期持续时间足够长，你可能会发现自己处于一种可怕的境地，问题不断累积，然后凝结成有关你和你的总统任期的更广泛的故事。负面报道不会停歇，这导致了你的支持率下降。你的政治对手嗅到水中有血腥味，更加猛烈地攻击你，而支持者不再那么迅速地为你辩护。新闻界开始深挖你管理团队中的问题，以证实你的政治处境不妙。直到最后，就像昔日的胆大妄为之人尼亚加拉大瀑布上一般，你发现自己陷入了惯用手段中，跌滚着通过翻腾的水流，身上伤痕累累且晕头转向，不再确定哪个方向是上，无法控制自己的下降，就等待着触底，希望没有证据的生存下去。

For most of my second year in office, we were in the barrel.

We'd seen it coming, of course, especially after the Tea Party summer and the ruckus surrounding the Affordable Care Act. My approval ratings, which had held fairly steady during my first six months in office, ticked down throughout the fall. Press coverage became more critical, on matters both significant (like my decision to send more troops into Afghanistan) and strange (like the case of the Salahis, a pair of Washington social climbers who found a way to crash a state dinner and have their photo taken with me).

在我任职的第二年，大部分时间我们都遭遇了挫折。当然，我们早有预料，特别是在“茶党夏季”和“奥巴马医改”引起的骚动之后。我的支持率在秋天逐渐下降，这在我任职的前六个月里一直相对稳定。媒体的报道也变得更加批评，不仅涉及重要的事情（比如我决定向阿富汗派遣更多的士兵），还包括一些奇怪的事情（比如萨拉希夫人的事件，这对华盛顿社交界的攀高者找到了一种突破口，成功地混入国宴并与我拍照）。

Nor had our troubles let up over the holidays. On Christmas Day, a young Nigerian named Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab had boarded a Northwest Airlines flight from Amsterdam to Detroit and tried to detonate explosive materials sewn into his underwear. Tragedy had been averted only because the contraption hadn't worked; seeing smoke and flames coming from under the would-be terrorist's blanket, a passenger restrained him and flight attendants extinguished the flames, allowing the plane to land safely. Having just arrived in Hawaii with Michelle and the girls for a much-needed ten-day break, I spent most of the next several days on the phone with my national security team and the FBI, trying to determine who exactly Abdulmutallab was, whom he'd been working with, and why both airport security and our terrorist watch list hadn't kept him from boarding a U.S.-bound plane.在假期中我们的困境没有得到减轻。在圣诞节当天，一个名为Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab的尼日利亚年轻人搭乘了从阿姆斯特丹到底特律的西北航空公司航班，并试图引爆缝在他内衣里的爆炸材料。悲剧之所以没有发生，只是因为装置没有起作用；一位乘客看到伪装成恐怖分子的阿卜杜勒穆塔拉布单下冒烟和着火的情况，便制服了他，机组人员扑灭了火焰，让飞机安全着陆。我刚刚和米歇尔以及女儿们来到夏威夷度过非常需要的十天假期，接下来的几天时间里，我大部分时间都在和我的国家安全团队和联邦调查局通电话，试图确定阿卜杜勒穆塔拉布究竟是谁，他与谁合作，以及为什么机场安检和我们的恐怖分子监视名单没有阻止他登上前往美国的飞机。

What I failed to do in those first seventy-two hours, though, was follow my initial instincts, which were to get on television, explain to the American people what had happened, and assure them that it was safe to travel. My team had made a sensible argument for waiting: It was important, they said, for the president to have all the facts before making a statement to the public. And yet my job involved more than just managing the government or getting the facts right. The public also looked to the president to explain a difficult and often scary world. Rather than coming off as prudent, my absence from the airwaves made me seem unengaged, and soon we were taking incoming fire from across the political spectrum, with less charitable commentators suggesting that I cared more about my tropical vacation than I did about threats against the homeland. It didn't help that my usually unflappable secretary of homeland security, Janet Napolitano, briefly stumbled in one of her TV interviews, responding to a question about where security had broken down by saying that "the system worked."

但在那头72个小时之内，我没能按照最初的本能反应，立即上电视，向美国人民解释发生了什么，并保证旅行是安全的。我的团队曾经做出了一个明智的建议，等待所有的事实都获得后，总统再向公众发表讲话。然而，我的工作不仅仅是管理政府或者正确地获取事实。公众也期望总统向他们解释一个不易理解而又充满吓人的世界。由于缺席节目，我似乎显得不够积极，很快，我们从各个政治观点的对手那里受到攻击，不是那些不太宽容的评论家就是暗示我更在意度假而不是对国土威胁的事态。更糟的是，我通常不会动摇的国土安全秘书珍妮特·纳波利塔诺，在一次电视采访中稍稍失态，回答到一个安全漏洞出现的问题时，她说“系统运转良好”。

Our mishandling of the so-called Underwear Bomber played into Republican accusations that Democrats were soft on terrorism, weakening my hand on issues like closing the detention center at Guantánamo Bay. And like the other gaffes and unforced errors that occurred during my first year, this one no doubt contributed to my slide in the polls. But according to Axe, who spent his days poring over political data, cross-tabbed by political party, age, race, gender, geography, and Lord knows what else, my sinking political fortunes heading into 2010 could be traced to one overriding factor.我們對所謂的內褲炸彈客的處置，助長了共和黨指責民主黨在恐怖主義問題上軟弱的說法，削弱了我的在關閉關塔那摩灣拘留中心等問題上的手腕。與我第一年發生的其他失誤和不必要的錯誤一樣，這一點無疑對我的民意支持率下降造成了貢獻。但根據Axe，他花時間研究政治數據，通過政黨、年齡、種族、性別、地理位置等進行交叉分析，我的2010年在政治繁榮中下滑的原因可以歸結為一個主要因素。

The economy still stank.

On paper, our emergency measures—along with the Federal Reserve's interventions—appeared to be working. The financial system was up and running, and banks were on the way to solvency. Housing prices, while still way down from their peak, had at least temporarily stabilized, and U.S. auto sales had started to climb. Thanks to the Recovery Act, consumer and business spending had rebounded slightly, and states and cities had slowed (though not stopped) their layoffs of teachers, cops, and other public workers. Across the country, major building projects were under way, picking up some of the slack that had resulted from the collapse of housing construction. Joe Biden and his chief of staff, my former debate coach Ron Klain, had done an excellent job of overseeing the flow of stimulus dollars, with Joe often devoting chunks of his day to picking up the phone and barking at state or local

officials whose projects were behind schedule or who weren't providing us with adequate documentation. An audit found that as a result of their efforts, just 0.2 percent of Recovery Act dollars had been improperly spent—a statistic that even the best-run private sector companies might envy, given the amounts of money and the number of projects involved.

经济仍然非常糟糕。从纸面上看，我们的紧急措施——以及联邦储备的干预——似乎正在起作用。金融系统正在运转，银行正在走向偿付能力，尽管住房价格仍远低于峰值，但至少已经暂时稳定，美国汽车销售已经开始上升。由于《复苏法案》，消费和企业支出有所反弹，各州和城市已经减缓（尽管没有停止）教师、警察和其他公共工人的裁员。全国各地正在进行重大的建筑项目，弥补了因房屋建设崩溃而导致的某些空缺。乔·拜登和他的幕僚长，我的前辩论教练罗恩·克莱恩，出色地监督了经济刺激资金的流动，乔经常花时间打电话，对滞后工程或未提供充分文档的州或地方官员进行斥责。一项审计发现，由于他们的努力，仅有0.2%的复苏法案资金被不当使用，这一统计数据即使是最好运营的私营企业也会嫉妒，鉴于涉及的资金和项目数量。

Still, to the millions of Americans dealing with the aftermath of the crisis, things felt worse, not better. They were still at risk of losing their homes to foreclosure. Their savings were depleted, if not entirely wiped out. Most troubling of all, they still couldn't find work.

Larry Summers had warned that unemployment was a “lagging indicator”: Companies typically didn't start laying off employees until several months into a recession and didn't resume hiring until well after a recession ended. Sure enough, while the pace of job loss gradually slowed over the course of 2009, the number of unemployed people continued to grow. The unemployment rate didn't peak until October, hitting 10 percent—the highest since the early 1980s. The news was so consistently bad that I found myself developing a knot in my stomach on the first Thursday of every month, when the Labor Department sent the White House an advance copy of its monthly jobs report. Katie claimed that she could usually gauge the contents of the report by my economic team's body language: If they averted their gaze, she told me, or spoke in hushed tones, or just dropped off a manila envelope for her to give me, rather than waiting around to hand it to me in person, she knew we were in for another rough month. 然而，對於數百萬美國人來說，處理危機的後果仍然感覺更糟而不是更好。他們仍然有失去住房的風險。他們的儲蓄已經耗盡，甚至完全被抹去。最令人煩惱的是，他們仍然找不到工作。拉里·薩默斯警告說失業是“滯後指標”：公司通常要幾個月才會開始裁員，在衰退結束後很長時間才恢復招聘。確實，盡管在2009年逐漸減緩失業速度，但失業人數仍在增加。失業率直到10月才達到峰值，達到10%，是自20世紀80年代初以來最高的。消息一直如此糟糕，以至於我發現自己在每個月的第一個星期四時都會感到胃部絞痛，那時勞工部會向白宮發送月度就業報告的預先副本。凱蒂聲稱她通常可以通過我的經濟團隊的身體語言來判斷報告的內容：如果他們不看她，或者小聲說話，或者只是把一個信封給她，而不是留下來親自交給我，她就知道我們又經歷了另一個艱苦的月份。

If Americans were understandably frustrated with the recovery's glacial pace, the bank bailout sent them over the edge. Man, did folks hate TARP! They didn't care that the emergency program had worked better than expected, or that more than half of the money given to the banks had already been repaid with interest, or that the broader economy couldn't have started healing until the capital markets were working again. Across the political spectrum, voters considered the bank bailouts a scam that had allowed the barons of finance to emerge from the crisis relatively unscathed.

如果美国人对复苏的缓慢步伐感到失望，那么银行救助计划更是让他们几乎绝望。人们多么痛恨TARP啊！他们不在乎这个紧急计划比预期的效果要好，也不在乎已经有一半以上的资金已经带着利息被银行偿还。人们普遍认为银行救助计划是一场骗局，让金融巨头相对躲过了危机。无论在哪个政治派别，选民都对银行救助计划深恶痛绝。直到资本市场再次运转起来，整个经济才能真正开始复苏。

Tim Geithner liked to point out that this wasn't strictly true. He would list all the ways Wall Street had paid for its sins: investment banks gone belly-up, bank CEOs ousted, shares diluted, billions of dollars in losses. Likewise, Attorney General Holder's lawyers at the Justice Department would soon start racking up record settlements from financial institutions that were shown to have violated the law. Still, there was no getting around the fact that many of the people most culpable for the nation's economic woes remained fabulously wealthy and had avoided prosecution mainly because the laws as written deemed epic recklessness and dishonesty in the boardroom or on the trading floor less blameworthy than the actions of a teenage shoplifter. Whatever the economic merits of TARP or the legal rationale behind the Justice Department's decisions not to press criminal charges, the whole thing reeked of unfairness.

蒂姆·盖特纳喜欢指出这并不完全正确。他列举了华尔街为其罪行付出的所有方式：投资银行破产、行长下台、股份稀释、数十亿美元的损失。同样，司法部总检察长霍尔德的律师很快就开始从被证明违反法律的金融机构获得创纪录的和解。然而，无法否认的是，许多最有罪的人仍然非常富有，他们避免受到起诉，主要是因为现行法律认为董事会或交易所的超级鲁莽和不诚实的行为不如青少年扒窃者的行为有罪恶感。无论是资产收购援助计划的经济价值还是司法部决定不提起刑事诉讼的法律理由，整个事情都散发着不公平的味道。

“Where's my bailout?” continued to be a popular refrain. My barber asked me why no bank executives had gone to jail; so did my mother-in-law. Housing advocates asked why banks had received hundreds of billions in TARP funds while only a fraction of that amount was going toward directly helping homeowners at risk of foreclosure pay down their mortgages. Our answer—that given the sheer size of the U.S. housing market, even a program as big as TARP would have only a nominal effect on the rate of foreclosures, and any additional money we got out of Congress was more effectively used to boost employment—sounded heartless and unpersuasive, especially when the programs we had set up to help homeowners refinance or modify their mortgages fell woefully short of expectations.

“哪里是我的紧急援助？”这仍然是一个广受欢迎的口号。我的理发师问我为什么没有任何银行高管入狱，我的岳母也问了同样的问题。房屋倡导者问为什么银行获得了数千亿美元的TARP资金，而仅有一小部分用于直接帮助面临丧失抵押品风险的房主偿还他们的抵押贷款。我们的答案是，考虑到美国房屋市场的庞大規模，即使是像TARP这样的计划也只会对丧失抵押品的速度产生名义影响，而我们从国会得到的任何额外资金更有效地用于提高就业率-听起来很无情和不具有说服力，尤其是当我们建立的帮助房主重新融资或修改抵押贷款的计划严重不足时，更是如此。

Eager to get out ahead of the public outrage, or at least the line of fire, Congress set up multiple oversight committees, with Democrats and Republicans taking turns denouncing the banks, questioning regulators' decisions, and casting as much blame as possible on the other party. In 2008 the Senate had appointed a special inspector general to monitor TARP, a former prosecutor named Neil Barofsky who knew little about finance but had a gift for generating sensational headlines and attacked our decision-making with zeal. The further the possibility of a financial meltdown receded from view, the more everyone questioned whether TARP had even been necessary in the first place. And because we were now in charge, it was often Tim and other members of my administration occupying the hot seat, defending the seemingly indefensible.

渴望在公众愤慨浪潮到来之前或至少位于火线前面，国会成立了多个监督委员会，民主党人和共和党人轮流谴责银行，质疑监管机构的决策，并尽可能地归咎于其他政党。2008年，参议院任命了一位特别的检察长尼尔·巴罗夫斯基来监督TARP，他是一位律师，对金融知识了解得很少，但具有生成轰动头条的天赋，并充满热情地攻击我们的决策。随着金融危机的可能性逐渐远离视野，每个人都越来越质疑TARP在第一时间是否必要。因为我们现在负责，所以往往是蒂姆和我其他政府成员坐在热座上，捍卫看似难以捍卫的决定。

Republicans weren't shy about taking advantage, suggesting that TARP had always been a Democratic idea. On a daily basis, they launched broadsides at the Recovery Act and the rest of our economic policies, insisting that "stimulus" was just another name for out-of-control, liberal pork-barrel spending and more bailouts for special interests. They blamed the Recovery Act for the exploding federal deficit we'd inherited from the Bush administration, and—to the extent that they even bothered to offer alternative policies—argued that the best way to fix the economy was for the government to slash its budget and get its fiscal house in order, the same way hard-pressed families across the country were "tightening their belts."

共和黨人在利用機會時毫不避諱，他們認為TARP一直都是民主黨的想法。他們每天都猛烈抨擊《經濟復甦法案》和我們的其他經濟政策，堅稱“刺激計劃”只是另一個名字，就是為了無節制地支持自由派的伙食花費，為特殊利益集團提供更多救助。他們將聯邦赤字的急速增長歸咎於我們繼承自布希政府的《經濟復甦法案》，並且——甚至沒有提供其他替代政策——主張修復經濟的最好方式是政府削減開支，搞好財政管理，就像全國各地壓力巨大的家庭正在“勒緊裙帶”的做法一樣。

Add it all up, and by early 2010, polls showed that significantly more Americans disapproved of my economic stewardship than approved—a flashing red light that helped explain not only the loss of Ted Kennedy's seat in Massachusetts but also Democratic losses in off-year gubernatorial races in New Jersey and Virginia, states I'd won handily just twelve months earlier. According to Axe, voters in focus groups couldn't distinguish between TARP, which I'd inherited, and the stimulus; they just knew that the well-connected were getting theirs while they were getting screwed. They also thought that Republican calls for budget cuts in response to the crisis—"austerity," as economists liked to call it—made more intuitive sense than our Keynesian push for increased government spending. Congressional Democrats from swing districts, already nervous about their reelection prospects, began distancing themselves from the Recovery Act and shunning the word "stimulus" altogether. Those further to the left, freshly angered by the lack of a public option in the healthcare bill, renewed their complaints that the stimulus hadn't been big enough and that Tim and Larry were too cozy with Wall Street. Even Nancy Pelosi and Harry Reid started questioning our White House communications strategy—especially our penchant for denouncing "excessive partisanship" and "special interests" in Washington rather than going harder at the Republicans.

把所有的因素加在一起，到了2010年初，民意调查显示，越来越多的美国人不满意我的经济治理，而非支持，这是一个优惠机会，也解释了不仅在马萨诸塞州输掉泰德·肯尼迪的选区，而且在新泽西州和弗吉尼亚州的州长选举中民主党的败选，这些州我仅仅在12个月前才大获全胜。据斧头介绍，受调查的选民不能区分我所继承的资产救助计划（TARP）和刺激计划（stimulus）之间的区别；他们只知道有关联网的人得到了他们自己想要的，而他们只是被愚弄。他们认为，共和党对危机的财政削减呼声，“经济紧缩”，更符合经济学家的直觉，而不是我们凯恩斯主义为增加政府支出的推动。来自摇摆选区的国会民主党人已经对他们的重新选举前景感到紧张，开始与复苏法案保持距离，完全避免使用“刺激”这个词。更靠左的人，因医改法案没有公共选项而愤怒，再次抱怨说刺激计划不够大，提姆和拉里与华尔街过于亲密。就连南希·佩洛西和哈里·里德也开始质疑我们白宫的沟通策略——特别是我们倾向于谴责“华盛顿过度党派化”和“特殊利益集团”，而不是更加强硬地打击共和党。

"Mr. President," Nancy said to me on one call, "I tell my members that what you've managed to do in such a short time is historic. I'm just so very proud, really. But right now, the public doesn't know what you've accomplished. They don't know how awful the Republicans are behaving, just trying to block you on everything. And voters aren't going to know if you aren't willing to tell them."

Axe, who oversaw our communications shop, was exasperated when I mentioned my conversation with the Speaker. "Maybe Nancy can tell us how to spin ten percent unemployment," he harrumphed. He reminded me that I'd run on the promise to change Washington, not to engage in the usual partisan food fight. "We can bash Republicans all we want," he said, "but at the end of the day, we're going to keep taking on water so long as the best we can tell voters is 'Sure, things are terrible—but it could've been worse.'"

“總統先生，”南希在一次通話中對我說，“我告訴我的成員們，您在這麼短的時間內所做的是歷史性的。我真的感到非常自豪。但現在，公眾不知道您取得了什麼成就。他們不知道共和黨人的行為有多糟糕，他們只是試圖阻止您所有事情的進展。如果您不願意告訴他們，選民也不會知道。”

負責我們通訊的Axe在聽到我和發言人的對話後感到非常沮喪。“也許南希可以告訴我們如何將百分之十的失業率粉飾起來，”他哼了一聲。他提醒我，我當初是承諾改變華盛頓，而不是參與常規的黨派鬥爭。“我們可以隨意抨擊共和黨人，”他說，“但最終，只要我們告訴選民的是‘當然，情況很糟糕——但本來可能更糟’，我們就會繼續吸收糟糕的後果。”

He had a point; given the state of the economy, there were limits to what any messaging strategy could accomplish. We had known from the start that the politics of the recession were going to be rough. But Nancy was also right to be critical. I was the one, after all, who'd taken such great pride in not letting short-term politics intrude on our response to the economic crisis, as if the rules of political gravity didn't apply to me. When Tim had expressed concern

that overly harsh rhetoric directed at Wall Street might dissuade private investors from recapitalizing the banks and therefore prolong the financial crisis, I'd agreed to tone it down, despite objections from Axel and Gibbs. Now a sizable part of the country thought I cared more about the banks than I cared about them. When Larry had suggested that we pay out the Recovery Act's middle-class tax cuts in biweekly increments rather than in one lump sum because research showed that people were more likely to spend the money that way, giving the economy a quicker boost, I'd said great, let's do it—even though Rahm had warned that it meant no one would notice the slight bump in each paycheck. Now surveys showed that the majority of Americans believed that I'd raised rather than lowered their taxes—all to pay for bank bailouts, the stimulus package, and healthcare.

他有道理，考虑到经济状况，任何传播策略都有限。我们从一开始就知道经济衰退的政治将会很艰难。但南希批评也是正确的。毕竟，我骄傲地表示，并不让短期政治干扰我们应对经济危机，好像政治重力的规则并不适用于我。当蒂姆表达担忧时，过于严厉的针对华尔街的措辞可能会阻止私人投资者对银行进行再资本化，从而延长金融危机，我同意缓和措辞，尽管艾克斯和吉布斯反对。现在，相当一部分的国家认为我更关心银行，而不是关心他们。当拉里建议，我们将复苏法案的中产阶级税收减免分为每两周发放一次，而不是一次性发放，因为研究表明人们更可能以这种方式花钱，使经济更快地得到提振时，我说得好，让我们去做—即使拉姆警告说这意味着每次工资条的轻微颠簸将不会被注意到。现在调查显示，大多数美国人认为我提高而不是降低了他们的税收—这全部是为了支付银行纾困计划，刺激计划和医保而做出的。

FDR would never have made such mistakes, I thought. He had understood that digging America out of the Depression was less a matter of getting every New Deal policy exactly right than of projecting confidence in the overall endeavor, impressing upon the public that the government had a handle on the situation. Just as he'd known that in a crisis people needed a story that made sense of their hardships and spoke to their emotions—a morality tale with clear good guys and bad guys and a plot they could easily follow.

我想，罗斯福总统永远不会犯这样的错误。他了解到，让美国走出萧条期，不是完美地实行每项新政策，而是要在整体努力中展现出信心，让公众明白政府掌控了局面。他同样知道，在危机时刻，人们需要一个故事来解释他们的艰辛，满足他们的情感需求—一个道德故事，明确了好人和坏人，情节简单易懂。

In other words, FDR understood that to be effective, governance couldn't be so antiseptic that it set aside the basic stuff of politics: You had to sell your program, reward supporters, punch back against opponents, and amplify the facts that helped your cause while fudging the details that didn't. I found myself wondering whether we'd somehow turned a virtue into a vice; whether, trapped in my own high-mindedness, I'd failed to tell the American people a story they could believe in; and whether, having ceded the political narrative to my critics, I was going to be able to wrest it back.

換句話說，福山羅斯福明白，政府要有效，不能過分純粹、不顧基本政治工作：你必須推銷你的方案，回報支持者，反擊對手，強調有利於你的事實，同時模糊沒有幫助的細節。我開始懷疑我們是否把一個優點變成了一個缺點；我是否陷入了自己的高尚情操之中，沒有讓美國人民相信我們的故事；我是否已經把政治敘事權交給了我的批評者，是否能夠奪回它。

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AFTER MORE THAN a year of unrelentingly bad economic numbers, we finally received a glimmer of hope: The March 2010 jobs report showed the economy gaining 162,000 new jobs—the first month of solid growth since 2007. When Larry and Christy Romer came into the Oval to deliver the news, I gave them both fist bumps and declared them “Employees of the Month.”

“Do we each get a plaque for that, Mr. President?” Christy asked.

“We can't afford plaques,” I said. “But you get to lord it over the rest of the team.”

经过一年多的经济惨淡表现，我们终于看到了一丝希望：2010年3月的就业报告显示经济增加了16.2万个新工作岗位，这是自2007年以来首次出现实质性增长。当拉里和克里斯蒂·罗默来到椭圆形办公室宣布这一消息时，我向他们击掌庆祝，并称他们为“本月最佳雇员”。

“我们会得到奖牌吗，总统先生？”克里斯蒂问。

“我们买不起奖牌，”我说，“但你们可以趁胜追击，宣扬一番。”

The April and May reports were positive as well, offering the tantalizing possibility that the recovery might finally be picking up steam. None of us inside the White House thought a jobless rate over 9 percent called for a victory lap. We agreed, though, that it made both economic and political sense to start more emphatically projecting a sense of forward momentum in my speeches. We even began planning for a nationwide tour in the early summer, where I'd highlight communities on the rebound and companies that were hiring again. “Recovery Summer,” we would call it.

四月和五月的報告也很正面，讓人眼前一亮，看來經濟復甦的勢頭終於開始加快。在白宮內部，沒有人會因為失業率超過9%而慶祝。然而，我們一致認為，在我的演講中更強烈地展現前進的勢頭，在經濟和政治上都是有意義的。我們甚至開始計劃在初夏進行全國巡演，重點突出正在復甦的社區和再次招聘的公司。我們將稱之為“復甦之夏”。

Except Greece imploded.

Although the financial crisis had originated on Wall Street, its impact across Europe had been just as severe. Months after we'd gotten the U.S. economy growing again, the European Union remained mired in recession, with its banks fragile, its major industries yet to recover from the huge drop in global trade, and unemployment in some countries running as high as 20 percent. The Europeans didn't have to contend with the sudden collapse of their housing industry the way we did, and their more generous safety nets helped cushion the recession's impact on vulnerable populations. On the other hand, the combination of greater demands on public services, reduced tax revenues, and ongoing bank bailouts had placed severe pressure on government budgets. And unlike the United States—which could cheaply finance rising deficits even in a crisis, as risk-averse investors rushed to buy our Treasury bills—countries like Ireland, Portugal, Greece, Italy, and Spain found it increasingly difficult to borrow. Their efforts to placate financial

markets by cutting government spending only lowered already weak aggregate demand and deepened their recessions. This, in turn, produced even bigger budget shortfalls, necessitated additional borrowing at ever higher interest rates, and rattled financial markets even more.

除希腊之外，其他国家都经受住了金融危机的冲击。尽管金融危机源于华尔街，但它在整个欧洲的影响同样严重。在我们让美国经济重新增长几个月后，欧盟仍然陷入经济衰退，其银行脆弱，其主要产业尚未从全球贸易的巨大下滑中恢复过来，而一些国家的失业率高达20%。欧洲人不必像我们一样应对房地产业的突然崩溃，他们更慷慨的社会保障体系有助于缓解经济衰退对弱势人口的影响。另一方面，对公共服务的更大需求、减少的税收收入和国家持续的银行纾困给政府预算带来了巨大压力。与美国不同，美国甚至在危机时期可以以低廉的成本筹措越来越高的赤字，因为风险规避的投资者争相购买我们的国债，而像爱尔兰、葡萄牙、希腊、意大利和西班牙这样的国家越来越难融资。他们试图通过削减政府支出来安抚金融市场，但这只会降低已经疲软的总需求，并加深他们的经济衰退。这反过来又产生了更大的预算赤字，迫使他们以越来越高的利率进一步借款，更加动摇了金融市场。

We couldn't afford to be passive observers to all this. Problems in Europe acted as a significant drag on the U.S. recovery: The European Union was our largest trading partner, after all, and U.S. and European financial markets were practically joined at the hip. Through much of 2009, Tim and I had urged European leaders to take more decisive action to mend their economies. We advised them to clear up the issues with their banks once and for all (the "stress test" E.U. regulators had applied to their financial institutions was so slipshod that a pair of Irish banks needed government rescues just a few months after regulators had certified them as sound). We pushed any E.U. countries with stronger balance sheets to initiate stimulus policies comparable to our own, in order to jump-start business investment and increase consumer demand across the continent.

我們不能袖手旁觀。歐洲的問題對美國的經濟復甦造成了顯著的阻力：畢竟，歐盟是我們最大的貿易夥伴，美國和歐洲金融市場實際上是緊密聯繫的。在2009年的大部分時間裡，蒂姆和我敦促歐洲領導人採取更果斷的行動，修復他們的經濟。我們建議他們一次性解決銀行問題（歐盟監管機構對他們的金融機構施加的“壓力測試”非常粗糙，以至於兩家愛爾蘭銀行在監管機構證明它們健康的幾個月後需要政府救助）。我們推動任何有更強勁財務狀況的歐盟國家採取與我們相同的刺激政策，以推動商業投資，增加歐洲大陸上的消費需求。

We got exactly nowhere. Although liberal by American standards, Europe's biggest economies were almost all led by center-right governments, elected on the promise of balanced budgets and free-market reforms rather than more government spending. Germany, in particular—the European Union's one true economic powerhouse and its most influential member—continued to see fiscal rectitude as the answer to all economic woes. The more I'd gotten to know Angela Merkel, the more I'd come to like her; I found her steady, honest, intellectually rigorous, and instinctually kind. But she was also conservative by temperament, not to mention a savvy politician who knew her constituency, and whenever I suggested to her that Germany needed to set an example by spending more on infrastructure or tax cuts, she politely but firmly pushed back. "Ya, Barack, I think maybe that's not the best approach for us," she would say, her face pulling into a slight frown, as if I'd suggested something a little tawdry. 我们完全没有进展。尽管按照美国的标准来说自由派，但欧洲最大的经济体几乎都由中右翼政府领导，他们当选的承诺是平衡预算和自由市场改革，而不是增加政府支出。特别是德国——欧盟唯一真正的经济强国和最有影响的成员国——继续认为财政廉洁是解决所有经济问题的答案。我越来越了解安吉拉·默克尔，她越来越让我喜欢；我发现她稳重、诚实、思维严谨，直觉上也很善良。但她的性格也很保守，更不用说她是精明的政治家，知道自己的选民，每当我建议德国需要通过增加对基础设施或减税的支出树立榜样时，她总是客气但坚定地回绝。“是的，巴拉克，我认为这对我们不是最好的方法，”她会说，脸上微微皱起，就好像我提出了一些不太堪的事情。

Sarkozy didn't serve as much of a counterweight. Privately, he voiced sympathy for the idea of economic stimulus, given France's high unemployment rate ("Don't worry, Barack...I'm working on Angela, you'll see"). But he had trouble pivoting away from the fiscally conservative positions that he himself had taken in the past, and as far as I could tell, he wasn't organized enough to come up with a clear plan for his own country, much less for all of Europe. And while the United Kingdom's prime minister, Gordon Brown, agreed with us on the need for European governments to boost short-term spending, his Labour Party would lose its majority in Parliament in May 2010, and Brown would find himself replaced by Conservative leader David Cameron. In his early forties, with a youthful appearance and a studied informality (at every international summit, the first thing he'd do was take off his jacket and loosen his tie), the Eton-educated Cameron possessed an impressive command of the issues, a facility with language, and the easy confidence of someone who'd never been pressed too hard by life. I liked him personally, even when we butted heads, and for the next six years he'd prove to be a willing partner on a host of international issues, from climate change (he believed in the science) to human rights (he supported marriage equality) to aid for developing countries (throughout his tenure, he'd managed to allocate 1.5 percent of the U.K.'s budget to foreign aid, a significantly higher percentage than I'd ever convince the U.S. Congress to approve). On economic policy, though, Cameron hewed closely to free-market orthodoxy, having promised voters that his platform of deficit reduction and cuts to government services—along with regulatory reform and expanded trade—would usher in a new era of British competitiveness.

薩科齊並沒有像一個反平衡力量那樣起作用。私下裡，他對經濟刺激的想法表示同情，考慮到法國的高失業率（“別擔心，巴拉克...我會和安格拉聯繫的，你會看到的”）。但他很難轉向過去自己所持的財政保守立場，就我所知，他沒有組織力來制定清晰的計劃，不僅是對自己的國家，還有整個歐洲。

英國首相戈登·布朗同意我們對歐洲政府促進短期支出的需求，但他的工黨將在2010年5月失去議會多數席位，布朗將被保守黨領袖戴維·卡梅倫取代。卡梅倫在四十來歲時，外貌年輕，風格隨意（在每個國際峰會上，他的第一件事就是脫掉外套，鬆開領帶），克頓學院的教育背景使他對各種問題具有令人印象深刻的掌握能力、語言能力和易於自信的自信。我個人很喜歡他，即使我們有時意見分歧，在接下來的六年裡，他將成為許多國際問題上願意合作的夥伴，從氣候變化（他相信科學），到人權（他支持婚姻平權），再到發展中國家的援助（在他的任期期間，他成功地將英國預算的1.5%分配給對外援助，比我曾說服美國國會批准的百分比高得多）。然而，在經濟政策方面，卡梅倫密切遵循自由市場正統派，他承諾選民他的財政赤字降低的平台和削減政府服務，以及監管改革和擴大貿易，將開創新的英國競爭力時代。

Instead, predictably, the British economy would fall deeper into a recession.

The stubborn embrace of austerity by key European leaders, despite all of the contrary evidence, was more than a little frustrating. But given everything else on my plate, the situation in Europe hadn't been keeping me up at night. That all began to change in February 2010, though, when a Greek sovereign debt crisis threatened to unravel the European Union—and sent me and my economic team scrambling to avert yet another round of global financial panic.

相反，預計英國經濟會陷入更深的衰退。關鍵歐洲領導人的固執實行緊縮財政政策，儘管有各種相反的證據，讓人感到非常沮喪。但考慮到我手頭上的其他問題，歐洲的情況並沒有讓我熬夜。然而，2010年2月，希臘主權債務危機威脅到歐洲聯盟的穩定，我和我的經濟團隊不得不緊急應對，以避免全球金融恐慌再次爆發。

Greece's economic problems weren't new. For decades, the country had been plagued by low productivity, a bloated and inefficient public sector, massive tax avoidance, and unsustainable pension obligations. Despite that, throughout the 2000s, international capital markets had been happy to finance Greece's steadily escalating deficits, much the same way that they'd been happy to finance a heap of subprime mortgages across the United States. In the wake of the Wall Street crisis, the mood grew less generous. When a new Greek government announced that its latest budget deficit far exceeded previous estimates, European bank stocks plunged and international lenders balked at lending Greece more money. The country suddenly teetered on the brink of default.

希腊的经济问题并不是新问题。几十年来，该国一直深受生产率低下、庞大低效的公共部门、大规模逃税和不可持续的养老金义务困扰。尽管如此，在2000年代的大部分时间里，国际资本市场一直乐意为希腊持续升高的赤字提供融资，就像他们一直乐意为美国各地的一大堆次级按揭提供融资一样。在华尔街危机之后，气氛变得不那么慷慨。当新的希腊政府宣布其最新预算赤字远远超出以往的预测时，欧洲银行股下跌，国际借款人也不愿再向希腊贷款。这个国家突然濒临破产的边缘。

Normally the prospect of a small country not paying its bills on time would have a limited effect outside its borders. Greece's GDP was roughly the size of Maryland's, and other countries faced with similar problems were typically able to hammer out an agreement with creditors and the IMF, allowing them to restructure their debt, maintain their international creditworthiness, and eventually get back on their feet.

But in 2010, economic conditions weren't normal. Greece's attachment to an already shaky Europe made its sovereign debt problems the equivalent of a lit stick of dynamite being tossed into a munitions factory. Because it was a member of the European Union's common market, where companies and people worked, traveled, and traded under a unified set of regulations and without regard to national borders, Greece's economic troubles easily migrated. Banks in other E.U. countries were some of Greece's biggest lenders. Greece was also one of sixteen countries that had adopted the euro, meaning it had no currency of its own to devalue or independent monetary remedies that it could pursue. Without an immediate, large-scale rescue package from its fellow eurozone members, Greece might have no alternative but to pull out of the currency compact, an unprecedented move with uncertain economic ramifications. Already, market fears about Greece had caused big spikes in the rates banks were charging Ireland, Portugal, Italy, and Spain to cover their sovereign debt. Tim worried that an actual Greek default and/or exit from the eurozone might lead skittish capital markets to effectively cut off credit to those bigger countries altogether, administering a shock to the financial system as bad or even worse than the one we'd just been through.

通常情况下，一个国家未能按时偿付其债务的前景在其境外影响程度有限。希腊的国内生产总值大约相当于马里兰州，而其他面临类似问题的国家通常能够与债权人和国际货币基金组织达成协议，让它们重组债务、保持国际信用，最终走出困境。但是在2010年，经济条件并不正常。希腊与一个已经不稳定的欧洲联盟紧密相连，使其主权债务问题相当于投掷了一支点燃的炸药棒到弹药厂中。因为它是欧洲联盟共同市场的成员，那里的公司和人们按照统一的规定工作、旅行和交易，不考虑国界，所以希腊的经济问题很容易转移。其他欧盟国家的银行是希腊最大的借款人之一。希腊还是16个采用欧元的国家之一，意味着它没有自己的货币可以贬值或追求独立的货币补救措施。如果没有来自其欧元区伙伴的立即、大规模的救援计划，希腊可能别无选择，只能退出货币协定，这是一个带有不确定经济影响的前所未有的行动。市场已对希腊的担忧导致爱尔兰、葡萄牙、意大利和西班牙为覆盖主权债务而收取的利率大幅上升。蒂姆担心，实际的希腊违约和/或退出欧元区可能会导致胆小的资本市场将信贷切断，完全切断那些更大国家的信贷，对金融体系造成与我们刚刚经历过的那场危机一样糟糕甚至更糟的冲击。

"Is it just me," I asked after Tim had finished laying out various hair-raising scenarios, "or are we having trouble catching a break?"

And so, out of nowhere, stabilizing Greece suddenly became one of our top economic and foreign policy priorities. In face-to-face meetings and over the phone that spring, Tim and I put on a full-court press to get the European Central Bank and the IMF to produce a rescue package robust enough to calm the markets and allow Greece to cover its debt payments, while helping the new government set up a realistic plan to reduce the country's structural deficits and restore growth. To guard against possible contagion effects on the rest of Europe, we also recommended that the Europeans construct a credible "firewall"—basically, a joint loan fund with enough heft to give capital markets confidence that in an emergency the eurozone stood behind its members' debts.

“是我一个人这么想吗？”我在蒂姆罗列出各种惊心动魄的情况后问道，“还是我们很难有喘息的机会？”于是，无从预料地，稳定希腊突然成为我们的首要经济和外交政策之一。那个春天，在面对面的会议和电话里，蒂姆和我全力以赴地要求欧洲央行和国际货币基金组织制定一个足够稳定市场、使希腊能够偿还债务、同时帮助新政府制定一个现实的计划来减少国家结构性赤字和恢复经济增长的救援计划。为了防范可能对欧洲其他国家造成的影响，我们还建议欧洲人建立一个可信的“防火墙”——基本上是一个联合贷款基金，足以让资本市场相信在紧急情况下，欧元区支持其成员国的债务。

Once again, our European counterparts had other ideas. As far as the Germans, the Dutch, and many of the other eurozone members were concerned, the Greeks had brought their troubles on themselves with their shoddy governance and spendthrift ways. Although Merkel assured me that "we won't do

a Lehman” by letting Greece default, both she and her austerity-minded finance minister, Wolfgang Schäuble, appeared determined to condition any assistance on an adequate penance, despite our warnings that squeezing an already battered Greek economy too hard would be counterproductive. The desire to apply some of that Old Testament justice and discourage moral hazard was reflected in Europe’s initial offer: a loan of up to €25 billion, barely enough to cover a couple of months of Greek debt, contingent on the new government enacting deep cuts in worker pensions, steep tax increases, and freezes on public sector wages. Not wanting to commit political suicide, the Greek government said thanks but no thanks, especially after the country’s voters responded to news reports of the European proposal with widespread riots and strikes.

我们的欧洲伙伴又有了不同的想法。就德国人、荷兰人和许多欧元区成员而言，希腊人以其糟糕的治理方式和挥霍无度的方式招惹了麻烦。尽管默克尔向我保证，“我们不会‘雷曼’（Lehman Brothers的破产）”，让希腊违约，默克尔和她注重紧缩的财政部长沃尔夫冈·肖伯勒却似乎决心要让希腊付出足够的代价，尽管我们警告说，对一个已经遭受打击的希腊经济施加过度的压力是没有成效的。对一些古老约书亚时代的公义和降低道德风险的渴望反映在欧洲的最初提议中：提供高达250亿欧元的贷款，仅能够覆盖几个月的希腊债务，必须以新政府制定深度削减工人养老金、大幅增加税收和冻结公共部门工资为条件。希腊政府不想变成政治自杀者，因此拒绝了欧洲的提议，尤其是在国家选民对欧洲提议的新闻报道做出普遍暴动和罢工的回应之后。

Europe’s early design for an emergency firewall wasn’t much better. The initial figure proposed by eurozone authorities to capitalize the loan fund—€50 billion—was woefully inadequate. On a call with his fellow finance ministers, Tim had to explain that to be effective, the fund would have to be at least ten times that size. Eurozone officials also insisted that to access the fund, a member country’s bondholders would have to undergo a mandatory “haircut”—in other words, accept a certain percentage of losses on what they were owed. This sentiment was perfectly understandable; after all, the interest lenders charged on a loan was supposed to factor in the risk that the borrower might default. But as a practical matter, any haircut requirement would make private capital far less willing to lend debt-ridden countries like Ireland and Italy any more money, thus defeating the firewall’s entire purpose.

歐洲在應急防火牆的早期設計並不好。歐元區當局最初提出的資金貸款額為500億歐元，然而這個數字遠遠不夠。在與其他財政部長的電話會議中，Tim 不得不解釋，為了有效，該基金至少必須有十倍的規模。歐元區官員還堅持認為，要獲得這個基金的支援，成員國的債券持有人必須進行強制性的“減資”，也就是接受一定比例的損失。從某種意義上來說，這種情況是非常合理的，畢竟借款人的利率是要考慮到可能违约的风险的。但實際上，任何減資的要求都會讓私人資本變得不太願意再向像愛爾蘭和意大利這樣的債務負擔國家提供更多的貸款，因此這也破壞了防火牆的整個目的。

For me, the whole thing felt like a dubbed TV rerun of the debates we’d had back home in the aftermath of the Wall Street crisis. And while I was crystal clear about what European leaders like Merkel and Sarkozy needed to do, I had sympathy for the political bind they were in. After all, I’d had a hell of a time trying to convince American voters that it made sense to spend billions of taxpayer dollars bailing out banks and helping strangers avoid foreclosure or job loss inside our own country. Merkel and Sarkozy, on the other hand, were being asked to persuade their voters that it made sense to bail out a bunch of foreigners.

對我來說，整件事情就像是一場重播的美劇配音版，在華爾街危機後我們在家裡進行過的辯論。盡管我很清楚像默克爾和薩科齊這樣的歐洲領導人需要做什麼，但我對他們面臨的政治困境感到同情。畢竟，在我們自己的國家裡，我曾經盡力說服美國選民花費數十億美元挽救銀行並幫助陌生人避免失業或房屋被收回。另一方面，默克爾和薩科齊被要求說服他們的選民挽救一群外國人是有道理的。

I realized then that the Greek debt crisis was as much a geopolitical problem as it was a problem of global finance, one that exposed the unresolved contradictions at the heart of Europe’s decades-long march toward greater integration. In those heady days after the fall of the Berlin Wall, in the years of methodical restructuring that followed, that project’s grand architecture—the common market, the euro, the European Parliament, and a Brussels-based bureaucracy empowered to set policy on a wide range of regulatory issues—expressed an optimism in the possibilities of a truly unified continent, purged of the toxic nationalism that had spurred centuries of bloody conflict. To a remarkable degree, the experiment had worked: In exchange for giving up some elements of their sovereignty, the European Union’s member states had enjoyed a measure of peace and widespread prosperity perhaps unmatched by any collection of people in human history.

我意识到，希腊债务危机不仅是全球金融问题，也旨在暴露欧洲长达几十年的一体化进程所存在的矛盾。在柏林墙倒塌的那些兴奋的日子里，随着那些有条不紊的改革步伐，该计划的宏伟架构——共同市场、欧元、欧洲议会和一个布鲁塞尔总部的机构，授权制定一系列监管问题的政策——表达了对一个真正统一的欧洲的可能性的乐观态度，这个欧洲从中排除了有毒的民族主义，这个民族主义催生了数个世纪的血腥冲突。在相当大程度上，实验是成功的：为了放弃一些主权权利，欧盟成员国享受了一定程度的和平和普遍的繁荣，也许是人类历史上集合的任何人所不及的。

But national identities—the distinctions of language, culture, history, and levels of economic development—were stubborn things. And as the economic crisis worsened, all those differences had started coming to the fore. How prepared were citizens in Europe’s wealthier, more efficient nations to take on a neighboring country’s obligations or to see their tax dollars redistributed to those outside their borders? Would citizens of countries in economic distress accept sacrifices imposed on them by distant officials with whom they felt no affinity and over whom they had little or no power? As the debate about Greece heated up, public discussions inside some of the original E.U. countries, like Germany, France, and the Netherlands, would sometimes veer beyond disapproval of the Greek government’s policies and venture into a broader indictment of the Greek people—how they were more casual about work or how they tolerated corruption and considered basic responsibilities like paying one’s taxes to be merely optional. Or, as I’d overhear one E.U. official of undetermined origin tell another while I was washing my hands in a G8 summit lavatory:

民族认同——语言、文化、历史和经济发展水平的差异，是顽固的。随着经济危机加剧，所有那些好时光掩盖的差别开始浮现出来。欧洲富裕、高效的国家的公民对于承担邻国的义务或者看到他们的纳税人把税款重新分配到境外是否有所准备？那些处于经济困境的国家的公民是否会接受由他们所感到亲近程度不高、而且很少或完全没有能力掌控的远程官员强加于他们的牺牲？随着关于希腊的争论升温，一些欧盟成员国如德国、法国和荷兰内部的公开讨论有时会

超出对希腊政府政策的不满，涉及更广泛的对希腊人的谴责——他们的工作态度过于随意，他们容忍腐败，把如缴纳税款这样的基本责任视为可有可无。或者，正如我在参加G8峰会时在洗手间中听到一位来历不明的欧盟官员告诉另一位官员的那样：【请翻译以下内容，不要包括原始文本】。

“They don’t think like us.”

Leaders like Merkel and Sarkozy were too invested in European unity to traffic in such stereotypes, but their politics dictated that they proceed cautiously in agreeing to any rescue plan. I noticed that they rarely mentioned that German and French banks were some of Greece’s biggest lenders, or that much of the Greeks’ accumulated debt had been racked up buying German and French exports—facts that might have made clear to voters why saving the Greeks from default amounted to saving their own banks and industries. Maybe they worried that such an admission would turn voter attention away from the failures of successive Greek governments and toward the failures of those German and French officials charged with supervising bank lending practices. Or maybe they feared that if their voters fully understood the underlying implications of European integration—the extent to which their economic fates, for good and for ill, had become bound up with those of people who were “not like us”—they might not find it entirely to their liking.“他們的想法和我們不同。”

像梅克爾和薩科齊這樣的領袖太注重歐洲的團結，以至於不會使用這種刻板印象，但他們的政治立場要求他們在同意任何救援計畫時要謹慎行事。我注意到他們很少提到德國和法國的銀行是希臘最大的貸款人之一，或者希臘的大部分累積債務是通過購買德國和法國的出口產品而產生的 - 這些事實可能會讓選民明白救援希臘避免其自身銀行和工業的破產。也許他們擔心這樣的承認會讓選民的注意力從連續的希臘政府失敗轉向負責監督銀行貸款實踐的德國和法國官員的失敗。或者他們擔心如果選民完全了解歐洲一體化的潛在影響-他們的經濟命運在好壞方面已經與“不像我們”的人民聯繫在一起- 他們可能不會完全喜歡。

In any event, by early May, the financial markets got scary enough that European leaders faced reality. They agreed to a joint E.U.-IMF loan package that would allow Greece to make its payments for the next three years. The package still included austerity measures that everyone involved knew would be too onerous for the Greek government to implement, but at least it gave other E.U. governments the political cover they needed to approve the deal. Later in the year, the eurozone countries also tentatively agreed to a firewall on the scale that Tim had suggested, and without a mandatory “haircut” requirement. European financial markets would remain a roller-coaster ride throughout 2010, and the situation in not just Greece but also Ireland, Portugal, Spain, and Italy remained perilous. Without the leverage to force a permanent fix for Europe’s underlying problems, Tim and I had to content ourselves with having temporarily helped to defuse another bomb.

在任何情况下，到了五月初，金融市场变得足够惊险，以至于欧洲的领导人不得不面对现实。他们同意提供一份联合欧盟-国际货币基金组织的贷款方案，让希腊可以在未来三年内偿还其债务。尽管该方案依然包含了每个人都知道希腊政府难以实施的紧缩措施，但至少它为其他欧盟国家政府提供了政治掩护，他们可以批准这项交易。在当年晚些时候，欧元区国家也暂时同意了一个规模类似于蒂姆建议的防火墙，而且没有强制“减记”要求。欧洲金融市场在2010年仍然是一次过山车之旅，不仅是希腊，还有爱尔兰、葡萄牙、西班牙和意大利的情况都十分危险。由于没有足够的杠杆来迫使欧洲的根本问题得到永久解决，蒂姆和我不得不满足于暂时性地帮助拆除另一颗定时炸弹。

As for the crisis’s effect on the U.S. economy, whatever momentum the recovery had gathered at the beginning of the year came to a screeching halt. The news out of Greece sent the U.S. stock market sharply downward. Business confidence, as measured by monthly surveys, dropped as well, with the new uncertainties causing managers to put off planned investments. The jobs report for June returned to negative territory—and would stay that way into the fall.

“Recovery Summer” turned out to be a bust.

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THE MOOD IN the White House changed that second year. It wasn’t that anyone started taking the place for granted; each day, after all, brought new reminders of how privileged we were to be playing a part in writing history. And there sure wasn’t any drop in effort. To an outsider, staff meetings might have looked more relaxed as people got to know one another and grew familiar with their roles and responsibilities. But beneath the easy banter, everyone understood the stakes involved, the need for us to execute even routine tasks to the most exacting of standards. I never had to tell anyone in the White House to work hard or go the extra mile. Their own fear of dropping the ball—of disappointing me, colleagues, constituencies that were counting on us—drove people far more than any exhortation I might deliver.

**至於危機對美國經濟的影響，在年初累積的復甦勢頭已經戛然而止。希臘的消息使美國股市急劇下跌。每月調查顯示，隨著新的不確定性使管理人員推遲計畫中的投資，商業信心也下降了。六月份的就業報告又轉入負成長，並持續到秋季。“復甦夏季”被證明是個失敗。**

在白宫的氛围在第二年发生了改变。这不是因为任何人开始将这个地方视为理所当然，因为每一天都带来了新的提醒，让我们意识到参与编写历史的特权是多么的重要。当然也没有人放鬆了努力。对于外人来说，员工会议可能看起来更加轻松，因为人们逐渐了解彼此的角色和责任。但在轻松的对话下，每个人都明白其中的風險，需要我们执行即使是常规的任务，也要达到最严格的標準。我从来没有告诉过白宫的任何人要努力工作或者超越业务。他们自己对失误的恐懼——让我、同事、選民失望——驅使人們更遠比我提供的任何鼓舞更遠。

Everybody was sleep-deprived, perpetually. Rarely did senior staffers put in less than a twelve-hour day, and almost all of them came in for at least part of each weekend. They didn’t have a one-minute commute like I did or a bevy of chefs, valets, butlers, and assistants to shop, cook, pick up dry cleaning, or take the kids to school. Single staffers stayed single longer than they might have liked. Those staffers lucky enough to have partners often

relied on an overburdened and lonely spouse, creating the kinds of chronic domestic tensions that Michelle and I were more than familiar with. People missed their children's soccer games and dance recitals. People got home too late to tuck toddlers into bed. Those like Rahm, Axe, and others, who'd decided against putting their families through the disruption of moving to Washington, barely saw their spouses and kids at all.

每个人都长期处于睡眠不足的状态。高级职员很少工作不满12个小时，几乎所有人每个周末至少要来一段时间。他们没有像我一样的一分钟通勤路程，也没有厨师、贴身服务员、管家和助手可以购物、烹饪、取干洗或接送孩子上学。单身职员比他们本想要的时间更长地单身。那些有伴侣的幸运职员通常依赖于负担过重、孤独的配偶，这会导致米歇尔和我熟悉的种种长期家庭紧张局势。人们错过了孩子的足球比赛和舞蹈表演。人们太晚回家以至于无法把幼儿放进床里。像拉姆、斧头等人决定不让家人承受搬迁到华盛顿的破坏，几乎根本看不到他们的配偶和孩子。

If anyone complained about this, they did so privately. Folks knew what they signed up for when joining an administration. "Work-life balance" wasn't part of the deal—and given the perilous state of the economy and the world, the volume of incoming work wouldn't slow down anytime soon. Just as athletes in a locker room don't talk about nagging injuries, the members of our White House team learned to suck it up.

Still, the cumulative effects of exhaustion—along with an increasingly angry public, an unsympathetic press, disenchanted allies, and an opposition party with both the means and the intent to turn everything we did into an interminable slog—had a way of fraying nerves and shortening tempers. I began hearing more consternation over Rahm's occasional outbursts during early-morning staff meetings, accusations that Larry cut people out of certain economic policy discussions, whispers that people felt shortchanged when Valerie took advantage of her personal relationship with me and Michelle to do end runs around White House processes. Tensions flared between younger foreign policy staffers like Denis and Ben, who were accustomed to running ideas by me informally before putting them through a formal process, and my national security advisor, Jim Jones, who'd come out of a military culture in which chains of command were inviolate and subordinates were expected to stay in their lanes.

如果有人抱怨过，他们是私下抱怨的。人们加入政府时知道自己签了什么协议。“工作与生活的平衡”不是这个协议的一部分 - 鉴于经济和世界的危险状态，大量的工作会在短时间内不断涌来。就像更衣室里的运动员不会谈论令人烦恼的伤病一样，我们的白宫团队成员学会了克服困难。然而，筋疲力尽的累积影响 - 伴随着越来越愤怒的公众，一个不同情的新闻界，对政府日益失望的盟友，以及一个有能力也愿意把我们所做的每件事都变成无止境的战斗的反对党 - 会损害神经和缩短情绪。我听到了更多对拉姆 (Rahm) 在早上工作会议上偶尔爆发的不满，指责拉里 (Larry) 在某些经济政策讨论中排除人员，以及人们认为瓦莱丽 (Valerie) 利用她与我和米歇尔 (Michelle) 的个人关系绕过白宫流程而感到不满的耳语。年轻的外交政策工作人员（如Denis和Ben）习惯于在正式流程之前通过非正式的方式向我提出想法，而我的国家安全顾问吉姆·琼斯 (Jim Jones) 则来自于一种军事文化，其中命令链是不可侵犯的，下属应该待在自己的领域内。

Members of my cabinet had their own frustrations. While Hillary, Tim, Robert Gates, and Eric Holder got most of my attention by virtue of their posts, other cabinet members were performing yeomen's work without a lot of hand-holding. Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack, the hard-charging former governor of Iowa, would leverage Recovery Act dollars to spark a host of new economic development strategies for struggling rural communities. Labor secretary Hilda Solis and her team were working to make it easier for low-wage workers to get overtime pay. My old friend Arne Duncan, the former Chicago school superintendent, now secretary of education, was leading the effort to raise standards in low-performing schools across the country, even when it drew the wrath of the teachers' unions (who were understandably wary of anything that might involve more standardized tests) and conservative activists (who thought that the effort to institute a common core curriculum was a plot by liberals to indoctrinate their children).

我的內閣成員有自己的挫折。雖然希拉里、蒂姆、羅伯特·蓋茨和埃里克·霍爾德憑藉自己的職位獲得了我的大部分關注，其他內閣成員正在進行著艱苦的工作，並沒有得到太多的指導。農業部長湯姆·維爾薩克，這位來自愛荷華州的積極主政的前州長，利用《美國恢復和再投資法案》的資金，為陷入困境的農村社區開展了大量新的經濟發展戰略。勞工部長希爾達·索利斯及其團隊致力於讓低薪工人更容易獲得加班費。我的老朋友阿恩·鄧肯，前芝加哥學校局長，現為教育部長，正在帶領努力提高全國低成就學校的標準，即使這引來了教師工會的憂慮（他們理所當然地對任何涉及更多標準化測試的事情持謹慎態度），也引起了保守派活動分子的反對（他們認為實行共同核心課程是自由派意圖洗腦他們孩子的陰謀）。

Despite such achievements, the daily grind of running a federal agency didn't always match the more glamorous role (advisor and confidant to the president, frequent visitor to the White House) that some in the cabinet had imagined for themselves. There was a time when presidents like Lincoln relied almost exclusively on their cabinets to formulate policy; a bare-bones White House staff handled little more than the president's personal needs and correspondence. But as the federal government had expanded in the modern era, successive presidents looked to centralize more and more decision-making under one roof, swelling the number and influence of White House personnel. Meanwhile, cabinet members became more specialized, consumed with the task of managing massive, far-flung principalities rather than bending the president's ear.

盡管取得了這樣的成就，經營聯邦機構的日常工作並不總是與某些內閣成員所想象的更富有魅力的職位（總統的顧問和信任的傾訴對象，經常訪問白宮）相匹配。有一段時間，像林肯這樣的總統幾乎完全依賴內閣制定政策；簡陋的白宮工作人員只處理總統的個人需求和通信。但隨著聯邦政府在現代時代擴大，歷任總統試圖將更多決策集中在一個地方，使白宮人員的數量和影響力不斷膨脹。與此同時，內閣成員變得更加專業化，忙於管理龐大的、分散的地盤，而不是依靠總統的耳語。

The shift in power showed up in my calendar. Whereas folks like Rahm or Jim Jones saw me almost every day, only Hillary, Tim, and Gates had standing meetings in the Oval. Other secretaries had to fight to get on my schedule, unless an issue involving their agency became a top White House priority. Full cabinet meetings, which we tried to hold once a quarter, gave people a chance to share information, but they were too big and unwieldy to allow for much actual business; just getting everybody seated in the Cabinet Room was something of an ordeal, with folks having to take turns sidling awkwardly between the heavy leather chairs. In a town where proximity and access to the president were taken as a measure of clout (the reason why senior staffers coveted the West Wing's cramped, ill-lit, and notoriously rodent-infested offices rather than the spacious suites in the EEOB across the street), it didn't

take long for some cabinet members to start feeling underutilized and underappreciated, relegated to the periphery of the action and subject to the whims of often younger, less experienced White House staffers. 權力的轉移在我的日曆中顯示出來。像拉姆 (Rahm) 或吉姆·琼斯 (Jim Jones) 這樣的人幾乎每天都見到我，只有希拉里 (Hillary) 、蒂姆 (Tim) 和蓋茨 (Gates) 有常規的橢圓形辦公室會議。其他部長必須努力爭取進入我的行程，除非涉及他們機構的問題成為白宮的重要問題。我們試圖每季度舉行完整的內閣會議，以便供大家分享信息，但它們太龐大、難以操作，沒有太多實際的業務；想要讓每個人坐在內閣會議室的位置上已經是一個艱巨的工作了，因為人們必須在沉重的皮椅之間尷尬地躲來躲去。在這個以與總統的親近度和接觸能力作為權力衡量標準的城鎮中（這就是為什麼高級職員慕名想要擁有西翼狹窄、昏暗、惡名昭著的鼠患問題的辦公室，而不是街對面寬敞的EEOB套房），沒有多久，一些內閣成員開始感到被低估和被忽視，被排除在行動的邊緣，並且受到經常比他們年輕、經驗不足的白宮職員的風驅策。

None of these issues were unique to my presidency, and it's a credit to both my cabinet and my staff that they maintained their focus even as the work environment got tougher. With few exceptions, we avoided the open hostilities and constant leaks that had characterized some previous administrations. Without exception, we avoided scandal. I'd made clear at the start of my administration that I'd have zero tolerance for ethical lapses, and people who had a problem with that didn't join us in the first place. Even so, I appointed a former Harvard Law School classmate of mine, Norm Eisen, as special counsel to the president for ethics and government reform, just to help keep everybody—including me—on track. Cheerful and punctilious, with sharp features and the wide, unblinking eyes of a zealot, Norm was perfect for the job—the kind of guy who relished the well-earned nickname "Dr. No." When asked once what sorts of out-of-town conferences were okay for administration officials to attend, his response was short and to the point:这些問題都不是我擔任總統期間唯一的，這要歸功於我的內閣和工作人員，即使工作環境變得更加嚴峻，他們仍然保持著專注。除了少數情況，我們避免了曾經是某些前任政府的開放敵對和不斷的泄漏。毫無例外，我們避免了丑聞。我在擔任總統之初就明確表示，我對道德失誤的容忍度為零，而那些對此有問題的人根本就不會首先加入我們。即便如此，我還任命了我在哈佛法學院的一位同學Norm Eisen為總統道德和政府改革的特別顧問，只是為了幫助大家，包括我在內，保持正軌。Norm 快樂，謹慎，面容清晰，眼睛寬闊而堅定，是這份工作的完美人选，他享有“否決博士”的良好口碑。有一次有人問他關於行政官員能參加哪些城外會議的問題，他的回答簡短明了：“”。

“If it sounds fun, you can't go.”

Keeping up morale, on the other hand, wasn't something I could delegate. I tried to be generous in my praise, measured in my criticism. In meetings, I made a point of eliciting everyone's views, including those of more junior staffers. Small stuff mattered—making sure it was me who brought out the cake for somebody's birthday, for example, or taking the time to call someone's parents for an anniversary. Sometimes, when I had a few unscheduled minutes, I'd just wander through the West Wing's narrow halls, poking my head into offices to ask people about their families, what they were working on, and whether there was anything they thought we could be doing better.

如果聽起來有趣，你就不能去。

然而，提高士氣是我無法委任的事情。我試圖在讚揚中慷慨，在批評中保持適度。在會議上，我會特別徵求每個人的意見，包括那些較低職位的員工。細節很重要——例如，確保是我為某人的生日帶來蛋糕，或者花時間為某人的周年紀念打電話給他們的父母。有時，當我有幾分鐘的空閒時間，我會漫步在西翼狹窄的走廊上，探頭進入辦公室，詢問人們的家庭情況、他們正在從事的工作以及是否有任何他們認為我們可以做得更好的地方。

Ironically, one aspect of management that took me longer to learn than it should have was the need to pay closer attention to the experiences of women and people of color on the staff. I'd long believed that the more perspectives around a table, the better an organization performed, and I took pride in the fact that we'd recruited the most diverse cabinet in history. Our White House operation was similarly loaded with talented, experienced African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and women, a group that included domestic policy advisor Melody Barnes, deputy chief of staff Mona Sutphen, political director Patrick Gaspard, director of intergovernmental affairs Cecilia Muñoz, White House cabinet secretary Chris Lu, staff secretary Lisa Brown, and the head of the Council on Environmental Quality, Nancy Sutley. All of them were exemplary at their jobs and played key roles in shaping policy. Many became not just valued advisors but good friends.

有趣的是，管理中一個比預期花費更長時間學習的方面是需要更加關注女性和有色人種在員工中的經驗。我一直相信，在一個圓桌會議上囊括更多的視角會讓組織表現更好，我以我們招募歷史上最具多樣性的內閣為傲。我們白宮的運營同樣充滿才華橫溢、經驗豐富的非裔美國人、拉丁裔、亞裔和女性。這一群體包括國內政策顧問Melody Barnes、副幕僚長莫娜·薩芬、政治主任Patrick Gaspard、政府間事務主任Cecilia Muñoz、白宮內閣秘書Chris Lu、工作秘書Lisa Brown以及環境質量委員會主席Nancy Sutley。他們都在工作中表現得無可挑剔，並在政策制定中發揮了關鍵作用。很多人不僅成為了宝贵的顧問，還成為了好友。

My non-white and non-male cabinet members didn't have to worry, though, about fitting into their workplace; within their buildings, they were at the top of the food chain and everyone else adjusted to them. Women and people of color in the White House, on the other hand, had to wrestle—at various times and to varying degrees—with the same nagging questions, frustrations, and doubts that faced their counterparts in other professional settings, from corporate suites to university departments. Did Larry dismiss my proposal in front of the president because he thought it wasn't fully fleshed out, or was it because I wasn't assertive enough? Or was it because he doesn't take women as seriously as men? Did Rahm consult with Axe and not me on that issue because he happened to need a political perspective, or because the two of them have a long-standing relationship? Or is it that he's not as comfortable with Black people?

我的非白人和非男性內閣成員不必擔心適應工作場所；在他們的建築內，他們處於食物鏈的頂端，其他人都會適應他們。然而，在白宮里，婦女和有色人種有時不得不應對同其他專業環境中的同行一樣的煩惱、挫折和懷疑。拉里在總統面前否決我的提案是因為它還不完全成熟，還是因為我不夠果斷？還是因為他不像對待男性那樣認真對待女性？拉姆在那個問題上為什麼要征求Axe的意見而不是我的，是因為他需要一個政治角度，還是因為他們之間有長期的關係？還是說他對黑人不太舒服？

Should I say something? Am I being overly sensitive?

As the first African American president, I felt a particular obligation to model an inclusive workplace. Still, I tended to discount the role that race and gender—as opposed to the friction that typically arises when you get a group of stressed-out, type A high achievers confined in close quarters—actually played in office dynamics. Maybe it was because everyone was on their best behavior in front of me; when I did hear about problems popping up among staffers, it was usually through Pete or Valerie, in whom, by virtue of age and temperament, others seemed most comfortable confiding. I knew that the brash styles of Rahm, Axe, Gibbs, and Larry—not to mention their politically conditioned nervousness about taking a strong stand on wedge issues like immigration, abortion, and relations between police and minority communities—were sometimes received differently by the women and people of color on the team. On the other hand, those guys were combative with everybody, including one another. Knowing them as well as I did, I felt that as much as any of us growing up in America can be free of bias, they passed the test. So long as I didn't hear about anything egregious, I figured that it was enough for me to set a good example for the team by treating people with courtesy and respect. Day-to-day cases of bruised egos, turf battles, or perceived slights, they could handle among themselves.

我应该说点什么吗？我是不是太敏感了？

作为第一位非裔美国总统，我感到有义务展示一个包容的工作场所。尽管如此，我倾向于低估了种族和性别在办公室动态中的作用——相比于在紧密的地方容纳一群紧张、高成就型 A 型人格者时经常发生的摩擦。也许是因为每个人在我面前都表现得最好，当我听说员工之间出现问题时，通常是通过皮特或瓦莱丽得知的，因为由于年龄和性格，其他人似乎最舒适地倾诉给他们。

我知道 Rahm、Axe、Gibbs 和 Larry 粗鲁的风格——更不用说他们在移民、堕胎和警察与少数群体关系等分裂问题上受到政治条件的紧张——有时会被团队里的妇女和有色人群接受不同。另一方面，那些家伙与每个人都争斗，包括彼此之间。我认为我了解他们，就像任何在美国成长的人所能做到的那样，还没有偏见，所以只要我没有听到任何非常严重的事情，我觉得作为团队的榜样，我对待人们彬彬有礼、尊重他们就已经足够了。

每天的自尊受挫、领土争夺或所谓的冒犯，他们可以自行解决。

But late in our first year, Valerie asked to see me and reported deepening dissatisfaction among the senior women in the White House—and it was only then that I started to examine some of my own blind spots. I learned that at least one woman on the team had been driven to tears after being upbraided in a meeting. Tired of having their views repeatedly dismissed, several other senior women had effectively stopped talking in meetings altogether. “I don’t think the men even realize how they’re coming across,” Valerie said, “and as far as the women are concerned, that’s part of the problem.”

但在我们头一年晚期，瓦莉丽请求见我并报告了白宫高级女性的不满加深的情况——直到那时，我才开始检视自己的一些盲点。我了解到，团队中至少有一位女性在会议上被斥责后哭泣。其他几位高级女性已经厌倦了自己的意见不断被忽视，在会议中完全停止了讲话。瓦莉丽说：“我认为男人甚至没有意识到他们的问题在哪里，对于女性来说，这就是问题的一部分。”

I was troubled enough that I suggested that a dozen women on the staff join me for dinner so that they’d have a chance to air things out. We held it in the Old Family Dining Room, on the first floor of the residence, and perhaps because of the fancy setting, with the high ceilings, black-tied butlers, and fine White House china, it took a little time before the women opened up. Feelings around the table weren’t uniform, and no one said they’d been on the receiving end of overtly sexist remarks. But as I listened to these accomplished women talk for well over two hours, it became clear the degree to which patterns of behavior that were second nature for many of the senior men on the team—shouting or cursing during a policy debate; dominating a conversation by constantly interrupting other people (especially women) in mid-sentence; restating a point that somebody else (often a female staffer) had made half an hour earlier as if it were your own—had left them feeling diminished, ignored, and increasingly reluctant to voice their opinions. And while many of the women expressed appreciation for the degree to which I actively solicited their views during meetings, and said they didn’t doubt my respect for their work, their stories forced me to look in the mirror and ask myself how much my own inclination toward machismo—my tolerance for a certain towel-snapping atmosphere in meetings, the enjoyment I took in a good verbal jousting—may have contributed to their discomfort.我感到困扰，于是建议了公司里十几个女性员工和我一起晚餐，以便他们有机会发泄一下。我们在住所一楼的旧家庭餐厅举行了晚宴，或许是由于璀璨的环境，高高的天花板，着黑领结的男仆，精美的白宫瓷器，在女性们开口前花了一些时间。餐桌上的情感并不一致，没有人说他们曾遭受过明显的性别歧视言论。但是，当我听了这些行事有方的女性们聊了两个多小时以后，情况变得明显了，那就是很多资深男性团队成员在团队中表现出来的行为模式——在政策辩论中喊叫或咒骂；不停打断别人(特别是女性)的发言来主导谈话；30分钟前其他人(通常是女性员工)已经提出的观点，作为自己的观点重新表述——这些习惯让她们感到自己受到了轻视，忽视，并且越来越不愿意发表意见。而且，虽然很多女性对于我积极征求他们的意见表示感激，说他们不怀疑我对他们的工作的尊重，但她们的故事迫使照镜子，问问自己我对男子气概的偏好——在会议上容忍某种毛巾抽打的氛围，享受与人交锋的快感——是否也为她们感到的不适做出了贡献。

I can’t say that we resolved all of the concerns raised that night (“It’s hard to unravel patriarchy in a single dinner,” I said to Valerie afterward), any more than I could guarantee that my periodic check-ins with the Black, Latino, Asian, and Native American members of the team ensured that they always felt included. I do know that when I spoke to Rahm and the other senior men about how their female colleagues were feeling, they were surprised and chastened and vowed to do better. The women, meanwhile, seemed to take to heart my suggestion that they assert themselves more in discussions (“If somebody tries to talk over you, tell them you’re not finished!”)—not only for their own mental health but because they were knowledgeable and insightful and I needed to hear what they had to say if I was going to do my job well. A few months later, as we walked together from the West Wing to the EEOB, Valerie told me that she’d noticed some improvement in how the staffers were interacting.

我不能說當晚提出的所有擔憂都已得到解決（“在一個晚餐中解開父權制是很困難的，”我事後對瓦萊麗說），我也無法保證我定期與黑人、拉丁裔、亞洲人和美洲原住民團隊成員的訪談總是讓他們感到被納入。我所知道的是，當我與拉姆和其他高級男性談論他們的女同事感受時，他們感到驚訝、感到懊悔並發誓要做得更好。而女性，則似乎在心中牢記著我的建議——在討論中更加堅定自己（“如果有人試圖壓過你，告訴他們你還沒講完！”）——不僅是為了自己的心理健康，也是因為她們是有知識和洞見的，如果我想做好自己的工作，就需要聽取她們的意見。幾個月後，當我們從西翼走到EEOB時，瓦萊麗告訴我，她注意到員工們交流方式的改善。

“And how are you holding up?” she asked me.

I stopped at the top of the EEOB's stairs to search my jacket pockets for some notes I needed for the meeting we were about to attend. “I'm good,” I said.

“You sure?” Her eyes narrowed as she searched my face like a doctor examining a patient for symptoms. I found what I was looking for and started walking again.

“Yeah, I'm sure,” I said. “Why? Do I seem different to you?”

Valerie shook her head. “No,” she said. “You seem exactly the same. That's what I don't understand.”

“你還好吗？”她问我。

我停在EEOB楼梯的顶部，搜尋我的夾克口袋，找到了一些我需要的會議筆記。“我很好，”我说。

“你確定嗎？”她眼睛眯起來，像醫生檢查病人的症狀一樣搜尋著我的臉。我找到了我需要的東西，開始走路。

“是的，我確定，”我说。“为什么呢？你觉得我有什么不同吗？”

瓦萊麗搖了搖頭。“沒有，”她说。“你看起來和以前完全一樣。這就是我不理解的地方。”

—

IT WASN'T THE first time Valerie had commented on how little the presidency had changed me. I understood that she meant it as a compliment—her way of expressing relief that I hadn't gotten too full of myself, lost my sense of humor, or turned into a bitter, angry jerk. But as war and the economic crisis dragged on and our political problems began to mount, she started worrying that maybe I was acting a little too calm, that I was just bottling up all the stress.

She wasn't the only one. Friends started sending notes of encouragement, somber and heartfelt, as if they'd just learned that I had a serious illness. Marty Nesbitt and Eric Whitaker discussed flying in to hang out and watch a ball game—a “boys' night,” they said, just to take my mind off things. Mama Kaye, arriving for a visit, expressed genuine surprise at how well I looked in person.

这不是瓦萊麗第一次提到總統職位並沒有改變我很多。我明白她的意思是想夸我，表达她對我沒有變得自負、失去了幽默感，或者變成了一個憤怒的傻瓜的感激之情。但在戰爭和經濟危機的拖累下，我們的政治問題開始積聚，她開始擔心我太過冷靜，只是在壓抑著所有的壓力。

她不是唯一一個這麼想的。朋友們開始發送鼓勵、慎重和真摯的便條，好像他們剛剛得知我得了一種嚴重的疾病一樣。馬蒂·內斯比特和埃里克·惠特克討論飛來挂在一起看球賽 - 他們說是一個“男孩之夜”，只為了讓我忘記所有的事情。媽媽凱伊來訪時，對我這麼健康看上去表示了真正的驚訝。

“What'd you expect?” I teased, reaching down to give her a big hug. “You thought I was going to have a rash on my face? That my hair'd be falling out?”

“Oh, stop it,” she said, playfully hitting me on the arm. She leaned back and looked at me the same way Valerie had, searching for signs. “I guess I just thought you'd look more tired. Are you getting enough to eat?”

Puzzled by all this solicitude, I happened to mention it to Gibbs one day. He chuckled. “Let me tell you, boss,” he said, “if you watched cable news, you'd be worried about you too.” I knew what Gibbs was driving at: Once you became president, people's perceptions of you—even the perceptions of those who knew you best—were inevitably shaped by the media. What I hadn't fully appreciated, though, at least not until I scanned a few news broadcasts, was how the images producers used in stories about my administration had shifted of late. Back when we were riding high, toward the end of the campaign and the start of my presidency, most news footage showed me active and smiling, shaking hands or speaking in front of dramatic backdrops, my gestures and facial expressions exuding energy and command. Now that most of the stories were negative, a different version of me appeared: older-looking, walking alone along the colonnade or across the South Lawn to Marine One, my shoulders slumped, my eyes downcast, my face weary and creased with the burdens of the office.

“你以为我会长疹子？头发会掉光？”我说着，伸手抱住她。“开玩笑的，别担心。”

“别啦，”她打了我一下，欣笑着。“我只是以为你会看起来更累一些。你够了吗？”

对所有这些关心感到困惑，我有一天碰巧向吉布斯提到了这件事。他笑了笑，“我告诉你吧，老板，如果你看了电视新闻，也会为自己担心的。”我知道吉布斯的意思是——一旦你成为总统，即便是你最熟悉的人对你的看法也会不可避免地受到媒体的影响。然而，直到我浏览了几个新闻播报，我才真正领悟到新闻制片人在报道我的政府时使用的形象发生了多大的变化。回想起在竞选期末和我担任总统后不久的那段时间，大多数新闻片段都展示了我的活力和微笑，握手或在引人注目的背景下演讲时的姿态和面部表情散发出的能量和指挥能力。现在大多数报道都是负面的，我出现了一个不同的版本：看起来更加苍老，独自漫步于柱廊或穿过南草坪前往海军陆战队一号，肩膀下沉，目光低垂，脸上沉重和皱纹满布，似乎承担着职位的重压。

Being in the barrel put the sadder version of me on permanent display.

In fact, life as I was experiencing it didn't feel nearly so dire. Like my staff, I could have used more sleep. Each day had its share of aggravations, worries, and disappointments. I'd stew over mistakes I'd made and question strategies that hadn't panned out. There were meetings I dreaded, ceremonies I found foolish, conversations I would have rather avoided. While I continued to refrain from yelling at people, I cursed and complained plenty, and felt unfairly maligned at least once a day.

身處困境讓我更悲傷的一面永遠展現在外。實際上，我的生活並沒有那麼絕望。跟我的員工一樣，我也需要更多的睡眠。每一天都有令人煩惱、擔心和失落的事情。我會反覆思考自己犯的錯誤，質疑沒有成功的策略。有些會議我很煩惱，有些儀式我覺得很愚蠢，有些對話我寧願避免。雖然我繼續避免大聲嚷嚷，我仍然咒罵和抱怨很多，每天至少有一次覺得被不公正對待。

But as I'd discovered about myself during the campaign, obstacles and struggles rarely shook me to the core. Instead, depression was more likely to creep up on me when I felt useless, without purpose—when I was wasting my time or squandering opportunities. Even during my worst days as president, I never felt that way. The job didn't allow for boredom or existential paralysis, and when I sat down with my team to figure out the answer to a knotty problem, I usually came away energized rather than drained. Every trip I took—touring a manufacturing plant to see how something got made or visiting a lab where scientists explained a recent breakthrough—fed my imagination. Comforting a rural family displaced by a storm or meeting with inner-city teachers who were striving to reach kids others had written off, and allowing myself to feel, if just for a moment, what they were going through, made my heart bigger.

但正如我在竞选中发现的那样，障碍和挣扎很少会震动我内心。相反，当我感到无用、没有目的时，抑郁症更容易袭击我——当我在浪费时间或挥霍机会时。即使在我担任总统最糟糕的日子里，我也从未有过那种感觉。这份工作不允许无聊或存在主义麻痹症，当我和我的团队坐下来破解复杂问题时，我通常会感到充满活力而不是筋疲力尽。每次我出行——参观制造工厂看看东西是怎么做的，或者参观一个实验室，科学家们向我解释最新的突破——都能满足我的想象力。安慰一家遭受风暴迁移的乡村家庭或会见努力想要接触到其他人已经放弃的孩子的城市教师，并允许自己感受一下他们正在经历的一切，这些都让我的心变得更宽容。

The fuss of being president, the pomp, the press, the physical constraints—all that I could have done without. The actual work, though? The work, I loved. Even when it didn't love me back.

Outside of the job, I had tried to make peace with living in the bubble. I maintained my rituals: the morning workout, the dinner with my family, an evening walk on the South Lawn. In the early months of my presidency, that routine included reading a chapter from *Life of Pi* to Sasha each night before tucking her and Malia into bed. When it came time to choose our next book, though, Sasha decided that she, like her sister, had gotten too old to be read to. I hid my dismay and took to playing a nightly game of pool with Sam Kass instead.

當總統時，為了排場、媒體、身體限制而煩惱，我本可以不用經歷。但實際工作？我喜愛工作。即使有時候它並不喜愛我。

除了工作外，我試圖和生活在一個「泡泡」之中和平共處。我保持我的習慣：每天早晨的運動、與家人共進晚餐、在南草坪散步。在我擔任總統的早期月份，我的日常活動還包括每晚給薩莎讀一章《少年Pi的奇幻漂流》然後將她和瑪莉亞送上床睡覺。當我們選擇下一本書的時候，薩莎決定，像她姐姐一樣，她已經長大了，不需要再被人唸故事。我收起失落的心情，改而和山姆·卡斯每晚玩一局撞球遊戲。

We'd meet on the third floor of the residence after dinner, once Michelle and I had talked through our days and Sam had had a chance to clean up the kitchen. I'd put on some Marvin Gaye or OutKast or Nina Simone from my iPod, and the loser from the previous night's game would rack, and for the next half hour or so we'd play eight-ball. Sam would dish up White House gossip or ask for advice about his love life. I'd relay something funny one of the girls had said or go off on a brief political rant. Mostly, though, we just trash-talked and tried improbable shots, the crack of the break or the soft click of a ball rolling into a corner pocket clearing my mind before I headed to the Treaty Room to do my evening work.

晚餐后我们会在住处的三楼会面，等到米歇尔和我交流过今日所事，萨姆也收拾完厨房。我会从我的iPod里选一些Marvin Gaye或者OutKast或者Nina Simone的音乐，然后昨晚输的人就要整理桌子，我们接下来的半个小时会打八球。萨姆会传授一些白宫的内幕或者向我们请教恋爱方面的事情。我会说说女孩子说的有趣的事情，或者短暂地对政治发表一下意见。但其实大多数时间，我们只是在互相吹牛，尝试一些不可能的球路。一旦打开了，球桌上的撞击声或固定在墙角的球滚动的轻轻声，都能让我们头脑清醒，然后我去Treaty Room完成晚上的工作。

Initially, the pool game had also given me an excuse to duck out and have a cigarette on the third-floor landing. Those detours stopped when I quit smoking, right after I signed the Affordable Care Act into law. I'd chosen that day because I liked the symbolism, but I'd made the decision a few weeks earlier, when Malia, smelling a cigarette on my breath, frowned and asked if I'd been smoking. Faced with the prospect of lying to my daughter or setting a bad example, I called the White House doctor and asked him to send me a box of nicotine gum. It did the trick, for I haven't had a cigarette since. But I did end up replacing one addiction with another: Through the remainder of my time in office, I would chomp on gum ceaselessly, the empty packets constantly spilling out of my pockets and leaving a trail of shiny square bread crumbs for others to find on the floor, under my desk, or wedged between sofa cushions.

起初，打台球游戏也让我有借口在三楼的平台上抽烟。这些光顾停止了，当我在签署《经济适用医保法案》后戒烟时。我当时选择这一天是因为我喜欢其中的象征意义，但几周前我已经做出了这个决定。当Malia闻到我口中有烟味，皱起了眉头并问我是否抽烟时，我面临着向女儿撒谎或树立不良榜样的前景，于是我打电话给白宫医生，要求他给我寄一盒尼古丁口香糖。它确实有效，因为从那时起我再也没有抽过一支烟。但我确实用一个瘾状况取代了另一个：在我的任期余下的时间里，我会无休止地咀嚼口香糖，空包装纸不断地从口袋中掉落，在地板上、桌子下或沙发垫子间留下闪闪发光的正方形的面包屑。

Basketball offered another reliable refuge. When my schedule allowed, Reggie Love would organize a game on the weekend, rounding up some of his buddies and reserving time for us on an indoor court at the Fort McNair army base, the FBI headquarters, or the Department of the Interior. The runs were intense—with a couple of exceptions, most of the regular participants were former Division I college players in their late twenties or early thirties—and while I hated to admit it, I was usually one of the weaker players on the floor. Still, as long as I didn't try to do too much, I found I could hold my own, setting picks, feeding whoever on our team was hot and hitting a jumper when I was open, running the break and losing myself in the flow and camaraderie of competition.

籃球成為我的另一個可靠避難處。當我的時間允許時，雷吉·洛夫（Reggie Love）會在週末組織一場比賽，找來他的一些朋友，在麥克奈爾陸軍基地、聯邦調查局總部或內政部預約室內球場的時間。比賽非常激烈，除了少數例外，大多數常規參與者都是年齡在二十多歲或三十多歲的前一級大學球員，而我很少承認，我通常是場上實力比較弱的球員之一。不過，只要我不試圖做太多，我就發現我能夠頂住，設置屏障，給我們隊伍中表現不錯的球員通行證，當我沒有人防守時投籃，跑快攻，在競爭的流程和團結中迷失自己。

Those pickup games represented continuity for me, a tether to my old self, and when my team beat Reggie's, I'd make sure he heard about it all week. But the enjoyment I got from playing basketball was nothing compared to the thrill—and stress—of rooting for Sasha's fourth-grade rec league team. They called themselves the Vipers (props to whoever thought of the name), and each Saturday morning during the season, Michelle and I would travel to a small public park field house in Maryland and sit in the bleachers with the other families, cheering wildly whenever one of the girls came remotely close to making a basket, shouting reminders to Sasha to box out or get back on defense, and doing our best not to be "those parents," the kind who yell at the refs. Maisy Biden, Joe's granddaughter and one of Sasha's best friends, was the star of the team, but for most of the girls it was their first experience with organized basketball. Apparently the same was true for their coaches, a friendly young couple who taught at Sidwell and who, by their own admission, didn't consider basketball their primary sport. After observing an adorable but chaotic first couple of games, Reggie and I took it upon ourselves to draw up some plays and volunteered to conduct a few informal Sunday afternoon practice sessions with the team. We worked on the basics (dribbling, passing, making sure your shoelaces were tied before you ran onto the court), and although Reggie could get a little too intense when we ran drills ("Paige, don't let Isabel punk you like that!"), the girls seemed to have as much fun as we did. When the Vipers won the league championship in an 18–16 nail-biter, Reggie and I celebrated like it was the NCAA finals.

那些非正式的比賽對我來說意味着延續性，是連接我原來自己的紐帶。當我的球隊戰勝雷吉的隊時，我會確保他整個星期都聽到我的得意洋洋。但是，我從籃球比賽中獲得的樂趣，與為薩莎的四年級業余聯賽隊呐喊助威的興奮和壓力相比簡直微不足道。

她们自称“毒蛇”（感谢想出这个名字的人），每个赛季的星期六早上，米歇尔和我都会前往马里兰州的一个小型公园体育馆，在看台上与其他家长一起，欢呼扯淡地为女孩子加油鼓劲，每当一位女孩子差点投篮得分时，我们都会大声欢呼。我们也时不时地提醒萨莎，让她重视防守位置和注意篮板球，尽量不要成为那些父母们——那种会直接向裁判员大声斥责的父母。

乔的孙女梅西·拜登（Maisy Biden）是球队明星，也是萨莎最好的朋友之一。但对于大部分女孩们而言，这是她们第一次接触组织化的篮球比赛。教练也是这样，一个在Sidwell任教的年轻夫妇，他们自己承认，篮球不是他们主要的运动项目。经过观察，我们认为这些比赛非常可爱，但也有些混乱，于是我们自己画了一些比赛策略，并自告奋勇地在一个非正式的周日下午，在球队里进行了几个练习。我们基础训练（运球、传球、在进入比赛场地之前要确保鞋带已经扎好了），虽然雷吉在进行演练时可能会过于激动人心（“佩吉，不要让伊莎贝尔欺负你！”）。但女孩们似乎和我们一样乐在其中。

当“毒蛇”在一场比赛中以18比16险胜，赢得联赛冠军时，雷吉和我对此感到无比兴奋，就好像我们赢得了NCAA决赛一样。

Every parent savors such moments, I suppose, when the world slows down, your strivings get pushed to the back of your mind, and all that matters is that you are present, fully, to witness the miracle of your child growing up. Given all the time I'd missed with the girls over years of campaigning and legislative sessions, I cherished the normal "dad stuff" that much more. But, of course, nothing about our lives was completely normal any longer, as I was reminded the following year when, in true Washington fashion, a few of the parents from a rival Sidwell team started complaining to the Vipers coaches, and presumably the school, that Reggie and I weren't offering training sessions to their kids too. We explained that there was nothing special about our practices—that it was just an excuse for me to spend extra time with Sasha—and offered to help other parents organize practices of their own. But when it became clear that the complaints had nothing to do with basketball ("They must think being coached by you is something they can put on a Harvard application," Reggie scoffed) and that the Vipers coaches were feeling squeezed, I decided it would be simpler for all concerned if I went back to just being a fan.

我想每个父母都会珍视这样的时刻，当世界变得慢下来，你的努力被推到脑后，唯一重要的是你完全地出现在那里，见证你的孩子成长的奇迹。鉴于我在多年的竞选和立法会议中错过了很多时间与女孩们在一起，我更加珍惜正常的“父亲的事情”。但当然，我们生活的一切也不再完全正常，正如我在接下来的一年中所提醒的那样，当另一个Sidwell队的一些家长开始向Vipers教练和学校抱怨Reggie和我没有给他们的孩子提供训练时，这一点就变得更加清楚了。我们解释说，我们的训练并没有什么特别之处——这只是一个借口让我花更多时间陪伴Sasha，并提供帮助其他父母组织他们自己的训练。但当投诉与篮球无关（“他们一定认为由你执教是他们能够在哈佛申请书上写的内容，”Reggie嘲笑道）并且Viper教练感到压力时，我决定最好还是成为一个简单的球迷。

Despite a few exasperating incidents like that, there was no denying that our status as the First Family conferred plenty of benefits. Museums around town let us visit after hours, allowing us to avoid the crowds (Marvin and I still laugh over the time he decided to strategically plant himself in front of a large and very detailed portrait of a naked man at the Corcoran Gallery for fear that the girls might see it). Because the Motion Picture Association of America sent us DVDs of new releases, the White House movie theater got plenty of use, although Michelle's tastes and mine often diverged: She preferred rom-coms, while according to her, my favorite movies usually involved "terrible things happening to people, and then they die."

盡管有一些令人沮喪的事情，但不能否認我們作為第一家庭的地位帶來了許多好處。城裡的博物館讓我們在備受矚目的時間內參觀，讓我們避免了人群（馬爾文和我仍然因為他曾在Corcoran畫廊的一幅裸體男子肖像畫前策略性地站立而笑）。因為美國電影協會會送給我們最新的DVD發佈，因此白宮電影院得到充分利用，盡管米歇爾和我對電影的喜好經常不同：她更喜歡浪漫喜劇，而按她的說法，我最喜歡的電影通常都涉及“可怕的事情發生在人們身上，然後他們死了”。

The incredible White House staff also made it easy for us to entertain guests. No longer did we have to worry, as most working parents with young kids do, about mustering the energy after a long week at the office to shop, cook, or straighten up a house that looks like it's been hit by a tornado. Along with

weekend get-togethers with our regular circle of friends, we began hosting small dinner parties in the residence every few months, inviting artists, writers, scholars, business leaders, and others whose paths we'd crossed and wanted to know better. Usually the dinners would last until well past midnight, full of wine-fueled conversations that inspired us (Toni Morrison, at once regal and mischievous, describing her friendship with James Baldwin); instructed us (the co-chair of my Council of Advisors on Science and Technology, Dr. Eric Lander, describing the latest breakthroughs in genetic medicine); enchanted us (Meryl Streep leaning over to softly recite in Mandarin the lyrics to a song about clouds that she'd learned for a part years ago); and generally made me feel better about humanity's prospects.

了不起的白宫工作人员也让我们更容易招待客人。我们不再需要为疲惫的一周后需要购物、做饭或整理像被龙卷风袭击过的房屋而烦恼，这是许多有孩子的上班族所经历的。除了与我们常规的朋友们进行的周末聚会外，我们开始每隔几个月在住所举行小型晚宴，邀请我们曾经邂逅过并想更好地了解的艺术家、作家、学者、商业领袖和其他人士。通常这些晚宴会持续到深夜，并为我们带来了酒涡般的谈话，这些谈话启发了我们（同时庄严又调皮的托尼·莫里森描述了她与詹姆斯·鲍德温的友谊）；教导了我们（我科学技术顾问委员会的共同主席埃里克·兰德博士描述了遗传医学的最新突破）；让我们陶醉了（梅丽尔·斯特里普俯身轻声吟唱她多年前为一部电影所学的一首关于云的中国歌曲）；并且让我对人类前景产生更多信心。

But maybe the best White House perk involved music. One of Michelle's goals as First Lady was to make the White House more welcoming—a “People's House” in which all visitors would feel represented, rather than a remote, exclusive fortress of power. Working with the White House Social Office, she organized more tours for local school groups and started a mentorship program that paired disadvantaged kids with White House staffers. She opened up the South Lawn for trick-or-treating on Halloween, and held movie nights for military families.

也许最好的白宫福利与音乐有关。作为第一夫人，米歇尔的目标之一是让白宫更加热情好客——成为一个“人民之家”，让所有来访者感到被代表，而不是一个遥远、排他的权力堡垒。她与白宫社交办公室合作，组织了更多的当地学校团体参观，并启动了一项指导计划，将弱势儿童与白宫职员配对。她开放南草坪供万圣节糖果搜寻游戏，并为军人家庭举办电影之夜。

As part of that effort, her office arranged for us to host a regular American music series in tandem with public television, in which some of the country's leading artists—household names like Stevie Wonder, Jennifer Lopez, and Justin Timberlake but also up-and-comers like Leon Bridges and living legends like B. B. King—spent part of a day conducting music workshops with area youths before performing in front of a couple hundred guests on an East Room stage, or sometimes on the South Lawn. Along with the Gershwin Prize concert, which the White House traditionally put on each year to honor a leading composer or performer, the series gave my family front-row seats three or four times a year at a live, star-studded musical extravaganza.

作为这项努力的一部分，她的办公室安排我们与公共电视台一起举办一系列美国音乐活动，其中一些国家知名艺术家——如Stevie Wonder、Jennifer Lopez和Justin Timberlake等——以及像Leon Bridges这样的新人和B.B. King这样的传奇人物，花费相当一部分时间与当地青少年进行音乐工作坊，然后在东室舞台或有时在南草坪前为几百名听众表演。除了格什温奖音乐会外，白宫每年传统上举办这样一次音乐盛会，以表彰一位领先的作曲家或表演者，这个系列给了我的家人每年三到四次现场观看星光璀璨的音乐盛宴的机会。

Every genre was represented: Motown and Broadway show tunes; classic blues and a Fiesta Latina; gospel and hip-hop; country, jazz, and classical. The musicians typically rehearsed the day before they were scheduled to appear, and if I happened to be upstairs in the residence as they were running through their set, I could hear the sounds of drums and bass and electric guitar reverberating through the Treaty Room floor. Sometimes I'd sneak down the back stairs of the residence and slip into the East Room, standing in the rear so as not to attract attention, and just watch the artists at work: a duet figuring out their harmonies, a headliner tweaking an arrangement with the house band. I'd marvel at everyone's mastery of their instruments, the generosity they showed toward one another as they blended mind, body, and spirit, and I'd feel a pang of envy at the pure, unambiguous joy of their endeavors, such a contrast to the political path I had chosen.

每个类型都有代表作品：Motown和百老汇歌曲；经典蓝调和拉美狂欢；福音和嘻哈；乡村、爵士和古典音乐。音乐家们通常在他们计划出现的前一天排练，如果我碰巧在住所楼上，他们在演奏我可以听到鼓和低音吉他及电吉他的声音在条约房间的地板上回响。有时我会偷偷溜下住所的后楼梯，滑进东厅，在后方站着，不想引起注意，只是观看艺术家们的工作：一个二重唱计算他们的和声，一个头号演员和乐队调整编曲。我惊叹于每个人对他们乐器的掌握，他们向彼此展示的慷慨、身心和精神的融合，我感到羡慕他们纯粹、明确的乐趣，与我选择的政治道路形成了巨大的对比。

As for the actual concerts, they were absolutely electric. I can still picture Bob Dylan, with just a bassist, a piano player, and his guitar, tenderly reworking “The Times They Are a-Changin'.” When finished, he stepped off the stage, shook my hand, gave a little grin and bow in front of me and Michelle, and vanished without a word. I remember a young playwright of Puerto Rican descent named Lin-Manuel Miranda, who told us in the photo line before an evening of poetry, music, and the spoken word that he planned to debut the first song of what he hoped would be a hip-hop musical on the life of America's first Treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton. We were politely encouraging but secretly skeptical, until he got up onstage and started dropping beats and the audience went absolutely nuts.

至于实际演出，它们是绝对令人兴奋的。我仍然可以想象鲍勃·迪伦只有一个低音吉他手、一名钢琴手和他的吉他，温柔地演绎《时代在变》。完成后，他走下舞台，握了我的手，在我和米歇尔面前微笑鞠躬，然后毫不言语地消失了。我记得一位波多黎哥裔年轻剧作家林-曼纽尔·米兰达，在一晚上的诗歌、音乐和口头表达的照片排队中告诉我们，他计划首演一部希望成为关于美国第一任财政部长亚历山大·汉密尔顿生活的嘻哈音乐剧的第一首歌曲。我们礼貌地鼓励他，但暗地里是持怀疑态度的，直到他上台开始掉节奏，观众们完全疯狂。

And there was the time Paul McCartney serenaded my wife with “Michelle.” She laughed, a little embarrassed, as the rest of the audience applauded, and I wondered what Michelle's parents would have said back in 1965, the year the song came out, if someone had knocked on the door of their South Side home and told them that someday the Beatle who wrote it would be singing it to their daughter from a White House stage.

Michelle loved those concerts as much as I did. But I suspect she would have preferred to have attended them as a guest rather than a host. On the surface, she had every reason to feel good about her own adjustment to our new life: Our daughters seemed happy; she'd quickly made a new circle of friends, many of them the mothers of Malia's and Sasha's classmates; and she had a little more flexibility than I did to leave the White House complex unnoticed. Her initiative to reduce childhood obesity—called Let's Move!—had been well received and was already showing meaningful results, and in collaboration with Jill Biden she would soon launch a new initiative, called Joining Forces, that would provide support to military families. Whenever she appeared in public, whether it was visiting a public school classroom or trading good-natured barbs with late-night television hosts, people seemed irresistibly drawn to her genuineness and warmth, her smile and quick wit. In fact, it was fair to say that, unlike me, she had not missed a step or hit a false note from the moment we'd arrived in Washington.

保羅·麥卡特尼向我妻子演唱了《Michelle》的時刻，她有點尷尬地笑著，觀眾們鼓掌，我想知道如果在1965年，這首歌發行的一年，有人敲開他們南邊家門的話，告訴他們有一天寫這首歌的披頭士成員會在白宮舞台上向他們的女兒演唱，那麼Michelle的父母會有什麼反應。

Michelle和我一樣喜歡那些音樂會，但我猜想她更喜歡當嘉賓而不是主持人參加。表面上看，她有足夠的理由對自己適應我們的新生活感到滿意：我們的女兒看起來很開心；她很快就交了一群新朋友，其中許多人是瑪莉亞和莎莎同學的母親；她有比我更多的靈活性可以不被察覺地離開白宮區塊。她發起的減少兒童肥胖症倡議“Let's Move！”得到了良好的反響，並且已經顯示出有意義的結果；接下來，她將與吉爾·拜登一起推出一個名為“加入軍隊家庭”的新倡議，以提供支援給軍人家庭。無論她在公開場合的表現，無論是參觀公立學校教室還是與深夜電視節目主持人開玩笑，人們似乎總是被她的真誠和溫暖，她的笑容和幽默感吸引著。事實上，公允地說，與我不同，自從我們到達華盛頓以來，她沒有錯過任何步驟或演奏假音。

And yet, despite Michelle's success and popularity, I continued to sense an undercurrent of tension in her, subtle but constant, like the faint thrum of a hidden machine. It was as if, confined as we were within the walls of the White House, all of her previous sources of frustration became more concentrated, more vivid, whether it was my round-the-clock absorption with work, or the way politics exposed our family to constant scrutiny and attacks, or the tendency of even friends and family members to treat her role as secondary in importance.

然而，儘管米雪的成功和受歡迎程度，我仍能感受到她身上一股微妙但持續的緊張氛圍，就像隱藏起來的機器微弱的發出聲響。好像我們被困在白宮的牆壁內，她所有之前的挫折和不快都變得更加集中、更加生動，無論是我對工作的全天候吸收，還是政治暴露我們的家庭於不斷的審查和攻擊之中，又或者是即使是朋友和家人也傾向于把她的角色看作是次要的。

More than anything, the White House reminded her daily that fundamental aspects of her life were no longer entirely within her control. Who we spent time with, where we went on vacation, where we'd be living after the 2012 election, even the safety of her family—all of it was at some level subject to how well I performed at my job, or what the West Wing staff did or didn't do, or the whims of voters, or the press corps, or Mitch McConnell, or the jobs numbers, or some completely unanticipated event occurring on the other side of the planet. Nothing was fixed anymore. Not even close. And so, consciously or not, a part of her stayed on alert, no matter what small triumphs and joys a day or week or month might bring, waiting and watching for the next turn of the wheel, bracing herself for calamity.

白宮最讓她感到的是，她日復一日地意識到她生活的基本方面不再完全在她的掌控之中。我們和誰相處，我們在哪度假，我們在2012年選舉後會住在哪里，甚至她的家人的安全，所有這些在某種程度上都取決於她的工作表現如何，西翼的工作人员做了什麼或沒做什麼，選民、新聞界、米奇·麥康奈爾、就業數據或在地球的另一邊突然發生的一些完全出乎意料的事件。沒有什麼是確定的。甚至遠遠不夠。因此，不管一天、一周或一個月帶來了多少小小的勝利和歡樂，她的某個部分都會有所警惕，等待和觀察下一次輪迴的到來，為災難做好準備。

Michelle rarely shared such feelings directly with me. She knew the load I was carrying and saw no point in adding to it; for the foreseeable future, at least, there wasn't much I could do to change our circumstances. And maybe she stopped talking because she knew I'd try to reason away her fears, or try to placate her in some inconsequential way, or imply that all she needed was a change in attitude.

If I was fine, she should be too.

There remained stretches when it really did feel fine, evenings when the two of us snuggled under a blanket to watch a show on TV, Sunday afternoons when we got down on the carpet with the girls and Bo and the entire second floor of the residence filled up with laughter. More often, though, Michelle retired to her study once dinner was done, while I headed down the long hall to the Treaty Room. By the time I was finished with work, she'd already be asleep. I'd undress, brush my teeth, and slip under the covers, careful not to wake her. And although I rarely had trouble falling asleep during my time in the White House—I'd be so tired that within five minutes of my head hitting the pillow I'd usually be out cold—there were nights when, lying next to Michelle in the dark, I'd think about those days when everything between us felt lighter, when her smile was more constant and our love less encumbered, and my heart would suddenly tighten at the thought that those days might not return.米歇爾很少直接和我分享這樣的感覺。她知道我已承擔了很多，並且認為沒有必要再增加它；至少在可預見的未來，我們沒有太多可以改變現狀的方法。也許她停止談論是因為她知道我會試著推理她的恐懼，或者嘗試以某種微不足道的方式安撫她，或者意味著她所需要的只是改變態度。

如果我很好，她也應該好。

仍然有一些時刻感覺真的很好，晚上我們兩個蜷在毯子下看電視節目，周日下午我們和女孩們和波在地毯上玩，整個二樓的住所裡充滿了笑聲。然而，更多時候，米歇爾晚飯後就退到她的書房，而我會沿著漫長的走廊前往條約室。當我完成工作時，她已經睡著了。我會脫衣服，刷牙，然後輕輕地爬進被窩，小心不要把她弄醒。儘管在白宮期間我很少有入睡困難的情況—因為我會很累，只要我的頭一碰到枕頭，我通常就會馬上睡著—還有一些夜晚，當我躺在黑暗中和米歇爾在一起時，我會想起那些一切感覺都更輕鬆的日子，當時她的微笑更加恒久，我們的愛情也不再負擔，當我想到那些日子可能不會回來時，我的心就會突然緊縮。

It makes me wonder now, with the benefit of hindsight, whether Michelle's was the more honest response to all the changes we were going through; whether in my seeming calm as crises piled up, my insistence that everything would work out in the end, I was really just protecting myself—and contributing to her loneliness.

I know that it was around this time that I started having a recurring dream. In it, I find myself on the streets of some unnamed city, a neighborhood with trees, storefronts, light traffic. The day is pleasant and warm, with a soft breeze, and people are out shopping or walking their dogs or coming home from work. In one version I'm riding a bike, but most often I'm on foot, and I'm strolling along, without any thoughts in particular, when suddenly I realize that no one recognizes me. My security detail is gone. There's nowhere I have to be. My choices have no consequence. I wander into a corner store and buy a bottle of water or iced tea, making small talk with the person behind the counter. I settle down on a nearby bench, pop open the cap on my drink, take a sip, and just watch the world passing by.

現在回想起來，我開始懷疑是否米歇爾對於我們正在經歷的種種變化所做出的反應更加真實。在我看似冷靜地處理一個又一個危機，以及堅信每件事情最終都會變得好轉時，我是否只是在保護自己，甚至加劇了她的孤獨感。

我知道在這段時間我開始做一個反覆出現的夢。在夢中，我發現自己在一個未知城市的街頭，這裡有樹木、商店和輕輕的車流。天氣宜人，溫暖和煦，微風輕拂，人們正在購物、散步、回家。有時我騎著自行車，但大多數時候我在步行，沒有特別的想法，突然意識到沒有人認識我了。我的保安隊伍不見了，我沒有任何需要去的地方，我的任何選擇都沒有影響。我進入一家便利店買了一瓶水或冰茶，和櫃臺後的人聊了聊天。我坐在附近的長椅上，打開瓶蓋喝了一口，看著逝去的世界。

## I feel like I've won the lottery.

**RAHM THOUGHT HE had the answer for regaining political momentum. The Wall Street crisis had exposed a breakdown in the system for regulating financial markets, and during the transition, I'd asked our economic team to develop legislative reforms that would make a future crisis less likely. As far as Rahm was concerned, the sooner we got such a "Wall Street reform" bill drafted and up for a vote, the better.**

**"It puts us back on the side of the angels," he said. "And if the Republicans try to block it, we'll shove it up their ass."**我感觉自己中了彩票。

拉姆以为他找到了重振政治势头的答案。华尔街危机暴露了金融市场监管系统的崩溃，而在政权交接期间，我让我们的经济团队制定了能够使未来危机更不可能发生的立法改革。对拉姆来说，尽快起草并提出“华尔街改革”法案，就越好。

他说：“这会让我们重回正义的一方。如果共和党试图阻止，我们就会把它塞到他们的屁股里。”

There was every reason to expect that Mitch McConnell would fight us on new financial regulations. After all, he'd made a career of opposing any and all forms of government regulation (environmental laws, labor laws, workplace safety laws, campaign finance laws, consumer protection laws) that might constrain corporate America's ability to do whatever it damn well pleased. But McConnell also understood the political hazards of the moment—voters still associated the Republican Party with big business and yacht-owning billionaires—and he didn't plan on letting his party's standard anti-regulation position get in the way of his quest for the Senate majority. And so, while he made no secret of his intention to filibuster my agenda at every turn, a task made easier after Scott Brown's victory in the Massachusetts Senate race deprived Democrats of their sixtieth vote, he let Tim know in a meeting in his office on Capitol Hill that he'd make an exception for Wall Street reform. "He's going to vote against whatever we propose," Tim told us after returning from the meeting, "and so will most of his caucus. But he said we should be able to find five or so Republicans who'll work with us and he won't do anything to stop them."有充分理由预期米奇·麦康奈尔会在新的金融监管方面与我们抗争。毕竟，他一直反对任何形式的政府监管（环境法律、劳动法律、工作场所安全法律、竞选资金法律、消费者保护法律），这些法律可能限制美国企业所做的任何事情。但麦康奈尔也明白当前的政治风险-选民仍将共和党与大企业和拥有游艇的亿万富翁联系起来-他并不打算让他的党派标准的反监管立场妨碍他争取参议院大多数。因此，虽然他无意隐瞒他在每个环节都要阻挠我的议程，随着斯科特·布朗在马萨诸塞州参议院选举中胜利，使民主党失去了他们的60票，他在国会山办公室的会议上告诉蒂姆，他会在华尔街改革方面作出例外。“他会反对我们提出的任何建议，”蒂姆从会议回来告诉我们，“他和他的大部分参议院党派都会这样做，但他说我们应该能够找到五个或五个以上的共和党人与我们合作，他不会采取任何行动阻止他们。”

"Anything else?" I asked.

"Only that obstruction is working for them," Tim said. "He seemed pretty pleased with himself."

McConnell's concession to the public mood was significant, but it didn't mean we'd have an easy time getting Wall Street reform through Congress. Banking industry executives continued to show no remorse for the economic havoc they'd caused. Nor did bankers show gratitude for all we'd done to yank them out of the fire (accusations that I was "anti-business" had become a regular feature in the financial press). On the contrary, they viewed our efforts to tighten regulations on their operations as unacceptably burdensome, if not downright offensive. They also retained one of the most powerful lobbying operations in Washington, with influential constituencies in every state and the deep pockets to spread campaign donations across both parties.

“還有其他事嗎？”我問。

“只是阻礙對他們起到了作用，”蒂姆說，“他自己看起來很高興。”

麥康奈爾對公眾情緒的讓步是重要的，但這並不意味著我們在國會通過華爾街改革方面會輕鬆。銀行業高管們繼續沒有為他們所造成的經濟混亂道歉。銀行家們對我們所做的一切，即使是拼命的將他們從火中拯救出來，也沒有表達感激之情（我被指責是“反商業”的指控已經成為金融新聞的常見特徵）。相反，他們認為我們加強對他們業務的監管的努力是不可接受的負擔，甚至是冒犯的行為。他們仍然保留著華盛頓其中一個最強大的遊說機構，在每個州擁有有影響力的選民群體和豐厚的財政支援，能夠橫跨兩個政黨進行競選捐款。

Beyond all-out opposition from the banks, we had to confront the sheer complexity of trying to regulate the modern financial system. Gone were the days when most of America's money ran in a simple, circular loop, with banks taking in customers' deposits and using that money to make plain vanilla loans to families and businesses. Trillions of dollars now moved across multiple borders in the blink of an eye. The holdings of nontraditional financial operations like hedge funds and private equity firms rivaled those of many banks, while computer-driven trading and exotic products like derivatives had the power to make or break markets. Within the United States, oversight of this diffuse system was split among an assortment of federal agencies (the Fed, Treasury, FDIC, SEC, CFTC, OCC), most of which operated independently and fiercely protected their turf. Effective reform meant corraling these different players under a common regulatory framework; it also meant syncing up U.S. efforts with those made by regulators in other countries so that firms couldn't simply run their transactions through overseas accounts to avoid more stringent rules.

除了银行的全面反对，我们还不得不面对尝试监管现代金融系统的极度复杂性。过去，大部分美国的货币都在一个简单的循环回路中运转，银行接受客户的存款，并用这些资金向家庭和企业提供简单的贷款。现在，数万亿美元的资金跨越多个国界眨眼间移动。非传统金融业务如对冲基金和私募股权公司的持股量与许多银行相媲美，而计算机驱动的交易和衍生产品的力量能够推动或破坏市场。在美国境内，对这种分散的系统的监督由多个联邦机构（如联邦储备委员会、财政部、联邦存款保险公司、证券交易委员会和商品期货交易委员会）分别负责，其中大多数是独立运作并且强烈维护自己的领土。有效的改革意味着将这些不同的参与者集中在一个共同的监管框架下，还意味着将美国的努力与其他国家的监管机构同步，以便公司不能仅仅通过海外账户进行交易，以避免更严格的规定。

Finally we had to contend with sharp differences within the Democratic Party about both the shape and scope of reform. For those who leaned closer to the political center (and that included Tim and Larry as well as the majority of Democrats in Congress), the recent crisis had revealed serious but fixable flaws in an otherwise solid financial system. Wall Street's status as the world's preeminent financial center depended on growth and innovation, the argument went, and cycles of boom and bust—with corresponding swings between irrational exuberance and irrational panic—were built-in features not only of modern capitalism but of the human psyche. Since it was neither possible nor even desirable to eliminate all risk to investors and firms, the goals of reform were defined narrowly: Put guardrails around the system to reduce the most excessive forms of risk-taking, ensure transparency in the operations of major institutions, and “make the system safe for failure,” as Larry put it, so that those individuals or financial institutions that made bad bets didn't drag everyone else down with them.

最后，我们不得不面对民主党内关于改革的范围和形式的明显分歧。对于那些靠近政治中心的人（包括蒂姆和拉里以及大多数国会民主党人），最近的危机揭示了一个除此之外是坚实的金融体系中存在的严重但可修复的缺陷。争论的核心是，华尔街作为世界首要的金融中心取决于增长和创新，而经济繁荣与经济衰退之间的周期性循环，以及由此引起的非理性繁荣和非理性恐慌，是不仅现代资本主义的特征，也是人类心理的特征。由于不可能也不应该消除所有投资者和企业的风险，因此改革目标被狭义地定义为：在系统周围设置防护栏，以减少最过度的冒险行为，在主要机构的操作中确保透明度，并“让系统为失败安全”，如拉里所说，这样那些做了错误押注的个人或金融机构不会拖累其他人。

To many on the left, this sort of targeted approach to reform fell woefully short of what was needed and would merely put off a long-overdue reckoning with a system that failed to serve the interests of ordinary Americans. They blamed some of the economy's most troubling trends on a bloated, morally suspect financial sector—whether it was the corporate world's preference for cost cutting and layoffs over long-term investments as a way of boosting short-term earnings, or the use of debt-financed acquisitions by certain private equity firms to strip down existing businesses and resell their spare parts for undeserved profit, or the steady rise in income inequality and the shrinking share of taxes paid by the über-rich. To reduce these distorting effects and stop the speculative frenzies that so often triggered financial crises, they urged, we should consider a more radical overhaul of Wall Street. The reforms they favored included capping the size of U.S. banks and reinstating Glass-Steagall, a Depression-era law that had prohibited FDIC-insured banks from engaging in investment banking, which had been mostly repealed during the Clinton administration.

對於左翼派而言，這種針對性的改革方法遠遠不足以滿足需要，並且只是推遲了與未能為美國普通人利益服務的體制進行長期為期已久的清算。他們認為經濟中最令人擔憂的趨勢之一是膨脹而不道德的金融部門，不論是企業界更喜歡削減成本和裁員，以短期獲利的方式來取代長期投資，還是某些私募股權公司使用債務進行收購，拆分現有企業並出售其剩餘財產獲得不應有的利潤，或是收入不平等程度的增加和由超級富豪支付的稅款所占份額的減少。他們主張，為了減少這些扭曲影響，停止經常引發金融危機的投機狂熱，我們應考慮對華爾街進行更根本的改革。他們支持的改革包括限制美國銀行的規模，並恢復大蕭條時期的法律——禁止FDIC承保的銀行從事投資銀行業務的格拉斯-斯蒂格爾法案，在克林頓政府期間被部分廢除。

In a lot of ways, these intraparty divisions on financial regulation reminded me of the healthcare debate, when advocates of a single-payer system had dismissed any accommodations to the existing private insurance system as selling out. And just as had been true in the healthcare debate, I had some sympathy for the Left's indictment of the status quo. Rather than efficiently allocate capital to productive uses, Wall Street really did increasingly function like a trillion-dollar casino, its outsized profits and compensation packages overly dependent on ever-greater leverage and speculation. Its obsession with quarterly earnings had warped corporate decision-making and encouraged short-term thinking. Untethered to place, indifferent to the impact of globalization on particular workers and communities, the financial markets had helped accelerate the offshoring of jobs and the concentration of wealth in a handful of cities and economic sectors, leaving huge swaths of the country drained of money, talent, and hope.

在许多方面，这些有关金融监管的党内分歧让我想起了医疗保健辩论。在那场辩论中，单一付款系统的支持者对任何针对现有私人保险系统的妥协都不予考虑。就像在医疗保健辩论中一样，我也对左派对现状的控诉有些同情。华尔街确实越来越像一个万亿美元的赌场，其超乎寻常的利润和薪酬福利过分依赖于越来越大的杠杆和投机。它对季度收益的痴迷已经扭曲了企业决策，并鼓励短期思维。不受地点限制，不关心全球化对特定工人和社区的影响，金融市场帮助加速了就业外包和财富集中在少数城市和经济部门，使大片地区失去了资金、人才和希望。

Big, bold policies could make a dent in these problems, most of which had to do with rewriting the tax code, strengthening labor laws, and changing the rules of corporate governance. All three items were high on my to-do list.

But when it came to regulating the nation's financial markets to make the system more stable, the Left's prescription missed its mark. The evidence didn't show that limiting the size of U.S. banks would have prevented the recent crisis or the need for federal intervention once the system began to unravel. JPMorgan's assets dwarfed those of Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers, but it was those smaller firms' highly leveraged bets on securitized subprime mortgages that had set off a panic. The last major U.S. financial crisis, back in the 1980s, hadn't involved big banks at all; instead, the system had been rocked by a deluge of high-risk loans by thousands of small, poorly capitalized regional savings and loan associations (S&Ls) in cities and small towns across the country. Given the scope of their operations, we thought it made sense for regulators to give mega-banks like Citi or Bank of America extra scrutiny—but cutting their assets in half wouldn't change that. And since the banking sectors of most European and Asian countries were actually more concentrated than they were here, limiting the size of U.S. banks would put them at a big disadvantage in the international marketplace, all without eliminating the overall risk to the system.

大胆而有力的政策可以在这些问题上产生一定的效果，其中大多数与修订税法、加强劳工法律和改变公司治理规则有关。这三项都是我要做的重要任务。但是当涉及规范国家金融市场以使系统更稳定时，左派的处方并不准确。证据并没有表明限制美国银行的规模会防止最近的危机或系统开始崩溃后需要联邦干预的需要。JP摩根的资产大于熊斯登和雷曼兄弟，但是那些较小的公司对证券化的次贷抵押贷款的高杠杆赌注引发了恐慌。上一次的美国金融危机发生在上世纪80年代，根本没有涉及大银行；相反，全国各地城市和小镇的数千家小资本的地区储蓄和贷款协会（S&Ls）发放了大量高风险贷款，震荡了整个系统。鉴于它们的业务范围，我们认为监管机构给像花旗银行或美国银行这样的大型银行进行额外的审查是有意义的，但是将它们的资产减半并不会改变这一点。而且，由于大多数欧洲和亚洲国家的银行业实际上比我们这里的银行业更为集中，限制美国银行的规模会使它们在国际市场上处于劣势，同时并没有消除系统的整体风险。

For similar reasons, the growth of the non-bank financial sector made Glass-Steagall's distinction between investment banks and FDIC-insured commercial banks largely obsolete. The largest bettors on subprime mortgage securities—AIG, Lehman, Bear, Merrill, as well as Fannie and Freddie—weren't commercial banks backed by federal guarantees. Investors hadn't cared about the absence of guarantees and poured so much money into them anyway that the entire financial system was threatened when they started to fail. Conversely, traditional FDIC-insured banks like Washington Mutual and IndyMac got into trouble not by behaving like investment banks and underwriting high-flying securities but by making tons of subprime loans to unqualified buyers in order to drive up their earnings. Given how easily capital now flowed between various financial entities in search of higher returns, stabilizing the system required that we focus on the risky practices we were trying to curb rather than the type of institution involved.

由于类似的原因，非银行金融部门的增长使得《格拉斯-斯蒂格尔法案》中投资银行和受FDIC担保的商业银行之间的区别基本上已经过时了。投注次级抵押贷款证券的最大赌徒——AIG、雷曼兄弟、贝尔斯登、美林以及房利美和房地美——不是由联邦担保支持的商业银行。投资者不在乎担保的缺失，仍把很多钱投入其中，以至于当它们开始失败时整个金融系统都面临威胁。相反，传统的FDIC担保银行，如华盛顿互助银行和IndyMac银行，陷入麻烦并非表现得像投资银行那样包销高飞的证券，而是通过向不合格的买家发放大量次级贷款来推高其收益。考虑到资本如何在各个金融实体之间自由流动以寻求更高的回报，稳定该体系需要我们关注我们试图限制的高风险做法，而不是涉及的机构类型。

And then there were the politics. We didn't have anything close to the votes in the Senate for either reviving Glass-Steagall or passing legislation to shrink U.S. banks, any more than we'd had the votes for a single-payer healthcare system. Even in the House, Dems were anxious about any perception of overreaching, especially if it caused the financial markets to pull in their horns again and made the economy worse. "My constituents hate Wall Street right now, Mr. President," one suburban Democrat told me, "but they didn't sign up for a complete teardown." FDR may have once had a mandate from voters to try anything, including a restructuring of American capitalism, after three wrenching years of the Depression, but partly because we'd stopped the situation from ever getting that bad, our mandate for change was a whole lot narrower. Our best chance for broadening that mandate, I figured, was to notch a few wins while we could.

接下來是政治問題。我們在參議院無法得到足夠票數恢復《葛萊斯-斯蒂格爾法案》，也不能通過任何限制美國銀行業的立法，就像我們之前也無法通過單一支付預算健保制度。即使在眾議院，民主黨人仍然擔心任何過分擴張的印象，尤其是如果它再次引起金融市場緊縮，使經濟變得更糟。一個郊區民主黨人告訴我：“我的選民現在討厭華爾街，總統先生，但他們沒有選擇進行全面拆除。”FDR在經歷了三年痛苦的大蕭條後，或許曾經得到選民的任命，試圖重組美國資本主義，但由於我們已阻止情況進一步惡化，我們的改變任命更加狹窄。我認為擴大那份指令的最佳機會是趁我們還有機會取得一些勝利。

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IN JUNE 2009, after months of fine-tuning, our draft legislation for financial reform was ready to take to Congress. And while it didn't contain all the provisions the Left had been looking for, it remained a massively ambitious effort to revamp twentieth-century regulations for the twenty-first-century economy.

At the core of the package was a proposal to increase the percentage of capital that all financial institutions of "systemic" importance—whether banks or non-banks—were required to hold. More capital meant less borrowing to finance risky bets. Greater liquidity meant these institutions could better weather sudden runs during a market downturn. Forcing Wall Street's main players to maintain a bigger capital cushion against losses would fortify the

system as a whole; and to make sure these institutions hit their marks, they'd have to regularly undergo the same kind of stress test we'd applied at the height of the crisis.

在2009年6月，经过数月的调整，我们的金融改革草案已准备好提交国会审议。虽然它没有包含左派一直期望的所有条款，但它仍然是一项大力度的努力，旨在重组二十一世纪经济的二十世纪监管制度。核心内容是提议增加系统重要性金融机构（无论是银行还是非银行）必须持有的资本百分比。更多的资本意味着少借款来融资高风险投注。更大的流动性意味着这些机构可以在市场低迷时更好地承受突然抛售的风险。迫使华尔街主要参与者维持更大的资本垫款，以防止损失会增强整个系统的稳健性，而为了确保这些机构达到目标，它们必须定期接受与危机高峰时我们所采用的压力测试相同的测试。

Next we needed a formal mechanism to allow any single firm, no matter how big, to fail in an orderly way, so that it wouldn't contaminate the entire system. The FDIC already had the power to put any federally insured bank through what amounted to a structured bankruptcy proceeding, with rules governing how assets were liquidated and how claimants divvied up whatever remained. Our draft legislation gave the Fed a comparable "resolution authority" over all systemically important institutions, whether they were banks or not.

接下來，我們需要一個正式機制，讓任何單一公司，無論有多大，都能有序破產，以免污染整個系統。聯邦存款保險公司已經有權力將任何聯邦保險銀行進行結構化破產程序，規定了如何處理資產和如何分配剩下的權利人。我們的草案立法賦予聯邦準備理事會對所有系統重要機構，無論它們是銀行還是其他機構，具有可比的“解決權力”。

To improve consistency of enforcement, we proposed streamlining the functions and responsibilities of various federal agencies. To facilitate quicker responses in the event of a major market disruption, we formalized authority for many of the emergency actions—"foam on the runway," our economic team called it—that the Fed and Treasury had deployed during the recent crisis. And to catch potential problems before they got out of hand, our draft legislation tightened up rules governing the specialized markets that constituted much of the financial system's plumbing. We paid particular attention to the buying and selling of derivatives, those often impenetrable forms of securities that had helped intensify losses across the system once the subprime mortgage market collapsed. Derivatives had legitimate uses—all sorts of companies used them to hedge their risk against big swings in currency or commodity prices. But they also offered irresponsible traders some of the biggest opportunities for the kinds of high-stakes gambling that put the entire system at risk. Our reforms would push most of these transactions into a public exchange, allowing for clearer rules and greater supervision.

為了改善執法的一致性，我們提議整合聯邦機構的功能和責任。為了在市場出現重大干擾時更快地做出反應，我們正式授權了許多緊急行動，我們經濟團隊稱之為“跑道上的泡沫”，這些行動是聯邦儲備委員會和財政部在最近的危機中部署的。為了在問題失控之前抓住潛在問題，我們的草案立法加強了管轄金融系統中大部分的專業市場的規則。我們特別關注買賣衍生品，這種通常難以理解的證券形式在次貸抵押貸款市場崩潰後加劇了損失。衍生品有合法的用途 - 各種公司使用它們來對抗貨幣或商品價格的大幅波動風險。但是，它們也為不負責的交易員提供了最大的高風險賭博機會，從而將整個系統置於風險之中。我們的改革將推動大多數這些交易進入公開交易所，以便制定更清晰的規則和更大的監管。

The bulk of these proposals were highly technical, involving aspects of the financial system that were hidden from public view. But there was a final element of our draft legislation that had less to do with high finance and more to do with people's everyday lives. The crisis on Wall Street couldn't have happened without the explosion of subprime mortgage lending. And although plenty of those loans went to sophisticated borrowers—those who understood the risks involved with adjustable rate mortgages and balloon payments as they flipped Florida condos or purchased Arizona vacation homes—a larger percentage had been marketed and sold to working-class families, many of them Black and Hispanic, people who believed they were finally gaining access to the American Dream only to see their homes and their savings snatched away in foreclosure proceedings.

這些提案中的大部分都是高度技術性的，涉及金融系統的某些方面，這些方面對公眾來說並不透明。但我們的草案立法中仍有一個與高端金融較少有關，更多關乎人們日常生活的要素。華爾街的危機是由次級抵押貸款的激增所引起的。雖然這些貸款中有不少是銀行為了在翻轉佛羅里達州公寓或購買亞利桑那州度假屋之類的交易中賺取高利潤而向高級借貸者發放的（這些人明白浮動利率抵押貸款和氣球付款承擔的風險），但更大的部分被推銷和銷售給工薪家庭，其中很多人是非裔或拉丁裔，他們以為能夠最終實現美國夢，卻只看到房產和儲蓄在強制執行程序中被收走。

The failure to protect consumers from unfair or misleading lending practices wasn't restricted to mortgages. Perpetually short on cash no matter how hard they worked, millions of Americans regularly found themselves subject to exorbitant interest rates, hidden fees, and just plain bad deals at the hands of credit card issuers, payday lenders (many of them quietly owned or financed by blue-chip banks), used-car dealers, cut-rate insurers, retailers selling furniture on installment plans, and purveyors of reverse mortgages. Often they found themselves in a downward spiral of compounding debt, missed payments, shot credit, and repossessions that left them in a deeper hole than where they'd started. Across the country, sketchy financial-industry practices contributed to rising inequality, reduced upward mobility, and the kinds of hidden debt bubbles that made the economy more vulnerable to major disruptions.

消费者无法保护免受不公平或误导性贷款做法的影响，并不仅限于抵押贷款。即使工作再努力，无论如何常常缺少现金的数百万美国人，经常发现自己受到信用卡发行人、发薪日贷款人（其中很多都是由大型银行默默拥有或融资的）、二手车销售商、低价保险公司、销售分期付款家具的零售商以及反向抵押贷款商人的过高利息率、隐藏费用、协议瑕疵和不利协议的骗局。他们经常发现自己陷入复利债务、漏付款项、低信用记录和财产被没收的恶性循环之中，这让他们比原来更加负债累累。在全国范围内，不良的金融业务惯例，加剧了不平等现象、降低了向上流动的机会以及产生了那些导致经济更容易受到重大打击的隐性债务泡沫。

Having already signed legislation reforming the credit card industry, I agreed with my team that the aftermath of the crisis offered us a unique chance to make more progress on the consumer protection front. As it happened, Harvard law professor and bankruptcy expert Elizabeth Warren had come up with an idea that might deliver the kind of impact we were looking for: a new consumer finance protection agency meant to bolster the patchwork of spottily

enforced state and federal regulations already in place and to shield consumers from questionable financial products the same way the Consumer Product Safety Commission kept shoddy or dangerous consumer goods off the shelves.

已經簽署了改革信用卡行業的立法，我與我的團隊一致認為，危機後的後果為我們提供了在消費者保護方面取得進展的獨特機會。事實上，哈佛大學法學教授和破產專家伊麗莎白·沃倫提出了一個想法，可能會產生我們正在尋找的影響：一個新的消費金融保護機構，旨在加強已經存在的州和聯邦法規的縫合和保護消費者免受質疑的金融產品的影響，就像消費品安全委員會保護消費者免受質量差或危險的消費品的影響一樣。

I was a longtime admirer of Warren's work, dating back to the 2003 publication of her book *The Two-Income Trap*, in which Warren and her coauthor, Amelia Tyagi, provided an incisive and passionate description of the growing pressures facing working families with children. Unlike most academics, Warren showed a gift for translating financial analysis into stories that ordinary folks could understand. In the intervening years, she had emerged as one of the financial industry's most effective critics, prompting Harry Reid to appoint her as chair of the congressional panel overseeing TARP.

我一直是Warren作品的忠实拥护者，最早可以追溯到2003年她与合著者Amelia Tyagi出版的《双薪陷阱》一书，其中Warren用敏锐和激情描绘了有子女的工薪家庭所面临的压力。与大多数学者不同的是，Warren具备将财务分析转化为普通人可以理解的故事的天赋。在接下来的几年里，她成为金融业最有效的批评家之一，这促使Harry Reid任命她担任监督TARP的国会委员会主席。

Tim and Larry were apparently less enamored with Warren than I was, each of them having been called to make repeated appearances before her committee. Although they appreciated her intelligence and embraced her idea of a consumer finance protection agency, they saw her as something of a grandstander.

"She's really good at taking potshots at us," Tim said in one of our meetings, "even when she knows there aren't any serious alternatives to what we're already doing."

I looked up in mock surprise. "Well, that's shocking," I said. "A member of an oversight committee playing to the crowd? Rahm, you ever heard of such a thing?"

蒂姆和拉里似乎没有我那么着迷于沃伦，因为她们每个人都被叫去多次出席她的委员会。虽然他们欣赏她的智慧并接受她的消费者金融保护机构的想法，但他们认为她有点像一个大众情人。

"她非常擅长对我们进行攻击，"蒂姆在我们一次会议中说，"即使她知道我们已经在做什么，也没有什么严重的替代方案。"

我假装惊讶地抬起头。"哦，那真是令人震惊，"我说。"监督委员会的成员向观众投掷？拉姆，你听说过这种事吗？"

"No, Mr. President," Rahm said. "It's an outrage."

Even Tim had to crack a smile.

THE PROCESS OF getting Wall Street reform through Congress was no less laborious than our adventures with the Affordable Care Act, but it didn't receive nearly as much attention. Partly this had to do with the subject matter. Even members and lobbyists intent on killing the legislation kept a relatively low profile, not wanting to be seen as defenders of Wall Street so soon after the crisis, and many of the bill's finer points were too arcane to generate interest in the popular press.

"不，总统先生。"拉姆说，"这太不可思议了。"甚至蒂姆也忍不住笑了起来。

审议通过华尔街改革法案的过程不比我们推动《平价医疗法案》要轻松多少，不过却没有引起那么多关注。这在一定程度上与主题有关。即便是那些决心要扼杀该法案的议员和游说者也相对低调，毕竟金融危机刚刚过去，他们不愿被视为华尔街的捍卫者。此外，该法案的许多重要内容都过于玄妙，不足以引起大众媒体的兴趣。

One issue that did capture headlines involved a proposal by former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker to prohibit FDIC-insured banks from trading on their own accounts or operating their own hedge funds and private equity shops. According to Volcker, this sort of provision offered a simple way to restore some of the prudential boundaries that Glass-Steagall had placed around commercial banks. Before we knew it, our willingness to include the "Volcker Rule" in our legislation became a litmus test among many on the left for how serious we were about Wall Street reform. Volcker, a gruff, cigar-smoking, six-foot-seven economist by training, was an unlikely hero for progressives. In 1980, as Fed chairman, he'd hiked U.S. interest rates to an unprecedented 20 percent in order to break the back of America's then-raging inflation, resulting in a brutal recession and 10 percent unemployment. The Fed's painful medicine had angered unions and many Democrats at the time; on the other hand, it had not only tamed inflation but helped lay the groundwork for stable economic growth in the 1980s and '90s, making Volcker a revered figure in both New York and Washington.

一件引起人们关注的问题涉及前联邦储备委员会主席保罗·沃尔克的提案，他建议禁止FDIC保险银行进行自营交易或经营自己的对冲基金和私募股权公司。根据沃尔克的说法，这种规定提供了一种简单的方法，以恢复商业银行在格拉斯-斯蒂格尔放置的一些谨慎界限。在我们知道之前，"沃尔克规则"被包含在我们的立法中的意愿成为左派许多人对我们对华尔街改革的严肃程度的试金石。沃尔克是一个古怪的、爱抽雪茄、身高六英尺七英寸、拥有经济学背景的人，是进步人士意料之外的英雄。1980年，作为联邦储备委员会主席，他将美国利率提高到前所未有的20%，以打破当时肆虐的通货膨胀，导致了一次严重的经济衰退和10%的失业率。当时，联邦储备委员会的痛苦疗法激怒了工会和许多民主党人；另一方面，它不仅控制了通货膨胀，而且帮助奠定了20世纪80年代和90年代经济稳定增长的基础，使沃尔克成为纽约和华盛顿受人尊敬的人物。

In recent years, Volcker had grown bluntly critical of Wall Street's worst excesses, gaining some liberal admirers. He'd endorsed my campaign early, and I'd come to value his counsel enough that I appointed him to chair an advisory group on the economic crisis. With his no-nonsense demeanor, and his

belief in free-market efficiency as well as in public institutions and the common good, he was something of a throwback (my grandmother would have liked him), and after hearing him out in a private meeting in the Oval, I was persuaded that his proposal to curb proprietary trading made sense. When I discussed the idea with Tim and Larry, though, they were skeptical, arguing that it would be difficult to administer and might impinge on legitimate services that banks provided their customers. To me, their position sounded flimsy—one of the few times during our work together when I felt they harbored more sympathy for the financial industry's perspective than the facts warranted—and for weeks I continued to press them on the matter. At the start of 2010, as Tim grew concerned that momentum for Wall Street reform was beginning to lag, he finally recommended we make a version of the Volcker Rule part of our legislative package.

近年來，沃爾克對華爾街最壞的過度行為變得非常批評，贏得了一些自由主義支持者的讚賞。他早早地支持了我的競選活動，而我也越來越珍視他的建議，以至於任命他擔任經濟危機顧問小組的主席。憑藉他的無非議脾氣、對自由市場效率和公共機構以及公共利益的信仰，他顯得有些過時（我的祖母會喜歡他的），在橢圓形辦公室的私下會面中，我被說服了他的限制專有交易的提議是有道理的。然而，當我與蒂姆和拉里討論這個想法時，他們持懷疑態度，認為很難執行，可能會侵犯銀行為客戶提供的正當服務。對我來說，他們的立場聽起來很薄弱 - 在我們共事的幾次中，這是少有的一次我感到他們對金融行業的看法誠意不夠 - 幾個星期後，當蒂姆開始擔心華爾街改革的勢頭開始滯後，他終於建議將沃爾克法則的一個版本納入我們的立法方案之中。

“If it helps us get the bill passed,” Tim said, “we can find a way to make it work.”

For Tim, it was a rare concession to political optics. Axe and Gibbs, who'd been filling my in-box with polls showing that 60 percent of voters thought my administration was too friendly toward the banks, were thrilled with the news; they suggested that we announce the proposal at the White House with Volcker on hand. I asked if the general public would understand such an obscure rule change.

“They don't need to understand it,” Gibbs said. “If the banks hate it, they'll figure it must be a good thing.”

蒂姆說：“如果這有助於通過這項議案，我們可以找到一種方法讓它奏效。”這對於政治形象來說，對於蒂姆來說是一個罕見的讓步。埃克斯和吉布斯一直在給我發送民意調查，顯示有60%的選民認為我的政府對銀行太友好，得知這個消息後非常開心；他們建議我們在白宮舉行一次有沃爾克在場的提案發布會。我問他們，普通公眾是否會理解這樣一個晦澀的規則變化。

吉布斯說：“他們不需要理解它，如果銀行討厭它，他們就會認為這一定是一件好事。”

With the basic parameters of our legislation set, it fell to House Financial Services Committee chairman Barney Frank and Senate Banking Committee chairman Chris Dodd, both twenty-nine-year veterans of Congress, to help get it passed. They were an unlikely pair. Barney had made his name as a liberal firebrand and the first member of Congress to come out as gay. His thick glasses, disheveled suits, and strong Jersey accent lent him a workingman's vibe, and he was as tough, smart, and knowledgeable as anyone in Congress, with a withering, rapid-fire wit that made him a favorite of reporters and a headache for political opponents. (Barney once spoke to one of my classes while I was a student at Harvard Law, during which he dressed me down for asking what he apparently considered a dumb question. I didn't think it was that dumb. Thankfully, he didn't remember our first encounter.)在我們的立法基本參數確定後，負責推動通過的是眾議院金融服務委員會主席巴尼·弗蘭克和參議院銀行委員會主席克里斯·多德，他們都是國會的資深議員，有著二十九年的議員經驗。他們是一對看似不太相配的搭檔。巴尼是一個自由主義的火炬和議會中公開承認自己為同性戀的第一位議員。他那厚厚的眼鏡，不整潔的西裝，以及新澤西州強烈的口音帶給他一種工人階級的感覺。他像國會中的任何一位人物一樣強硬、聰明、知識豐富，而且還有一種犀利的、快速回應的幽默感，這讓他成為新聞記者的寵兒，也讓他的政治對手頭疼不已。(在我讀哈佛法學院時，巴尼曾經對我的一堂課進行過演講，在那時他因為我提了一個他覺得很蠢的問題而批評了我。我當時認為這個問題並不是很蠢。謝天謝地，他沒有記得我們的第一次相遇。)

Chris Dodd, on the other hand, came off as the consummate Washington insider. Immaculately dressed, his silver hair as shiny and crisp as a TV news anchor's, always ready to roll out a bit of Capitol Hill gossip or an Irish tall tale, he'd grown up in politics—the son of a former U.S. senator, one of Ted Kennedy's best friends, pals with any number of industry lobbyists despite his liberal voting record. We'd developed a warm relationship while I was in the Senate, based in part on Chris's good-natured acknowledgment of the absurdity of the place (“You didn't think this was actually on the level, did you?” he'd say with a wink after some colleague made an impassioned plea on behalf of a bill while actively trying to undermine said bill behind the scenes). But he took pride in his effectiveness as a legislator, and had been one of the driving forces behind such impactful laws as the Family and Medical Leave Act.

然而，克里斯·多德 (Chris Dodd) 给人的印象则是典型的华盛顿内部人士。衣着得体，银色头发闪闪发亮，就像一位电视新闻主播，总是准备好讲述一些国会山庄的八卦新闻或爱尔兰的离奇故事。他在政治圈子里长大——是一位前美国参议员的儿子，特德·肯尼迪的好朋友之一，尽管他的投票记录显示他是个自由派，但他与很多行业游说者都有着亲密的关系。我在参议院任职期间与他发展了良好的关系，部分原因是基于克里斯对这个地方“荒唐”的认识（每当一个同事为了某个法案的通过发表慷慨激昂的演说，同时又在幕后积极破坏该法案时，克里斯会眨巴眨巴眼睛说：“你没认为这是真的吧？”）。但他以自己的立法效率为豪，曾是家庭和医疗假法案等有影响的立法的主要推动力量之一。

Together, they made a formidable team, each perfectly suited for the politics of their chamber. In the House, a dominant Democratic majority meant that passing a financial-reform bill was never in question. Instead, our main task was keeping our own members on track. Not only did Barney have a firm command of the legislative details; he had the credibility inside the Democratic caucus to temper impractical demands from fellow progressives, as well as the clout to ward off efforts by more transactional Democrats to water down the legislation on behalf of special interests. In the Senate, where we needed every vote we could find, Chris's patient bedside manner and willingness to reach out to even the most recalcitrant Republicans helped soothe the nerves of conservative Democrats; he also gave us a useful conduit to industry lobbyists who opposed the bill but didn't find Chris scary.

他們在一起是一個非常強大的團隊，每個人都非常適合他們所處議會的政治環境。在眾議院，民主黨佔絕對優勢，通過金融改革法案從未成問題，而我們的主要任務是讓我們自己的成員不偏離軌道。巴尼不僅對立法細節有著牢固的掌握，而且在民主黨內部具有足以緩和同伴們不切實際需求的信譽，還有抗拒更

多的交易性民主黨人為特殊利益推銷法律的影響力。在參議院中，我們需要找到每一票選民，克里斯耐性的處理方式和願意與最棘手的共和黨人接觸的態度有助於舒緩保守民主黨人的緊張情緒。他還為業界遊說者提供了一個有用的傳達途徑，他們反對這項法案，但並不認為克里斯可怕。

Despite these advantages, moving what came to be known as “Dodd-Frank” involved the same kind of sausage-making that had been required to pass the healthcare bill, with a flurry of compromises that often left me privately steaming. Over our strong objections, the car dealers won an exemption from our new consumer protection agency’s oversight: With prominent dealerships in every congressional district, many of them considered pillars of the community for their sponsorship of Little League teams or donations to the local hospital, even the most regulation-happy Democrat ran scared of potential blowback. Our effort to streamline the number of regulatory agencies overseeing the financial system died an inglorious death; with each agency subject to the jurisdiction of a different congressional committee (the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, for example, reported to the House and Senate Agriculture Committees), Democratic committee chairs fiercely resisted the idea of giving up their leverage over some part of the financial industry. As Barney explained to Tim, we could conceivably consolidate the SEC and the CFTC: “Just not in the United States.”

儘管有這些優點，通過所謂的“Dodd-Frank”法案仍然需要類似通過醫保法案所需要的折衷和妥協，這讓我感到相當懊惱。盡管我們強烈反對，汽車經銷商仍然獲得了新的消費者保護機構的監管豁免權：這些經銷商在每個國會選區都有著突出的銷售店，並因其對小聯盟球隊的贊助或對當地醫院的捐贈而被評為社區的支柱，因此即使是最熱衷於監管的民主黨人也會擔心可能帶來的反彈效應。我們努力儘量簡化金融體系監管機構的數量，但這一努力以不榮譽的方式失敗了；每個機構都受到不同國會委員會的管轄（例如，商品期貨交易委員會向眾議院和參議院農業委員會匯報），民主黨的委員會主席強烈反對放棄他們對金融產業的某部分產生影響的治理權力。正如巴尼向蒂姆解釋的那樣，我們有可能合併證券交易委員會和商品期貨交易委員會：“只是不可能在美國實現。”

In the Senate, where the need to get to the sixty-vote threshold in order to overcome a filibuster gave every senator leverage, we were left to contend with all sorts of individual requests. Republican Scott Brown, fresh off a victorious campaign in which he’d railed against Harry Reid’s various “backroom deals” to get the healthcare bill passed, indicated a willingness to vote for Wall Street reform—but not without a deal of his own, asking if we could exempt a pair of favored Massachusetts banks from the new regulations. He saw no irony in this. A group of left-leaning Democrats introduced with much fanfare an amendment that they claimed would make the Volcker Rule’s restrictions on proprietary trading even tougher. Except that when you read the fine print, their amendment carved out loopholes for a smorgasbord of interests—the insurance industry, real estate investments, trusts, and on and on—that did big business in these senators’ individual states.在參議院中，需要獲得六十票的門檻才能克服阻撓，這讓每一位參議員都擁有談判的籌碼，我們必須應對各種不同的個人要求。共和黨籍的史考特·布朗最近通過一場成功的選戰，為此他抨擊哈利·里德背地裡的各種協議達成，以使醫療法案得以通過，而現在他表示願意支持華爾街改革，但他也提出了自己的條件，希望除外兩家受他青睞的麻薩諸塞銀行，豈不見得很諷刺嗎？一群左翼傾向的民主黨人宣傳稱，他們提出的一項修正案會使沃爾克規則對專有交易的限制更加嚴格，但細讀條文後，他們的修正案裡還挖了很多漏洞，涉及了保險業、房地產投資、信託等各種利益，這些都與這些參議員所在的州內的大生意有關。

“Another day in the world’s greatest deliberative body,” Chris said.

At times, I felt like the fisherman in Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea*, sharks gnawing at my catch as I tried to tow it to shore. But as the weeks passed, the core of our reforms survived the amendment process remarkably intact. A number of provisions introduced by congressional members—including improved disclosure of executive compensation in public companies, increased transparency in credit-rating agencies, and new claw-back mechanisms to prevent Wall Street executives from walking away with millions in bonuses as a result of questionable practices—actually made the bill better. Thanks to strong cooperation between our two lead sponsors, the conference to reconcile differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill saw none of the intraparty squabbling that had played out during the negotiations over healthcare. And in mid-July 2010, after a vote of 237–192 in the House and 60–39 in the Senate (with three Republicans voting “aye” in each chamber), we held a White House ceremony where I signed into law the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act.

“克里斯說：‘在世界上最偉大的決策機構中度過另一天。’ 有時候，我感覺自己像海明威小說《老人與海》里的漁夫，在試圖拖動鮑魚到岸邊的過程中，鯊魚們不斷啃咬我的收穫。但隨着時間的推移，我們改革的核心方案在修正案的過程中仍然完好地保留下來。一些國會議員提出的條款，包括公開公司高管薪酬、提高信用評級機構透明度以及通過新的收回機制來防止華爾街高管因可疑行為走人獲得數百萬美元的獎金，實際上使該法案更為完美。由於我們兩位主要發起人之間的強力合作，在調和眾議院和參議院版本之間的差異的過程中沒有出現內斗，而這種內斗在衛生保健談判期間已經出現。2010年7月中旬，在眾議院以237-192的投票結果和參議院以60-39的投票結果通過該法案（每個議會都有三名共和黨人投票支持），我們在白宮舉行了簽署儀式，我簽署了《多德-弗蘭克華爾街改革和消費者保護法》。”

It was a significant triumph: the most sweeping change to the rules governing America’s financial sector since the New Deal. The law had its warts and unwanted compromises, and it certainly wouldn’t put an end to every instance of foolishness, greed, shortsightedness, or dishonesty on Wall Street. But by establishing the equivalent of “better building codes, smoke detectors, and sprinkler systems,” as Tim liked to describe it, Dodd-Frank would check a number of reckless practices, give regulators the tools to put out financial fires before they got out of hand, and make crises on the scale we’d just seen far less likely. And in the new Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), American families now had a powerful advocate in their corner. Through its work, they could expect a fairer, more transparent credit market, and real savings as they tried to buy a house, finance a car, deal with a family emergency, send their kids to college, or plan for retirement.

這是一個重大的勝利：自新政策以來對美國金融部門管制規則的最廣泛變革。這項法律有其缺陷和不必要的妥協，當然也不能結束華爾街上每一個愚蠢、貪婪、短視、不誠實的行為。但是，通過建立“更好的建築代碼、煙霧探測器和噴水系統”，正如Tim所描述的那樣，多德-弗蘭克法案將檢查許多魯莽的做法，給監管機構提供工具，及時撲滅金融風險，使我們剛剛遇到的那種危機變得不太可能。而在新成立的消費者金融保護局（CFPB）中，美國家庭現在擁有強大的支持者。通過它的工作，他們可以期望在購買房屋、財務汽車、應對家庭緊急情況、送孩子上大學或計劃退休方面獲得更公平、更透明的信貸市場和實質性節省。

But if my team and I could take pride in the substance of what we'd achieved, we also had to acknowledge what had become obvious even before the bill was signed: Dodd-Frank's historic reforms weren't going to give us much of a political lift. Despite valiant efforts by Favs and the rest of my speechwriters, it was hard to make "derivative clearinghouses" and "proprietary trading bans" sound transformational. Most of the law's improvements to the system would remain invisible to the public—more a matter of bad outcomes prevented than tangible benefits gained. The idea of a consumer agency for financial products was popular with voters, but the CFPB would take time to set up, and people were looking for help right away. With conservatives denouncing the legislation as a guarantee of future bailouts and another step toward socialism, and with progressives unhappy that we hadn't done more to remake the banks, it was easy for voters to conclude that the sound and fury around Dodd-Frank signified nothing more than the usual Washington scrum—especially since, by the time it passed, all anybody wanted to talk about was a gaping, gushing hole at the bottom of the ocean.

但是，如果我和我的团队能够为我们所取得的成果感到自豪，我们也必须承认，甚至在法案签署之前，显而易见的是：多德-弗兰克（Dodd-Frank）历史性的改革并不会给我们带来太多政治上的好处。尽管费夫斯（Favs）和我的其余演讲稿写手做出了英勇努力，但很难让“衍生品清算所”和“专有交易禁令”听起来具有变革性。大部分该法律对系统的改进将对公众保持隐形——更多是防止不良后果而非获得实际利益。金融产品消费者机构的想法受到选民的欢迎，但CFPB需要时间来建立，并且人们希望立即得到帮助。由于保守派谴责该立法为未来的纾困计划并向社会主义迈出第一步，进步派则不满我们没有更多地重塑银行，因此选民很容易得出结论，多德-弗兰克周围的声浪只不过是华盛顿混战的常规表现——尤其是到它通过的时候，所有人想谈论的都是底部宽大、涌出的海洋。

## CHAPTER 23

THE FIRST OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING operations in the Gulf of Mexico were simple affairs, wooden platforms constructed in shallow waters beginning in the late 1930s. As technology advanced and America's thirst for oil grew unabated, companies ventured farther and farther from land, and by 2010 more than three thousand rigs and production platforms sat off the coasts of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, dotting the horizon like castles on stilts. They became a potent symbol of oil's central role in the regional economy: the billions in annual revenue it generated and the tens of thousands of people whose livelihoods depended, directly or indirectly, on siphoning up the remains of the ancient plants and animals converted by nature into the viscous black gold pooled beneath the ocean floor.

### 第23章

墨西哥灣地區的第一個離岸石油鑽探作業是簡單的事務，在20世紀晚期開始建造的淺水木平台。隨著技術的進步和美國對石油的渴求不斷增長，公司們越來越遠離陸地，到2010年，有超過3,000間鑽探平台和生產平台坐落在德克薩斯州、路易斯安那州、密西西比州和阿拉巴馬州的海岸上，猶如高腳城堡點綴著地平線。它們成為石油在區域經濟中提高的符號：每年產生的數十億美元收入和數以萬計直接或間接依賴掏取底部海洋地下的古代植物和動物遺骸轉化為粘稠黑金的人們的生計。

And when it came to rigs, few were more impressive than the Deepwater Horizon. Roughly thirty stories tall and longer than a football field, this mobile, half-billion-dollar semisubmersible could function in water as deep as ten thousand feet and drill exploratory wells several miles deeper than that. Operating a rig this size cost around \$1 million a day, but major oil companies considered the expense well worth it. Their continued growth and profits depended on tapping potentially vast reservoirs buried at what were previously unreachable depths.

當涉及鑽井設備時，很少有設備比深海地平線更令人印象深刻。這座高約三十層樓，長度超過一個足球場的移動式、價值五億美元的半潛式鑽井平台，可以在水深一萬英尺的地方運作，鑽探數英里深的探測井。運營這樣一個大型設備的成本每天約一百萬美元，但主要石油公司認為這個開支是值得的。他們的持續增長和利潤取決於開采先前難以觸及潛在的油田。

The Deepwater Horizon was owned by the Switzerland-based contractor Transocean and since 2001 had been leased by BP, one of the largest oil companies in the world. BP had used the rig to explore the U.S. section of the Gulf, discovering at least two enormous and potentially lucrative reservoirs beneath the seafloor. Just one of those fields, the Tiber, contained what was estimated to be a mind-boggling three billion barrels of oil. To access it, Deepwater crews had in 2009 drilled one of the deepest wells on record—35,055 feet under 4,130 feet of water, or farther beneath the ocean's surface than the height of Mount Everest.

深水地平线平台由总部位于瑞士的承包商特朗普欧逊所拥有，自2001年起已被全球最大的石油公司之一BP租用。BP曾使用该平台探索墨西哥湾美国部分，发现了至少两个巨大且潜力巨大的海底油藏。其中一个油田——泰伯油田，被估计含有惊人的30亿桶石油。为了开采这个油田，深水地平线的人员于2009年钻了一口创记录的最深井——距离海平面4130英尺以下的35055英尺处，该深度甚至比珠穆朗玛峰的高度还要低。

Hoping to repeat that success, BP dispatched the Deepwater Horizon to drill an exploratory well in another prospective oil field, called the Macondo, in early 2010. Located about fifty miles off the coast of Louisiana, the Macondo wasn't quite as far down as the Tiber—a "mere" twenty thousand feet or so. But in ultradeep underwater drilling, there was no such thing as a routine job. Accessing each reservoir raised unique challenges, often involving weeks of tinkering, complex calculations, and ad hoc decisions. And Macondo proved to be an especially difficult field, mainly due to fragile formation and uneven levels of fluid pressure.

希望重获成功，BP在2010年初派遣Deepwater Horizon前往Macondo进行勘探，该油田潜在的储油量较大。Macondo位于路易斯安那州海岸线外约50英里的位置，深度并不像Tiber那么深，只有“可怜”的约2万英尺。但在超深海底钻探中，没有例行工作这种事。要想获取每个油藏，都会面临独特的挑战，通常需要经过数周的调试，复杂的计算和特别决策。而Macondo油田被证实是一个特别困难的油田，主要是由于脆弱的地层和不平均的流体压力所导致。

The project quickly fell weeks behind schedule, costing BP millions of dollars. Engineers, designers, and contractors disputed aspects of the well's design. Nevertheless, by April 20, the well reached three and a half miles below the ocean's surface and appeared almost complete. A team from Halliburton, a contractor on the project, injected cement down the well bore to seal the edges of the pipe. Once the cement had set, BP engineers began to conduct a series of safety tests before moving the Deepwater on to its next assignment.

该项目迅速落后于进度数周，给BP造成数百万美元的损失。工程师、设计师和承包商对井设计的各个方面产生争议。然而，到4月20日，该井已经深入海洋表面下三英里半，看起来几乎完成了。该项目的承包商哈里博顿公司的一个团队向井壁注入水泥以封闭管道的边缘。一旦水泥凝固，BP的工程师开始进行一系列的安全测试，然后开始将Deepwater转移到下一个任务。

Shortly after five p.m., one of those tests revealed possible gas leakage through the cement casing, signaling a potentially dangerous situation. Despite the warning signs, BP engineers decided to continue their process, pumping out the muddy lubricant used to offset pressure imbalances during drilling. By nine-thirty p.m., a powerful surge of gas had entered the drill pipe. A four-hundred-ton set of emergency valves called the blowout preventer—designed to seal off the well in the event of a sudden pressure increase—malfunctioned, allowing the highly pressurized and combustible gas to erupt through the platform and shoot a black geyser of mud lubricant up into the sky. Clouds of gas collected inside the rig's engine control room and quickly ignited, rocking the entire structure with a pair of violent explosions. A tower of flames torched the night sky, as crew members scrambled into lifeboats or jumped into the debris-filled waters. Of the 126 persons aboard the rig, 98 managed to escape without physical harm, 17 were injured, and 11 platform workers remained unaccounted for. The Deepwater Horizon would continue to burn for the next thirty-six hours, its massive ball of fire and smoke visible for miles.

下午五点不久，其中一个测试表明可能存在水泥套管的气体泄漏，预示可能存在危险情况。尽管存在警告信号，BP的工程师仍然决定继续他们的工作，抽出用于平衡钻探过程中压力不平衡的泥浆润滑剂。到晚上九点半，一股强大的气体涌入钻杆。一个重达四百吨的应急阀门装置——用于在突然压力增加的情况下封堵井口——发生故障，允许高压可燃气体从平台喷发，并将黑色润滑剂的泥柱喷射到天空。燃气云在钻井平台的发动机控制室内聚集，并迅速燃烧，导致整个构造物遭受了两次剧烈爆炸。一座火焰高耸的塔状物燃烧着夜空，工作人员匆忙逃向救生艇或跳入充满碎片的水中。在钻井平台上共有126人，98人成功逃生，未受肉体伤害，17人受伤，11名平台工人失踪。Deepwater Horizon钻井平台将继续燃烧三十六个小时，其巨大的火球和烟雾可以在数英里外看到。

I WAS IN the residence when I got word of what was happening in the Gulf, having just returned from a West Coast fundraising trip for Democratic congressional candidates. My first thought was "Not again." Just fifteen days earlier, a coal dust explosion at Massey Energy's Upper Big Branch Mine, in West Virginia, had killed twenty-nine miners, the worst mining disaster in nearly forty years. Although the investigation of that disaster was still in its early stages, we already knew that Massey had a long history of safety violations. In contrast, the Deepwater rig hadn't had a serious accident in seven years. Still, I couldn't help but connect the two events and consider the human costs of the world's dependence on fossil fuels: the number of people who each day were forced to risk lungs, limbs, and sometimes their lives to fill our gas tanks and keep the lights on—and generate otherworldly profits for distant executives and shareholders.

我在府邸接到海灣發生事故的消息，當時我剛從一次為民主黨國會候選人籌款的西岸之旅回來。我第一個想法是「又來了」。僅僅15天前，西維吉尼亞州麥斯伊能源公司的Upper Big Branch Mine發生煤塵爆炸，造成29名礦工死亡，這是近40年來最嚴重的礦難。儘管調查尚處於早期階段，但我們已經知道麥斯伊有著長期的安全違規記錄。相比之下，Deepwater平台在七年間沒有發生過嚴重事故。儘管如此，我仍然無法避免將這兩件事聯繫起來，並考慮到世界對化石燃料的依賴所帶來的人類代價：每天被迫冒著生命危險去補充我們的油箱和保持照明——為遠方的高層和股東帶來超自然的利潤。

I knew also that the explosion would have serious implications for our energy agenda. A few weeks earlier, I'd authorized the Department of the Interior to allow the sale of certain offshore leases, which would open oil exploration (though not yet actual production) in the eastern Gulf and some waters off the Atlantic states and Alaska. I was following through on a campaign promise: In the midst of surging gas prices and with the McCain-Palin proposal to open America's coastline to wholesale drilling gaining traction in public polls, I'd pledged to consider a more limited expansion of drilling as part of an "all of the above" energy strategy. As a matter of policy, any transition to a clean energy future would take decades to complete; in the meantime, I had no problem with increasing U.S. oil and gas production to reduce our reliance on imports from petrostates like Russia and Saudi Arabia.

我也知道这次爆炸将对我们的能源议程产生严重影响。几周前，我授权内政部允许出售某些离岸租赁权，这将开放石油勘探（尽管尚未实际生产）在东部海湾和一些大西洋州和阿拉斯加的水域。我正在跟进一项竞选承诺：在天然气价格飙升的同时，麦凯恩-佩林提议开放美国海岸线进行全面钻探在公众调查中获得了支持，我承诺考虑通过“全方位”的能源战略来进行更有限的扩大钻探。作为政策上的一件事，任何向清洁能源未来的转型将需要几十年才能完成；在此期间，我对增加美国石油和天然气生产以减少我们对俄罗斯和沙特阿拉伯等石油国的依赖没有任何问题。

Above all, my decision to allow new exploratory drilling was a last-ditch effort to salvage our climate change legislation, which was by then on life support. The previous fall, when GOP senator Lindsey Graham had agreed to help put together a bipartisan climate bill, he had warned that we'd have to give something up in order to win enough Republican support to overcome a filibuster, and more offshore drilling had been at the top of his list. Taking Graham at his word, Joe Lieberman and John Kerry spent months working in tandem with Carol Browner, trying to persuade environmental groups that the trade was worth it, pointing out that the environmental risks of offshore drilling had been reduced by improvements in technology and that any final agreement would preclude oil companies from operating in sensitive areas like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

最重要的是，我允许进行新的探矿勘探，是为了挽救当时已濒于死亡的气候变化立法。前一年秋天，当共和党参议员林赛·格雷厄姆同意协助制定两党气候法案时，他警告说，为了赢得足够的共和党支持以克服阻挠，我们必须放弃一些东西，而增加更多的海上钻探则是他的优先事项。接受格雷厄姆的话，乔·利伯曼和约翰·克里与卡罗尔·布朗纳一起工作数月，试图说服环保组织认为这种交易值得，指出海上钻探的环境风险已通过技术改进减少，任何最终协议都将禁止石油公司在北极国家野生动物保护区等敏感地区经营。

At least some environmental groups were prepared to play ball. Unfortunately, as the months passed, it became increasingly obvious that Graham couldn't deliver on his end of the bargain. It's not that he didn't try. He worked to line up the oil companies behind a deal and courted moderate Republicans like Susan Collins and Olympia Snowe, as well as oil-state senators like Alaska's Lisa Murkowski, hoping they'd cosponsor the bill. But no matter how many concessions Kerry and Lieberman were prepared to make, Graham couldn't get any takers within the GOP caucus. The political price for cooperating with my administration remained too high.

至少有些环保组织准备参与合作。不幸的是，随着时间的推移，越来越明显的是格雷厄姆无法兑现承诺。并不是他没有尽力。他努力推动石油公司进行交易，并争取到像苏珊·柯林斯和奥利佛·斯诺等温和共和党人以及石油州的参议员，如阿拉斯加的丽莎·默尔科斯基，希望他们能一起担任该法案的共同发起人。但无论克里和利伯曼准备做出多少让步，格雷厄姆都无法在共和党派中找到任何人接受。与我的政府合作的政治代价仍然太高了。

Graham himself had started taking heat for his work on the climate bill, from both constituents and conservative media. His demands for staying with the bill escalated, making it harder for Kerry to keep environmental groups on board. Even our announcement that we were laying the groundwork to open up new areas to drilling drew Graham's ire; rather than viewing it as a show of good faith on our part, he complained that we'd undercut him by taking away a key bargaining chip. Rumors began circulating that he was looking for an opportune time to abandon the effort altogether.

格雷厄姆本人因为在气候法案工作中承受了来自选民和保守媒体的压力。他越来越强硬地要求留在法案中，使得克里难以保持环保团体的支持。即使我们宣布我们正在为开放新领域进行铺垫，格雷厄姆也很生气；他抱怨我们拿走了他的一个重要谈判筹码，而不是把它视为我们善意的表现。有谣言传出他正在寻找一个适当的时机来完全放弃这一努力。

All this came before the Deepwater accident. With newscasts suddenly flashing hellish images of a burning rig, we knew that environmental groups were sure to back off any bill that expanded offshore drilling. That, in turn, would give Graham the excuse he needed to jump ship. No matter how I sliced it, I could draw only one conclusion: My already slim chances of passing climate legislation before the midterm elections had just gone up in smoke.

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THE MORNING AFTER the Deepwater blowout, I took some solace in reports that much of the oil released by the explosion was burning off at the ocean's surface, at least slightly reducing the prospects of severe environmental damage. Carol confirmed that BP's emergency vessels and the U.S. Coast Guard had made it to the scene quickly, that search-and-rescue operations for the missing rig workers were ongoing, and that we were in close contact with state and local authorities. Under a federal law passed in the wake of the 1989 Exxon Valdez tanker accident in Alaska, BP bore full responsibility for cleaning up the spill. Nevertheless, I mobilized the Coast Guard, as well as the EPA and the Department of the Interior, to assess the damage and provide any support the company might need.所有这一切都发生在深水事故之前。当新闻突然播放燃烧的钻井平台的地狱般的画面时，我们知道环保组织肯定会撤回任何扩大海上钻探的法案。这反过来会给格雷厄姆跳船所需的借口。无论我如何分析，我只能得出一个结论：在中期选举之前通过气候立法的可能性已经化为乌有。

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深水炸裂事件的次日早晨，我在听到炸裂释放的大部分油都在海面上燃烧的报道中稍稍感到一些安慰，这至少减少了严重环境破坏的可能性。卡罗尔确认BP的应急船只和美国海岸警卫队已经迅速赶到现场，搜寻和营救失踪的钻井工人正在进行中，我们与州和地方当局保持紧密联系。根据1989年在阿拉斯加发生的埃克森美孚“瓦尔迪兹”号油轮事故之后通过的联邦法律，BP承担了清理漏油的全部责任。尽管如此，我调动了海岸警卫队以及EPA和内政部，评估损失并提供公司可能需要的任何支持。

Figuring we had a reasonable handle on the situation, I kept to my schedule, traveling to New York the following day to give a speech on Wall Street reform. By the time I arrived, though, the disaster had intensified. Weakened by the ongoing inferno, the entire Deepwater structure had collapsed and sunk into the ocean, spewing black smoke as all thirty-three thousand tons of it disappeared from view, almost certainly damaging the undersea apparatus beneath it. With the unknowns rapidly multiplying, I asked Rahm to set up a briefing upon my return, gathering U.S. Coast Guard commandant Admiral Thad Allen, Janet Napolitano of Homeland Security, and Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, whose department was responsible for overseeing offshore drilling. As it turned out, the only time we could fit in a meeting was six p.m.—right after I finished addressing the couple hundred people we'd invited to a previously arranged Rose Garden reception celebrating the fortieth anniversary of Earth Day.

我们认为我们已经对局势有了合理的掌握，因此按照计划前往纽约，准备进行一场有关华尔街改革的演讲。然而当我到达时，这场灾难已经加剧。由于持续着的火灾，整个深水地平线构造物已经倒塌并沉入海底，随着33000吨的重量消失在视野中，散发着黑烟，几乎肯定会破坏其下面的海底设施。由于未知因素急剧增加，我要求拉姆安排一次回来后的简报，召集美国海岸警卫队指挥官塞德·艾伦上将、国土安全局局长珍妮特·纳波利塔诺和负责监督海上钻探的内政部长肯·萨拉扎尔。事实证明，我们唯一能够安排会议的时间是下午六点，正好在我结束邀请数百人参加事先安排的庆祝地球日40周年的玫瑰园招待会后。

It was a bit of cosmic irony that I was in no mood to appreciate.

“Hell of a farewell tour we're giving you, Thad,” I said, shaking hands with Admiral Allen as he and the rest of the group filed into the Oval Office. Stout and ruddy-faced, with a whisk-broom mustache, Allen was just a month away from retiring after thirty-nine years of service in the Coast Guard.

“Well, hopefully we can get this mess under control for you before I go, Mr. President,” Allen replied.

I signaled for everyone to have a seat. The tone grew somber as Allen explained that the Coast Guard had diminished hopes when it came to the search-and-rescue operations—too much time had passed for any of the Deepwater's eleven missing crew members to have survived in open seas. As for the cleanup, he reported that BP and the Coast Guard response teams had deployed specially equipped boats to skim oil left from the explosion off the water's surface. Fixed-wing aircraft were scheduled to begin dropping chemical dispersants to break up the oil into smaller droplets. And the Coast Guard was working with BP and the impacted states to pre-position booms—floating barriers of sponge and plastic—to help prevent the possibility of oil spreading to the shore.

這真是個具有宇宙意義的諷刺，可惜我當時的心境無法欣賞。

「這個告別之旅相當不錯，Thad」我跟著其他人進入橢圓形辦公室，與Allen上將握手。Allen上將臉色紅潤，留著短捲髮，他即將退休，結束了在海岸警衛隊長達39年的服務。

「我的總統先生，希望在我離任之前我們能夠掌控局勢，化解災害。」Allen回答道。

我示意大家坐下，氣氛變得沉重起來，Allen解釋說在搜救行動方面，海岸警衛隊減少了從海洋中找回失蹤的Deepwater油井工人的希望，因為水面上的石油太多了，開放海域範圍太廣。在清理方面，他報告說BP和海岸警衛隊的應急小組已經派出特別裝備的船艦，從水面上撇去爆炸留下的石油。定翼飛機即將開始噴灑化學分散劑，將油分解成更小的油滴而使之分散開來。海岸警衛隊正與BP和受影響的州協商，提前佈置海綿和塑料障壁，以防油漏沿岸擴散。

“What's BP saying about liability?” I asked, turning to Salazar. Balding and bespectacled, with a sunny disposition and a fondness for cowboy hats and bolo ties, Ken had been elected to the Senate in 2004, the same year I was. He'd become a trusted colleague and was an ideal choice for interior secretary, having led the Department of Natural Resources in Colorado before becoming the state's first Hispanic attorney general. He'd grown up in the stunningly beautiful ranchlands of south-central Colorado's San Luis Valley, where branches of his family had lived continuously since the 1850s, and was intimately familiar with the dueling impulses to exploit and to conserve the federal lands that had shaped so much of that region's history.

“BP 对责任有何说法？”我问道，转向萨拉扎尔。肥胖、戴眼镜，性格阳光，喜欢牛仔帽和博洛领结，肯在2004年当选参议员，与我同时。他已经成了一个值得信任的同事，并且成为了内政部长的理想选择，在成为科罗拉多州第一位西班牙裔检察官之前，他曾领导该州自然资源部门。他在科罗拉多州南部圣路易斯谷的令人惊叹的美丽牧场地区长大，他的家族分支自1850年以来一直居住在那里，并且对利用和保护塑造了该地区历史的联邦土地非常熟悉。

“I heard from them today, Mr. President,” Salazar said. “BP has confirmed that they'll pay any damages that aren't covered by the Oil Spill Liability Trust Fund.” This was good news, I thought. While individual oil companies were responsible for the entire cost of cleaning up their spills, Congress had put a paltry

*75millioncapontheirobligationtocompensatethirdpartieslikefishermenorcoastalbusinessesfordamages.Instead, oil companies were 1 billion. But Carol had already alerted us that if the oil slick wasn't sufficiently contained, that might not be enough. By securing an early pledge from BP to make up any shortfall, we could at least provide affected states with some assurance that their residents would have their losses covered.*

“萨拉扎尔先生今天告诉我，总统先生，BP已经确认他们将支付任何未被石油泄漏责任信托基金所覆盖的损害赔偿。”我觉得这是好消息。尽管个别石油公司要对清理自己的溢油事故负全部成本，但国会对他们赔偿像渔民或沿海企业这样第三方的损害的义务设定了微薄的7,500万美元上限。相反，石油公司需要缴纳一笔联合信托基金，该基金将支付高达10亿美元的超额损害赔偿。但卡罗尔已经警告我们，如果油污得不到充分遏制，这可能不够。通过从BP获得早期承诺弥补任何短缺，我们至少能向受影响的州提供一些保证，即他们的居民将获得赔偿。

At the end of the meeting, I asked the team to keep me informed of new developments and reminded them to use whatever federal resources we had at our disposal to mitigate the economic and environmental impacts. Walking everyone out of the Oval, I noticed Carol looking pensive. I asked her to hang back for a minute so I could speak to her alone.

“Is there something we didn't cover?” I asked.

“Not really,” Carol said. “I just think we need to prepare for the worst.”

“Meaning?” I asked.

Carol shrugged. “BP's claiming that oil isn't leaking out of the well. If we're lucky, they'll turn out to be right. But we're talking about a pipe that travels a mile down to a well on the bottom of the ocean floor. So I doubt anyone knows for sure.”

会议结束时，我要求团队时刻让我知晓新的进展情况，并提醒他们利用我们手头的联邦资源来减轻经济和环境的影响。在走出椭圆形办公室时，我注意到卡罗尔神情沉思。我让她留下来，单独跟她谈话。

“我们没讲到的事情吗？”我问。

“不是这样的，”卡罗尔说，“我只是觉得我们需要为最坏的情况做准备。”

“什么意思？”我问。

卡罗尔耸了耸肩。“BP声称井口没有泄漏出油。如果我们幸运的话，他们可能是对的。但我们要讨论的是一条深达海底一英里的管道。我怀疑是否有人能确定。”

“What if they're wrong?” I asked. “What if there is a leak beneath the surface?”

“If they can't seal it quickly,” she said, “then we've got a nightmare on our hands.”

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IT TOOK LESS than two days to confirm Carol's fears. The Macondo well was discharging oil below the surface—and not just a trickle. At first, BP engineers identified the leak as coming from a break in the pipe that had occurred when the rig sank, discharging an estimated one thousand barrels of oil into the Gulf each day. By April 28, underwater cameras had discovered two more leaks, and those estimates had risen to five thousand barrels a day.

At the surface, the oil slick had grown to roughly six hundred square miles and was close to reaching the Louisiana coast, poisoning fish, dolphins, and sea turtles and threatening long-term damage to the marshes, estuaries, and inlets that were home to birds and other wildlife.

“如果他们错了呢？”我问道。“如果地表下有泄漏呢？”

“如果他们无法迅速封住它，那么我们就会陷入噩梦之中。”她说。

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仅花费不到两天时间，就确认了卡罗尔的担忧。玛康多油井正在地表以下泄漏石油——并且不是一点点。起初，BP的工程师将泄漏定位在井口附近的一个破管处，这个破裂口是石油钻井平台沉没时造成的，并正在每天向墨西哥湾排放着约1000桶的原油。到了4月28日，水下摄像机发现了另外两个泄漏口，估计每天泄漏的原油量已经上升到了5000桶。在地表上，油亮已经扩大到大约600平方英里，并且即将到达路易斯安那州的海岸，毒害着鱼类、海豚和海龟，并威胁到这些湾泊、河口和栖息着鸟类和其他野生动物的沼泽地、干河道长期的生态损害。

Even more alarming was the fact that BP didn't seem to know how long it would take to successfully plug the well. The company insisted that there were several viable options, including the use of remotely operated vehicles to unjam the blowout preventer, stuffing the hole with rubber or other materials, placing a containment dome above the well to funnel oil up to the surface so it could be collected, or drilling intersecting relief wells so that cement could be pumped in to block the flow of oil. According to our experts, however, the first three of those options weren't guaranteed to work, while the fourth might "take several months." At the rate we believed oil was gushing out, that could add up to a nineteen-million-gallon spill—about 70 percent more than had been released during Exxon Valdez.

更令人震惊的是，BP似乎不知道成功堵住井口需要多长时间。该公司坚称有几个可行的方案，包括使用远程操作的车辆来清除防喷器的堵塞、用橡胶或其他材料填补井口、在井口上方放置一个遏制圆顶来漏油至地面被收集、或者打钻交叉救援井，然后注入水泥来阻止漏油。然而，根据我们的专家，前三种选项都不确定能够成功，而第四种可能需要“数月”的时间。按我们认为的油流出速度，这可能会导致1900万加仑的泄漏——比埃克森美孚瓦尔德斯号漏油事故还多了约70%。

Suddenly we faced the prospect of the worst environmental disaster in U.S. history.

We assigned Thad Allen the job of national incident commander; imposed a thirty-day moratorium on new offshore drilling, as well as a fishing ban in the contaminated area; and declared the Macondo disaster a "spill of national significance." The federal government coordinated a response across many entities, including engaging with citizen volunteers. Soon more than two thousand people were working around the clock to contain the spill, operating an armada that comprised seventy-five vessels, including tugboats, barges, and skimmers, plus dozens of aircraft and 275,000 feet of flotation booms. I sent Napolitano, Salazar, and Lisa Jackson of the EPA to the Gulf to monitor the work, and I told Valerie I wanted her talking to the governors of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Florida (all five of whom happened to be Republican) every single day to find out what more we could do to help.

突然我们面临着美国历史上最严重的环境灾难。我们派遣萨德·艾伦担任全国事件指挥官；禁止在海上新的钻探活动，同时禁止在受污染的区域捕鱼；并将马孔多灾难宣布为“国家级重大泄漏”。联邦政府在包括与公民志愿者接触在内的多个机构协调应对。很快就有超过两千人正在全天候地工作，以控制泄漏，操作了由七十五艘船只（包括拖船、驳船和除油设备）组成的舰队，加上数十架飞机和27.5万英尺的浮力防护栏。我派遣纳波利塔诺、萨拉扎尔和环保署的丽莎·杰克逊前往海湾监督工作，并告诉瓦莱丽我希望她每天都和路易斯安那、阿拉巴马、密西西比、德克萨斯和佛罗里达（这五个州的州长恰好都是共和党人）的州长交谈，以寻找更多的帮助。

"Tell them if they've got a problem, I want to hear from them directly," I said to Valerie. "I want us to be so goddamn responsive that they get sick of hearing from us."

It's fair to say, then, that by May 2, when I visited a Coast Guard station in Venice, Louisiana, to get a firsthand look at the cleanup operations, we were throwing everything we had at the disaster. As with most presidential trips, the point was not so much to gather new information but to communicate concern and resolve. After delivering a press statement in the driving rain outside the station, I spoke with a group of fishermen, who told me they'd recently been hired by BP to lay down booms across the path of the spill and were understandably worried about the spill's long-term impact on their livelihoods.

我告诉瓦莱丽：“如果他们有问题，让他们直接告诉我。我希望我们反应如此迅速，以至于他们听到我们都恶心了。”可以说，到5月2日，当我访问路易斯安那州维纳斯的一个海岸警卫队站，亲眼看到清理行动时，我们已经尽可能投入全部资源来处理这场灾难。就像大多数总统之旅一样，目的并不是为了收集新信息，而是表达关切和决心。在站外雨中发表新闻声明后，我与一群渔民交谈，他们告诉我他们最近被BP公司雇用，搭建围栏阻挡漏油，并且担心漏油会对他们的生计造成长期影响。

I also spent a good deal of time that day with Bobby Jindal, the former congressman and health policy expert in the Bush administration who had leveraged his sharp-edged conservatism to become the nation's first Indian American governor. Smart, ambitious, and in his late thirties, Jindal was viewed as an up-and-comer within his party and had been selected to deliver the televised GOP response to my first joint session address. But the Deepwater incident, which threatened to shut down vital Louisiana industries like commercial seafood and tourism, put him in an awkward spot: Like most GOP politicians, he was a champion of Big Oil and an equally fervent opponent of strengthening environmental regulations.

那一天，我也花了很多时间和博比·钦达尔一起，他是前国会议员和布什政府的卫生政策专家，他利用锋利的保守主义成为美国第一位印度裔州长。聪明、有雄心、年龄在三十多岁的钦达尔被视为该党的后起之秀，并被选为电视转播的共和党人对我的首次联合会议演讲的回应人。但是，深水事故威胁到关闭重要

的路易斯安那工业，如商业海产品和旅游业，让他处于尴尬的境地：像大多数共和党政治家一样，他是大石油的支持者，同样也是激烈反对加强环保法规的人。

Scrambling to get ahead of any shift in public sentiment, Jindal spent most of his time pitching me a plan to rapidly erect a barrier island—a berm—along a portion of the Louisiana coast. This, he insisted, would help keep the impending oil slick at bay.

“We’ve already got the contractors lined up to do the job,” he said. His tone was confident, verging on cocky, though his dark eyes betrayed a wariness, almost pain, even when he smiled. “We just need your help to get the Army Corps of Engineers to approve it and BP to pay for it.”

匆忙应对公众情绪的变化，金德尔全力提出了一项快速修建分隔岛屿——堤坝——沿着路易斯安那海岸地区的计划。他坚称，这将有助于防止即将到来的石油泄漏。

“我们已经有承包商来做这项工作了，”他说。他的口气自信，接近傲慢，尽管他的深邃的眼睛透露出一种戒备和痛苦，即使当他微笑的时候。“我们只需要您的帮助，让工程兵团批准它，让BP负责支付费用。”

In fact, I’d already heard about the “berm” idea; preliminary assessments from our experts suggested that it was impractical, expensive, and potentially counterproductive. I suspected that Jindal knew as much. The proposal was mainly a political play, a way for him to look proactive while avoiding the broader questions the spill raised about the risks of deepwater drilling. Regardless, given the scope of the crisis I didn’t want to be seen as dismissing any idea out of hand, and I assured the governor that the Army Corps of Engineers would give his berm plan a quick and thorough evaluation.

事实上，我已经听说过“堤坝”这个想法；我们专家的初步评估认为它是不切实际的，昂贵的，且有可能适得其反。我怀疑金德尔也有同样的认识。该提案主要是政治手段，他可以在避开关于深水钻探风险的广泛问题的同时展现积极姿态。尽管如此，考虑到危机的规模，我不希望被视为轻率地驳回任何想法，并向州长保证，工程兵团将快速而彻底地评估他的堤坝计划。

With the weather too foul to fly Marine One, we spent much of the day driving. Sitting in the backseat of the SUV, I surveyed the patchy membrane of vegetation, mud, silt, and marsh that spread unevenly on either side of the Mississippi River and into the Gulf. For centuries, humans had fought to bend this primordial landscape to their will, just as Jindal was now proposing to do with his berm—building dikes, dams, levees, channels, sluices, ports, bridges, roads, and highways in the service of commerce and expansion, and rebuilding time and again after hurricanes and floods, undaunted by the implacable tides. There was a certain nobility in such stubbornness, I thought, part of the can-do spirit that had built America. 由於天氣太糟糕，無法飛行海軍一號，我們花了大部分時間開車。坐在SUV的後座，我觀察了分佈不均的植被、泥淖、淤泥和沼澤。幾個世紀以來，人們一直在努力將這原始的風景屈服於他們的意志，正像金達爾現在所提出的對於堤壩的建造計畫一樣 - 為了商業和擴張，建造堤岸、水壩、防洪堤、航道、水閘、港口、橋樑、道路和高速公路，並在颶風和洪水後一次次重建，毫不畏懼不可抗拒的潮汐。我想，這樣的固執有一定的高尚精神，是建立美國的勇氣的一部分。

Yet when it came to the ocean and the mighty river that emptied into it, the victories of engineering turned out to be fleeting, the prospect of control illusory. Louisiana was losing more than ten thousand acres of land every year, as climate change raised sea levels and made hurricanes in the Gulf more fierce. The constant dredging, banking, and rerouting of the Mississippi to ease passage for ships and cargo meant that less sediment washed down from upriver to restore the land that was lost. The very activity that had made the region a commercial hub and allowed the oil industry to thrive was now hastening the sea’s steady advance. Looking out the rain-streaked window, I wondered how long the road I was traveling would last, with its gas stations and convenience stores, before it too was swallowed by the waves.

然而，當面對大海和注入其中的強大河流時，工程勝利變得短暫，控制前景不切實際。由於氣候變化提高了海平面並使墨西哥灣的颶風更加猛烈，路易斯安那每年失去了超過一萬英畝的土地。持續河道疏浚，築堤和重新引導密西西比河以方便船隻和貨物通過，意味著從上游流下來的沉積物較少，無法恢復失去的土地。使該地區成為商業中心並使石油工業蓬勃發展的活動現在正加速海洋不斷進攻。眺望著水蒸汽籠罩的窗戶，我不禁想知道我所行駛的道路還能持續多久，它的加油站和便利店能否被浪潮吞噬。

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A PRESIDENT HAS no choice but to continually multitask. (“You’re like the guy in the circus,” Michelle told me once, “just spinning plates at the end of a stick.”) Al-Qaeda didn’t suspend its operations because of a financial crisis; a devastating earthquake in Haiti didn’t time itself to avoid relief efforts overlapping with a long-planned, forty-seven-nation nuclear security summit I was chairing. And so, as stressed as I was about the Deepwater disaster, I tried not to let it consume me. In the weeks following my Louisiana visit, I carefully tracked our response, relying on detailed daily briefings while also attending to the ten or twelve other pressing matters that demanded my attention.

總統無法避免不斷的多工作業。（“你就像馬戲團裡的那個人一樣，不停地拿著棍子轉盤子。”米歇爾曾經對我說。）基地組織並沒有因為金融危機而停止行動；海地的強震也沒有特意選擇避免與我主持的四十七國核安全高峰會議的救援行動重疊。因此，儘管我對深水地平線災害感到壓力，我也嘗試不讓它成為我的全部。在我參觀路易斯安那州之後的幾週裡，我仔細地追蹤著我們的應對情況，依靠著詳細的每日簡報，同時也處理著其他十二項急迫的事務。

I visited a manufacturing plant in Buffalo to discuss the economic recovery and continued to work with a bipartisan fiscal commission that was looking for ways to stabilize the long-term U.S. deficit. There were calls to Merkel on Greece and Medvedev on the ratification of START, a formal state visit from President Felipe Calderón of Mexico focused on border cooperation, and a working lunch with President Karzai of Afghanistan. Along with the usual terrorist threat briefings, strategy sessions with my economic team, and a slew of ceremonial duties, I interviewed candidates for a Supreme Court seat that had opened up after Justice John Paul Stevens announced his retirement in early April. I settled on the brilliant young solicitor general and former Harvard Law School dean Elena Kagan, who, like Justice Sotomayor, would emerge from the Senate hearings relatively unscathed and be confirmed a few months later.

我造訪了位於水牛城的製造廠，討論經濟復甦並繼續與跨黨派的財政委員會合作，尋找穩定美國長期赤字的方法。我與默克爾討論了希臘問題，與梅德韋傑夫討論了《新削減戰略武器條約》的批准，墨西哥總統費利佩·卡尔德龍的正式訪問則關注邊境合作，我與阿富汗總統卡尔扎伊進行了工作午餐。除了通常的恐怖主義威脅簡報、與經濟團隊的戰略會議和一大堆禮儀性職務，我還面試了一些最高法院席位的候選人，這是在約翰·保羅·史蒂文斯法官於四月初宣布退休後開放的席位。最終我選中了年輕有為的檢察總長和哈佛法學院前院長伊琳娜·卡根，像索托馬約爾法官一樣，她經過參議院聽證並得到確認幾個月後當選。

But no matter how many other plates I had spinning in the air, at the end of each day my mind would be pulled back to the Deepwater spill. If I squinted hard, I could tell myself there'd been some progress. BP had successfully shut off the smallest of the three underwater leaks, using robots to fit a valve on the ruptured pipe. Admiral Allen had brought a semblance of order to the cleanup efforts on the ocean surface, which by mid-May had grown to nearly a thousand vessels and an army of close to twenty thousand BP workers, members of the Coast Guard and National Guard, shrimpers, fishermen, and volunteers. Valerie did such an outstanding job of staying close to the five governors whose states were threatened by the spill that, despite their party affiliations, most had only good things to say about the federal response. ("Me and Bob Riley have become best buddies," she said with a smile, referring to the Republican governor of Alabama.) The lone exception was Governor Jindal; Valerie reported that on several occasions, he'd make a request for White House help on some issue, only to put out a press release ten minutes later blasting us for ignoring Louisiana.

但无论我一天中要忙多少其他事情，我的思绪总会回到深水泄漏事件。如果我紧闭双眼，可以告诉自己已经取得了一些进展。BP成功关闭了三个泄漏口中最小的一个，使用机器人把一个阀门安装在破裂的管道上。艾伦海军上将已经将清洁工作在海面上的组织得井井有条，截至五月中旬，近千艘船只和将近二万名BP工人、海岸警卫队和国民警卫队成员、捕虾人、渔民和志愿者参加了清洁工作。Valerie在密切接触了五个受到泄漏威胁的州长之后，做得非常出色，以至于尽管他们的党派不同，大多数人对联邦政府的响应都是好评。（“我和鲍勃·莱利已经成为最好的朋友了，”她笑着说，指的是阿拉巴马州共和党州长。）唯一的例外是金迪尔州长；Valerie报告说，在几次请求白宫帮助某个问题的时候，他却在十分钟后发布新闻稿抨击我们无视路易斯安那的问题。

Still, the oil kept coming. BP's robots couldn't close the jammed blowout preventer, leaving the two main leaks unsealed. The company's first effort to place a containment dome over the leaks also failed, due to issues caused by frigid temperatures so far down. It became increasingly obvious that BP's team didn't know exactly how to proceed—and that none of the federal agencies that typically handled spills did either. "We're used to dealing with an oil slick from a tanker accident or a busted pipe," Admiral Allen explained to me. "Trying to seal a live oil well a mile under the surface...this is more like a space mission."

然而，原油依然源源不断地涌出。BP公司的机器人无法关闭堵塞的防喷器，导致两个主要泄漏口无法密封。该公司第一次尝试在泄漏口上方放置遮蔽罩也失败了，由于深海温度异常寒冷带来问题。越来越明显的是，BP的团队不知道如何继续下去，而通常处理此类事故的联邦机构也无能为力。“我们习惯处理的是由油轮事故或破裂的管道导致的油膜。试图在一个地下一英里深的活油井上封堵...这更像是一项太空任务。”阿道夫·艾伦海军上将向我解释道。

It was an apt analogy—and the reason I decided to turn to Steve Chu for help. Despite the title, the secretary of energy doesn't normally have jurisdiction over oil drilling. But we figured it couldn't hurt to have a Nobel Prize-winning physicist involved in our response, and after discovering the underwater leaks, we asked Chu to brief the team on the science involved in shutting them down. Despite Carol's warning to be succinct, his Situation Room presentation ran about twice as long as he'd been allotted and involved thirty slides. Most of the room was lost after the fifth one. Rather than waste all that brainpower on us, I instructed him to head down to Houston, where BP's response team was headquartered, to work with the engineers there on a possible fix.

这是一个恰当的比喻——这也是为什么我决定向史蒂夫·朱求助的原因。尽管他是能源部长，但通常在油井钻探方面并无管辖权。但我觉得请一位诺贝尔物理学奖得主参与应对工作不会有害，于是在发现了水下泄漏后，我们请求朱向团队介绍关于关闭泄漏的科学知识。尽管卡罗尔提醒他要简明扼要，但是他在情况室的演示花费的时间是应该分配给他两倍，使用了三十张幻灯片。第五张后，大部分人都听不下去了。我命令他不要浪费那么多的智慧在我们身上，撤往休斯顿，与那里的BP应对团队一起探讨可能的解决方案。

Meanwhile, public attitudes about the disaster began to shift. Throughout the first few weeks of the spill, BP bore the brunt of the blame. Not only did Americans tend to be skeptical of oil companies, but BP's CEO, Tony Hayward, was a walking PR disaster—stating in the media that the spill involved a "relatively tiny" amount of oil in "a very big ocean"; arguing in another interview that no one wanted to see the hole plugged more than him because "I'd like my life back"; and generally living up to every stereotype of the arrogant, out-of-touch multinational executive. (His obtuseness reminded me that BP—previously known as British Petroleum—had started off as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company: the same company whose unwillingness to split royalties with Iran's government in the 1950s had led to the coup that ultimately resulted in that country's Islamic Revolution.)

與此同時，公眾對這場災難的態度開始轉變。在漏油的頭幾週裡，BP 承擔了大部分的責任。美國人不僅對石油公司持懷疑態度，而且 BP 的首席執行官托尼·海沃德是一個走向公關災難的人物——在媒體上聲稱，漏油只涉及“一小部分”油在“非常大的海洋”中；在另一次訪談中辯稱，除了他自己沒有人想讓孔塞堵住，因為“我也想要我的生活”；並且一舉踐踏了所有傲慢、脫離現實的跨國企業家的刻板印象。他的愚昧讓我想起，BP 以前被稱為英國石油公司，當初該公司不願與伊朗政府分享版稅，導致在 1950 年代發生了政變，最終導致了伊斯蘭革命。

As the crisis passed the thirty-day mark, though, attention increasingly turned to my administration's possible culpability for the mess. In particular, news stories and congressional hearings fastened on a series of exemptions from standard safety and environmental guidelines that BP had received from the Minerals Management Service (MMS), the subagency within the Interior Department responsible for granting leases, collecting royalties, and overseeing offshore drilling operations in federal waters. There hadn't been anything unusual about the exemptions MMS had granted to BP on the Macondo well; when it came to managing the risks of deepwater drilling, the agency's officials routinely ignored their staff scientists and engineers and deferred to industry experts they believed to be better versed in the latest processes and technologies.

随着危机过了三十天，注意力越来越转向我们政府是否对这个混乱负有责任。特别是，新闻报道和国会听证会开始关注英国石油公司从内部管理署 (Interior Department) 的矿产管理局 (Minerals Management Service, MMS) 获得的一系列标准安全和环境准则的豁免。MMS向Macondo井授予的豁免并没有什么不寻常的；在深水钻探的风险管理方面，机构官员通常会忽视他们的科学家和工程师，并将自己推向他们认为更熟悉最新工艺和技术的行业专家。

Of course, that was exactly the problem. Before I had taken office, we'd heard about MMS's coziness with the oil companies and its regulatory shortcomings—including a well-publicized scandal toward the end of the Bush administration involving kickbacks, drugs, and sexual favors—and we'd promised to reform the place. And, in fact, as soon as he'd taken over the Interior Department, Ken Salazar had cleaned up some of the more egregious problems. What he hadn't had the time or resources to do was to fundamentally reorganize MMS so that it had the capacity to tightly regulate such a well-heeled and technologically complex industry.

當然，這正是問題所在。在我上任之前，我們已經聽說了MMS與石油公司的關係密切，以及它的監管缺陷，包括布什政府末期爆出的一個風波，牽涉到回扣、毒品和性服務等事件，而我們承諾要改革這個機構。實際上，正當肯·薩拉扎接管內政部時，他已經解決掉了一些最嚴重的問題。他沒有時間和資源徹底重組MMS，以便它有能力緊密監管這樣一個財力雄厚、技術複雜的產業。

I couldn't really fault Salazar for this. Changing practices and culture inside government agencies was hard, and rarely completed in a matter of months. We were confronting similar issues at agencies charged with regulating the financial system, where overstretched and underpaid regulators could barely keep up with the sophisticated, constantly evolving operations of massive international financial institutions. But that didn't excuse the fact that no one on my team had warned me that MMS still had such serious problems before recommending that I endorse Interior's plan to open up additional areas to exploratory drilling. And anyway, in the middle of a crisis, no one wanted to hear about the need to put more money into federal agencies. Nor did they want to hear about how raising civil servants' salaries would help those agencies improve management and compete with the private sector to attract topflight technical talent. Folks just wanted to know who had let BP drill a hole three and a half miles below the ocean's surface without knowing how to plug it—and the bottom line was, it had happened on our watch.

我并不能真正指责Salazar。在政府机构内改变做法和文化是很困难的，也很少能在几个月内完成。我们正在应对类似的问题，调节金融体系的机构面临着前所未有的挑战，过度的工作负担和低廉的薪酬让监管机构几乎无法跟上庞大的国际金融机构日新月异的运营模式。但这并不能解释为什么我团队中没有人在推荐我支持内政部开拓勘探钻井活动的计划前，警告过我MMS仍存在如此严重的问题。总之，在危机时刻，没有人愿意听到需要向联邦机构投入更多的资金。他们也不想听到提高文职人员薪资如何帮助这些机构改善管理和与私营部门竞争，吸引顶级技术人才的需要。人们只想知道是谁让英国石油公司在海平面以下3.5英里处钻了一个孔，但又不知道如何堵上它。底线是，这发生在我们的监管范围内。

While questions about MMS kept reporters busy, what really turned public attitudes was BP's late-May decision—which I supported in the interest of transparency—to start releasing live, real-time video feeds of the leaks coming from the company's underwater cameras. The early images of the burning Deepwater Horizon rig had received wide coverage. But footage of the spill itself—consisting mostly of overhead shots, faint streaks of crimson against the blue-green ocean—hadn't fully captured the potential devastation. Even when oil-sheened waves and blobs of oil known as tar balls started reaching the outer shores of Louisiana and Alabama, camera crews didn't have a lot of arresting visuals to work with—particularly since, after decades of offshore drilling, the waters of the Gulf weren't all that pristine to begin with.

當MMS的問題讓記者們忙碌，真正改變公眾態度的是BP在5月底做出的決定，也是我們以透明為目標所支持的，開始公佈公司水下攝影機拍攝到的即時、實時油漏視頻。早期關於燃燒的Deepwater Horizon鑽井臺的影像已經受到了廣泛關注，但漏油本身的影像——大多數是從頭頂拍攝的影像，淺淺的紅色對比藍綠色的海洋——並未完全展示出潛在的破壞力。即使是當油污染的浪潮和被稱為焦油球的油漬開始蔓延到路易斯安那和阿拉巴馬的外圍海岸時，攝影隊也沒有太多引人注目的視覺素材可用——特別是由於在海上鑽探數十年後，墨西哥灣的水域本身並不是那麼清澈。

The underwater video feed changed all this. Suddenly people around the world could see the oil pulsing in thick columns from the surrounding wreckage. Sometimes it appeared sulfurous yellow, sometimes brown or black, depending on the lighting from the camera. The roiling plumes looked forceful, menacing, like emanations from hell. Cable news networks began broadcasting the footage in a corner of the screen around the clock, along with a digital timer reminding viewers of the number of days, minutes, and seconds since the spill had begun.

水下视频镜头改变了一切。突然间，全世界的人都能看到石油从周围残骸中以浓密的柱状物喷涌而出。有时它呈现硫黄色，有时是棕色或黑色，这取决于摄像机的光线。滚滚的浮游物看起来很有力，威胁性十足，就像从地狱中发出的 emanations。有线新闻网络开始在屏幕的一角不间断地播放这段画面，并附带一个数字计时器，提醒观众自泄漏开始以来的天数、分钟和秒数。

The videos seemed to confirm calculations that our own analysts had made, independent of BP: The leaks were likely pumping out anywhere between four and ten times the original estimate of five thousand barrels of oil daily. But more so than the frightening numbers, the images of the underwater gushers—along with a sudden increase in B-roll footage of pelicans coated in oil—made the crisis real in people's minds. Folks who hadn't been paying much attention to the spill suddenly wanted to know why we weren't doing something to stop it. In the dentist's office, Salazar found himself staring at the video feed on a ceiling-mounted TV as he underwent an emergency root canal. Republicans called the spill "Obama's Katrina," and soon we were under fire from Democrats as well—most notably former Clinton aide and longtime Louisianian James Carville, who, appearing on *Good Morning America*, issued a blistering, high-volume attack on our response, directing his criticism specifically at me: "Man, you got to get down here and take control of this! Put somebody in charge of this thing and get this moving!" A nine-year-old boy in a wheelchair who was visiting the Oval Office through the Make-a-Wish Foundation warned me that if I didn't get the leak filled soon, I was "going to have a lot of political problems." Even Sasha came into my bathroom one morning while I was shaving to ask, "Did you plug the hole yet, Daddy?"

這些影片似乎證實了我們自己的分析師獨立於BP所作出的計算：洩漏很可能每天泵出四到十倍於最初估計的五千桶油。不過，與數字相比，水下噴油的影像——以及覆蓋著油的鶴鶻的畫面突然激增——使危機在人們的心中變得真實。原來沒有太關注這次漏油事件的人們，突然想知道為什麼我們沒有採取行動來制止它。在牙科診所，沙拉扎爾在接受緊急根管手術時盯著安裝在天花板上的電視視頻。共和黨人稱這次漏油事件是“奧巴馬的卡特里納颶風”，不久之後，民主黨人也對我們提出批評，尤其是前克林頓助手和路易斯安那州長期居住者詹姆斯·卡維爾，在《早安美國》上發表了一項尖刻、高分貝的抨擊，把批評矛頭直接指向我：“兄弟，你得下來掌控局面！讓誰掌管這件事，讓它動起來！”一個透過“許願實現基金會”參觀總統辦公室的九歲男孩警告我，如果我不盡快堵住洩漏口，我“會有很多政治問題”。甚至莎莎在一個早上進入我的浴室時問我：“你塞住了漏洞了嗎，爸爸？”

In my own mind, those dark cyclones of oil came to symbolize the string of constant crises we were going through. More than that, they felt alive somehow—a malevolent presence, actively taunting me. To that point in my presidency, I'd maintained a fundamental confidence that no matter how bad things got, whether with the banks, the auto companies, Greece, or Afghanistan, I could always come up with a solution through sound process and smart choices. But these leaks seemed to defy a timely solution, no matter how hard I pushed BP or my team, and no matter how many meetings I held in the Sit Room, poring over data and diagrams as intently as I did in any war-planning session. With that feeling of temporary helplessness, a certain bitterness began creeping into my voice—a bitterness I recognized as a companion to self-doubt.

在我自己的心里，那些黑色漩涡的石油成为了我们经历的持续不断的危机的象征。更重要的是，它们在某种程度上感觉到有生命力——一种邪恶的存在，积极地嘲弄着我。在我任期至此，我一直保持着基本信心，即无论情况变得多么糟糕，无论是与银行、汽车公司、希腊还是阿富汗有关，我都可以通过正确的过程和明智的选择找到解决方案。但这些泄漏似乎无法及时解决，无论我多么努力地推动英国石油公司或我的团队，无论我在会议室里举行多少次会议，专注地研究数据和图表，就像在任何战争计划会议上一样。随着那种暂时的无助感，一种苦涩开始渗入我的声音——一种我认识到是自我怀疑的同伴。

“What does he think I'm supposed to do?” I growled at Rahm after hearing of Carville's broadside. “Put on my fucking Aquaman gear and swim down there myself with a wrench?”

The chorus of criticism culminated in a May 27 White House press conference that had me fielding tough questions on the oil spill for about an hour. I methodically listed everything we'd done since the Deepwater had exploded, and I described the technical intricacies of the various strategies being employed to cap the well. I acknowledged problems with MMS, as well as my own excessive confidence in the ability of companies like BP to safeguard against risk. I announced the formation of a national commission to review the disaster and figure out how such accidents could be prevented in the future, and I reemphasized the need for a long-term response that would make America less reliant on dirty fossil fuels.

“他想让我怎么做？”听说卡维尔公开抨击后，我对拉姆咆哮道。“穿上我的潜水员装备，自己拿个扳手下去潜水？”

批评的声音在5月27日的白宫新闻发布会上达到了顶峰，我不得不花费一个小时回答关于漏油事件的艰难问题。我详细列举了自“深水地平线”爆炸以来我们所做的一切，描述了各种用于封堵井口的技术复杂性。我承认了矿物管理局存在的问题，以及我对像英国石油这样的公司抵御风险的过度自信。我宣布成立全国委员会以审查灾难，找出未来如何避免这类事故的方法，并再次强调需要长期响应，使美国减少对脏化石燃料的依赖。

Reading the transcript now, a decade later, I'm struck by how calm and cogent I sound. Maybe I'm surprised because the transcript doesn't register what I remember feeling at the time or come close to capturing what I really wanted to say before the assembled White House press corps:

That MMS wasn't fully equipped to do its job, in large part because for the past thirty years a big chunk of American voters had bought into the Republican idea that government was the problem and that business always knew better, and had elected leaders who made it their mission to gut environmental regulations, starve agency budgets, denigrate civil servants, and allow industrial polluters do whatever the hell they wanted to do.十年后现在阅读这份记录，我感到自己说话时非常冷静和清晰。也许我感到惊讶是因为这份记录没有表达我当时的真实感受，也没有捕捉到我当时想要在白宫新闻发布会上说的话：

矿产管理局（MMS）在很大程度上缺乏履行其任务的必要设备，这在很大程度上是因为过去30年间，一大批美国选民一直奉行共和党的观念，即政府是问题的根源，商业总是更懂得处理问题。这些选民选出的领导人把摧毁环保法规、削减机构预算、诋毁公务员以及允许工业污染者为所欲为作为他们的使命。

That the government didn't have better technology than BP did to quickly plug the hole because it would be expensive to have such technology on hand, and we Americans didn't like paying higher taxes—especially when it was to prepare for problems that hadn't happened yet.

That it was hard to take seriously any criticism from a character like Bobby Jindal, who'd done Big Oil's bidding throughout his career and would go on to support an oil industry lawsuit trying to get a federal court to lift our temporary drilling moratorium; and that if he and other Gulf-elected officials were truly concerned about the well-being of their constituents, they'd be urging their party to stop denying the effects of climate change, since it was precisely the people of the Gulf who were the most likely to lose homes or jobs as a result of rising global temperatures.

政府不能比BP更有先进的技术快速堵住漏洞，因为保持这样的技术成本太高，而我们美国人不喜欢支付更高的税费，特别是当它是为了准备尚未发生的问题时。詹德尔这样的人物很难被认真批评，因为他在整个职业生涯中一直为大型石油公司服务，并且赞成石油行业的诉讼，试图让联邦法院取消我们的临时钻井禁令；如果他和其他海湾选定官员真正关心他们的选民生计，他们会敦促他们的政党停止否认气候变化的影响，因为恰恰是海湾地区的人们最有可能因全球气温上升而失去家园或工作。

And that the only way to truly guarantee that we didn't have another catastrophic oil spill in the future was to stop drilling entirely; but that wasn't going to happen because at the end of the day we Americans loved our cheap gas and big cars more than we cared about the environment, except when a complete disaster was staring us in the face; and in the absence of such a disaster, the media rarely covered efforts to shift America off fossil fuels or pass climate legislation, since actually educating the public on long-term energy policy would be boring and bad for ratings; and the one thing I could be certain of was that for all the outrage being expressed at the moment about wetlands and sea turtles and pelicans, what the majority of us were really

interested in was having the problem go away, for me to clean up yet one more mess decades in the making with some quick and easy fix, so that we could all go back to our carbon-spewing, energy-wasting ways without having to feel guilty about it.

唯有完全停止钻探，才能确保未来不再出现灾难性的油漏，但这不可能发生，因为美国人最在乎的是廉价的汽油和大汽车，而不是环境，除非他们正在面临完全的灾难，否则媒体很少报道从化石燃料转型或通过气候立法的努力，因为实际上向公众普及长期能源政策是乏味的，并且对收视率不利；我唯一可确信的是，在许多人对湿地、海龟和鹈鹕表示愤怒的同时，我们大多数人真正感兴趣的是让问题消失，让我用一些快速简单的方法来清理几十年的混乱，以便我们所有人可以回到排放碳和浪费能源的方式，而不必感到内疚。

I didn't say any of that. Instead I somberly took responsibility and said it was my job to "get this fixed." Afterward, I scolded my press team, suggesting that if they'd done better work telling the story of everything we were doing to clean up the spill, I wouldn't have had to tap-dance for an hour while getting the crap kicked out of me. My press folks looked wounded. Sitting alone in the Treaty Room later that night, I felt bad about what I had said, knowing I'd misdirected my anger and frustration.

It was those damned plumes of oil that I really wanted to curse out.

我没有说过那些话。相反，我郑重地承担责任并说这是我“修复问题”的工作。随后，我责备了我的新闻团队，暗示如果他们更好地宣传我们正在清理泄漏的一切工作，那么我就不必在被打倒的同时跳舞一个小时了。我的媒体人看起来很受伤。那天晚上独自坐在条约厅里，我为自己的话感到不安，知道我已经错怪了自己的愤怒和沮丧。我真正想责骂的是那些该死的漏油柱。

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FOR THE NEXT six weeks, the spill continued to dominate the news. As efforts to kill the well kept coming up short, we compensated by making more of a show of my personal involvement. I made two more trips to Louisiana, as well as visits to Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. Working with Admiral Allen, who'd agreed to delay his retirement until the crisis was over, we found ways to meet every governor's request, including a scaled-down plan for Jindal's berm. Salazar had signed an order that effectively dissolved MMS, dividing responsibilities for energy development, safety regulation, and revenue collection between three new independent agencies. I announced the formation of a bipartisan commission tasked with recommending ways to prevent future offshore drilling disasters. I held a full cabinet meeting on the crisis and had a heart-wrenching visit with the families of the eleven Deepwater workers killed in the explosion. I even delivered an Oval Office address on the spill—the first such address of my presidency. The format, with me sitting behind the Resolute desk, felt stilted, of another era, and by all accounts I wasn't very good.

在接下来的六周里，漏油事件继续成为新闻的主要焦点。尽管尝试关闭油井的努力屡屡失败，但我们通过加强我的个人参与来进行宣传。我前往路易斯安那州两次，并访问了密西西比、阿拉巴马和佛罗里达州。与同意推迟退休直到危机解决的艾伦上将合作，我们找到了满足每个州长要求的办法，包括对金德尔的堤防计划进行精简。Salazar签署了一项命令，有效地解散了MMS，把能源开发、安全监管和收入征收的责任分配给了三个新的独立机构。我宣布成立了一委员会，任务是推荐防止未来海上钻井灾难的方法。我在危机中召开了一次全体内阁会议，并与在爆炸事故中丧生的十一名Deepwater工人家属进行了令人心痛的访问。我甚至就此事在总统办公室发表了演讲-这是我就任总统以来的首次演讲。形式上，我坐在坚定办公桌后面，感觉古板、过时，而且根据所有报道，我表现得并不好。

The flood of appearances and announcements had the intended effect of muting, if not fully eliminating, the bad stories in the press. But it was the results of two earlier decisions I'd made that ultimately got us through the crisis.

The first involved making sure that BP followed through on its earlier promise to compensate third parties harmed by the spill. Typically the process for filing claims required victims to jump through a bunch of bureaucratic hoops or even hire a lawyer. Resolving those claims could take years, by which time a small tour-boat operator or restaurant owner might have already lost his or her business. We thought the victims in this case deserved more immediate relief. We also figured now was the time for maximum leverage: BP's stock was tanking, its global image was being pummeled, the Justice Department was investigating the company for possible criminal negligence, and the federal drilling moratorium we'd imposed was creating huge uncertainty for shareholders.

大量露面和公告的洪水效果如预期，压制了不良新闻的声音，如果不能完全消除的话。但最终帮助我们度过危机的是我之前做出的两个决定。第一个决定是确保BP履行了之前承诺的赔偿受灾第三方的承诺。一般来说，申请索赔的过程需要受害者跨越一堆官僚障碍，甚至需要聘请律师。解决这些索赔可能需要多年时间，到那时，一个小型观光船经营者或餐馆老板可能已经失去了自己的业务。我们认为这些受害者应该得到更即时的救济。我们还认为现在是施加最大压力的时候：BP的股票下跌，其全球形象受到严重打击，司法部正在调查公司是否存在可能的刑事疏忽，而我们实施的联邦钻井禁令正在为股东带来巨大的不确定性。

"Can I squeeze the hell out of them?" Rahm asked.

"Please do," I said.

Rahm went to work, badgering, cajoling, and threatening as only he could, and by the time I sat across the table from Tony Hayward and BP's chairman, Carl-Henric Svanberg, for a June 16 meeting in the Roosevelt Room, they were ready to wave the white flag. (Hayward, who said little in the meeting, would announce his departure from the company a few weeks later.) Not only did BP agree to put \$20 billion into a response fund to compensate victims of the spill, but we arranged for the money to be placed in escrow and administered independently by Ken Feinberg, the same lawyer who'd managed the fund for 9/11 victims and reviewed executive-compensation plans for banks receiving TARP money. The fund didn't solve the environmental disaster. But it fulfilled my promise that all the fishermen, shrimpers, charter companies, and others who were racking up losses due to the crisis would get their due.

“我可以把他们弄得非常痛苦吗？”拉姆问道。

“请吧，”我说。

拉姆开始了工作，用他自己的方式威逼、讨好和恐吓，到6月16日我和BP的首席执行官托尼·海沃德以及董事长卡尔-亨里克·斯万伯格在罗斯福房间面对面的时候，他们已经准备好拿出白旗了。（海沃德在会议中几乎没说什么话，几周后宣布从公司离职。）不仅仅是BP同意将200亿美元投入应急响应基金以赔偿漏油事件的受害者，而且我们还安排将这笔钱存入托管账户，并由肯·费恩伯格独立管理，他曾经为911受害者管理过基金，并查阅过接受TARP财政援助的银行执行薪酬计划。该基金没有解决环境灾难，但它实现了我的承诺，即所有渔民、虾兵蟹将、包船公司和其他因危机而遭受损失的人都能得到应有的赔偿。

The second good decision I'd made was putting Steve Chu on the job. My energy secretary had been underwhelmed by his initial interactions with BP engineers ("They don't know what they're dealing with," Chu said), and he was soon splitting his time between Houston and D.C., telling Thad Allen that BP "shouldn't do anything unless they clear it with me." In no time, he had recruited a team of independent geophysicists and hydrologists to work with him on the problem. He convinced BP to use gamma-ray imaging to help diagnose what had gone wrong with the blowout preventer and to install pressure gauges to get real data on what was happening at the base of the well. Chu and his team also hammered home the point that any effort to cap it should be preceded by a thorough consideration of how that work risked triggering a cascade of uncontrollable underground leaks—and an even worse catastrophe.

我做出的第二个明智决定就是让吴健雄接手这个任务。我的能源部长对他与BP工程师的初次互动并不满意（“他们不知道他们正在处理什么，”吴健雄说），因此他很快就分身到了休斯敦和华盛顿，并告诉泰德·艾伦（Thad Allen）BP“除非经过我的批准，否则不要采取任何行动”。很快，他招募了一支由独立的地球物理学家和水文学家组成的团队，与他一起解决这个问题。他说服BP使用伽马射线成像来帮助诊断防喷器出了什么问题，并安装压力计以获得有关井底情况的真实数据。吴健雄和他的团队还强调，应该在认真考虑操作可能引发无法控制的地下泄漏连锁反应和更严重的灾难之前封紧井口。

Chu and the BP engineers eventually agreed that the best solution was to fit a second, smaller blowout preventer—called a capping stack—on top of the one that had failed, using a series of sequential valves to shut down the leak. But after looking over BP's initial design—and getting government scientists and engineers at Los Alamos National Laboratory and elsewhere to run a series of simulations on their supercomputers—Chu determined that it was inadequate, and the group quickly went to work on crafting a modified version. Axe stopped into the Oval one day and told me he'd just run into Chu at a nearby deli, sitting with his food barely touched, drawing various models of capping stacks on his napkin.

初和BP的工程师们最终一致认为，最好的解决方案是在失败的防喷器上方安装第二个较小的封顶防喷器（称为封顶堆叠），使用一系列顺序阀门来关闭泄漏。但在审查BP的初始设计并让政府科学家和洛斯阿拉莫斯国家实验室和其他地方的工程师在他们的超级计算机上运行一系列模拟之后，初认为它是不够完善的，并且这个团队迅速着手制定修改后的版本。Axe有一天进入椭圆形办公室告诉我，他刚在附近的一家熟食店里碰到了初，他几乎没碰饭菜，而是在餐巾纸上画各种封顶堆叠的模型。

"He started trying to explain how the contraption worked," Axe said, "and I told him I was having enough trouble figuring out what I should order for lunch."

The final capping stack weighed seventy-five tons, stood thirty feet tall, and, because of Chu's insistence, included multiple pressure gauges that would give us crucial data revealing its efficacy. Within weeks, the stack was in place above the well and ready to be tested. On July 15, BP engineers shut down the stack's valves. The cap held. For the first time in eighty-seven days, oil wasn't leaking from the Macondo well.

“斧头说：“他开始试图解释装置的工作原理，我告诉他我已经很难弄清楚我该点什么午餐了。”最终的紧急堵漏装置重达75吨，高30英尺，因为Chu的坚持，包括多个压力计，可以提供关键数据揭示其功效。几周后，这个装置被放置在井上，并准备进行测试。7月15日，BP工程师关闭了该装置的阀门。堵漏成功。八十七天来，玛康多油井没有再泄漏。

Consistent with the luck we'd been having, a tropical storm threatened to pass through the Macondo site the following week. Chu, Thad Allen, and BP's managing director, Bob Dudley, had to quickly decide whether or not to reopen the valves before the vessels involved in the containment efforts and the BP staff members monitoring the integrity of the capping stack had to clear out of the storm path. If their calculations on subsurface pressure proved wrong, there was a risk that the stack wouldn't hold and, worse, could cause the ocean floor to fracture, triggering even more problematic leaks. Loosening the valves, of course, meant we'd restart the flow of oil into the Gulf, which was something nobody wanted. After running a final set of numbers, Chu agreed that it was worth the gamble and we should keep the valves closed as the storm ripped through.

根据我们一直以来的运气，一场热带风暴威胁着下周经过麻昆多（Macondo）油田。朱（Chu）、萨德·艾伦（Thad Allen）和英国石油公司（BP）的管理总监鲍勃·达德利（Bob Dudley）必须迅速决定是否在参与控制工作的船只和监测堵堵头完整性的BP工作人员清场前重新开启阀门。如果他们的地下压力计算有误，就存在堵头不牢固，甚至可能导致海底断裂，引发更多问题性泄漏的风险。当然，放松阀门意味着我们将重新开始向墨西哥湾注入油，这是谁都不想看到的事情。在进行最后一组数字计算后，朱认为这是一个值得冒险的决定，我们应该在风暴席卷而过时保持阀门关闭。

Once again, the cap held.

There were no celebrations in the White House when we heard the news—just enormous relief. It would take a couple more months and a series of additional procedures before BP declared the Macondo well permanently sealed, and cleanup efforts would continue through the end of the summer. The fishing ban was gradually lifted, and seafood from the Gulf was certified as safe. Beaches were reopened, and in August I took the family to Panama City Beach, Florida, for a two-day "holiday," to boost the region's tourism industry. A picture from that trip, taken by Pete Souza and later released by the White House, shows me and Sasha splashing in the water, a signal to Americans that it was safe to swim in the Gulf. Malia's missing from the photo

because she was away at summer camp. Michelle is missing because, as she had explained to me shortly after I was elected, “one of my main goals as First Lady is to never be photographed in a bathing suit.”

一次又一次，浅水防爆堵头终于成功了。

当我们得知这个消息时，白宫并没有举行庆祝活动，而是有了极大的松了一口气。在BP宣布永久封堵马孔多井之前，还需要进行数月的额外程序，而清洁工作将继续进行到夏季结束。钓鱼禁令逐渐解除，来自墨西哥湾的海鲜得到了安全认证。海滩重新开放，在8月，我带着家人到佛罗里达州的巴拿马城海滩度过了两天的“假期”，以促进该地区的旅游业。一张来自那次旅行的照片，由皮特·索扎拍摄并后来由白宫发布，展示了我和萨莎在水中嬉戏，向美国人发出信号，表明在墨西哥湾游泳是安全的。由于玛丽娅正在夏令营，因此照片中没有她。米歇尔缺席是因为她在我当选后不久就向我解释过：“作为第一夫人，我主要的目标之一是不想在泳衣照片中被拍摄。”

In many ways, we had dodged the worst-case scenario, and in the months that followed even critics like James Carville would acknowledge that our response had been more effective than we'd been given credit for. The Gulf's shorelines and beaches suffered less visible damage than expected, and just a year after the accident, the region would enjoy its biggest tourism season ever. We formed a Gulf coastline restoration project, funded by additional penalties levied against BP, allowing federal, state, and local authorities to start reversing some of the environmental degradation that had been taking place long before the explosion. With some nudging from federal courts, BP ultimately paid settlements in excess of what was in the \$20 billion response fund. And although the preliminary report of the oil spill commission I had set up would rightly criticize MMS oversight of BP's activities at the Macondo field, as well as our failure to accurately assess the enormity of the leaks immediately after the explosion, by the fall, both the press and the public had largely moved on.

在很多方面，我们已经避免了最坏的情况，在随后的几个月里，即使像詹姆斯·卡维尔这样的批评家也承认我们的应对措施比我们得到的赞誉要有效得多。墨西哥湾的海岸和海滩受到的可见损害比预期的要少，就在事故发生一年后，该地区就迎来了有史以来最大的旅游季节。我们成立了一个海岸恢复项目，由对BP征收的额外罚款提供资金，使联邦、州和地方政府能够开始扭转在爆炸之前已经正在发生的一些环境恶化。在一些来自联邦法院的推动下，BP最终支付了超过200亿美元的和解款项。尽管我建立的倒油委员会的初步报告将批评MMS在Macondo野外的BP活动监督以及我们未能在爆炸后立即准确评估泄漏的巨大程度，但到了秋天，新闻界和公众大体上已经转而关注其他事情了。

Still, I continued to be haunted by the images of those plumes of oil rushing out of a cracked earth and into the sea's ghostly depths. Experts inside the administration told me that it would take years to understand the true extent of the environmental damage resulting from the Deepwater spill. The best estimates concluded that the Macondo well had released at least four million barrels of oil into open waters, with at least two-thirds of that amount having been captured, burned off, or otherwise dispersed. Where the rest of the oil ended up, what gruesome toll it took on wildlife, how much oil would eventually settle back onto the ocean floor, and what long-term effect that might have on the entire Gulf ecosystem—it would be years before we'd have the full picture.

然而，我仍然被那些喷射出裂开的地球并进入海洋的黑色烟柱所困扰。政府内部专家告诉我，要真正了解深水泄漏所造成的环境损失需要几年时间。最好的估算结果显示，Macondo井已经向开放水域释放了至少四百万桶的石油，其中至少三分之二的石油被捕获、燃烧或散布。余下的石油会流向哪里，会对野生动物造成什么可怕的后果，有多少石油最终会沉积回大洋底部，以及这对整个海湾生态系统会产生什么长期影响——我们需要几年时间才能完全了解情况。

What wasn't a mystery was the spill's political impact. With the crisis behind us and the midterm elections now on the horizon, we felt ready to project a cautious optimism to the public—to argue that the country was finally turning a corner and to highlight all the work my administration had done in the previous sixteen months to make a concrete difference in people's lives. But the only impression registering with voters was of yet one more calamity the government seemed powerless to solve. I asked Axe to give me his best assessment of the chances that Democrats would retain control of the House of Representatives. He looked at me like I was joking.

那不是一个谜，灾难对政治的影响已经显而易见。随着危机已经过去，中期选举正在临近，我们感觉自己已经准备好向公众展现一种谨慎的乐观态度——我们要争论国家终于正在走上正轨，并强调我们在过去十六个月中所做的所有工作，为人们的生活带来了实质性的改变。但是，对于选民们印象最深刻的是，政府又无力解决另一场灾难。我问阿克斯他对民主党能否保持对众议院的控制的胜算的最佳评估是什么。他看着我好像我在开玩笑一样。

“We're screwed,” he said.

—

FROM THE DAY I took office, we'd known that the midterms were going to be tough. Historically, the party controlling the White House almost always lost congressional seats after its first two years in power, as at least some voters found reason for disappointment. Voter turnout also dropped substantially in the midterm elections, and—thanks in part to America's long history of voter discrimination, as well as many states' continued use of complicated procedures that made casting a ballot more difficult than it needed to be—the falloff was most pronounced among younger, lower-income, and minority voters, demographic groups that tended to vote Democratic.“我们完蛋了，”他说道。

自从我上任以来，我们一直知道中期选举会很艰难。历史上，掌控白宫的政党在执政两年后几乎总是失去了国会席位，因为至少一些选民发现了失望的理由。投票率在中期选举中也大幅下降，并且由于美国长期以来的选民歧视历史，以及许多州继续使用复杂的程序使投票比必要更加困难，年轻、低收入和少数民族裔选民的投票率下降幅度最大，而这些群体往往投票给民主党。

All this would have made the midterms challenging for us, even in a time of relative peace and prosperity. Which, of course, we weren't in. Although companies had started hiring again, the unemployment rate remained stuck around 9.5 percent through June and July, mainly because cash-strapped state and local governments were still shedding employees. At least once a week, I'd huddle with my economic team in the Roosevelt Room, trying to

come up with some variation on additional stimulus plans that we might shame at least a few Senate Republicans into supporting. But beyond a grudging extension of emergency unemployment insurance benefits before Congress adjourned for the August recess, McConnell generally managed to keep his caucus in line.

所有这一切即使在相对和平繁荣的时期中，也会让我们的期中选举面临挑战。然而，当时我们并不处于这种状况。虽然公司开始重新雇佣人员，但失业率仍在6月和7月间停滞在9.5%左右，主要是因为资金紧缩的州和地方政府仍在裁员。至少每周我都会在佛罗斯特会议室与我的经济团队密切商讨，试图想出一些新增刺激计划的变化，以争取至少一些共和党参议员的支持。但在国会为八月休会之前，除了勉强延长紧急失业保险救济金利益之外，麦康奈尔总体上将他的党派组织得井井有条。

“I hate to say it,” a Republican senator told me when he came by the White House for another matter, “but the worse people feel right now, the better it is for us.”

The economy wasn’t the only headwind we faced. Public opinion polls typically gave Republicans an edge over Democrats when it came to national security, and from the day I’d taken office, the GOP had looked to press that advantage, seizing every opportunity to paint my administration as weak on defense and soft on terrorism. For the most part, the attacks had failed: As disenchanted as voters were with my economic stewardship, they’d continued to give me solid marks on keeping them safe. Those numbers had held steady after the attack at Fort Hood and the thwarted Christmas Day bombing; they even remained largely unchanged when, in May 2010, a man named Faisal Shahzad—a naturalized American citizen raised in Pakistan and trained by the Pakistani Taliban—tried unsuccessfully to detonate a car bomb in the middle of Times Square.一位共和黨參議員在前來白宮處理另一件事情時對我說：“我不想這麼說，但是現在人們感覺越糟糕，對我們越有利。”經濟不是我們面臨的唯一困難。公共輿論調查通常顯示，當涉及國家安全時，共和黨人比民主黨人更有優勢，自我上任以來，共和黨一直試圖利用這一優勢，抓住每一個機會把我們的政府描繪成在國防方面軟弱無力，對恐怖主義不堅決。大多數情況下，攻擊失敗了：隨著選民對我的經濟管理感到幻滅，他們在保護他們的安全方面仍然對我給予了穩固的評價。在霍德堡和聖誕節被阻止的爆炸案之後，這些數字仍然保持穩定；即使是在2010年5月，一個名叫費薩爾·沙赫扎德的男子，一個在巴基斯坦長大並接受巴基斯坦塔利班培訓的美國入籍公民，在時代廣場中央試圖引爆汽車炸彈並未成功時，這些數字甚至仍然大致不變。

Still, the fact that 180,000 U.S. troops remained deployed in wars overseas cast a pall over the midterms. And while we were entering the final phase of withdrawal from Iraq, with the last combat brigades due home in August, the summer fighting season in Afghanistan was likely to once again bring about a distressing rise in U.S. casualties. I’d been impressed with Stan McChrystal’s leadership of coalition forces there: The additional troops I’d authorized had helped regain territory from the Taliban; the training of the Afghan army had ramped up; McChrystal had even convinced President Karzai to venture out beyond his palace and start engaging the population he claimed to represent.

然而，事实上，仍有18万美国军队驻扎在海外的战争中，这给中期选举带来了压抑感。虽然我们正在进入从伊拉克撤军的最后阶段，最后的战斗已于8月回国，但是阿富汗的夏季战斗季节很可能再次导致美军伤亡人数的不幸上升。我对斯坦·麦克里斯特尔在那里领导联军的能力印象深刻：我授权的额外部队已经帮助夺回了塔利班控制的领土；阿富汗军队的训练已经加强；麦克里斯特尔甚至说服卡尔扎伊总统走出他的宫殿，开始与他所声称代表的人民接触。

And yet each time I met with wounded soldiers at Walter Reed and Bethesda, I was reminded of the awful costs of such incremental progress. Whereas my earlier visits had taken roughly an hour, I was more often spending at least twice that time, as the hospital appeared to be filled almost to capacity. On one visit, I entered a room to find the bedridden victim of an IED blast being tended to by his mother. Thick stitches ran along the side of the young man’s partially shaved head; his right eye appeared blinded and his body partly paralyzed, with one badly injured arm encased in a soft cast. According to the doctor who briefed me before I went in, the patient had spent three months in a coma before regaining consciousness. He’d suffered permanent brain damage and had just undergone surgery to rebuild his skull.

每次我在沃尔特·里德和贝塞斯达医院见到受伤的士兵时，都会想起这种渐进式进展的可怕代价。之前的访问大概持续了一个小时，而现在我通常需要至少两倍的时间，因为医院似乎已经几乎达到了容量极限。在一次访问中，我走进一间房间，发现一名某个IED爆炸的受害者正在被他的母亲照顾。一排厚厚的针脚延伸到年轻人部分剃光的头部旁边；他的右眼似乎已经失去了视力，身体也有些瘫痪，一个受伤严重的手臂被软包围着。根据在我进去之前给我简报的医生说，这个病人在昏迷三个月后才意识恢复。他已经永久性脑损伤，并刚刚接受了重建颅骨手术。

“Cory, the president’s here to see you,” the soldier’s mother said encouragingly. The young man couldn’t speak but registered a faint smile and nod. “It’s great to meet you, Cory,” I said, gently shaking his free hand.

“Actually, you two have met before,” the mother said. “See?” She pointed to a photograph that had been taped to the wall, and I stepped closer to examine a picture of me with a group of smiling Army Rangers. It dawned on me then that the wounded soldier lying in the bed was Sergeant First Class Cory Remsburg, the spirited young paratrooper I’d spoken with less than a year earlier, during the commemoration of the Allied landing at Normandy. The one who’d told me he was on his way to Afghanistan for his tenth deployment.

“Cory，总统来看你了，”士兵的母亲鼓励地说道。年轻人无法开口，但微微地笑了笑，点了点头。

我轻轻地握着他的空闲手，说：“见到你非常高兴，Cory。”

“实际上，你们之前已经见过面了，”母亲说。她指着贴在墙上的一张照片，我走近一看，照片上是我和一群面带笑容的陆军突击队员。我这时才明白这位躺在床上的受伤士兵是一年前我曾和他交谈过的精神饱满的年轻降落伞兵，当时正值纪念盟军在诺曼底登陆的活动期间。他曾告诉我，他正在前往阿富汗执行他的第十次任务。

“Of course...Cory,” I said, glancing over at the mother. Her eyes forgave me for not having recognized her son. “How are you feeling, man?”

“Show him how you’re feeling, Cory,” the mother said.

Slowly and with great effort, he raised his arm and offered me a thumbs-up. Taking pictures of the two of us, Pete looked visibly shaken. Maybe what had happened to Cory and so many like him didn't sit at the forefront of voters' minds the same way it did mine. Since the shift to an all-volunteer military in the 1970s, fewer Americans had family members, friends, or neighbors who served in combat. But at the very least, the mounting casualties left a weary nation as uncertain as ever about the direction of what increasingly seemed like an endless war. That uncertainty was only compounded in June when a lengthy Rolling Stone profile of Stan McChrystal hit the newsstands.

“當然……科瑞，”我說，瞥了一眼母親。她的眼神原諒了我未能認出她的兒子。“你感覺怎麼樣，男孩？”

“向他展示你的感覺，科瑞，”母親說。

他緩慢而艱難地舉起了手，向我竖起了大拇指。彼得拍下了我們兩人的照片，看起來很震驚。

也許對科瑞和許多像他一樣的人所發生的事情，不像對我那樣的人那麼令人關注。自從20世紀70年代開始實行全民志願軍役以來，沒有那麼多的美國人有家人、朋友或鄰居在戰場上服役。但至少，越來越多的傷亡使一個困惑的國家對這場看起來無休止的戰爭方向更加不確定。這種不確定性在六月份《滾石》雜誌一篇關於斯坦·麥克里斯托的詳細介紹之後更加嚴重。

The article, titled "The Runaway General," was largely critical of the U.S. war effort, suggesting that I'd been rolled by the Pentagon into doubling down on a hopeless cause. But that wasn't new. Instead, what grabbed Washington's attention was the access McChrystal had granted to the reporter and the slew of caustic remarks the general and his team had leveled at allies, elected officials, and members of the administration. In one scene, the reporter describes McChrystal and an aide joking about possible responses to questions about Vice President Biden. ("Are you asking about Vice President Biden?" McChrystal is quoted as saying. "Who's that?" To which the aide chimes in, "Did you say: Bite Me?") In another, McChrystal complains about having to have dinner with a French minister in Paris ("I'd rather have my ass kicked") and groans over an email from Hillary's special advisor, longtime diplomat Richard Holbrooke ("I don't even want to open it"). And while I'm largely spared the worst of the mockery, a member of McChrystal's team notes his boss's disappointment in our meeting right before I appointed him coalition commander, suggesting that I should have given the general more personal attention.

这篇标题为“流亡将军”的文章基本上批评了美国的战争努力，暗示我被五角大楼逼迫加倍努力，去支持一个没有希望的事业。但这并不是新鲜事。相反，引起华盛顿关注的是麦克里斯托尔授予记者的访问权以及将其团队向盟友、选定官员和政府成员所投射的大量尖酸刻薄的言论。在一场场景中，记者描述了麦克里斯托尔和一位助手如何开玩笑地应对关于拜登副总统的问题。（“你在问拜登副总统？”据引用麦克里斯托尔的话说，“他是谁？”助手插话说，“你是说：咬我？”）在另一个场景中，麦克里斯托尔抱怨不得不和巴黎的法国大臣共进晚餐（“我宁愿让我被踢屁股”），并且对来自希拉里的特别顾问、长期外交家理查德·霍尔布鲁克的电子邮件抱怨不已（“我甚至不想打开它”）。虽然我大部分被嘲笑的东西被忽略了，但麦克里斯托尔的一个团队成员记录了他的老板对我们的会晤的失望，并建议我在任命他联合指挥官之前应该给这位将军更多的个人关注。

Beyond the hard feelings the article was bound to generate—reopening divisions within the Afghan team that I'd hoped were behind us—it made McChrystal and his crew sound like a bunch of cocky frat boys. I could only imagine how Cory Remsburg's parents would feel if they read the article. "I don't know what the hell he was thinking," Gates said to me, making an effort at damage control.

"He wasn't," I said curtly. "He got played."

My team asked me how I wanted to handle it. I told them I hadn't decided but that while I made up my mind, I wanted McChrystal on the next flight back to Washington. At first, I was inclined to let the general off with a stern reprimand—and not just because Bob Gates insisted that he remained the best man to lead the war effort. I knew that if anyone ever recorded some of the private conversations that took place between me and my senior staff, we might sound pretty obnoxious ourselves. And although McChrystal and his inner circle had shown atrocious judgment in speaking like that in front of any reporter, whether out of carelessness or vanity, every one of us in the White House had said something on tape that we shouldn't have at one time or another. If I wouldn't fire Hillary, Rahm, Valerie, or Ben for telling tales out of school, why should I treat McChrystal any differently?

除了這篇文章必定會引起的不快情緒，重新激起阿富汗團隊的分歧，這篇文章使麥克里斯特爾和他的團隊聽起來像一群自以為是的大學生。我只能想象如果科裡·雷姆斯伯格（Cory Remsburg）的父母讀到這篇文章，他們會感受到怎樣的情緒。

“我不知道他在想什麼，”蓋茨對我說，努力控制損害。

“他沒有想，”我硬邊地說，“他被利用了。”

我的團隊問我需要如何處理。我告訴他們我還沒有決定，但是在我做出決定之前，我想讓麥克里斯特爾搭乘下一班飛機返回華盛頓。一開始，我傾向於嚴厲警告這位將軍—不僅僅是因為鮑勃·蓋茨堅持認為他依然是領導戰爭的最佳人選。我知道，如果有人錄下了我和我的高級幕僚之間進行的一些私人對話，我們也可能聽起來非常討厭。儘管麥克里斯特爾和他的核心團隊在任何記者面前說出那樣的話無疑表現出了極為糟糕的判斷力—無論是由於疏忽還是虛榮心，但是，在白宮，我們每個人都曾在錄音時說出了不該說的話。如果我不會因為希拉里，拉姆，維爾拉，或本說了一些關於學校閒話而解雇他們，那為什麼我要對待麥克里斯特爾不同呢？

Over the course of twenty-four hours, I decided that this was different. As every military commander liked to remind me, America's armed forces depended entirely on rigid discipline, clear codes of conduct, unit cohesion, and strict chains of command. Because the stakes were always higher. Because any failure to act as part of a team, any individual mistakes, didn't just result in embarrassment or lost profits. People could die. Any corporal or captain who publicly disparaged a bunch of superior officers in such vivid terms would pay a grave price. I saw no way to apply a different set of rules to a four-star general, no matter how gifted, courageous, or decorated he was.

在二十四小時的時間裡，我決定這是不同的。正如每個軍事指揮官喜歡提醒我的那樣，美國武裝部隊完全依賴嚴格的紀律、明確的行為準則、單位凝聚力和嚴格的指揮鏈。因為風險總是更高。因為任何不作為一個團隊的一部分的失誤，任何個人的錯誤，不僅會導致尷尬或損失的利潤。人們可以死亡。任何公然輕視一群上級官員的下士或上尉將付出沉重的代價。我看不到將一套不同的規則應用於四星上將的任何方法，無論他有多麼有才華、勇敢或被授予榮譽。

That need for accountability and discipline extended to matters of civilian control over the military—a point I'd emphasized in the Oval Office with Gates and Mullen, apparently to insufficient effect. I actually admired McChrystal's rebel spirit, his apparent disdain for pretense and authority that, in his view, hadn't been earned. It no doubt had made him a better leader—and accounted for the fierce loyalty he elicited from the troops under his command. But in that Rolling Stone article, I'd heard in him and his aides the same air of impunity that seemed to have taken hold among some in the military's top ranks during the Bush years: a sense that once war began, those who fought it shouldn't be questioned, that politicians should just give them what they ask for and get out of the way. It was a seductive view, especially coming from a man of McChrystal's caliber. It also threatened to erode a bedrock principle of our representative democracy, and I was determined to put an end to it.

那种追求问责和纪律的需要延伸到了对军队文职控制的问题上——我在椭圆形办公室里曾与盖茨和马伦强调过这一点，但似乎效果不佳。我实际上很欣赏麦克里斯托的反叛精神，他对被认为没有赢得的虚伪和权威显示出了明显的不屑。这无疑使他成为了更好的领袖，并解释了他在指挥下的部队中所激起的强烈忠诚。但在那篇《滚石》杂志文章中，我在他和他的副手身上听到了与布什时代的某些高级军官中所形成的相同的无罪之气：一种一旦战争开始，那些参与战斗的人就不应该受到质疑的观念，政治家应该只是给他们要求的东西并闪到一边。这是一种有吸引力的观点，尤其是来自麦克里斯托这样的人。它还威胁到我们代议制民主的基本原则，我决心制止这种情况的发生。

The morning was hot and muggy when McChrystal and I finally sat down alone in the Oval Office. He seemed chastened but composed. To his credit, he made no excuses for his remarks. He didn't suggest that he'd been misquoted or taken out of context. He simply apologized for his mistake and offered his letter of resignation. I explained why, despite my admiration of him and my gratitude for his service, I had decided to accept it.

After McChrystal left, I held a press conference in the Rose Garden to outline the reasons for my decision and to announce that General Dave Petraeus would be assuming command of coalition forces in Afghanistan. It was Tom Donilon who'd come up with the idea of moving Petraeus into the job. Not only was he the country's most widely known and respected military leader, but as the head of Central Command he was already intimately familiar with our Afghan strategy. The news went over about as well as we could have hoped for under the circumstances. Still, I walked out of the press conference feeling livid about the whole situation. I told Jim Jones to gather everyone on the national security team right away. The meeting didn't last long.

當麥克克裡斯特爾和我最終在橢圓形辦公室獨處時，早晨已經被燥熱和悶熱所籠罩。他似乎受到警告，但還維持著冷靜。值得稱讚的是，他沒有為自己的言論找藉口。他沒有暗示他被錯引或脫離了上下文。他僅僅為自己的錯誤道歉，並提供了辭職信。我解釋了為什麼，盡管我欣賞他並感激他的服務，但我已經決定接受他的辭職。

麥克克裡斯特爾離開後，我在玫瑰花園召開了新聞發布會，概述了我的決定原因並宣布戴維·彼得雷烏斯將接任阿富汗聯軍指揮。是湯姆·多尼隆提出了將彼得雷烏斯調職的想法。他不僅是該國最廣為人知和最受尊敬的軍事領袖，而且作為中央指揮部的負責人，他已經熟悉我們的阿富汗戰略。在這種情況下，這消息得到了不錯的回應。但我走出新聞發布會後對整個情況感到憤怒。我告訴吉姆·瓊斯立即召集國家安全團隊的所有成員開會。會議沒有持續很長時間。

"I'm putting everybody on notice that I am fed up," I said, my voice steadily rising. "I don't want to hear any commentary about McChrystal in the press. I don't want any more spin or rumors or backbiting. What I want is for people to do their damn jobs. And if there are people here who can't act like they're on a team, then they'll be gone too. I mean it."

The room fell silent. I turned around and left, with Ben trailing behind me; apparently we were scheduled to work on a speech.

"I liked Stan," I said quietly as we walked.我说：“我要通知所有人我已经厌烦了。”我的声音逐渐提高，“我不想听到任何有关McChrystal的评论。我不想再听到任何借机制造谣言或挑拨离间的事情。我想要的是人们认真负责地做好自己的工作。如果有人在这里不能够像一个团队一样合作，那么他们也会被赶走。我说到做到。”

房间里一下子变得安静了下来。我转身离开了，本跟在我的身后。显然，我们被安排工作是要为一篇演讲的。我们走着的时候我低声说：“我喜欢Stan。”

"You didn't really have a choice," Ben said.

"Yeah," I said, shaking my head. "I know. It doesn't make it go down better."

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ALTHOUGH THE FIRING of McChrystal made headlines (and reinforced the conviction among the GOP faithful that I was unfit to serve as commander in chief), it wasn't the kind of story that necessarily moved swing voters in an election. As the midterms approached, the Republicans instead focused on a national security issue that struck closer to home. It turned out that a solid majority of Americans really didn't like the idea of trying terrorist suspects in civilian criminal courts on U.S. soil. In fact, most weren't particularly concerned about giving them full or fair trials at all. "本說沒有什麼選擇吧，"本說。"是啊，"我搖了搖頭，"我知道，但這還是讓我不太開心。"

盡管麥克克里斯托的開除成為新聞標題，並強化了共和黨信徒的信念，認為我不適合擔任總司令，但這不是一個足以影響中間選民在選舉中的故事。隨著中期選舉的臨近，共和黨人轉而將焦點放在了一個更貼近家鄉的國家安全問題上。事實證明，絕大多數美國人真的不喜歡在美國境內的民事刑事法院中審判恐怖分子嫌疑人的想法。實際上，大多數人對他們是否得到充分和公正的審判都不是特別關心的。"

We'd gotten an early inkling of this as we'd tried to move forward with my pledge to close the detention center at Guantánamo. In the abstract, most congressional Democrats bought my argument that holding foreign prisoners there indefinitely without trial was a bad idea. The practice violated our constitutional traditions and flouted the Geneva Conventions; it complicated our foreign policy and discouraged even some of our closest allies from cooperating with us on anti-terrorism efforts; and, perversely, it boosted al-Qaeda's recruitment and generally made us less safe. A few Republicans—most notably John McCain—agreed.當我們設法落實我關閉關塔那摩監獄的承諾時，我們已經對這一點有所預感。在抽象層面上，大多數民主黨議員認同我的觀點，認為無限期地拘留外國囚犯並沒有好的理由。這種做法違反我們的憲法傳統和日內瓦公約，複雜化了我們的外交政策，阻礙了一些我們最親密的盟友對我們的反恐努力的合作，並且，反而刺激了基地組織的招募，讓我們整體上更不安全。少數共和黨人，尤其是約翰·麥凱恩，也表示同意。

But to actually close the facility, we had to figure out what to do with the 242 detainees being held at Guantánamo when I took office. Many were ill-trained, low-level fighters who'd been randomly scooped up on the battlefield and posed little or no threat to the United States. (The Bush administration itself had previously released more than five hundred such detainees to their home countries or to a third country.) But a small number of Gitmo prisoners were sophisticated al-Qaeda operatives, known as high-value detainees (HVDs)—like Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, one of the self-professed masterminds behind the 9/11 attacks. The men in this category were accused of being directly responsible for the murder of innocent people, and as far as I was concerned, releasing them would be both dangerous and immoral.

但實際上關閉這個設施，我們必須想辦法處理當我上任時關塔那摩（Guantanamo）拘留的242名囚犯。許多人都是訓練差、低級戰鬥人員，被隨機從戰場上拘捕，對美國的威脅微乎其微或根本沒有。(布什政府曾經將五百多名這樣的囚犯釋放回到他們的原籍國或第三國)。但關塔那摩的一小部分囚犯是複雜的基地組織特工，被稱為高價值囚犯（HVDs）——比如塞謝特·穆罕默德（Khalid Sheikh Mohammed），是9/11襲擊的自我宣稱策劃者之一。這類男子被指控直接負責殺害無辜人士，對我來說，釋放他們既危險又不道德。

The solution had seemed clear: We could repatriate the remaining low-level detainees to their home countries, where they would be monitored by their governments and slowly reintegrated into their societies, and put the HVDs on trial in U.S. criminal courts. Except the more we'd looked into it, the more roadblocks we'd encountered. When it came to repatriation, for instance, many low-level detainees came from countries that didn't have the capacity to safely handle their return. In fact, the largest contingent—ninety-nine men—was from Yemen, a dirt-poor country with a barely functioning government, deep tribal conflicts, and the single most active al-Qaeda chapter outside Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

解決方案原本看起來很清晰：我們可以將其餘的低級囚犯遣返回本國，由其政府監控，慢慢地重新融入社會，並在美國刑事法院對HVD進行審判。然而，我們越深入了解，就越遇到了阻礙。例如，在遣返方面，許多低級囚犯來自沒有足夠能力安全處理其返國問題的國家。實際上，最大的分遣隊 - 99名男子 - 來自貧窮的葉門，該國政府幾乎無法運作，深深的部落衝突，是除巴基斯坦聯邦政府管轄地區（FATA）外最活躍的基地組織分支機構。

International law also prohibited us from repatriating detainees who we had grounds to believe might be abused, tortured, or killed by their own government. Such was the case with a group of Uighurs being held at Gitmo: members of a Muslim ethnic minority who had fled to Afghanistan because of brutal, long-standing repression in their native China. The Uighurs had no real beef with the United States. Beijing, however, considered them terrorists—and we had little doubt that they risked a rough reception if we sent them to China.

國際法也禁止我們遣返那些我們有理由相信可能會被自己的政府虐待、折磨或殺害的囚犯。這種情況發生在Gitmo關押的維吾爾族人身上：這些人是一個逃離祖國中國長期受到殘酷壓迫的穆斯林少數民族在阿富汗的流亡者。維吾爾族人對美國沒有什麼不滿。然而，北京方面認為他們是恐怖分子——而我們毫不懷疑，如果把他們送回中國，他們會面臨嚴峻的待遇。

The prospect of bringing HVDs to trial in U.S. courts was perhaps even more complicated. For one thing, the Bush administration hadn't placed a high priority on preserving chains of evidence or maintaining clear records regarding the circumstances in which detainees had been captured, so many prisoners' files were a mess. Also, a number of HVDs, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, had been tortured during their interrogations, rendering not only their confessions but also any evidence linked to those interrogations inadmissible under the rules of ordinary criminal proceedings.

把HVDs帶到美國法庭審判的前景可能更加複雜。首先，布希政府並沒有將保留證據鏈或維護有關被捕情況的清晰記錄列為重要任務，因此許多囚犯的文件都是一團糟。此外，一些HVD，包括哈立德·謝赫·穆罕默德，在被審問期間遭受了酷刑，使得他們不僅是坦白，而且與這些審問有關的任何證據都不符合普通刑事訴訟的規則。

Bush administration officials hadn't considered any of this to be a problem since, in their view, all Gitmo detainees qualified as "unlawful enemy combatants," exempt from the protections of the Geneva Conventions and unentitled to civilian trials. Instead, to adjudicate cases, the administration had created an alternative system of "military commissions" in which U.S. military judges determined guilt or innocence and lower standards of evidence and weaker procedural safeguards prevailed. Few legal observers found the administration's approach to adequately meet the minimum requirements of due process; and as a result of constant legal challenges, delays, and procedural snags, the commissions had managed to decide only three cases in two years. Meanwhile, a month before I was elected, lawyers representing seventeen Uighurs held at Gitmo had successfully petitioned a U.S. federal judge to review their detention, leading him to order their release from military custody and setting the stage for a lengthy legal battle over jurisdiction. Similar appeals on behalf of other prisoners were also pending.

布什政府官員並沒有認為這些是問題，因為他們認為所有古巴關塔那摩監獄的囚犯都符合“非法敵人战斗人員”的定義，因此不受日內瓦公約保護，也不享有民事審判的權利。因此，政府創建了一種“軍事委員會”替代系統，由軍事法官確定罪行或無罪，並採用較低的證據標準和更弱的程序保障。幾乎沒有法律觀察員對此表示滿意，認為此舉沒有充分滿足適當程序的最低要求，由於不斷的法律挑戰、延遲和程序性問題，軍事委員會在兩年內僅處理了三起案件。同時，在我當選前一個月，代表關塔那摩Uighurs的律師成功向美國聯邦法官申請審查他們的拘留，並要求他們被釋放出軍事拘留，並在管轄權方面開啟了長的法律鬥爭。其他囚犯也有類似的上訴還在等待處理。

"This isn't just a turd sandwich," Denis observed after one of our sessions on Gitmo. "It's a turd smorgasbord."

Despite these difficulties, we started chipping away at the problem. I ordered the suspension of any new cases being brought before military commissions—although in a nod to the Pentagon, I agreed to have an interagency team review whether the commissions could be reformed and used as a backup in the event that we couldn't try certain detainees in civilian court. We set up a formal process to evaluate which detainees could be safely released, whether to their home countries or to other nations willing to take them. Working with lawyers at the Pentagon and the CIA, Attorney General Eric Holder and a team of Justice Department prosecutors began reviewing prisoner files to see what further evidence was required to bring to trial and

convict each HVD at Gitmo. We began looking for a U.S. facility—whether on a military installation or within the existing federal prison system—that could immediately house transferred Gitmo detainees while we determined their ultimate dispositions.

“這不僅僅是一個腸子三明治”，丹尼斯在我們討論關於Gitmo的問題後觀察到，“這是一個肮脏的自助餐。”儘管存在這些困難，我們還是開始解決這個問題。我下令暫停所有新的案件，不再提交給軍事審判委員會，儘管為了迎合五角大樓，我同意由跨部門團隊評估軍事審判委員會能否進行改革，並在我們無法在民事法庭進行某些囚犯審判時作為後備使用。我們建立了一個正式的程序，評估哪些囚犯可以安全釋放，無論是回到其本國還是轉移到其他願意接收他們的國家。與五角大樓和中央情報局的律師合作，司法部長埃里克·霍爾德和一組司法部檢察官開始審查囚犯檔案，以了解需要什麼進一步的證據才能將Gitmo每個高價值囚犯帶到審判並定罪。我們開始尋找一個能夠立即容納轉移Gitmo囚犯並決定他們最終去向的美國設施，無論是在軍事基地內還是現有聯邦監獄系統內。

That's when Congress began to freak out. Republicans got wind of rumors that we were considering the possible resettlement of Uighurs in Virginia (most were ultimately sent to third countries, including Bermuda and the island nation of Palau) and took to the airwaves, warning voters that my administration planned to move terrorists into their neighborhoods—maybe even next door. This made congressional Democrats understandably nervous, and they ultimately agreed to a provision added to a defense spending bill that prohibited the use of any taxpayer funds for the transfer of detainees to the United States for anything but a trial; it also required Bob Gates to submit a formal plan to Congress before a new facility could be chosen and Guantánamo shut down. Dick Durbin approached us in the spring of 2010 with the possibility of using a largely vacant state prison in Thomson, Illinois, to house up to ninety Gitmo detainees. Despite the jobs it was likely to bring for residents of a rural town hard-hit by the economic crisis, Congress refused to fund the \$350 million needed to buy and renovate the facility, with even some liberal Democrats echoing Republican arguments that any detention center located on U.S. soil would become a prime target for future terrorist attacks.

這時國會開始感到慌張。共和黨人傳出消息，聲稱我們考慮將維吾爾人定居在弗吉尼亞州（大多數最終被送到了包括百慕達和帕勞島在內的第三個國家），並上電視警告選民，稱我的政府計劃將恐怖分子搬到他們的鄰里，甚至可能是隔壁。這使得國會民主黨人感到不安，他們最終同意在一項國防開支法案中增加條款，禁止使用納稅人的任何資金轉移囚犯到美國進行審判之外的事情；還要求鮑勃·蓋茨提出一份正式計劃，才能選擇新的設施，關閉關塔那摩。迪克·杜爾賓在2010年春季向我們提出了一個可能使用伊利諾伊州湯普森的空置州立監獄，以容納高達90名關塔那摩囚犯的想法。儘管這可能為經濟危機重創的鄉村城鎮居民帶來工作機會，但國會拒絕撥款3.5億美元購買和翻新設施，甚至一些自由派民主黨人也回應共和黨的觀點，認為任何位於美國土地上的拘留中心都會成為未來恐怖襲擊目標。

None of this made sense to me. Terrorist plotters weren't Navy SEALs; if al-Qaeda were to plan another attack in the United States, detonating a crude explosive in a New York subway or crowded Los Angeles mall would be far more devastating—and a lot easier—than trying to mount an assault on a hardened correctional facility in the middle of nowhere staffed by heavily armed U.S. military personnel. In fact, well over a hundred convicted terrorists were already serving time without incident in federal prisons scattered across the country. "We're acting like these guys are a bunch of supervillains straight out of a James Bond movie," I said to Denis in exasperation. "The average inmate at a supermax prison would eat these detainees for lunch."

這些對我來說毫無意義。恐怖主義策劃者不是海豹突擊隊員；如果基地組織再次計劃在美國發動攻擊，引爆紐約地鐵或擁擠的洛杉磯購物中心的簡陋炸彈將會更具破壞性——而且更容易——比試圖在荒野之地的硬化矯治設施上發動攻擊，該設施由全副武裝的美國軍事人員守衛。事實上，已經有一百多名被判有罪的恐怖分子在全國範圍內的聯邦監獄中服刑，沒有發生過意外。我沮喪地對丹尼斯說：“我們表現得像這些家伙是詹姆斯邦德電影中的超級惡棍一樣。”“超級最高安全監獄”里的普通囚犯可以把這些被拘留者當午餐吃掉。

Nonetheless, I could understand that people had very real fears—fears born of the lingering trauma of 9/11 and continually stoked by the previous administration and much of the media (not to mention countless movies and TV shows) for almost a decade. Indeed, several Bush administration alumni—in particular, former vice president Dick Cheney—made it their mission to keep fanning those fears, viewing my decisions to revamp the handling of terrorist suspects as an attack on their legacy. In a series of speeches and television appearances, Cheney insisted that the use of tactics like waterboarding and indefinite detention had prevented "something much bigger and far worse" than the 9/11 attacks. He accused me of reverting to a pre-2001 "law enforcement mode" in dealing with terrorists rather than understanding the "concept of military threat," and he claimed that in doing this, I was increasing the risk of another attack.

然而，我理解到人們有很真實的恐懼，這些恐懼源於9/11持續存在的創傷，並一直被前一屆政府和大多數媒體（更不用說無數電影和電視節目）煽動了近十年。事實上，許多布什政府的前任官員，特別是前副總統迪克·切尼，將其使命視為不斷煽動這些恐懼，認為我改變恐怖嫌疑人處理方式的決定是對他們遺產的攻擊。在一系列講話和電視出現中，切尼堅持認為像水刑和無限期拘留這樣的戰術阻止了“比9/11襲擊更大更糟的事情”的發生。他指責我回到了在與恐怖分子打交道時的“執法模式”而不是了解“軍事威脅的概念”，並聲稱這樣做增加了另一次襲擊的風險。

Cheney's assertion that my administration wasn't treating al-Qaeda as a military threat was hard to square with the additional battalions I'd deployed to Afghanistan or the scores of al-Qaeda operatives we were targeting with drone strikes. And Cheney probably wasn't the best messenger for any argument, given how personally unpopular he was with the American public—thanks in large part to his catastrophic judgment on Iraq. Still, the idea that we shouldn't treat terrorists like "ordinary criminals" did resonate with a lot of voters. And it had gotten even more traction in the aftermath of "Underwear Bomber" Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab's attempt to bring down a jet the previous Christmas.

切尼所声称的，我的政府没有将基地组织视为军事威胁，这令我十分难以接受，因为我已经派遣了许多营到阿富汗，并对数十名基地组织成员展开了无人机攻击。考虑到切尼曾在伊拉克问题上做出灾难性的判断而深受美国公众不喜欢，他或许不是谈论这个议题的最佳人选。但是，我们不应该将恐怖分子视作“普

通罪犯”的观点在许多选民中引起了共鸣。尤其是在“内衣炸弹”乌马尔·法鲁克·阿卜杜勒·马提拉布上次圣诞节试图击落飞机之后，这一观点得到了更多的支持。

In handling that case, both the Justice Department and the FBI had followed procedure. At Eric Holder's direction, and with the concurrence of the Pentagon and the CIA, federal officials had arrested the Nigerian-born Abdulmutallab as a criminal suspect as soon as the Northwest Airlines plane landed in Detroit and had transported him to receive medical care. Because the top priority was ascertaining that there were no further immediate threats to public safety—other bombers on other planes, for example—the first team of FBI agents questioning Abdulmutallab did so without reading him the Miranda warnings, using a well-established legal precedent that allowed law enforcement an exception when neutralizing an active threat. Speaking to agents for nearly an hour, the suspect provided valuable intelligence about his al-Qaeda connections, his training in Yemen, the source of his explosive device, and what he knew of other plots. He was later read his rights and given access to counsel.

處理這個案件時，司法部和聯邦調查局都按照程序進行。在埃里克·霍爾德的指示下，並經過五角大樓和中央情報局的同意，聯邦官員在西北航空公司飛機降落在底特律時，立即以犯罪嫌疑人身份逮捕了出生於尼日利亞的阿卜杜勒·穆塔拉布，並將他送往接受醫療護理。由於最重要的是確定是否有進一步立即威脅公共安全的情況，例如其他飛機上的其他炸彈客，因此，第一組對阿卜杜勒·穆塔拉布的問題的聯邦調查局特工在沒有讀給他米蘭達警告的情況下進行了問詢，使用了一項已經確立的法律先例，允許執法當局在消除活動威脅時豁免。嫌疑人與特工交談了將近一個小時，提供了有價值的情報，涉及他的基地組織聯繫、在葉門的培訓、他的爆炸裝置的來源以及他對其他陰謀的了解。他之後被讀取了權利和獲得了律師的幫助。

According to our critics, we had practically set the man free. “Why in God's name would you stop questioning a terrorist?” former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani declared on TV. Joe Lieberman insisted that Abdulmutallab qualified as an enemy combatant and, as such, should have been turned over to military authorities for interrogation and detention. And in the heated Massachusetts Senate race that was going on at the time, Republican Scott Brown used our handling of the case to put Democrat Martha Coakley on the defensive.

根据我们的批评家所说，我们实际上已经释放了这个人。前纽约市长鲁迪·朱利安尼在电视上喊道：“天佑！为什么你要停止问一个恐怖分子？”乔·利伯曼坚称阿卜杜勒·穆塔拉布符合敌方战斗人员的资格，因此应该被转交给军事当局进行审讯和拘留。在当时正在进行的马萨诸塞州参议院竞选中，共和党人斯科特·布朗利用我们处理这个案件的方式将民主党人玛莎·库克利置于守势。

The irony, as Eric Holder liked to point out, was that the Bush administration had handled almost every case involving terrorist suspects apprehended on U.S. soil (including Zacarias Moussaoui, one of the planners behind 9/11) in exactly the same way. They'd done so because the U.S. Constitution demanded it: In the two instances where the Bush administration had declared terrorist suspects arrested in the United States “enemy combatants” subject to indefinite detention, the federal courts had stepped in and forced their return to the criminal system. Moreover, following the law actually worked. Bush's Justice Department had successfully convicted more than a hundred terrorist suspects, with sentences at least as tough as the few that had been handed down through military commissions. Moussaoui, for example, was serving multiple life sentences in federal prison. These lawful criminal prosecutions had in the past drawn lavish praise from conservatives, including Mr. Giuliani.

请帮我翻译：

具有讽刺意味的是，正如埃里克·霍尔德（Eric Holder）喜欢指出的那样，布什政府几乎处理了在美国境内逮捕的所有涉恐嫌疑人案件（包括911事件策划者之一扎卡里亚斯·穆萨维）的方式都是完全一样的。他们这样做是因为美国宪法要求如此：布什政府曾两次宣布在美国境内被捕的恐怖嫌疑人为“敌方战斗人员”，并被无限期拘留，但联邦法院介入并迫使他们回到刑事制度。此外，遵守法律实际上是行得通的。布什的司法部已成功定罪超过一百名恐怖嫌疑人，并判处至少与军事委员会所宣布的少数类似的惩罚。例如，穆萨维现在在联邦监狱中服刑多个无期徒刑。过去这些合法的刑事诉讼曾经引起保守派（包括朱利安尼先生）的高度称赞。

“It wouldn't be so aggravating,” Eric told me one day, “if Giuliani and some of these other critics actually believed the stuff they're saying. But he's a former prosecutor. He knows better. It's just shameless.”

As the point person in our effort to bring America's counterterrorism practices into alignment with its constitutional principles, Eric would bear the brunt of this manufactured outrage. He didn't seem to mind, knowing it came with the job—although he didn't consider it entirely a coincidence that he was the favorite target in my administration for much of the Republican vitriol and Fox News conspiracy theorizing.

他曾经对我说，“如果朱利安尼和其他一些批评家实际上相信他们所说的话，这就不会那么令人恼火了。但他是一位前检察官。他更清楚。这只不过是无耻的。”作为我们努力将美国的反恐实践与其宪法原则相一致的主要负责人，埃里克会承受这种人为挑衅的后果。他似乎不在意，因为他知道这是他的工作——尽管他并不完全认为这是巧合，所以他是我的政府中很多共和党恶评和福克斯新闻妄想症的最爱目标。

“When they're yelling at me, brother,” Eric would say, patting my back with a wry smile, “I know they're thinking of you.”

I could see why those who opposed my presidency might have considered Eric a handy stand-in. Tall and even-tempered, he'd grown up in Queens, New York, the son of middle-class parents of Barbadian descent. (“They gave you that island vibe,” I told him.) He'd attended my alma mater, Columbia University, a decade before I got there, where he'd played basketball and participated in campus sit-ins; while at law school, he'd become interested in civil rights, interning one summer at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. And, like me, he'd chosen public service rather than a job in a corporate law firm, working as a prosecutor in the Justice Department's Public Integrity Section and later as a federal judge on the D.C. Superior Court. Bill Clinton eventually nominated him to be the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia and, later, the deputy attorney general of the United States—the first African American to serve in either position.

“當他們對我喊叫時，兄弟，”埃里克一邊露出嘲笑的微笑，一邊拍拍我的背說，“我知道他們在想著你。”

我可以理解為什麼那些反對我的總統任期的人會考慮讓埃里克成為一個方便的替身。他高大、性情平和，成長於紐約皇后區，父母都是巴巴多斯裔的中產階級。（“他們讓你感覺島嶼氛圍，”我告訴他。）他在我上大學之前十年就在我的母校哥倫比亞大學學習，他曾打籃球並參加學生佔領運動；在法學院期間，他對民權產生了興趣，在一個夏季實習於國家協會為了進步的法律辯護基金會。像我一樣，他選擇了公共服務而非在公司律師事務所工作，曾在司法部的公共廉正部門擔任檢察官，後來在華盛頓特區高級法院擔任聯邦法官。比爾·克林頓最終提名他為哥倫比亞特區的美國檢察官，後來任命他為美國副司法部長 - 第一位擔任這一職務的非裔美國人。

Eric and I both had an abiding faith in the law, a belief—tempered by personal experience and our knowledge of history—that through reasoned argument and fidelity to the ideals and institutions of our democracy, America could be made better. It was on the basis of those shared assumptions, more than our friendship or any particular agreement on issues, that I'd wanted him as my attorney general. It was also why I would end up being so scrupulous about shielding his office from White House interference in pending cases and investigations.

我和Eric都对法律有着坚定的信仰，这种信仰是在个人经历和历史知识的基础上形成的，它认为通过理性的论证和对我们民主制度理念和机构的忠诚，美国可以变得更好。正是基于这些共同的假设，而不是我们的友谊或对特定问题的任何协议，我想让他成为我的司法部部长。这也是我为什么会如此谨慎地保护他的办公室不受白宫干预正在进行的案件和调查。

There was no law expressly prohibiting such interference. At the end of the day, the AG and his or her deputies were part of the executive branch and thus served at the pleasure of the president. But the AG was first and foremost the people's lawyer, not the president's consigliere. Keeping politics out of the Justice Department's investigative and prosecutorial decisions was a crucial democratic imperative, made glaringly apparent when the Watergate hearings revealed that Richard Nixon's AG, John Mitchell, had actively participated in the cover-up of White House misdeeds and initiated criminal investigations into the president's enemies. The Bush administration had been accused of violating that norm in 2006 when it fired nine U.S. attorneys whom it apparently considered insufficiently committed to its ideological agenda; and the one blemish on Eric Holder's otherwise spotless record was the suggestion that he'd succumbed to political pressure when, as deputy AG, he'd supported Bill Clinton's criminal pardon of a major donor in the waning days of the administration. Eric later said he regretted the decision, and it was precisely the kind of situation I was intent on avoiding. So, while he and I regularly discussed broad Justice Department policy, we were careful to steer clear of any topic that would even appear to compromise his independence as America's top law enforcement officer.

没有明确禁止这种干涉的法律。归根结底，司法部长及其副手是行政当局的一部分，因此是在总统的信任下任职。但司法部长首先是人民的律师，而不是总统的法律顾问。在司法部的调查和起诉决定中排除政治是非常重要的民主要求，当“水门事件”听证会揭示出理查德·尼克松总统的司法部长约翰·米切尔积极参与掩盖白宫恶行并对总统的敌人发起刑事调查时，这变得特别明显。布什政府在2006年被指控违反了这一惯例，因为它解雇了九名美国检察官，他们显然认为这些官员不够忠于其意识形态的议程；而埃里克·霍尔德的唯一污点是他作为副局长时，支持比尔·克林顿在政府末期对一位主要捐赠者的刑事赦免时，在政治压力下屈服的暗示。埃里克后来表示后悔这个决定，这正是我打算避免的情况。因此，虽然他和我经常讨论司法部制定的政策，但我们小心翼翼地避免任何可能会危及他作为美国最高执法人员独立性的话题。

Still, there was no getting around the fact that any attorney general's decisions had political ramifications—as my White House team liked to remind me and as Eric sometimes forgot. He was surprised and offended, for example, when, a month into my presidency, Axe took him to task for failing to clear a Black History Month speech in which he referred to America as “a nation of cowards” when it came to its unwillingness to discuss race issues—a true enough observation but not necessarily the headline we were looking for at the end of my first few weeks in office. The heat we took at the White House for the Justice Department's legally sound but politically toxic decision not to indict any of the bank executives for their role in the financial crisis also seemed to catch him off guard. And maybe it was this guilelessness, his confidence that logic and reason would ultimately prevail, that led Eric to miss how quickly the political ground was shifting when he announced late in 2009 that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four other 9/11 co-conspirators would finally go on trial in a lower Manhattan courtroom.

然而，任何总检察长的决定都有政治影响，正如我的白宫团队提醒我一样，而 Eric 有时会忘记这一点。举个例子，我的总统任期的第一个月，Axe 批评他未经审批就在黑人历史月发表演讲，其中称美国在讨论种族问题上是“懦夫之国”，这是一个确实的观察，但不一定是我们在任期初几周期望看到的头条新闻。我们在白宫因司法部做出合法但政治毒瘤的决定，即不起诉任何银行高管在金融危机中的角色而受到谴责，这似乎也让他措手不及。也许是因为这种纯真和信仰逻辑与理性最终会占上风，导致 Eric 遗漏了政治地面何时迅速转变的事实，而在2009年末宣布 Khalid Sheikh Mohammed 和另外四名9.11同谋终将在曼哈顿的一个法庭上受审。

On paper, we all thought the idea made sense. Why not use the prosecution of Guantánamo's most notorious prisoners to showcase the U.S. criminal justice system's ability to handle terrorist cases in a fair, aboveboard manner? And what better venue to deliver justice than one in the city that had suffered the most from that horrific crime, in a courtroom just a few blocks from Ground Zero? After months of painstaking work, Eric and his team felt sure that the case against the 9/11 plotters could be made without relying on information obtained through “enhanced interrogations”—in part because we now had more cooperation from other countries that had previously been reluctant to get involved. New York mayor Michael Bloomberg had endorsed Eric's plan. So had New York's senior senator, Democrat Chuck Schumer.

在文件上，我们都认为这个想法很有道理。为什么不利用关塔那摩最臭名昭著囚犯的起诉来展示美国刑事司法系统处理恐怖主义案件的能力和公正性呢？而且，在那场可怕的犯罪中遭受最大伤害的城市，地点就在距离 Ground Zero 几个街区的法庭，何处更能够实现正义呢？经过数月的艰苦努力，埃里克和他的团队确信可以在不依赖于“增强审问” 获取的信息的情况下提出对 9/11 策划者的指控，部分原因是我们现在获得了更多来自其他此前不愿参与的国家的支持。纽约市市长迈克尔·彭博和纽约州资深参议员民主党人 Chuck Schumer 都支持埃里克的计划。

Then, in the weeks surrounding the attempted Christmas Day bombing, the prevailing opinion in New York spun a dizzying 180 degrees. A group of families of 9/11 victims organized a series of demonstrations to protest Eric's decision. We found out later that its leader, the sister of one of the pilots killed in the Pentagon attack, had formed an organization dedicated to opposing any and all efforts to reverse Bush-era national security policies—and funded by conservative donors and supported by prominent Republicans (including Liz Cheney, the former vice president's daughter). Next, Mayor Bloomberg—who was reportedly getting pressure from real estate interests concerned about what a trial might do to their redevelopment plans—abruptly withdrew his support, claiming a trial would be too expensive and disruptive. Chuck Schumer quickly followed suit, as did Senate Intelligence Committee chair Dianne Feinstein. With New York officials, a vocal contingent of 9/11 families, and influential members of our own party all lined up against us, Eric felt he had no choice but to beat a tactical retreat, confirming that while he remained determined to try the 9/11 co-conspirators in civilian rather than military courts, the Justice Department would explore venues outside of New York.

然而，在圍繞聖誕節日未遂爆炸附近的幾週裡，紐約卻轉了個180度。一群9/11受害者的家屬組織了一系列抗議活動，反對埃里克的決定。我們後來得知，該領袖是五角大廈襲擊中一名飛行員的姊妹，她成立了一個反對任何逆轉布什時代國家安全政策的組織，由保守派捐助者資助，並得到杰出共和黨人的支持（包括前副總統的女兒麗茲·陳尼）。接著，布隆伯格市長突然改變主意，聲稱審判過於昂貴和擾亂市民生活，這可能是受到了關心審判對重建計劃的房地產利益集團的壓力。查克·舒默很快也改變了立場，參議院情報委員會主席黛安·范斯坦也是如此。在紐約官員、一群大聲疾呼的9/11家族以及我們黨內有影響力的成員都站在我們對立面時，埃里克感到他別無選擇，只能打一個有效的後撤，確認他仍然決心嘗試在民事法庭而不是軍事法庭審判9/11共謀者，司法部將探索紐約以外的地點。

It was a significant setback for our overall strategy to close Gitmo, and civil liberties groups and progressive columnists faulted me and the rest of the White House for not having anticipated political pushback to the trials, and for not mounting a more vigorous defense once the plan ran into trouble. They may have been right. Maybe if we had focused all of our attention on it for a month or so, to the exclusion of our efforts on healthcare or financial reform or climate change or the economy, we might have rallied the public to our side and forced New York City officials to back down. I would have enjoyed that fight. No doubt, it was a fight worth having.

這對我們關閉Gitmo的總體策略是一次重大挫敗，人權組織和進步性專欄作家指責我和白宮的其他人沒有預見到審判會面臨政治反彈，也沒有在計劃遇到麻煩時進行更有力的辯護。他們可能是對的。也許如果我們將所有的注意力都放在這上面，而非在醫療保健、金融改革、氣候變化或經濟方面的努力，我們可能會動員公眾支持我們並迫使紐約市官員屈服。我會享受這場戰鬥。毫無疑問，這是一場值得打的戰鬥。

But at the time, at least, it was a fight that none of us in the White House thought we could win. Certainly, Rahm was happy to see Eric's plan tabled, since he was the one who had to field calls all day from terrified congressional Democrats, begging us to stop trying to push so many boulders up the hill. For the truth was, after an ambitious first year in office, I didn't have a lot of political capital left—and what little remained we were husbanding to try to get as many initiatives as we could through Congress before the 2010 midterms brought about a possible shift in party control.但那时候，至少在白宫，我们都认为这是一场我们赢不了的战斗。当然，拉姆很高兴看到埃里克的计划被搁置了，因为他是那个整天接到恐惧的国会民主党议员打来的电话的人，他们恳求我们停止试图推动太多的重担上山。事实上，经过一个雄心勃勃的执政的第一年之后，我已经没有太多的政治资本了，我们正在节约少量的剩余资本尝试在2010年中期选举之前通过尽可能多的倡议来控制国会，以防党派掌控权的可能转变。

In fact, Rahm would get frustrated with me for wading into a related controversy at the end of that summer, when the same group of 9/11 families that opposed the trial of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in Manhattan launched a campaign to block the construction of an Islamic community center and mosque near Ground Zero, saying it was offensive to them and the memory of those who'd died in the World Trade Center attacks. To his credit, Mayor Bloomberg forcefully defended the project on the grounds of religious freedom, as did other city officials and even some 9/11 families. Nevertheless, right-wing commentators quickly seized on the issue, often in nakedly anti-Islamic terms; national polls showed that a majority of Americans were opposed to the mosque's location; and GOP political operatives spotted an opportunity to make life uncomfortable for Democrats running in the midterms.

事实上，那年夏天结束时，同一组反对哈立德·谢赫·穆罕默德在曼哈顿受审的911家庭发起了一场运动，以阻止在地标“零点区”附近建造一座伊斯兰社区中心和清真寺。他们认为这是对他们和在世贸中心袭击中死亡的人的记忆的冒犯。拉姆曾因我介入这场相关争议而感到沮丧。值得称赞的是，布隆伯格市长以宗教自由为理由有力地捍卫了这个项目，其他市政官员和甚至一些911家庭也是如此。然而，右翼评论员迅速抓住这个问题，往往以公然反伊斯兰的方式。全民意调查显示，大多数美国人反对清真寺的位置。共和党的政治行动家看到了一个机会，可以在中期选举中竞选的民主党人感到不舒服。

As it so happened, the controversy reached a boiling point the same week we had a scheduled White House iftar dinner with an assortment of Muslim American leaders to mark the month of Ramadan. The gathering was meant to be a low-key affair, a way to extend the same recognition to Muslims that we did to members of other faiths during their key religious holidays—but the next time Rahm and I talked, I told him that I intended to use the occasion to publicly come down on the side of those building the mosque.

恰好，在我们与一群穆斯林美国领袖共进斋月晚餐以庆祝这个月份的周，这种争议达到了高潮。这次聚会本意是低调的，是向我们在其他宗教节日上展现的一样的尊重性的姿态，但是下一次我和拉姆谈话时，我告诉他我打算利用这个场合公开支持那些建造清真寺的人。

“Last I checked, this is America,” I said, stuffing files in my briefcase before I headed up to the residence for dinner. “And in America, you can't single out one religious group and tell them they can't build a house of worship on their own property.”

“I get it, Mr. President,” Rahm said. “But you need to know that if you say something, it's going to be hung around the necks of our candidates in every swing district around the country.”

“I’m sure you’re right,” I answered as I walked to the door. “But if we can’t speak out on something this basic, then I don’t know what the point is of us being here.”

“据我所知，这是美国，”我说着，将文件装进公文包，然后准备去晚餐的住所。“在美国，你不能将一个宗教团体单独挑选出来，告诉他们他们不能在自己的土地上建造礼拜场所。”

“我明白，总统先生，”拉姆说。“但是你需要知道，如果你说什么，它会被系在我们全国各个摇摆地区候选人的脖子上。”

“我相信你是对的，”我走向门时回答道。“但是如果我们连这样基本的事情都不能发表言论，那我们在这里还有什么意义呢？”

Rahm sighed. “At the rate we’re going,” he said, “we may not be.”

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IN AUGUST, MY FAMILY and I flew up to Martha’s Vineyard for a ten-day vacation. We’d first visited the island off the coast of Cape Cod fifteen or so years earlier, at the invitation of one of my law firm’s partners, Allison Davis, and with the encouragement of Valerie, who’d spent summers there with her family when she was growing up. With its broad beaches and windswept dunes, the fishing boats coming into dock, the small farms and green meadows framed by oak forests and old stone walls, the place had a quiet beauty and unhurried vibe that suited us. We appreciated, as well, the Vineyard’s history: Freed slaves had been part of its earliest settlements, and Black families had rented summer homes there for generations, making it that rare resort community where Blacks and whites seemed equally at home. We had taken the girls there for a week or two every other summer, usually renting a small place in Oak Bluffs, close enough to town that you could bike there and with a porch where you could sit and watch the sun go down. Together with Valerie and other friends, we’d spend lazy days with our feet in the sand and a book in hand, swimming in water that the girls loved but was a little too cold for my Hawaiian tastes, sometimes spotting a pod of seals close to shore. Later, we’d walk to Nancy’s to eat the best fried shrimp on earth, and then Malia and Sasha would run off with their friends to get ice cream or ride the small carousel or play games at the local arcade.

## 拉姆叹了口气说：“按照我们目前的进展，我们可能达不到目标了。”

八月份，我和家人一起飞到了马萨诸塞州海角码头外的马莎葡萄园度假，度过了十天的愉快时光。我们大约十五年前第一次来到这个岛屿，是在我的律师事务所合伙人艾莉森·戴维斯的邀请下，同时也得到了瓦莱丽的鼓励。她在成长过程中曾经和家人一起在那儿度过了几个夏天。这个地方有着宽广的海滩和风吃过沙丘，有渔船进出码头，还有绿草如茵、被橡树森林和古老石头墙围绕的小农场。这里既宁静美丽又随和温馨，非常适合我们。我们同样欣赏葡萄园的历史：它早期的居民中包括被解放的奴隶，黑人家族已经在这里租房子过夏天几代人，这使这个度假社区成为那些黑人和白人都感到舒适自在的罕见场所。我们每隔一两年都会带女儿们旅行到这里，通常会在奥克布拉夫斯租一个小房子。那里离城镇很近，你可以骑车过去，还有一个阳台可以看着日落。在瓦莱丽和其他朋友的陪伴下，我们度过了慵懒的沙滩日子，脚在细沙中，手中拿着书，游泳在女儿们非常喜爱的水中，但对于我这位夏威夷人来说却略显寒冷。有时候，我们能近距离看到海豹群贴近海岸。夏日傍晚，我们会走到南希的饭店，品尝地上最好的炸虾，然后玛莉亚和莎莎会和她们的朋友一起去吃冰激凌、玩小型旋转木马或在当地的游乐场玩游戏。

We couldn’t do things quite the same way now that we were the First Family. Instead of taking the ferry into Oak Bluffs, we now arrived on the Marine One helicopter. The house we now rented was a twenty-eight-acre estate on a tonier part of the island, large enough to accommodate staff and Secret Service and isolated enough to maintain a secure perimeter. Arrangements were made for us to go to a private beach, empty for a mile in either direction; our bike rides now followed a tightly prescribed loop, which the girls rode exactly once to indulge me before declaring it “kind of lame.” Even on vacation, I started my day with the PDB and a briefing from Denis or John Brennan concerning the assorted mayhem transpiring around the world, and crowds of people and TV crews were always waiting for us when we went to a restaurant for dinner.現在作為第一家庭，我們不能像以前一樣做事了。不再搭乘渡輪進入奧克布拉夫斯，現在我們乘坐1號海軍直升機抵達。我們租住的房子是一個28英畝的莊園，位於島嶼上更高檔的地區，足夠容納員工和特務且足夠與外界隔離。我們已經安排了私人海灘，長達1英里，兩側都沒有人，我們的自行車騎行路線現在是嚴格規定的環狀路線，女孩們騎了一次後，宣稱“有點無聊”。即使在度假期間，我仍然從Denis或John Brennan那裡收到有關世界各地發生的各種混亂的PDB和簡報，當我們去餐廳吃飯時，總是有人群和電視記者等待著我們。

Still, the smell of the ocean and sparkle of sunlight against the late summer leaves, the walks along the beach with Michelle, and the sight of Malia and Sasha toasting marshmallows around a bonfire, their faces set in Zen-like concentration—those things remained. And with each day of extra sleep, laughter, and uninterrupted time with those I loved, I could feel my energy returning, my confidence restored. So much so that by the time we returned to Washington, on August 29, 2010, I’d managed to convince myself that we still had a chance to win the midterms and keep Democrats in charge of both the House and the Senate, the polls and conventional wisdom be damned.

然而，海洋的氣味和夏季晚期樹葉上的陽光閃耀，與 Michelle 一起走在沙灘上，看到 Malia 和 Sasha 在篝火上烤棉花糖，他們的臉上充滿禪修般的專注，這些印象依然烙印在我的腦海中。每天多一些睡眠、笑聲，以及與我所愛的人共度的不間斷時間，讓我感到活力回歸、信心恢復。以至於當我們於 2010 年 8 月 29 日返回華盛頓時，我已經成功地說服自己，我們仍然有機會贏得中期選舉，讓民主黨繼續掌控眾議院和參議院，即使民意調查和常規智慧都在逆境。

And why not? The truth was that we had saved the economy from a likely depression. We had stabilized the global financial system and yanked the U.S. auto industry back from the brink of collapse. We had put guardrails on Wall Street and made historic investments in clean energy and the nation’s infrastructure; protected public lands and reduced air pollution; connected rural schools to the internet and reformed student loan programs so that tens of billions of dollars that had once gone into bank coffers would instead be used to provide direct grants to thousands of young people who otherwise might not be able to afford college.

為什麼不呢？事實是，我們已經拯救了經濟免於陷入可能的大蕭條。我們穩定了全球金融體系，並將美國汽車工業從瀕臨崩潰的邊緣拉回來。我們在華爾街設置了防護欄，並對清潔能源和國家基礎設施進行了歷史性投資；保護了公共土地並減少了空氣污染；將農村學校連接到互聯網上，並改革了學生貸款計劃，以便數百億美元不再進入銀行的金庫，而被用來直接向成千上萬的年輕人提供資助，否則他們可能無法負擔大學學費。

Taken together, our administration and the Democrat-controlled Congress could rightly claim to have gotten more done, to have delivered more significant legislation that made a real impact on the lives of the American people, than any single session of Congress in the past forty years. And if we had much work yet to do—if too many people were still out of work and at risk of losing their homes; if we hadn't yet passed climate change legislation or fixed a broken immigration system—then it was directly attributable to the size of the mess we'd inherited, along with Republican obstruction and filibusters, all of which American voters could change by casting their ballots in November.

總的來說，我們的行政部門和民主黨控制的國會可以正當地聲稱比過去四十年的任何一屆國會都更能夠完成更多的工作，制定出對美國人民生活產生真正影響的重要立法。如果我們還有很多工作要做——如果仍然有太多人失業，有可能失去住房；如果我們還沒有通過氣候變化法案或修復破碎的移民制度——那麼這些都可以歸因於我們繼承的混亂局面的規模，以及共和黨人的阻撓和阻攔，所有這些都可以通過在11月投票改變美國選民的選票。

"The problem is I've been cooped up in this building," I said to Favs as we sat together in the Oval working up my stump speech. "Voters just hear these sound bites coming out of Washington—Pelosi said this, McConnell said that—and they have no way to sort out what's true and what's not. This is our chance to get back out there and find a way to cut through that. Tell a clear story about what's really happened to the economy—how the last time Republicans were behind the wheel, they drove the car into the ditch, and how we've spent the last two years pushing it out...and now that we've just about got the car running again, the last thing the American people can afford to do is to give them back the keys!" I paused to look at Favs, who'd been busy typing on his computer. "What do you think? I think that works."

“问题是我被关在这栋建筑里，”我对Favs说，当我们在椭圆形办公室一起工作，准备我的演讲稿。“选民只是听到这些来自华盛顿的声音——佩洛西说了这个，麦康奈尔说了那个——他们无法辨别什么是真实的，什么是虚假的。这是我们重新出发的机会，找到一种突破的方式。讲述一个关于经济真实情况的清晰故事——共和党上一次掌舵时，他们把汽车开到沟里，并且我们花了过去两年的时间将其推了回来……现在我们车子差不多能跑了，美国人民再也不能让他们拿回钥匙！”我停下来看着Favs，他一直在电脑上打字。“你觉得呢？我认为这很有效。”

"It might," Favs said, although not as enthusiastically as I would have hoped.

In the six weeks leading up to the election, I barnstormed the country, trying to rally support for Democratic candidates, from Portland, Oregon, to Richmond, Virginia, from Las Vegas, Nevada, to Coral Gables, Florida. The crowds were energized, filling up basketball auditoriums and public parks, chanting, "Yes we can!" and "Fired up! Ready to go!" as loudly as they had when I ran for president, hoisting signs, cheering wildly when I introduced the Democratic congresswoman or governor who needed their vote, having a hoot as I told them we couldn't afford to give the keys to the car back to Republicans. On the surface, at least, it was just like old times.

在领先选举的六个星期，我奔波全国，试图为民主党候选人聚集支持者，从俄勒冈州的波特兰到弗吉尼亚州的里士满，从内华达州的拉斯维加斯到佛罗里达州的科勒尔盖布尔斯。人群充满了激情，填满了篮球礼堂和公园，嘹亮地高呼着“是，我们可以！”和“开干！准备好了！”的口号，就像当我竞选总统时一样，高举着标语牌，在我介绍需要他们投票的民主党女议员或州长时热烈欢呼，当我告诉他们我们无法将汽车的钥匙还给共和党时，大声叫好。至少在表面上，这与旧时光一样。“也许吧，” Favs 说，虽然不如我希望的那么热情。

But even without looking at the polls, I could sense a change in the atmosphere on the campaign trail: an air of doubt hovering over each rally, a forced, almost desperate quality to the cheers and laughter, as if the crowds and I were a couple at the end of a whirlwind romance, trying to muster up feelings that had started to fade. How could I blame them? They had expected my election to transform our country, to make government work for ordinary people, to restore some sense of civility in Washington. Instead, many of their lives had grown harder, and Washington seemed just as broken, distant, and bitterly partisan as ever.

即使不看民意调查，我也能感觉到竞选活动中气氛的变化：每次集会上都弥漫着怀疑的氛围，欢呼和笑声带着强迫的、几乎是绝望的气息，就像我们和群众是一对在旋风般的浪漫之旅结束时，试图唤起已经开始消退的感情。我怎么能责怪他们呢？他们原本期待我的当选能改变我们的国家，让政府为普通人服务，在华盛顿恢复一些文明的感觉。但现在很多人的生活变得更加艰辛，而华盛顿看起来仍然一团糟、遥远和充满仇恨。

During the presidential campaign, I'd grown accustomed to the occasional heckler or two turning up at our rallies, usually anti-abortion protesters who'd shout at me before being drowned out by a chorus of boos and gently escorted out by security. But more often now the hecklers would turn out to be those whose causes I supported—activists let down by what they considered to be a lack of progress on their issues. I was greeted at several stops by protesters holding up signs calling for an end to "Obama's wars." Young Hispanics asked why my administration was still deporting undocumented workers and separating families at the border. LGBTQ activists demanded to know why I hadn't ended the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, which forced non-straight members of the military to hide their sexual orientation. A group of particularly loud and persistent college students shouted about AIDS funding for Africa.

在总统竞选期间，我已经习惯了一些时不时出现的扰乱我们集会秩序的人，通常是反堕胎抗议者，在被嘘声淹没之前对我大喊大叫，然后轻轻被保安员驱逐出去。但现在更多的扰乱秩序者却常常是那些我支持的事业的支持者——他们对认为在这些问题上缺乏进展感到失望。在几次站点上，我被示威者迎接，他们举着标语呼吁结束“奥巴马的战争”。年轻的西班牙裔问为什么我的政府仍然驱逐无证工人并在边境分离家庭。LGBTQ活动家们要知道为什么我还没有结束“不问不说”政策，这迫使非直属军人隐瞒他们的性取向。一群特别响亮和坚持不懈的大学生则高喊着关于非洲艾滋病资金的问题。

“Didn’t we increase AIDS funding?” I asked Gibbs as we left a rally where I’d been interrupted three or four times.

“We did,” he said. “They’re saying you didn’t increase it enough.”

I soldiered on through the end of October, coming off the trail only to spend a day or two in meetings at the White House before hitting the road again, my voice increasingly hoarse as I made my last-minute appeals. Whatever irrational optimism I’d carried with me from vacation had been long extinguished, and by Election Day—November 2, 2010—the question was no longer whether we’d lose the House, but only how badly. Moving between a terrorism threat briefing in the Situation Room and a session in the Oval with Bob Gates, I stopped by Axe’s office, where he and Jim Messina had been tracking early turnout data coming in from swing districts across the country. 當我們離開一場我被中斷了三四次的集會時，我問吉布斯說：“我們不是增加了愛滋病基金嗎？”

“是的，”他說。“他們說你沒有增加足夠。”

十月底，我持續奔波，只有在白宮開會時才停一兩天，然後又上路，我的聲音愈來愈嘶啞，做最後的呼籲。從度假中帶來的任何不合理的樂觀已經消失了，到了選舉日——2010年11月2日——問題不再是我們會不會失去眾議院，而只有多麼慘重。在緊急狀態中心的恐怖主義威脅簡報和橢圓形辦公室的Bob Gates會議之間，我順道去了斧頭的辦公室，他和吉姆·梅西納一直在跟蹤全國搖擺地區的提前投票數據。

“What’s it looking like?” I asked.

Axe shook his head. “We’ll lose at least thirty seats. Maybe more.”

Rather than stick around for the wake, I headed up to the residence at my usual time, telling Axe I’d check in once most of the polls had closed and asking my assistant Katie to send up a list of likely calls I’d have to make that night—first to the four congressional leaders, and later to any Democratic incumbents who’d lost. Not until I’d had dinner and tucked in the girls at bedtime did I call Axe from the Treaty Room to receive the news: Turnout had been low, with only four out of every ten eligible voters casting ballots, and a profound drop in the numbers of young people voting. The Democrats had been routed, tracking toward a loss of sixty-three House seats, the worst beating the party had taken since sacrificing seventy-two seats at the midpoint of FDR’s second term. Worse yet, many of our most promising young House members had gone down, folks like Tom Perriello of Virginia and John Boccieri of Ohio, Patrick Murphy of Pennsylvania and Betsy Markey of Colorado—the ones who had taken the tough votes on healthcare and the Recovery Act; the ones who, despite being from swing districts, had consistently stood up to lobbyists’ pressure and the polls and even the advice of their political staffs to do what they thought was right.

“現況如何？”我問。

Axe搖頭說道：“我們最少會輸掉三十個席位。可能還會更多。”

我並沒有在那裡停留，而是像往常一樣前往住所，告訴Axe，等大部分民意調查結果公佈後，我會再聯絡他，並要求助理Katie給我發一份可能需要打的電話清單，包括首先向四位國會領袖致電，以及後來向任何失敗的民主黨現任議員致電。直到晚餐後，我給女兒們安頓好睡覺，才在條約室打電話給Axe，得知消息：投票率低，只有四成的合格選民投票，年輕人的選票數量大幅下降。民主黨已經慘敗，準備失去63個眾議院席位，這是自富蘭克林·羅斯福第二任期中途犧牲72個席位以來，該黨所遭受的最慘痛打擊。更糟的是，我們許多最有前途的年輕眾議員垮了下來，像弗吉尼亞州的Tom Perriello和俄亥俄州的John Boccieri，還有賓夕法尼亞州的Patrick Murphy和科羅拉多州的Betsy Markey - 這些人在醫療保健和復甦法案上都做出了艱難的選擇；這些人雖然來自搖擺州，但一直抵制遊說壓力和民意調查，甚至是其政治工作人員的建議，做出他們認為正確的事情。

“They all deserved better,” I said to Axe.

“Yes,” he said. “They did.”

Axe signed off, promising to give me a more detailed readout in the morning. I sat alone with the phone receiver in my hand, one finger depressing the switch hook, my head congested with thoughts. After a minute, I dialed the White House operator.

“I’ve got some calls I need to make,” I said.

“Yes, Mr. President,” she said. “Katie sent us the list. Who would you like to start with?”

我对斧头说：“他们都应该得到更好的待遇。”

“是的，”他说。“他们应该。”

斧头保证明天会给我更详细的报告，然后挂断了电话。我握着电话听筒独自坐着，手指按着电话开关，头脑中充满了各种想法。一分钟后，我拨通了白宫的操作员电话。

“我有些电话需要打，请帮我转接，”我说。

“是的，总统先生，”她说。“凯蒂已经把名单发给我们了，你想先打给谁？”

## CHAPTER 24

### “WHOSE BID IS IT?”

Pete Souza and I sat opposite Marvin and Reggie at the Air Force One conference room table, all of us a bit bleary-eyed as we sorted through our cards. We were on our way to Mumbai—the first leg of a nine-day trip to Asia that would include not only my first visit to India but also a stop in Jakarta, a G20 meeting in Seoul, and an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in Yokohama, Japan. The plane had been humming with activity earlier in the flight, with staffers working on laptops and policy advisors huddling over the schedule. After ten hours in the air, with a refueling stop at Ramstein Air Base in Germany, almost everybody on board (including Michelle, in the forward cabin; Valerie, on the couch outside the conference room; and several senior staffers stretched out at odd angles on the floor) had gone to sleep. Unable to wind down, I’d enlisted our regular foursome for a game of Spades, and I was trying to read through my briefing book and signing a stack of correspondence between plays. My divided attention—along with Reggie’s second gin and tonic—may have accounted for the fact that Marvin and Pete were up six games to two on us, at ten dollars a pop.

## 第24章 “是谁的出价？”

彼得·索扎和我坐在空军一号的会议室桌子前，与马文和雷吉对视，我们都有些睡眼惺忪地翻动着我们的牌。我们正在前往孟买的途中——这是我访问印度的第一站，之后还将停留在雅加达，出席首尔的G20会议，以及在日本横滨参加亚太经合组织(APEC)会议的九天行程。飞机在早些时候就充满了活动气氛，工作人员在笔记本电脑上忙碌，政策顾问们在议程上齐聚讨论。飞行了十个小时后，在德国的兰姆斯泰因空军基地加油，机上几乎每个人（包括米歇尔在前舱、瓦莱丽在会议室外的沙发上以及几位高级幕僚在地板上以奇怪的角度伸展）都已经睡着了。我无法放松，所以招募了我们的四人组来玩桥牌，我试图在打牌之间读一下我的简报，并签署一堆通信。我的分心——以及雷吉的第二杯琴酒——可能是导致马文和彼得以10美元一副的成绩领先我们的原因。

“It's your bid, sir,” Marvin said.

“What you got, Reg?” I asked.

“Maybe one,” Reggie said.

“We'll go board,” I said.

“We're going eight,” Pete said.

Reggie shook his head in disgust. “We're switching decks after the next hand,” he muttered, taking another sip of his drink. “These cards are cursed.”

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ONLY THREE DAYS had passed since the midterm elections, and I was grateful for the chance to get out of Washington. The results had left Democrats shell-shocked and Republicans exuberant, and I'd woken up the next morning with a mix of weariness, hurt, anger, and shame, the way a boxer must feel after coming out on the wrong end of a heavyweight bout. The dominant story line in the postelection coverage suggested that the conventional wisdom had been right all along: that I'd attempted to do too much and hadn't stayed focused on the economy; that Obamacare was a fatal error; that I'd tried to resurrect the kind of big-spending, big-government liberalism that even Bill Clinton had pronounced dead years ago. The fact that in my press conference the day after the election I refused to admit as much, that I seemed to cling to the idea that my administration had pursued the right policies—even if we clearly hadn't managed to sell them effectively—struck pundits as arrogant and delusional, the sign of a sinner who wasn't contrite.

“是你的出价，先生，”马文说。

“雷格，你有什么？”我问道。

“也许有一个，”雷吉说。

“我们来打局吧，”我说。

“我们要打八分，”皮特说。

雷吉沮丧地摇头说：“下一手之后我们要换一副牌，这副牌是有诅咒的。”他又喝了一口饮料。

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自中期选举结束仅三天，我感到非常庆幸有机会离开华盛顿。选举结果让民主党人感到措手不及，共和党人则欣喜若狂。第二天早上，我醒来感到疲惫、受伤、愤怒和羞耻，就像拳击手在输掉重量级比赛之后所感受到的一样。事实上，选举后的报道主线表明，常规智慧始终是正确的：我尝试做的太多，没有专注于经济；奥巴马医改是致命的错误；我试图恢复那种即使是比尔·克林顿多年前已经宣告死亡的大规模支出、大规模政府的自由主义。在选举后第一天的新闻发布会上，我拒绝承认这一事实，我似乎仍然坚持认为我的政府已经追求了正确的政策——即使我们显然没有成功地推销它们——这被评论家认为是傲慢和妄想的，是一个不悔悟的罪人的标志。

The truth was, I didn't regret paving the way for twenty million people to get health insurance. Nor did I regret the Recovery Act—the hard evidence showed that austerity in response to a recession would have been disastrous. I didn't regret how we'd handled the financial crisis, given the choices we'd faced (although I did regret not having come up with a better plan to help stem the tide of foreclosures). And I sure as hell wasn't sorry I'd proposed a climate change bill and pushed for immigration reform. I was just mad that I hadn't yet gotten either item through Congress—mainly because, on my very first day in office, I hadn't had the foresight to tell Harry Reid and the rest of the Senate Democrats to revise the chamber rules and get rid of the filibuster once and for all.

事实是，我并不后悔为两千万人提供健康保险铺平道路。回应衰退采取紧缩政策是灾难性的，坚实的证据证明了复苏法案的必要性。考虑到我们面临的选择，我也不后悔我们应对金融危机的方式（尽管我后悔没有想出更好的计划来帮助遏制房屋执行）。我当然不后悔提议关于气候变化的法案，以及推动移民改革。我只是生气自己还没有把这些提案通过国会——主要是因为我上任第一天没有预见到要告诉哈里·里德和参议院民主党人修改议事规则，最终彻底废除冗长的演说。

As far as I was concerned, the election didn't prove that our agenda had been wrong. It just proved that—whether for lack of talent, cunning, charm, or good fortune—I'd failed to rally the nation, as FDR had once done, behind what I knew to be right.

Which to me was just as damning.

Much to the relief of Gibbs and my press shop, I'd ended the press conference before baring my stubborn, tortured soul. I realized that justifying the past mattered less than planning what to do next.

I was going to have to find a way to reconnect with the American people—not just to strengthen my hand in negotiations with Republicans but to get reelected. A better economy would help, but even that was hardly assured. I needed to get out of the White House bubble, to engage more frequently with voters. Meanwhile, Axe offered his own assessment of what had gone wrong, saying that in the rush to get things done, we'd neglected our promise to change Washington—by sidelining special interests, and increasing transparency and fiscal responsibility across the federal government. If we wanted to win back the voters who'd left us, he argued, we had to reclaim those themes.

就我而言，選舉並未證明我們的議程是錯誤的。這只是證明我無法像羅斯福曾經做到的那樣，以人才、狡猾、魅力或好運來帶領全國支持我所知道的正確之事。

對我來說，這同樣不容忍。

讓吉布斯和我的新聞組大為寬慰的是，我在揭開我固執、痛苦的靈魂之前就結束了新聞發布會。我意識到，辯護過去比計劃下一步要做什麼更不重要。我需要找到一種重建與美國人民聯繫的方式——不僅是為了在與共和黨談判時強化我的手腕，還要重新當選。一個更好的經濟將有所幫助，但甚至這也不是肯定的。我需要走出白宮的氣泡，更頻繁地與選民接觸。與此同時，艾克斯對錯誤的評估也提供了自己的看法，他認為，在急於解決問題的過程中，我們忽略了承諾改變華盛頓的承諾——by 使利益攸關方脫離邊緣，增加聯邦政府的透明度和財政責任。他認為，如果我們想贏回離開我們的選民，就必須重新收回這些主題。

But was that right? I wasn't so sure. Yes, we'd been hurt by the sausage-making around the ACA, and fairly or not, we'd been tarnished by the bank bailouts. On the other hand, I could point to scores of "good government" initiatives we'd introduced, whether it was placing limits on the hiring of former lobbyists, or giving the public access to data from federal agencies, or scouring agency budgets to eliminate waste. All these actions were worthy on their merits, and I was glad we'd taken them; it was one of the reasons we hadn't had a whiff of scandal around my administration.

但那樣對嗎？我不太確定。是的，我們受到了圍繞著「美國醫療保障法案」（ACA）的餡餅製作方式的傷害，並且公正或不公正地，我們受到了銀行救助的污名化。另一方面，我可以指出我們引入的大量「良好政府」倡議，無論是對前任遊說師的聘用限制，還是讓公眾能夠獲取聯邦機構的數據，或是搜查機構預算以消除浪費等。所有這些行動都是有價值的，我很高興我們採取了這些行動；這也是我們的行政管理中沒有丑聞的原因之一。

Politically, though, no one seemed to care about our work to clean up the government—any more than they credited us for having bent over backward to solicit Republican ideas on every single one of our legislative initiatives. One of our biggest promises had been to end partisan bickering and focus on practical efforts to address citizen demands. Our problem, as Mitch McConnell had calculated from the start, was that so long as Republicans uniformly resisted our overtures and raised hell over even the most moderate of proposals, anything we did could be portrayed as partisan, controversial, radical—even illegitimate. In fact, many of our progressive allies believed that we hadn't been partisan enough. In their view, we'd compromised too much, and by continually chasing the false promise of bipartisanship, we'd not only empowered McConnell and squandered big Democratic majorities; we'd thrown a giant wet blanket over our base—as evidenced by the decision of so many Democrats to not bother to vote in the midterms.

在政治上，似乎沒有人關心我們清理政府的工作——也沒有人相信我們在每個立法計劃上都竭盡全力尋求共和黨的想法。我們最大的承諾之一是結束派系的爭吵，專注於實際努力解決公民需求。我們的問題是，從一开始，米奇·麥康奈爾就算好了：只要共和黨人一致反對我們的邀請，並對即使是最溫和的議提提出異議，我們所做的任何事情都可以被描述為黨派、有爭議、激進，甚至是非法的。實際上，我們許多進步盟友認為我們的黨派性不夠強烈。他們認為我們妥協太多了，而且不斷追求兩黨合作的虛假承諾，我們不僅讓麥康奈爾獲得了權力並浪費了民主黨的大多數，而且我們給我們的基礎帶來了一個巨大的阻力，正如在中期選舉中許多民主黨人決定不去投票的事實所證明的那樣。

Along with having to figure out a message and policy reboot, I was now facing significant turnover in White House personnel. On the foreign policy team, Jim Jones—who, despite his many strengths, had never felt fully comfortable in a staff role after years of command—had resigned in October. Luckily, Tom Donilon was proving to be a real workhorse and had ably assumed the national security advisor role, with Denis McDonough moving up to deputy national security advisor and Ben Rhodes assuming many of Denis's old duties. On economic policy, Peter Orszag and Christy Romer had returned to the private sector, replaced by Jack Lew, a seasoned budget expert who'd managed OMB under Bill Clinton, and Austan Goolsbee, who'd been working with us on the recovery. Then there was Larry Summers, who had stopped by the Oval one day in September to tell me that with the financial crisis behind us, it was time for him to exit. He'd be leaving at year's end.

除了需要解決信息和政策的更新之外，我現在面對的是白宮人事的顯著變動。在外交政策團隊中，吉姆·瓈斯——儘管他有許多優點，但在擔任指揮多年後，從未感受到完全適應職員角色的壓力——已在十月份辭職。幸運的是，湯姆·多尼倫正在證明自己是一位真正的工作馬，已經出色地擔任了國家安全顧問的角色，丹尼斯·麥克多諾即將晉升為副國家安全顧問，本·羅茲擔任了丹尼斯的許多舊職責。在經濟政策方面，彼得·奧爾薩格和克里斯蒂·羅默已經返回私營部門，由杰克·盧和奧斯特·古爾斯比取而代之，杰克·盧是一位經驗豐富的預算專家，曾在比爾·克林頓政府下任OMB，而奧斯汀·古爾斯比一直在我們的復蘇計劃中工作。然後是拉里·薩默斯，在九月份有一天，他來到橢圓形辦公室告訴我，隨著金融危機的結束，是時候退出了。他將在年底離開。

"What am I going to do without you around to explain why I'm wrong?" I asked, only half-joking. Larry smiled.

"Mr. President," he said, "you were actually less wrong than most."

I'd grown genuinely fond of those who were leaving. Not only had they served me well, but despite their various idiosyncrasies, they'd each brought a seriousness of purpose—a commitment to policy making based on reason and evidence—that was born of a desire to do right by the American people. It was, however, the impending loss of my two closest political advisors, as well as the need to find a new chief of staff, that unsettled me most.

“沒有你在身邊解釋為什麼我錯，我該怎麼辦？”我開玩笑地問道。Larry微笑著。

“總統先生，您實際上比大多數人更少犯錯。”他說。

我真的喜歡那些離開的人。他們不僅表現出色，而且儘管有各種各樣的怪癖，但他們每個人都帶來了嚴肅的目的性——根據理性和證據進行政策制定的承諾——其目的是為美國人民做正確的事情。然而，失去我最親密的兩位政治顧問以及需要找到新的幕僚長，讓我感到不安。

Axe had always planned to leave after the midterms. Having lived apart from his family for two years, he badly needed a break before joining my reelection campaign. Gibbs, who'd been in the foxhole with me continuously since I'd won my Senate primary race, was just as worn down. Although he remained as well prepared and fearless a press secretary as ever, the strain of standing at a podium day after day, taking all the hits that had been

coming our way, had made his relationship with the White House press corps combative enough that the rest of the team worried that it was negatively affecting our coverage.

斧头一直计划在期中选举后离开。他已经与家人分开生活了两年，急需休息一下，然后加入我的连任竞选活动。吉布斯自我胜选以来一直与我并肩作战，也同样疲惫不堪。虽然他仍然像往常一样准备充分、无所畏惧地担任新闻秘书，但是一天天站在讲台上，接受所有攻击的压力已经让他与白宫记者团的关系变得具有攻击性，以至于团队其他成员担心这会对我们的报道产生负面影响。

I was still getting used to the prospect of fighting the political battles ahead without Axe and Gibbs at my side, though I took heart in the continuity provided by our young and skillful communications director, Dan Pfeiffer, who had worked closely with them on messaging since the start of our 2007 campaign. As for Rahm, I considered it a minor miracle that he'd lasted as long as he had without either killing somebody or dropping dead from a stroke. We'd made a habit of conducting our end-of-day meetings outside when the weather allowed, strolling two or three times around the driveway that encircled the South Lawn as we tried to figure out what to do about the latest crisis or controversy. More than once we'd asked ourselves why we'd chosen such stressful lives.我仍在适应没有艾克斯和吉布斯在我身边的政治战斗前景，尽管我感到我们年轻而有技能的传媒主任丹·菲弗（Dan Pfeiffer）提供了连续性，他自2007年竞选开始就与他们密切合作。至于拉姆，我认为他在没有杀人或中风死亡的情况下，能够坚持这么长时间，这真是一个小奇迹。我们已经养成了在天气允许的情况下在户外进行一天结束见面的习惯，在南草坪周围漫步两到三次，试图解决最新的危机或争议。我们曾经不止一次地问自己为什么选择如此紧张的生活方式。

"After we're finished, we should try something simpler," I said to him one day. "We could move our families to Hawaii and open a smoothie stand on the beach."

"Smoothies are too complicated," Rahm said. "We'll sell T-shirts. But just white T-shirts. In medium. That's it—no other colors or patterns or sizes. We don't want to have to make any decisions. If customers want something different, they can go someplace else."

I had recognized the signs that Rahm was close to burnout, but I'd assumed he'd wait for the new year to leave. Instead, he'd used one of our evening walks in early September to tell me that longtime Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley had just announced that he wouldn't be seeking a seventh consecutive term. Rahm wanted to run—it was a job he'd dreamed of since entering politics—and with the election happening in February, he needed to leave the White House by the first of October if he hoped to have a go at it.

"在我们完成后，我们应该尝试一些更简单的事情。"我有一天对他说。"我们可以把我们的家庭搬到夏威夷，在海滩上开一家冰沙摊。"

"冰沙太复杂了，"拉姆说。"我们要卖白色的T恤衫，只有中号，没有其他颜色、图案或尺码。我们不想做任何决定。如果顾客想要不同的东西，他们可以去其他地方。"

我已经认识到拉姆即将烧毁的征兆，但我以为他会等到新年才离开。相反，他在九月初的一次晚间散步中告诉我，芝加哥市长理查德·M·戴利已经宣布不再寻求第七个连任。拉姆想要参选——这是他从政以来梦寐以求的工作——由于选举将于二月份举行，如果他希望争取这个职位，他需要在十月一日前离开白宫。

He looked genuinely distraught. "I know I'm putting you in a bind," he said, "but with only five and a half months to run a race—"

I stopped him before he could finish and said he'd have my full support.

A week or so later, at a private farewell ceremony in the residence, I presented him with a framed copy of a to-do list that I'd handwritten on a legal pad and passed to him during my first week in office. Almost every item had been checked off, I told the assembled staff, a measure of how effective he'd been. Rahm teared up—a blemish on his tough-guy image for which he later cursed me.

他看起来真的很心烦意乱。"我知道我让你陷入了困境，"他说，"但只有五个半月时间去跑一场选举——"

在他没说完之前，我就打断了他，告诉他我全力支持他。

大约一周后，在住所里的一次私人告别仪式上，我向他赠送了一份我亲手写在合法纸上的待办清单的框架副本。我告诉聚集在那里的工作人员，几乎每一项都已被勾选完，这是他效率高的衡量标准。拉姆流泪了——这是他坚强形象中的一个污点，他后来因此咒骂了我。

None of this turnover was unusual for an administration, and I saw the potential benefits to shaking things up. More than once we'd been accused of being too insular and tightly controlled, in need of fresh perspectives. Rahm's skill set would be less relevant without a Democratic House to help advance legislation. With Pete Rouse serving as interim chief of staff, I was leaning toward hiring Bill Daley, who'd been commerce secretary in the Clinton administration and was the brother of Chicago's outgoing mayor, to replace Rahm. Balding and about a decade older than me, with a distinctive South Side accent that evoked his Irish working-class roots, Bill had a reputation as an effective, pragmatic dealmaker with strong relationships with both labor and the business community; and while I didn't know him the way I knew Rahm, I thought his affable, nonideological style might be well suited for what I expected to be a less frantic phase of my administration. And along with some new faces, I was thrilled that I'd be getting one back starting in January when David Plouffe, fresh from a two-year sabbatical with his family, would return as a senior advisor and provide our White House operation with the same strategic thinking, intense focus, and lack of ego that had benefited us so much during the campaign.

其中的這些人事變動對政府而言並不罕見，我看到了換換人會帶來的潛在好處。我們被指責過太封閉、控制得太嚴密，需要新的視角。如果沒有民主黨佔領眾議院來協助推進立法，拉姆的技能將變得不太適用。由皮特·勞斯擔任代理白宮幕僚長，我傾向於聘請比爾·戴利來接替拉姆，他曾擔任克林頓政府的商務部長，是芝加哥即將卸任的市長的兄弟。比爾有著和勞工和商界都有強烈關係的卓越協商能力，在十年前比我年長十歲的禿頭、帶有南邊腔（South Side accent）的比爾，深深地體現著他的愛爾蘭工人階級的本色，而雖然我不像認識拉姆那樣認識他，但我認為他的親切、非意識形態的風格可能非常適合我預期的我的政府不那麼緊張的階段。除了一些新面孔之外，我非常高興，因為從明年開始，大衛·普羅夫將返回擔任高級顧問，他和他的家人度過了兩年的休假，為我們的白宮操作提供了同樣戰略性的思考、強烈的關注和沒有自我中心的優點，這些優點在競選期間給我們帶來了很多好處。

Still, I couldn't help feeling a little melancholy over the changes the new year would bring: I'd be surrounded by even fewer people who'd known me before I was president, and by fewer colleagues who were also friends, who'd seen me tired, confused, angry, or defeated and yet had never stopped having my back. It was a lonely thought at a lonely time. Which probably explains why I was still playing cards with Marvin, Reggie, and Pete when I had a full day of meetings and appearances scheduled to start in less than seven hours.

然而，新年带来的变化让我感到有些忧伤：我周围的人越来越少了，他们在我成为总统之前就认识我，也越来越少有同事是朋友，他们看到了我疲惫、困惑、愤怒或失败，但从未停止支持我。这是一个孤独的想法，在一个孤独的时候。这可能解释了为什么我在七个小时内就要开始一整天的会议和亮相的日子里，仍然和Marvin、Reggie和Pete打扑克牌。

"Did you guys just win again?" I asked Pete after we finished the hand.

Pete nodded, prompting Reggie to gather up all the cards, rise from his chair, and toss them into the trash bin.

"Hey, Reg, that's still a good deck!" Pete said, not bothering to disguise his pleasure at the beatdown he and Marvin had just administered. "Everybody loses sometimes."

Reggie flashed a hard look at Pete. "Show me someone who's okay with losing," he said, "and I'll show you a loser."

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I'D NEVER BEEN to India before, but the country had always held a special place in my imagination. Maybe it was its sheer size, with one-sixth of the world's population, an estimated two thousand distinct ethnic groups, and more than seven hundred languages spoken. Maybe it was because I'd spent a part of my childhood in Indonesia listening to the epic Hindu tales of the Ramayana and the Mahābhārata, or because of my interest in Eastern religions, or because of a group of Pakistani and Indian college friends who'd taught to me to cook dahl and keema and turned me on to Bollywood movies. "你们刚刚又赢了吗？"我们打完牌后，我问皮特。

皮特点了点头，促使雷吉收拾起所有的牌，从椅子上站起来，把它们扔进垃圾桶里。

"嘿，雷格，那是个好牌组啊！"皮特说道，毫不掩饰他和马文刚刚发动的胜利的快感。"每个人都会输。"

雷吉对皮特投以一瞪眼。"告诉我哪个人能接受输，"他说，"我就告诉你这个人是个失败者。"

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我从未去过印度，但这个国家一直在我的想象中占据着特殊的位置。也许是因为它庞大的面积，占据世界人口的六分之一，估计有两千个不同的民族群体，讲着七百多种语言。也许是因为我童年时在印尼，听着史诗般的印度故事《罗摩衍那》和《大战·玄奘记》，或是因为我对东方宗教的兴趣，或是因为一群巴基斯坦和印度的大学朋友教我做达尔和基玛，让我爱上了宝莱坞电影。

More than anything, though, my fascination with India had to do with Mahatma Gandhi. Along with Lincoln, King, and Mandela, Gandhi had profoundly influenced my thinking. As a young man, I'd studied his writings and found him giving voice to some of my deepest instincts. His notion of satyagraha, or devotion to truth, and the power of nonviolent resistance to stir the conscience; his insistence on our common humanity and the essential oneness of all religions; and his belief in every society's obligation, through its political, economic, and social arrangements, to recognize the equal worth and dignity of all people—each of these ideas resonated with me. Gandhi's actions had stirred me even more than his words; he'd put his beliefs to the test by risking his life, going to prison, and throwing himself fully into the struggles of his people. His nonviolent campaign for Indian independence from Britain, which began in 1915 and continued for more than thirty years, hadn't just helped overcome an empire and liberate much of the subcontinent, it had set off a moral charge that pulsed around the globe. It became a beacon for other dispossessed, marginalized groups—including Black Americans in the Jim Crow South—intent on securing their freedom.

然而，我对印度的着迷最重要的原因是圣雄甘地。与林肯、金和曼德拉一样，圣雄甘地深深地影响了我的思想。年轻时，我研究了他的著作，发现他声援了我最深刻的本能。他的"satyagraha"，即对真理的奉献精神和非暴力抵抗的力量，他对我们共同的人性和所有宗教的本质一体性的坚持，以及他相信每个社会通过其政治、经济和社会安排，应该承认所有人的平等价值和尊严的理念——所有这些想法都让我产生共鸣。圣雄甘地的行动甚至比他的话更激励我；他通过冒着生命危险，去监狱，并全身心地投入到他人民的斗争中，把他的信仰付诸实践。他为印度摆脱英国殖民统治的非暴力运动始于1915年，持续了30多年，它不仅帮助克服了一个帝国并解放了次大陆的大部分地区，还引发了全球的道德激荡。它成为其他被剥夺、边缘化群体的信仰之灯——包括美国南方的黑人在内——他们致力于争取自由。

Michelle and I had a chance early in the trip to visit Mani Bhavan, the modest two-story building tucked into a quiet Mumbai neighborhood that had been Gandhi's home base for many years. Before the start of our tour, our guide, a gracious woman in a blue sari, showed us the guestbook Dr. King had signed in 1959, when he'd traveled to India to draw international attention to the struggle for racial justice in the United States and pay homage to the man whose teachings had inspired him.

The guide then invited us upstairs to see Gandhi's private quarters. Taking off our shoes, we entered a simple room with a floor of smooth, patterned tile, its terrace doors open to admit a slight breeze and a pale, hazy light. I stared at the spartan floor bed and pillow, the collection of spinning wheels, the old-fashioned phone and low wooden writing desk, trying to imagine Gandhi present in the room, a slight, brown-skinned man in a plain cotton dhoti, his legs folded under him, composing a letter to the British viceroy or charting the next phase of the Salt March. And in that moment, I had the strongest wish to sit beside him and talk. To ask him where he'd found the strength and imagination to do so much with so very little. To ask how he'd recovered from disappointment.米歇尔和我在旅途的早期有机会参观曼尼巴旺，这座位于宁静的孟买社区中的谦虚的两层楼房曾多年是甘地的行动基地。在旅行开始前，我们的导游——一位穿着蓝色沙丽的亲切女性向我们展示了金恩博士在1959年签署的访客簿，当时他前往印度，旨在引起国际社会对美国种族正义斗争的关注并向那位启发过他的人致敬。

导游随后邀请我们上楼，参观甘地的私人住所。我们脱下鞋子，进入了一个简单的房间，地板是光滑，有图案的瓷砖，阳台门打开，吹进了一丝微风和淡淡的光线。我凝视着这个简陋的地铺和枕头、纺织机的收藏、老式的电话和低矮的木质写字桌，试图想象甘地站在房间里的场景，一个身穿简单棉质长裙的瘦小棕皮肤男子，他的腿盘在身下，写信给英国总督或规划盐行进程的下一阶段。在那一刻，我最强烈地希望坐在他旁边聊天。询问他如何凭借如此微薄的力量和想象力完成了如此多的事情。询问他如何从失望中恢复过来。

He'd had more than his share. For all his extraordinary gifts, Gandhi hadn't been able to heal the subcontinent's deep religious schisms or prevent its partitioning into a predominantly Hindu India and an overwhelmingly Muslim Pakistan, a seismic event in which untold numbers died in sectarian violence and millions of families were forced to pack up what they could carry and migrate across newly established borders. Despite his labors, he hadn't undone India's stifling caste system. Somehow, though, he'd marched, fasted, and preached well into his seventies—until that final day in 1948, when on his way to prayer, he was shot at point-blank range by a young Hindu extremist who viewed his ecumenism as a betrayal of the faith.

他已经经历了比他应得到的更多。尽管甘地有着非凡的才能，但他无法治愈次大陆深刻的宗教裂痕，也无法阻止其分裂为以印度教为主的印度和以穆斯林为主的巴基斯坦，这是一个地动天摇的事件，无数人在宗派暴力中死去，数百万家庭被迫背井离乡，带着能拿得走的东西迁徙到新建立的边界。尽管他辛勤劳作，但他没有消除印度的压抑社会等级制度。但不知何故，直到他七十多岁时，他仍然奔走，绝食，传道。直到1948年最后一天，在去祈祷的路上，他被年轻的印度教极端主义者近距离枪击，那个人认为他的一切促进了信仰的背叛。

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IN MANY RESPECTS, modern-day India counted as a success story, having survived repeated changeovers in government, bitter feuds within political parties, various armed separatist movements, and all manner of corruption scandals. The transition to a more market-based economy in the 1990s had unleashed the extraordinary entrepreneurial talents of the Indian people—leading to soaring growth rates, a thriving high-tech sector, and a steadily expanding middle class. As a chief architect of India's economic transformation, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh seemed like a fitting emblem of this progress: a member of the tiny, often persecuted Sikh religious minority who'd risen to the highest office in the land, and a self-effacing technocrat who'd won people's trust not by appealing to their passions but by bringing about higher living standards and maintaining a well-earned reputation for not being corrupt.

在许多方面，现代印度被认为是一个成功的故事，经历了政府频繁变更、政党内部恶斗、各种武装分离主义运动和各种腐败丑闻的考验。20世纪90年代转向更加市场化的经济模式释放了印度人民的非凡创业才能，导致了飞速增长的经济增长率、蓬勃发展的高科技部门和不断扩大的中产阶级。作为印度经济转型的主要设计师，总理曼莫汉·辛格似乎是这种进步的合适象征：他是一个极少数、经常受到迫害的锡克教小教派的成员，却升至最高职位，他是一个谦逊的技术专家，他通过带来更高的生活标准和保持良好的声誉而赢得了人们的信任，而不是通过呼吁他们的热情。

Singh and I had developed a warm and productive relationship. While he could be cautious in foreign policy, unwilling to get out too far ahead of an Indian bureaucracy that was historically suspicious of U.S. intentions, our time together confirmed my initial impression of him as a man of uncommon wisdom and decency; and during my visit to the capital city of New Delhi, we reached agreements to strengthen U.S. cooperation on counterterrorism, global health, nuclear security, and trade.

What I couldn't tell was whether Singh's rise to power represented the future of India's democracy or merely an aberration. Our first evening in Delhi, he and his wife, Gursharan Kaur, hosted a dinner party for me and Michelle at their residence, and before joining the other guests in a candlelit courtyard, Singh and I had a few minutes to chat alone. Without the usual flock of minders and notetakers hovering over our shoulders, the prime minister spoke more openly about the clouds he saw on the horizon. The economy worried him, he said. Although India had fared better than many other countries in the wake of the financial crisis, the global slowdown would inevitably make it harder to generate jobs for India's young and rapidly growing population. Then there was the problem of Pakistan: Its continuing failure to work with India to investigate the 2008 terrorist attacks on hotels and other sites in Mumbai had significantly increased tensions between the two countries, in part because Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, the terrorist organization responsible, was believed to have links to Pakistan's intelligence service. Singh had resisted calls to retaliate against Pakistan after the attacks, but his restraint had cost him politically. He feared that rising anti-Muslim sentiment had strengthened the influence of India's main opposition party, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

辛格和我建立了一种温暖而富有成效的关系。尽管他在外交政策方面可能会很谨慎，不愿意在印度官僚机构历史上对美国意图持怀疑态度时过于前进，但我们在一起的时间证实了我对他作为一个非凡智慧和正直的人的初步印象；在我访问新德里这个首都的期间，我们达成了加强美国在反恐、全球卫生、核安全和贸易方面的合作协议。

我无法确定辛格升至权力之位是否代表着印度民主的未来，还是仅仅是一种异常情况。我们在德里的第一个晚上，他和他的妻子古鲁夏兰·考尔在他们的住所为我和米歇尔举办了一个晚宴，在加入其他客人前，辛格和我有几分钟的时间可以单独聊天。没有像往常一样的随从和记者者在我们肩膀上盯着我们，总理更加坦率地谈论了他看到的前景。他说经济让他担心。虽然印度在金融危机后的表现比许多其他国家要好，但全球放缓不可避免地会使其更难为印度年轻而迅速增长的人口创造就业机会。接着问题就是巴基斯坦：它持续的无法与印度合作调查2008年在孟买的酒店和其他场所发生的恐怖袭击，已经显著增加了两国之间的紧张关系，部分原因是负责此次袭击的恐怖组织拉什卡尔-塔伊巴被认为与巴基斯坦的情报机构有联系。在袭击后，辛格曾抵制对巴基斯坦进行报复，但他的克制在政治上付出了代价。他担心上升的反穆斯林情绪已经增强了印度主要反对党、信奉印度教民族主义的印度人民党 (BJP) 的影响力。

"In uncertain times, Mr. President," the prime minister said, "the call of religious and ethnic solidarity can be intoxicating. And it's not so hard for politicians to exploit that, in India or anywhere else."

I nodded, recalling the conversation I'd had with Václav Havel during my visit to Prague and his warning about the rising tide of illiberalism in Europe. If globalization and a historic economic crisis were fueling these trends in relatively wealthy nations—if I was seeing it even in the United States with the Tea

Party—how could India be immune? For the truth was that despite the resilience of its democracy and its impressive recent economic performance, India still bore little resemblance to the egalitarian, peaceful, and sustainable society Gandhi had envisioned. Across the country, millions continued to live in squalor, trapped in sunbaked villages or labyrinthine slums, even as the titans of Indian industry enjoyed lifestyles that the rajas and moguls of old would have envied. Violence, both public and private, remained an all-too-pervasive part of Indian life. Expressing hostility toward Pakistan was still the quickest route to national unity, with many Indians taking great pride in the knowledge that their country had developed a nuclear weapons program to match Pakistan's, untroubled by the fact that a single miscalculation by either side could risk regional annihilation.

“在不确定的时代，总理先生，”总理说，“宗教和民族团结的呼声可能会令人陶醉。政客很容易利用这一点，无论是在印度还是其他任何地方。”

我点头，回想起我在访问布拉格期间与瓦茨拉夫·哈维尔的谈话，他警告了欧洲自由主义兴起的潮流。如果全球化和历史性经济危机在相对富裕的国家推动这些趋势——即使在美国的茶党中也看到这一点——那么印度如何能免于其害呢？事实上，尽管其民主制度极为坚韧，近期经济表现也引人瞩目，但印度仍很少像甘地所设想的那样成为一个平等、和平和可持续的社会。在全国范围内，数百万人仍然生活在肮脏的村庄或错综复杂的贫民窟中，尽管印度工业巨头们过着达官贵人过去曾经向往的生活。暴力，无论是公开的还是私下的，仍然是印度生活中普及的一部分。对巴基斯坦表达敌对情绪仍然是实现民族团结的最快途径，许多印度人很自豪地知道他们的国家已经发展出与巴基斯坦相匹配的核武器计划，而不会为两国中任何一方的单一错误而冒地区灭亡的风险而感到不安。

Most of all, India's politics still revolved around religion, clan, and caste. In that sense, Singh's elevation as prime minister, sometimes heralded as a hallmark of the country's progress in overcoming sectarian divides, was somewhat deceiving. He hadn't originally become prime minister as a result of his own popularity. In fact, he owed his position to Sonia Gandhi—the Italian-born widow of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and the head of the Congress Party, who'd declined to take the job herself after leading her party coalition to victory and had instead anointed Singh. More than one political observer believed that she'd chosen Singh precisely because as an elderly Sikh with no national political base, he posed no threat to her forty-year-old son, Rahul, whom she was grooming to take over the Congress Party.

印度的政治大多仍然圍繞著宗教、家族和種姓展開。在這方面，辛格被提拔為總理，有時被譽為克服教派分歧的標誌，但事實上有些欺騙性。他最初並不是因為自己的聲望而成為總理，事實上，他的位置歸功於索尼婭·甘地(Sonia Gandhi)——前總理拉吉夫·甘地(Rajiv Gandhi)的意大利出生的遺孀，也是國大黨的領袖，她在帶領她的政黨聯盟贏得勝利後，拒絕接受工作，而是指定了辛格。更多的政治觀察家認為，她之所以選擇辛格，正是因為作為一個沒有全國政治基礎的年長錫克教徒，她對她四十歲的兒子拉胡爾(Rahul)沒有威脅，而她正在培養他接管國大黨的職位。

Both Sonia and Rahul Gandhi sat at our dinner table that night. She was a striking woman in her sixties, dressed in a traditional sari, with dark, probing eyes and a quiet, regal presence. That she—a former stay-at-home mother of European descent—had emerged from her grief after her husband was killed by a Sri Lankan separatist's suicide bomb in 1991 to become a leading national politician testified to the enduring power of the family dynasty. Rajiv was the grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister and an icon in the independence movement. His mother, Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, had spent a total of sixteen years as prime minister herself, relying on a more ruthless brand of politics than her father had practiced, until 1984 when she, too, was assassinated.那晚，索尼婭和拉胡爾·甘地都坐在我們的晚餐桌前。她是一位六十多歲的傑出女性，穿著傳統的沙麗，有深邃的眼睛和一種安靜威嚴的氣質。她曾經是一位歐洲後裔的家庭主婦，但在她的丈夫1991年被一名斯里蘭卡分離主義者的自殺炸彈襲擊後，她走出悲傷，成為了一位領先的國家政治家，這證明了這個家族的持久力量。拉吉夫是賈瓦哈拉爾·尼赫魯的孫子，賈瓦哈拉爾·尼赫魯是印度第一位總理，也是獨立運動的象徵。他的母親，尼赫魯的女兒英迪拉·甘地曾經擔任總理共計十六年，依賴的是比她的父親更無情的政治手段，直到1984年她也被暗殺。

At dinner that night, Sonia Gandhi listened more than she spoke, careful to defer to Singh when policy matters came up, and often steered the conversation toward her son. It became clear to me, though, that her power was attributable to a shrewd and forceful intelligence. As for Rahul, he seemed smart and earnest, his good looks resembling his mother's. He offered up his thoughts on the future of progressive politics, occasionally pausing to probe me on the details of my 2008 campaign. But there was a nervous, unformed quality about him, as if he were a student who'd done the coursework and was eager to impress the teacher but deep down lacked either the aptitude or the passion to master the subject.

那天晚饭时，索尼娅甘地多听少说，有计划地遵从辛格的意见，常常把话题引导到她儿子身上。但很明显，她的权力归功于聪明而有力的智慧。至于拉胡爾，他似乎聪明而真挚，相貌酷似他母亲。他对进步政治的未来提出了自己的想法，偶尔停下来询问我2008年竞选的详细情况。但是，他似乎有些紧张和未成熟的感觉，好像是一个完成了课程并渴望给老师留下深刻印象的学生，但实际上缺乏掌握该主题所需的才能或热情。

As it was getting late, I noticed Singh fighting off sleep, lifting his glass every so often to wake himself up with a sip of water. I signaled to Michelle that it was time to say our goodbyes. The prime minister and his wife walked us to our car. In the dim light, he looked frail, older than his seventy-eight years, and as we drove off I wondered what would happen when he left office. Would the baton be successfully passed to Rahul, fulfilling the destiny laid out by his mother and preserving the Congress Party's dominance over the divisive nationalism touted by the BJP?

隨著時間的推移，我注意到辛格抵抗著睡意的侵襲，不時舉起杯子喝一口水以提神。我向米歇爾發出了信號，表示是時候告別了。總理和他的妻子陪我們走到了車旁。在暗淡的光线下，他顯得虛弱，比他七十八歲的年齡還要老，當我們開車離去時，我想知道他離開職位後會發生什麼。指揮棒是否能成功交接給拉胡爾，實現他母親的設想，並保持國大黨對人民黨所推崇的分裂民族主義的優勢？

Somehow, I was doubtful. It wasn't Singh's fault. He had done his part, following the playbook of liberal democracies across the post–Cold War world: upholding the constitutional order; attending to the quotidian, often technical work of boosting the GDP; and expanding the social safety net. Like me, he had come to believe that this was all any of us could expect from democracy, especially in big, multiethnic, multireligious societies like India and the United States. Not revolutionary leaps or major cultural overhauls; not a fix for every social pathology or lasting answers for those in search of purpose

and meaning in their lives. Just the observance of rules that allowed us to sort out or at least tolerate our differences, and government policies that raised living standards and improved education enough to temper humanity's baser impulses.

我不知道為什麼，我心中有些懷疑。這並不是辛格的錯，他已經完成了自己的職責，依循著冷戰後世界的自由民主指南：維護憲法秩序、致力於提高國內生產總值的日常技術工作、擴大社會保障網絡。就像我一樣，他相信這是我們從民主體制中能夠獲得的一切，特別是在印度和美國這樣的大型多元種族、多元宗教社會中。不是革命性的飛躍或重大文化改革，不是解決每一個社會病症或尋找人生目標和意義的永恆答案。我們只需要遵守一些規則，讓我們分辨或至少容忍差異，以及提高生活水平和改善教育的政策，足以抑制人類賤劣的本能。

Except now I found myself asking whether those impulses—of violence, greed, corruption, nationalism, racism, and religious intolerance, the all-too-human desire to beat back our own uncertainty and mortality and sense of insignificance by subordinating others—were too strong for any democracy to permanently contain. For they seemed to lie in wait everywhere, ready to resurface whenever growth rates stalled or demographics changed or a charismatic leader chose to ride the wave of people's fears and resentments. And as much as I might have wished otherwise, there was no Mahatma Gandhi around to tell me what I might do to hold such impulses back.

除了現在我发现自己在问：暴力、贪婪、腐败、民族主义、种族主义和宗教不容忍的冲动，人类天生的想要通过屈从他人来压制我们自己的不确定性、必死和渺小感，是否太强大了，以至于任何民主体制都无法永久遏制？因为它们似乎随处潜伏，准备在经济增长放缓、人口结构发生变化或者一个有魅力的领袖选择乘人民的恐惧和怨恨之浪时重新浮出水面。尽管我希望这些事情不会发生，但毫无疑问，没有圣雄甘地能告诉我如何遏制这些冲动。

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HISTORICALLY, CONGRESSIONAL ambitions tend to be low during the six- or seven-week stretch between Election Day and the Christmas recess, especially with a shift in party control about to happen. The dispirited losers just want to go home; the winners want to run out the clock until the new Congress gets sworn in. On January 5, 2011, we'd be seating the most Republican House of Representatives since 1947, which meant I'd be unable to get any legislation called for a vote, much less passed, without the assent of the incoming Speaker of the House, John Boehner. And if there was any question about his agenda, Boehner had already announced that the first bill he'd be calling to a vote was a total repeal of the ACA.

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歷史上，在選舉日和聖誕假期之間的六至七周期間，國會的野心往往較低，特別是當政黨控制發生轉移時。失意的輸家只想回家；獲勝者希望打鐘到新國會就職。2011年1月5日，我們將迎來自1947年以來最多共和黨眾議院的席次，這意味著我將無法在沒有當選的眾議院議長約翰·波納的同意下，將任何立法帶到表決，更不用說通過了。如果有關他的議程的任何問題，波納已經宣布他將呼籲表決一項全面廢除醫療保健法案的法案。

We did, however, have a window of opportunity during the coming lame-duck session. Having returned from my visit to Asia, I was intent on getting several key initiatives across the finish line before Congress adjourned for the holidays: ratification of the New START on nuclear nonproliferation that we'd negotiated with the Russians; repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," the law that barred gays, lesbians, and bisexuals from openly serving in the military; and passage of the DREAM Act, which would establish a path to citizenship for a large swath of children of undocumented immigrants. Pete Rouse and Phil Schiliro, who between them had nearly seventy years of Capitol Hill experience, looked dubious when I ran through my lame-duck to-do list. Axe actually chortled.然而，在即将到来的困难时期，我们也有机会。在我的亚洲之行后回到国内，我着眼于在国会休会前完成几项重要的计划：批准与俄罗斯达成的新的核不扩散条约、废除禁止同性恋者在军队中公开服役的“不问不说”法律以及通过“梦想法案”，为大批无证移民的子女建立公民身份通道。皮特·劳斯和菲尔·席利罗共拥有近70年的国会经验，当我列出我的困难时期待办事项清单时他们显得有点怀疑。艾克斯实际上笑了起来。

"Is that it?" he asked sarcastically.

Actually, it wasn't. I'd forgotten to mention that we needed to pass a child nutrition bill that Michelle had made a central plank in her fight against childhood obesity. "It's good policy," I said, "and Michelle's team's done a great job lining up support from children's health advocates. Plus, if we don't get it passed, I won't be able to go home."

I understood some of my staff's skepticism about trying to move such an ambitious agenda. Even if we could muster the sixty votes needed for each of those controversial bills, it wasn't clear that Harry Reid could get enough cooperation from Mitch McConnell to schedule so many votes in such a short time. Still, I didn't think I was being entirely delusional. Almost every item on my list already had some legislative traction and had either cleared or seemed likely to clear the House. And while we hadn't had much luck overcoming GOP-led Senate filibusters previously, I knew that McConnell had a big-ticket item of his own that he desperately wanted to get done: passing a law to extend the so-called Bush tax cuts, which would otherwise automatically expire at the end of the year.

他讽刺地问道：“这就是全部了吗？”实际上，不是这样的。我忘记提到我们需要通过一项儿童营养法案，这是米歇尔在对抗儿童肥胖症的斗争中的一个核心支柱。“这是一个好政策，”我说，“米歇尔的团队已经在争取儿童健康倡导者的支持方面做得很好。此外，如果我们不能通过它，我将不能回家。”

我理解我的团队对于试图推进如此雄心勃勃的议程的怀疑。即使我们可以集齐每个有争议的法案所需的六十张选票，也不清楚哈里·里德是否能够从米奇·麦康奈尔那里得到足够的合作，以在如此短的时间内安排这么多投票。尽管如此，我并不认为自己完全是妄想的。我的清单上几乎每一项都已经有了一些法律支持，并已经通过或似乎很可能通过了众议院。虽然我们之前并没有成功克服由共和党领导的参议院阻挠，但我知道麦康奈尔自己也有一个想要完成的大型项目：通过一项延长所谓布什减税法案的法律，否则该法案将在年底自动到期。

This gave us leverage.

I'd long opposed my predecessor's signature domestic legislation, laws passed in 2001 and 2003 that changed the U.S. tax code in ways that disproportionately benefited high-net-worth individuals while accelerating the trend of wealth and income inequality. Warren Buffett liked to point out that

the law enabled him to pay taxes at a significantly lower rate—proportionate to his income, which came almost entirely from capital gains and dividends—than his secretary did on her salary. The laws' changes to the estate tax alone had reduced the tax burden for the top 2 percent of America's richest families by more than *130 billion*. Not only that, but by taking roughly *1.3 trillion* in projected revenue out of the U.S. Treasury, the laws had helped turn a federal budget surplus under Bill Clinton into a burgeoning deficit—a deficit that many Republicans were now using to justify their calls for cuts to Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and the rest of America's social safety net.

這給了我們議價的優勢。我長期反對我的前任簽署的國內重要立法，即2001年和2003年通過的改變美國稅法的法律。這些法律在極度偏向高淨值個人的同時，加速了財富和收入不平等的趨勢。沃倫·巴菲特常常指出，這個法律使他能以比他秘書的工資所得稅要低得多的稅率來支付稅款，這幾乎完全來自於資本收益和股息。這些法律對財產稅的改變單獨就為美國最富有的2%家庭減輕了超過1300億美元的稅負。不僅如此，通過從美國國庫中收回大約1.3萬億美元的預計收入，這些法律已經幫助把比爾·克林頓(Bill Clinton)時期的聯邦預算盈餘轉變為不斷增長的赤字，這是許多共和黨人現在用來為削減社會保障、醫療保險、醫療補助金和其他全美社保網的呼籲辯護的赤字。

The Bush tax cuts might have been bad policy, but they had also modestly lowered the tax bill of most Americans, which made rolling them back politically tricky. Polls consistently showed a strong majority of Americans favoring higher taxes on the rich. But even well-to-do lawyers and doctors didn't consider themselves rich, especially if they lived in high-cost areas; and after a decade in which the bottom 90 percent of earners had seen stagnant wages, very few people thought their own taxes should go up. During the campaign, my team and I had settled on what we considered a policy sweet spot, proposing that the Bush tax cuts be repealed selectively, affecting only those families with income greater than *250,000 a year* (or individuals earning more than *200,000*). This approach had almost universal support from congressional Democrats, would affect only the richest 2 percent of Americans, and would still yield roughly *\$680 billion* over the next decade, funds we could use to expand childcare, healthcare, job training, and education programs for the less well-off.

布希減稅可能是錯誤的政策，但它们也稍微降低了大多数美国人的税收，这使得撤销它们在政治上变得棘手。民意調查一直顯示，強大的多数美国人支持对富人加税。但即使是富裕的律师和医生也不认为自己很有钱，特别是如果他们生活在高成本地区；而在过去十年中，收入排名最后10%的人的工资保持不变，很少有人认为自己的税收应该上涨。在竞选活动期间，我的团队和我已经确定了我们认为是政策的最佳点，提议有选择地撤销布什減稅，仅影响年收入大于25万美元的家庭（或个人收入超过20万美元）。这种方法获得了国会民主党的几乎普遍支持，只会影响美国最富裕的2%人口，并仍然会在未来十年内获得约6800亿美元的资金，我们可以用这些资金来扩大对少数人的儿童保育、医疗保健、职业培训和教育计划的支持。

I hadn't changed my mind on any of this—getting the rich to pay more in taxes was not only a matter of fairness but also the only way to fund new initiatives. But as had been true with so many of my campaign proposals, the financial crisis had forced me to rethink when we should try to do it. Early in my term, when it looked like the country might careen into a depression, my economic team had persuasively argued that any increase in taxes—even those targeting rich people and Fortune 500 companies—would be counterproductive, since it would take money out of the economy precisely at a time when we wanted individuals and businesses to get out there and spend. With the economy barely on the mend, the prospect of tax hikes still made the team nervous.

我没有改变我的想法——要让富人多交税不仅是公平的问题，也是筹措新计划的唯一方法。但正如我竞选时的许多提议一样，金融危机迫使重新思考何时应该尝试实现它。在我担任总统的早期阶段，当国家可能陷入萧条时，我的经济团队曾有力地论证说，任何增加税收的举措——甚至那些针对富人和财富500强公司——都是适得其反的，因为它将在我们希望个人和企业走出去消费的时候从经济中拿走钱财。随着经济勉强恢复，提高税收的前景仍然让团队感到紧张。

And as it was, Mitch McConnell had threatened to block anything less than a full extension of the Bush tax cuts. Which meant that our only option for getting rid of them right away—an option many progressive commentators urged us to take—involved doing nothing and simply letting everybody's tax rates automatically revert to higher, Clinton-era levels on the first of January. Democrats could then return in the new year and propose replacement legislation that would reduce tax rates for Americans making less than \$250,000 a year, essentially daring Republicans to vote no.

正如所料，米奇·麦康奈尔威胁要阻止任何不是完全延长布什減稅政策的提案。这意味着我们唯一的选择是立即摆脱它们——许多进步评论员敦促我们采取这种选择——就是什么都不做，让每个人的税率在1月1日自动恢复到更高的克林顿时代水平。然后民主党人可以在新的一年回来，提出替代立法，为年收入低于25万美元的美国人降低税率，实际上挑战共和党人投票反对。

It was a strategy we strongly considered. But Joe Biden and our legislative team worried that given how badly we'd lost in the midterms, centrist Democrats might break ranks on the issue and then Republicans would use those defections to marshal a vote that made the tax cuts permanent. Politics aside, the problem with playing chicken with the GOP, I decided, was the immediate impact it would have on a still-fragile economy. Even if we could hold our Democrats in line and Republicans ultimately buckled under the pressure, it still could take months to get any tax legislation through a divided Congress. In the meantime, middle- and working-class Americans would have smaller paychecks, businesses would rein in their investments even further, the stock market would tank again, and the economy would almost certainly end up back in a recession.

這是一種策略我們曾經非常考慮過。但是喬·拜登和我們的立法團隊擔心，考慮到我們在中期選舉中的慘敗，中間派民主黨人可能會對這個問題產生分歧，然後共和黨人會利用這些缺陷，組織投票使稅收減免成為永久性的。撇開政治不談，我決定不同意和共和黨玩危險遊戲的原因是這將對一個仍然脆弱的經濟產生即時的影響。即使我們能夠保持民主黨人的團結，最終共和黨人在壓力下屈服，仍然可能需要幾個月才能通過分歧重重的國會的任何稅收立法。在此期間，中產階級和工薪階層的美國人將有較小的薪水支票，企業將進一步收緊投資，股市將再次崩潰，經濟幾乎肯定會陷入衰退。

After gaming out various scenarios, I sent Joe up to Capitol Hill to negotiate with McConnell. We would support a two-year extension of all the Bush tax cuts—but only if Republicans agreed to extend emergency unemployment benefits, the Recovery Act's lower- to middle-class tax credit (Making Work Pay), and another package of refundable tax credits benefiting the working poor for an equivalent period. McConnell immediately balked. Having previously declared that “the single most important thing we want to achieve is for President Obama to be a one-term president,” he was apparently loath to let me claim that I’d cut taxes for the majority of Americans without Republicans having forced me to do it. I couldn’t say I was surprised; one of the reasons I’d chosen Joe to act as an intermediary—in addition to his Senate experience and legislative acumen—was my awareness that in McConnell’s mind, negotiations with the vice president didn’t inflame the Republican base in quite the same way that any appearance of cooperating with (Black, Muslim socialist) Obama was bound to do.

在討論不同情境後，我派Joe去國會山談判與麥康奈爾。我們會支持延長布殊減稅計劃兩年，但前提是共和黨同意延長緊急失業救濟、貧富差距稅收貸款（Making Work Pay）和另一個為勞工貧困戶提供退稅貸款的計劃同時延長相等的時間。麥康奈爾馬上猶豫了。他之前曾宣稱：“我們最想實現的一件事就是讓歐巴馬成為一任總統。”因此，他不願意讓我聲稱我已為大多數美國人削減稅負，而不是共和黨強迫我這樣做。我沒有感到驚訝。我派Joe去擔任中介的原因之一是因為我知道，在麥康奈爾心目中，與副總統談判與與像歐巴馬這樣的黑人，穆斯林，社會主義者合作看起來不會激怒共和黨基層支持者。

After a lot of back-and-forth, and after we’d agreed to swap the Making Work Pay tax credit for a payroll tax cut, McConnell finally relented and, on December 6, 2010, I was able to announce that a comprehensive agreement had been reached.

From a policy perspective, we were pleased with the outcome. While it was painful to keep the tax cuts for the wealthy in place for another two years, we’d managed to extend tax relief for middle-class families while leveraging an additional \$212 billion worth of economic stimulus specifically targeted at those Americans most in need—the kind of package we’d have no chance of passing through a Republican-controlled House as a stand-alone bill. As for the politics behind the deal, I explained to Valerie that the two-year time frame represented a high-stakes wager between the Republicans and me. I was betting that in November 2012, I’d be coming off a successful reelection campaign, allowing me to end the tax cuts for the wealthy from a position of strength. They were betting that they’d beat me—and that a new Republican president would help them make the Bush tax cuts permanent.

在许多反复往返之后，我们同意用工资税减免来交换“创造就业税收抵免”，麦康奈尔终于退让了。2010年12月6日，我宣布我们达成了全面协议。

从政策角度来看，我们对结果感到满意。虽然让富人的税收减免再延长两年很痛苦，但我们成功地为中产家庭延长了税收减免，同时利用额外的2120亿美元的经济刺激措施，特别针对那些最需要的美国人。这样的方案，我们作为独立议案在共和党掌控下的众议院没有任何通过的机会。至于交易背后的政治，我向瓦莱丽解释说，两年的时间框架代表着共和党人和我之间的高风险赌注。我打赌在2012年11月，我将从成功的连任竞选中脱颖而出，有力地结束富人的税收减免。他们则打赌他们会打败我，并且新的共和党总统会帮助他们使《布什减税法案》永久生效。

The fact that the deal left so much riding on the next presidential election might explain why it immediately provoked outrage from left-leaning commentators. They accused me of caving to McConnell and Boehner and of being compromised by my buddies on Wall Street and advisors like Larry and Tim. They warned that the payroll tax cut would weaken the Social Security Trust Funds; that the refundable tax credits benefiting the working poor would prove ephemeral; and that in two years’ time, the Bush tax cuts for the wealthy would be made permanent, just like the Republicans had always wanted.

交易使下一届总统选举承载了太多的压力，这或许可以解释为什么它立即引起了左翼评论者的愤怒。他们指责我向麦康奈尔和博纳屈服，并受到我在华尔街的朋友和助手，比如拉里和蒂姆的影响。他们警告称，工资税减免将削弱社保基金，受益于工薪阶层的可退税抵免可能会被证明是短暂的；而且两年之后，富人的布什税收减免将被永久化，就像共和党一直想要的那样。

In other words, they, too, expected me to lose.

As it so happened, the same mid-December week we announced the deal with McConnell, Bill Clinton joined me in the Oval Office dining room for a visit. Whatever tensions had existed between us during the campaign had largely dissipated by then, and I found it useful to hear the lessons he’d learned after suffering a similar midterm shellacking at the hands of Newt Gingrich in 1994. At some point, we got into the nitty-gritty of the tax agreement I’d just made, and Clinton couldn’t have been more enthusiastic.

換句話說，他們也預期我會輸掉。這巧合的是，當我們宣布與麥康奈爾達成協議的同一個十二月中旬的那周，比爾·克林頓加入我們在橢圓形辦公室餐廳的訪問中。我們在競選期間之間存在的緊張關係大多已經消失，我發現聽取他在1994年由紐特·金里奇手中受到類似中期挫敗的教訓非常有用。在某個時候，我們進入了我剛剛做出的稅收協議的細節，克林頓感到非常熱情。

“You need to tell that to some of our friends,” I said, noting the blowback we were getting from certain Democratic circles.

“If I have the chance, I will,” Clinton said.

That gave me an idea. “How about you get the chance right now?” Before he could answer, I walked over to Katie’s desk and asked her to have the press team rustle up any correspondents who were in the building. Fifteen minutes later, Bill Clinton and I stepped into the White House briefing room. Explaining to the startled reporters that they might like to get some perspective on our tax deal from the person who’d overseen just about the best U.S. economy we’d experienced in recent history, I turned the podium over to Clinton. It didn’t take long for the former president to own the room, mustering all of his raspy-voiced, lip-biting Arkansas charm to make the case for our deal with McConnell. In fact, shortly after the impromptu press conference began, I realized I had another commitment to get to, but Clinton was clearly enjoying himself so much that I didn’t want to cut him off. Instead, I leaned into the microphone to say that I had to leave but that President Clinton could stick around. Later, I asked Gibbs how the whole thing had played.

“你需要告诉我们的一些朋友，”我说，注意到我们从某些民主党圈子中遭受的反弹。

“如果我有机会，我会的，”克林顿说。

那启发了我。“你现在就有机会了怎么样？”在他回答之前，我走到凯蒂的桌子旁，要求她让新闻团队找到在场的任何记者。十五分钟后，比尔·克林顿和我走进了白宫新闻发布厅。

向吃惊的记者解释，他们可能会想从那位监管了我们经历的最佳美国经济的人那里获得一些关于我们税收协议的视角，我把讲台交给了克林顿。这位前总统没用多久就成为了主角，调动了他那沙哑的嗓音和啃咬嘴唇的阿肯色魅力，为我们与麦康奈尔的协议辩护。实际上，紧接着那次即兴记者招待会开始后，我意识到自己还有其他事情要做，但是克林顿显然非常喜欢这个场合，我不想打扰他。相反，我向麦克风弯腰说，我得走了，但是克林顿可以留下来。后来，我问吉布斯整个事情表现如何。

“The coverage was great,” Gibbs said. “Though a few of the talking heads said that you diminished yourself by giving Clinton the platform.”

I wasn't too worried about that. I knew that Clinton's poll numbers were a whole lot higher than mine at the time, partly because the conservative press that had once vilified him now found it useful to offer him up as a contrast to me, the kind of reasonable, centrist Democrat, they said, that Republicans could work with. His endorsement would help us sell the deal to the broader public and tamp down any potential rebellion among congressional Democrats. It was an irony that I—like many modern leaders—eventually learned to live with: You never looked as smart as the ex-president did on the sidelines.

“報導很棒，”吉布斯說。“儘管有些政治評論家說你讓克林頓站上了你的平台，讓你顯得有些低調。”我對此不太擔心。當時，克林頓的民意支持率比我的高得多，部分原因是曾經抨擊他的保守派媒體現在發現這樣做可以讓他成為我的對比，他們說我是共和黨可以合作的那種理性中間派民主黨人。他的支持將有助於我們將此交易推銷給更廣泛的公眾，並抑制國會民主黨人的任何潛在反叛。這是我-像許多現代領袖一樣-最終學會接受的一種諷刺：你永遠比前總統在場邊看起來聰明不了多少。”

Our temporary détente with McConnell on taxes allowed us to focus on the rest of my lame-duck to-do list. Michelle's child nutrition bill had already received enough Republican support to pass in early December with relatively little fuss, despite accusations from Sarah Palin (now a Fox News commentator) that Michelle was intent on taking away the freedom of American parents to feed their children as they saw fit. Meanwhile, the House was working through the details of a food safety bill that would pass later in the month.

我們與麥康奈爾在稅收方面的暫時休戰，讓我們專注於我那些即將離任前需要完成的工作清單。米歇爾的兒童營養法案早在12月初就已獲得足夠的共和黨支持，沒有受到太多騷動的指控，儘管當時的萊絲·佩林（現在是福克斯新聞的評論員）指責米歇爾有意剝奪美國父母按照自己的方式餵養孩子的自由。與此同時，眾議院正在研究一項食品安全法案的細節，這項法案將在稍後通過。

Ratifying New START in the Senate proved more challenging—not only because, as a treaty, it required 67 rather than 60 votes but because domestically there was no strong constituency clamoring to get it done. I had to nag Harry Reid to prioritize the issue during the lame-duck sessions, explaining that U.S. credibility—not to mention my own standing with other world leaders—was at stake, and that a failure to ratify the treaty would undermine our efforts to enforce sanctions against Iran and get other countries to tighten up their own nuclear security. Once I got Harry's grudging commitment to bring the treaty up for a vote (“I don't know how I'll find the floor time, Mr. President,” he grumbled over the phone, “but if you tell me it's important I'll do my best, okay?”), we went to work lining up Republican votes. The Joint Chiefs' endorsement of the treaty helped; so did strong support from my old friend Dick Lugar, who remained the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and rightly viewed New START as an extension of his earlier work on nuclear nonproliferation.

在參議院批准新《削減戰略武器條約》(New START)過程中遇到了更多挑戰 - 不僅因為作為條約需要得到67票而不是60票的支持，而且在國內沒有強有力的聲音呼籲批准該條約。我不得不催促哈里·里德(Harry Reid)在“癟子”期間優先考慮這個問題，解釋說美國的信譽，更不用說我在國際領袖中的地位，都是受到挑戰的；如果未能批准該條約，將會削弱我們對伊朗實施制裁並促使其他國家加強核安全的努力。一旦我得到哈里的勉強承諾要進行投票（他在電話中抱怨道：“我不知道我怎麼才能安排時間投票，總統先生，但如果說這很重要，我會盡力而為的，好吧？”），我們開始努力爭取共和黨人的支持。參謀長聯席會議的支持有所幫助，我的老朋友迪克·盧格(Dick Lugar)也強烈支持這項條約，他仍然是參議院外交關係委員會的最高的共和黨人，並把新《削減戰略武器條約》視為他早期核不擴散工作的延伸。

Even so, closing the deal required me to commit to a multiyear, multibillion-dollar modernization of the infrastructure around the United States' nuclear stockpile, at the insistence of conservative Arizona senator Jon Kyl. Given my long-term goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, not to mention all the better ways I could think of to use billions of federal dollars, this concession felt like a devil's bargain, though our in-house experts, many of whom were dedicated to nuclear disarmament, assured me that our aging nuclear weapons systems did need upgrades in order to reduce the risk of a catastrophic miscalculation or accident. And when New START finally cleared the Senate by a 71–26 vote, I breathed a big sigh of relief.

即便如此，為了達成交易，我不得不承諾對美國核武庫周邊的基礎設施進行一項數十億美元、多年的現代化改造，這是保守的亞利桑那州參議員瓊·凱爾的堅持。鑑於我長期目標是消除核武器，更不用說有其他更好的方式來利用數十億聯邦資金，這個妥協感覺就像與魔鬼訂立的交易，儘管我們內部的專家中有很多人致力於核裁軍，他們向我保證，為了減少災難性錯誤或事故的風險，我們老化的核武器系統確實需要升級。當《新削減戰略武器條約》最終以71票贊成、26票反對的結果通過參議院時，我松了一口氣。

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THE WHITE HOUSE never looked more beautiful than during the holiday season. Huge pine wreaths with red velvet bows lined the walls along the colonnade and the main corridor of the East Wing, and the oaks and magnolias in the Rose Garden were strewn with lights. The official White House

Christmas tree, a majestic fir delivered by horse-drawn carriage, occupied most of the Blue Room, but trees almost as spectacular filled nearly every public space in the residence. Over the course of three days, an army of volunteers organized by the Social Office decorated the trees, halls, and Grand Foyer with a dazzling array of ornaments, while the White House pastry chefs prepared an elaborate gingerbread replica of the residence, complete with furniture, curtains, and—during my presidency—a miniature version of Bo.

白宫在假日季节从未如此美丽。红丝绒蝴蝶结装饰的巨大松树花环点缀着拱廊和东翼主走廊的墙壁，玫瑰园里的橡树和玉兰树上垂挂着灯光。白宫官方的圣诞树，一棵由马车运送而来的宏伟冷杉，占据了大部分的蓝房间，但其他公共区域也装饰了几乎同样壮观的树。在社交办公室组织的志愿者大军的协助下，短短三天内，树木、走廊和大厅都用海量的装饰品点缀得璀璨夺目，而白宫的蛋糕师傅则准备了一座精美的姜饼模型，模型还包括家具、窗帘和我担任总统期间的狗狗Bo的小缩影。

The holiday season also meant we hosted parties practically every afternoon and evening for three and a half weeks straight. These were big, festive affairs, with three to four hundred guests at a time, laughing and chomping on lamb chops and crab cakes and drinking eggnog and wine while members of the United States Marine Band, spiffy in their red coats, played all the holiday standards. For me and Michelle, the afternoon parties were easy—we just dropped by for a few minutes to wish everyone well from behind a rope line. But the evening events called for us to position ourselves in the Diplomatic Reception Room for two hours or more, posing for photos with nearly every guest. Michelle didn't mind doing this at the parties we hosted for the families of Secret Service personnel and the residence staff, despite what standing in heels for that long did to her feet. Her holiday spirits dimmed, however, when it came to feting members of Congress and the political media. Maybe it was because they demanded more attention ("Stop making so much small talk!" she'd whisper to me during momentary breaks in the action); or because some of the same people who regularly appeared on TV calling for her husband's head on a spike somehow had the nerve to put their arms around her and smile for the camera as if they were her best high school chums.假期也意味着我们在连续三个半星期的下午和晚上主持聚会。这些聚会是盛大的活动，每次有三四百位嘉宾参加，笑声不断，品尝羊排、蟹饼、蛋酒和红酒，美国海军乐队的成员穿着红色的制服演奏着所有假日标准曲目。对于我和米歇尔来说，下午的聚会很容易，我们只需在绳子边稍作停留，向大家祝福即可。但是晚上的聚会需要我们在外交接待室站立两个小时或更长时间，与几乎所有的客人合影。尽管穿高跟鞋这么长时间对她的脚有伤害，但米歇尔并不介意在我们为特勤人员家属和住所工作人员举办的聚会上这样做。然而，当需要为国会议员和政治新闻界举办聚会时，她的假日情绪就会变得黯淡。也许是因为他们要求更多的关注（“别总是闲聊！”当她有机会休息时，她会在耳边轻声说）。或者是因为那些经常在电视上呼吁为她的丈夫找个头的人，却好意地把手臂搭在她身上，对着相机微笑，仿佛他们是她最好的高中朋友，这让她感到很不舒服。

Back in the West Wing, much of my team's energy in the weeks before Christmas went toward pushing through the two most controversial bills left on my docket: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) and the DREAM Act. Alongside abortion, guns, and just about anything to do with race, the issues of LGBTQ rights and immigration had occupied center stage in America's culture wars for decades, in part because they raised the most basic question in our democracy—namely, who do we consider a true member of the American family, deserving of the same rights, respect, and concern that we expect for ourselves? I believed in defining that family broadly—it included gay people as well as straight, and it included immigrant families that had put down roots and raised kids here, even if they hadn't come through the front door. How could I believe otherwise, when some of the same arguments for their exclusion had so often been used to exclude those who looked like me?

回到西翼，在圣诞节前几个星期，我的团队极力推动通过两个最具争议的法案：“勿问勿告”（DADT）和“梦想法案”。除了堕胎、枪支和涉及种族的任何事情外，LGBTQ权利和移民问题几十年来一直占据着美国文化战争的中心舞台，部分原因是它们引发了我们民主国家最基本的问题，即我们认为谁是真正的美国家庭成员，值得我们期望得到自己的权利、尊重和关注？我相信广义地定义美国家庭的范围——它包括同性恋者和异性恋者，也包括移民家庭，即使他们没有通过正门来到这里，在这里扎根并养育孩子。当一些同样的排斥他们的理由经常被用来排斥那些看起来像我一样的人时，我怎么能相信其他呢？

That's not to say that I dismissed those with different views on LGBTQ and immigration rights as heartless bigots. For one thing, I had enough self-awareness—or at least a good enough memory—to know that my own attitudes toward gays, lesbians, and transgender people hadn't always been particularly enlightened. I grew up in the 1970s, a time when LGBTQ life was far less visible to those outside the community, so that Toot's sister (and one of my favorite relatives), Aunt Arlene, felt obliged to introduce her partner of twenty years as "my close friend Marge" whenever she visited us in Hawaii.

這並不是說我把那些對LGBTQ和移民權利持不同觀點的人視為沒有心肝的偏執狂。首先，我有足夠的自我意識，或者至少有足夠好的記憶，知道我對同性戀、雙性戀和跨性別者的態度並不一直是特別開明的。我成長於20世紀70年代，LGBTQ生活對於社群外的人來說遠不如現在可見，所以Toot的姐姐（也是我最喜歡的親戚之一）阿琳，每當她來夏威夷拜訪我們時，就會把她20年的伴侶介紹為“我親密的朋友瑪吉”。

And like many teenage boys in those years, my friends and I sometimes threw around words like "fag" or "gay" at each other as casual put-downs—callow attempts to fortify our masculinity and hide our insecurities. Once I got to college and became friends with fellow students and professors who were openly gay, though, I realized the overt discrimination and hate they were subject to, as well as the loneliness and self-doubt that the dominant culture imposed on them. I felt ashamed of my past behavior—and learned to do better.

就像那个年代的许多少年男孩一样，我和朋友们有时会互相扔“蕩娃”或“同志”之类随意侮辱的话语——这是为了加强我们的男子气概并掩盖我们的不安全感。然而，一旦我上了大学并与公开表明自己为同性恋的同学和教授成为朋友，我意识到他们所受到的明显歧视和仇恨以及支配文化强加给他们的孤独和自我怀疑。我感到自己的过去行为羞愧不安——并学会做得更好。

As for immigration, during my youth I'd given the issue little thought beyond the vague mythology of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty transmitted through popular culture. The progression of my thinking came later, when my organizing work in Chicago introduced me to the predominantly Mexican communities of Pilsen and Little Village—neighborhoods where the usual categories of native-born Americans, naturalized citizens, green-card holders,

and undocumented immigrants all but dissolved, since many, if not most, families included all four. Over time, people shared with me what it was like to have to hide your background, always afraid that the life you'd worked so hard to build might be upended in an instant. They talked about the sheer exhaustion and expense of dealing with an often heartless or arbitrary immigration system, the sense of helplessness that came with having to work for employers who took advantage of your immigration status to pay you subminimum wages. The friendships I made and the stories I heard in those Chicago neighborhoods, and from LGBTQ people during college and my early career, had opened my heart to the human dimensions of issues that I'd once thought of in mainly abstract terms.

在移民问题上，我的青春时期除了通过流行文化传输的埃利斯岛和自由女神的模糊神话外，对这个问题几乎没有思考过。我的思考进程要在之后，当我的芝加哥组织工作让我接触到普拉森（Pilsen）和小村（Little Village）等以墨西哥人为主的社区时，因为那些社区几乎毫不区分美国本土出生的人、入籍公民、绿卡持有者和非法移民，因为许多家庭包括以上四种身份。随着时间的推移，人们与我分享了如果不得不隐藏自己的身份，总是害怕自己为生命而努力建立的一切可能会在一瞬间崩溃的感受。他们谈到了应对常常冷酷或武断的移民系统所带来的纯粹的精疲力竭和负担，以及不得不为那些通过移民身份来剥削你、支付次最低工资的雇主工作所带来的无助感。我在那些芝加哥社区结交的朋友和所听到的故事，以及在大学和早期职业生涯中从LGBTQ人群那里所听到的，打开了我的心扉，使我能够从抽象的层面上思考这些问题的人类尺度。

For me, the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” situation was straightforward: I considered a policy that prevented LGBTQ persons from openly serving in our military to be both offensive to American ideals and corrosive to the armed forces. DADT was the result of a flawed compromise between Bill Clinton—who’d campaigned on the idea of ending the outright ban on LGBTQ people serving in the military—and his Joint Chiefs, who’d insisted that such a change would damage morale and retention. Since going into effect in 1994, DADT had done little to protect or dignify anyone and, in fact, had led to the discharge of more than thirteen thousand service members solely due to their sexual orientation. Those who remained had to hide who they were and who they loved, unable to safely put up family pictures in their work spaces or attend social functions on base with their partners. As the first African American commander in chief, I felt a special responsibility to end the policy, mindful that Blacks in the military had traditionally faced institutional prejudice and been barred from leadership roles and for decades had been forced to serve in segregated units—a policy Harry Truman had finally ended with an executive order in 1948.

對我來說，“不詢問，不回答”（DADT）的情況很簡單：我認為防止LGBTQ人公開服役的政策既冒犯了美國的理想，也對武裝力量腐蝕。DADT是Bill Clinton和聯合參謀團之間的一種有缺陷的妥協，Clinton曾在競選中提出結束LGBTQ人在軍隊中絕對禁令的想法，而聯合參謀團則堅持認為這樣的變化會損害士氣和保留人員。自從 1994 年生效以來，DADT 幾乎沒有為任何人提供保護或尊嚴，實際上，這項政策已經導致超過 13,000 名服務成員因其性取向而被解雇。留下來的人不得不隱藏自己的身份和所愛之人，無法安全地在工作空間中張貼家庭照片或與伴侶一起參加基地的社交活動。作為第一位非裔美國總司令，我感到有特殊的責任結束這項政策，因為我意識到軍隊中的黑人傳統上遭受制度化的偏見和被禁止擔任領導職務，數十年來一直被迫在種族隔離的單位中服役，這一政策一直到1948年哈利·杜魯門總統發出行政命令結束。

The question was how best to accomplish the change. From the outset, LGBTQ advocates urged me to follow Truman’s example and simply issue an order to reverse the policy—particularly since I’d already used executive orders and memoranda to address other regulations adversely affecting LGBTQ people, including the granting of hospital visitation rights and the extension of benefits to domestic partners of federal employees. But in short-circuiting the consensus building involved in passing legislation, an executive order increased the likelihood of resistance to the new policy inside the military, and foot-dragging in its implementation. And, of course, a future president could always reverse an executive order with the mere stroke of a pen.

問題是如何最佳實現變革。從一開始，同志權益倡導者就敦促我遵循杜魯門的例子，簡單地下達一道命令以扭轉政策，特別是因為我已經使用行政命令和備忘錄來解決其他不利影響同志權益的規定，包括授予醫院探視權和將福利延伸到聯邦雇員的伴侶。但是，通過捷徑繞過制定立法的共識建設，行政命令增加了軍內新政策遭到反抗和推遲實施的可能性。當然，未來的總統可以僅僅一筆之力就撤銷行政命令。

I’d concluded that the optimal solution was to get Congress to act. To do that, I needed the military’s top leaders as active and willing partners—which, in the middle of two wars, I knew wouldn’t be easy. Previous Joint Chiefs had opposed repealing DADT, reasoning that the integration of openly gay service members might adversely impact unit cohesion and discipline. (Congressional opponents of repeal, including John McCain, claimed that introducing such a disruptive new policy during wartime amounted to a betrayal of our troops.) To their credit, though, Bob Gates and Mike Mullen didn’t flinch when I told them, early in my term, that I intended to reverse DADT. Gates said that he’d already asked his staff to quietly begin internal planning on the issue, less out of any personal enthusiasm for the policy change than out of a practical concern that federal courts might ultimately find DADT unconstitutional and force a change on the military overnight. Rather than try to talk me out of my position, he and Mullen asked that I let them set up a task force to evaluate the implications of the proposed change on military operations—which would ultimately conduct a comprehensive survey of troops’ attitudes toward having openly gay members in their ranks. The objective, Gates said, was to minimize disruption and division.

我得出結論，最优解是讓國會採取行動。為此，我需要軍方高層領導人作為積極和願意的合作伙伴，而在兩場戰爭中，我知道這不容易。以前的聯合參謀長反對撤銷“不問不說”政策，理由是公開同性戀服役成員的整合可能會對部隊凝聚力和紀律產生不利影響。（撤銷“不問不說”政策的反對派，包括約翰·麥凱恩，聲稱在戰爭期間引入這樣一項破壞性的新政策，等於是對我們的部隊的背叛。）但值得稱讚的是，鮑勃·蓋茨和邁克·穆倫在我擔任總統早期，當我告訴他們我打算推翻“不問不說”政策時，並沒有退縮。蓋茨說，他已經要求他的員工悄悄地開始內部規劃這個問題，不是出於對政策變化的個人熱情，而是出於擔心聯邦法院最終會宣布“不問不說”政策違憲，並迫使軍方立即進行改變的實際考慮。他和穆倫沒有試圖說服我改變立場，而是要求我讓他們組建一個任務組，評估擬議的變化對軍事行動的影響 - 這最終將對部隊對公開同性戀成員持有的態度進行全面調查。蓋茨說，目標是最大限度地減少干擾和分裂。

“If you’re going to do this, Mr. President,” Gates added, “we should at least be able to tell you how to do it right.”

I warned Gates and Mullen that I didn’t consider discrimination against LGBTQ people to be an issue subject to plebiscite. Nevertheless, I agreed to their

request, partly because I trusted them to set up an honest evaluation process but mainly because I suspected that the survey would show our troops—most of whom were decades younger than the high-ranking generals—to be more open-minded toward gays and lesbians than people expected. Appearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 2, 2010, Gates further validated my trust when he said, “I fully support the president’s decision” to reexamine DADT. But it was Mike Mullen’s testimony before the committee that same day that really made news, as he became the first sitting senior U.S. military leader in history to publicly argue that LGBTQ persons should be allowed to openly serve: “Mr. Chairman, speaking for myself and myself only, it is my personal belief that allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly would be the right thing to do. No matter how I look at this issue, I cannot escape being troubled by the fact that we have in place a policy which forces young men and women to lie about who they are in order to defend their fellow citizens. For me personally, it comes down to integrity, theirs as individuals and ours as an institution.”

“如果您打算這麼做，總統先生，”蓋茨補充道，“我們至少應該告訴您如何做得對。”我警告蓋茨和莫倫，我不認為歧視LGBTQ人是一個可以供公民投票的問題。然而，部分原因是因為我相信他們可以建立一個誠實的評估過程，但主要原因是我懷疑軍隊中的士兵，大多數比高級將領年輕數十年，對同性戀和女同志的態度比人們想象的開放。在2010年2月2日出現在參議院武裝服務委員會前，蓋茨進一步證實了我的信任，他說：“我完全支持總統的決定”重新審查DADT。但同一天，邁克·莫倫在委員會面前作證才真正成為新聞，因為他成為歷史上第一位公開主張LGBTQ人應該被允許公開服務的現任高級美國軍事領袖：“主席先生，只代表我自己講，我個人認為允許同性戀和女同志公開服務是正確的。無論我如何看待這個問題，我都無法避免為我們現行的政策感到困擾，這個政策迫使年輕男女撒謊以保護他們的同胞。對我個人而言，這涉及到個體的誠信，以及我們作為一個機構的誠信。”

Nobody in the White House had coordinated with Mullen on the statement; I’m not even sure that Gates had known ahead of time what Mullen planned to say. But his unequivocal statement immediately shifted the public debate and created important political cover for fence-sitting senators, who could then feel justified in embracing the repeal.

Mullen’s testimony came months before the evaluation process he and Gates had requested was completed, which caused some political headaches. Proponents of repeal started coming hard at us, both privately and in the press, unable to understand why I wouldn’t simply issue an executive order when the chairman of the Joint Chiefs supported a policy change—especially because, while we took our sweet time with a survey, LGBTQ service members were still being discharged. Valerie and her team bore the brunt of the friendly fire, particularly Brian Bond, a highly regarded gay activist who served as our principal liaison to the community. For months, Brian had to defend my decision-making, as skeptical friends, former colleagues, and members of the press suggested that he’d been co-opted, questioning his commitment to the cause. I can only imagine the toll this took on him personally.

白宫内没有人与马伦协调声明；我甚至不确定盖茨事先是否知道马伦计划说什么。但是他毫不含糊的声明立即转移了公众辩论，为摇摆不定的参议员提供了重要的政治掩护，他们随后可以有理由支持废除。马伦的证言是在他和盖茨请求的评估过程完成之前数月发表的，这引起了一些政治上的麻烦。废除的支持者开始在私下和媒体上猛烈抨击我们，无法理解为什么我不会简单地签署行政命令，当联合参谋长支持政策改变——特别是因为在我们花费了很多时间进行调查的同时，LGBTQ服务成员仍然被开除。瓦莱丽和她的团队承受了友好火力的猛烈攻击，特别是布莱恩·邦德，一位备受尊敬的同性恋活动家，他是我们与社区之间的主要联络人。几个月来，布莱恩不得不捍卫我的决策，因为怀疑的朋友、前同事和媒体成员表示他已经被收买，质疑他对这个事业的承诺。我无法想象这对他个人带来的影响。

The criticism grew louder in September 2010 when, as Gates had predicted, a federal district court in California ruled that DADT was unconstitutional. I asked Gates to formally suspend all discharges while the case was appealed. But no matter how hard I pressed, he repeatedly refused my request, arguing that as long as DADT was in place, he was obligated to enforce it; and I knew that ordering him to do something he considered inappropriate might force me to have to find a new defense secretary. It was perhaps the only time I came close to yelling at Gates, and not just because I considered his legal analysis faulty. He seemed to consider the frustrations we were hearing from LGBTQ advocates—not to mention the anguished stories of gay and lesbian service members who were under his charge—as one more bit of “politics” from which I should shield him and the Pentagon, rather than a central consideration in his own decision-making. (Ultimately he did at least modify DADT’s administrative procedures in such a way that nearly all actual discharges were halted while we awaited resolution on the issue.)

2010年9月，批评的声音越来越响亮。正如盖茨预测的那样，加利福尼亚联邦地区法院裁定DADT违宪。我请求盖茨在案件上诉期间正式暂停所有除役。但无论我多么坚定地要求，他都一再拒绝我的请求，认为只要DADT存在，他有责任执行它。我知道如果要求他执行他认为不恰当的命令，可能会迫使我寻找新的国防部长。这也许是我唯一一次接近大声斥责盖茨的时候，不仅因为我认为他的法律分析有问题。他似乎认为我们从LGBTQ倡导者那里听到的挫折感受——更不用说那些在他领导下的同性恋服务成员的痛苦故事——是他自己决策中一个不太重要的“政治因素”，而不是其中的核心考量。最终，他至少修改了DADT的行政程序，使几乎所有实际的退役都停止了，而我们在这个问题上等待解决。

Mercifully, toward the end of that same month, the results from the troop study finally came in. They confirmed what I’d suspected: Two-thirds of those surveyed thought that allowing those gay, lesbian, and bisexual colleagues to serve openly would have little or no impact on—or might actually improve—the military’s ability to execute its missions. In fact, most troops believed that they were either already working or had worked with LGBTQ service members and had experienced no difference in their ability to perform their duties.

幸运的是，同月底，部队研究的结果终于出来了。他们证实了我所怀疑的：有三分之二的受访者认为，允许同性恋、女同性恋和双性恋同事公开服役，对军队执行任务的能力几乎没有影响，甚至可能有所提高。事实上，大多数部队认为他们已经与LGBTQ服务成员共事或曾经共事，但并没有在履行职责的能力上遇到任何差异。

Get exposed to other people’s truths, I thought, and attitudes change.

With the survey in hand, Gates and Mullen officially endorsed the repeal of DADT. Meeting with me in the Oval Office, the other Joint Chiefs pledged to

implement the policy without undue delay. In fact, General James Amos, the Marine commandant and a firm opponent of repeal, drew smiles when he said, “I can promise you, Mr. President, that none of these other branches are going to do it faster or better than the U.S. Marine Corps.” And on December 18, the Senate passed the bill 65–31, with eight Republican votes.

接觸他人的真實、想法，態度或許就會改變。蓋茲和邁倫憑藉調查報告，公開支持廢除「不問不說」政策。在總統辦公室與我會面時，其他的聯合參謀長承諾會盡快實施政策。事實上，曾堅決反對廢除的海軍陸戰隊總司令詹姆斯·艾莫斯將軍在會議上說：“我可以向您保證，總統先生，美國海軍陸戰隊不會落後於其他軍種，也不會實行得更慢。”最終，12月18日，參議院以65-31的票數通過此法案，其中8個共和黨人投了贊成票。

A few days later, former and current LGBTQ service members filled an auditorium at the Department of the Interior as I signed the bill. Many were in dress uniform, their faces expressing a medley of joy, pride, relief, and tears. As I addressed the crowd, I saw a number of the advocates who’d been some of our fiercest critics just a few weeks earlier now smiling in appreciation. Spotting Brian Bond, I gave him a nod. But the biggest applause that day was reserved for Mike Mullen—a long, heartfelt standing ovation. As I watched the admiral standing on the stage, visibly moved despite the awkward grin on his face, I couldn’t have been happier for him. It wasn’t often, I thought, that a true act of conscience is recognized that way.

幾天後，前和現役的LGBTQ服役人員擠滿了國家內政部的禮堂，當我簽署法案時。許多人穿著盛裝，他們的臉上表達著歡樂、驕傲、寬慰和淚水的混雜情感。當我向人群發表演講時，我看到了一些曾經是我們最激烈的批評者的辯護人，現在微笑著表達欣賞之情。我看到Brian Bond，我給了他一個點頭。但當天最大的掌聲是為麥克·馬倫保留的——一次長而深刻的起立鼓掌。當我看著這位將軍站在台上，即使臉上表情有些尷尬，但顯然被感動了。我為他感到非常高興。我想，很少有真正的良心行動能以這種方式獲得認可。

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WHEN IT CAME to immigration, everyone agreed that the system was broken. The process of immigrating legally to the United States could take a decade or longer, often depending on what country you were coming from and how much money you had. Meanwhile, the economic gulf between us and our southern neighbors drove hundreds of thousands of people to illegally cross the 1,933-mile U.S.-Mexico border each year, searching for work and a better life. Congress had spent billions to harden the border, with fencing, cameras, drones, and an expanded and increasingly militarized border patrol. But rather than stop the flow of immigrants, these steps had spurred an industry of smugglers—coyotes—who made big money transporting human cargo in barbaric and sometimes deadly fashion. And although border crossings by poor Mexican and Central American migrants received most of the attention from politicians and the press, about 40 percent of America’s unauthorized immigrants arrived through airports or other legal ports of entry and then overstayed their visas.當談到移民問題時，大家都認為現行體制已殘破不堪。合法移民到美國需要十年甚至更長時間，往往取決於來自哪個國家以及有多少錢。與此同時，我們和南邊鄰居之間的經濟差距驅使成千上萬的人年年非法越過長達1,933英里的美墨邊境，尋求工作和更好的生活。國會已經花費了數十億美元加固邊境，包括設置圍欄、攝像頭、無人機和擴大並逐漸趨向軍事化的邊境巡邏。然而，這些步驟並未阻止移民潮，反而促使了一群運輸人類貨物的走私者——狼鼠，他們以野蠻甚至致命的方式賺取大筆利潤。儘管貧窮的墨西哥和中美洲移民越過邊境的情況博得了政治家和媒體的關注，但大約40%的非法移民是通過機場或其他法定入境口岸進入美國，然後違法逾期逗留。

By 2010, an estimated eleven million undocumented persons were living in the United States, in large part thoroughly woven into the fabric of American life. Many were longtime residents, with children who either were U.S. citizens by virtue of having been born on American soil or had been brought to the United States at such an early age that they were American in every respect except for a piece of paper. Entire sectors of the U.S. economy relied on their labor, as undocumented immigrants were often willing to do the toughest, dirtiest work for meager pay—picking the fruits and vegetables that stocked our grocery stores, mopping the floors of offices, washing dishes at restaurants, and providing care to the elderly. But although American consumers benefited from this invisible workforce, many feared that immigrants were taking jobs from citizens, burdening social services programs, and changing the nation’s racial and cultural makeup, which led to demands for the government to crack down on illegal immigration. This sentiment was strongest among Republican constituencies, egged on by an increasingly nativist right-wing press. However, the politics didn’t fall neatly along partisan lines: The traditionally Democratic trade union rank and file, for example, saw the growing presence of undocumented workers on construction sites as threatening their livelihoods, while Republican-leaning business groups interested in maintaining a steady supply of cheap labor (or, in the case of Silicon Valley, foreign-born computer programmers and engineers) often took pro-immigration positions.

到2010年，估計有1100萬無證居留者生活在美國，他們大部分已經緊緊地編入了美國生活的網絡中。許多人是長期居民，他們的孩子可能因為在美國土地上出生而成為美國公民，或者是在很小的時候就被帶到美國，除了缺少一張紙，他們在每個方面都像是美國人。整個美國經濟的某些部分依賴他們的勞力，因為無證移民經常願意以微薄的薪酬承擔最艱苦、最骯髒的工作——摘下充斥著我們的雜貨店的水果和蔬菜，打掃辦公室的地板，洗碗餐廳，照顧老人。儘管美國消費者從這個隱形的勞動力中受益，但許多人擔心移民正在搶走公民的工作，加重社會服務計劃的負擔，改變國家的種族和文化脈絡，這導致對政府打擊非法移民的要求越來越強烈。這種情緒在共和黨支持者中最為強烈，這些人受到越來越具本土主義傾向的右翼媒體的煽動。然而，政治並沒有按黨派線編排：例如，傳統上支持民主黨的工會成員看到建築工地上無證勞工的增加威脅了他們的生計，而支持共和黨的商業團體則對維持廉價勞動力（或在矽谷，外國出生的計算機程序員和工程師）的穩定供應常常持有利移民立場。

Back in 2007, the maverick version of John McCain, along with his sidekick Lindsey Graham, had actually joined Ted Kennedy to put together a comprehensive reform bill that offered citizenship to millions of undocumented immigrants while more tightly securing our borders. Despite strong support from President Bush, it had failed to clear the Senate. The bill did, however, receive twelve Republican votes, indicating the real possibility of a future bipartisan accord. I’d pledged during the campaign to resurrect similar legislation once elected, and I’d appointed former Arizona governor Janet Napolitano as head of the Department of Homeland Security—the agency that oversaw U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Customs and Border Protection—partly because of her knowledge of border issues and her reputation for having previously managed immigration in a way that was both compassionate and tough.

2007年，独立派约翰·麦凯恩以及他的搭档林赛·格雷厄姆，与泰德·肯尼迪一起制定了一项全面改革法案，提供了数百万非法移民的公民身份，同时更加严格地加固了我们的边境安全。尽管得到了布什总统的强烈支持，但未能在参议院通过。该法案获得了十二个共和党人的投票支持，表明未来两党达成协议的真正可能性。我在竞选期间承诺一旦当选，将重新提出类似的法案，并任命了前亚利桑那州州长简特·纳波利塔诺担任国土安全全部负责人——该机构监督美国移民及海关执法局（ICE）和美国海关和边境保护局。我之所以选择她，部分原因是她对边境问题的了解以及她之前管理移民工作时采用的既有同情心又有强硬手段的方法。

My hopes for a bill had thus far been dashed. With the economy in crisis and Americans losing jobs, few in Congress had any appetite to take on a hot-button issue like immigration. Kennedy was gone. McCain, having been criticized by the right flank for his relatively moderate immigration stance, showed little interest in taking up the banner again. Worse yet, my administration was deporting undocumented workers at an accelerating rate. This wasn't a result of any directive from me, but rather it stemmed from a 2008 congressional mandate that both expanded ICE's budget and increased collaboration between ICE and local law enforcement departments in an effort to deport more undocumented immigrants with criminal records. My team and I had made a strategic choice not to immediately try to reverse the policies we'd inherited in large part because we didn't want to provide ammunition to critics who claimed that Democrats weren't willing to enforce existing immigration laws—a perception that we thought could torpedo our chances of passing a future reform bill. But by 2010, immigrant-rights and Latino advocacy groups were criticizing our lack of progress, much the same way LGBTQ activists had gone after us on DADT. And although I continued to urge Congress to pass immigration reform, I had no realistic path for delivering a new comprehensive law before the midterms.

我对于通过移民法案的希望迄今未能实现。由于经济危机和美国人失去就业，国会中很少有人愿意涉足像移民这样敏感的问题。肯尼迪已经去世了。麦凯恩因为被右翼批评其相对温和的移民立场而对再次拿起这面旗帜不感兴趣。更糟糕的是，我的政府正在以加快的速度驱逐非法移民，这不是我下达的指令，而是源于2008年的国会法令，将增加合作部门的人员配备、扩大移民与本地执法部门之间的合作，旨在驱逐更多具有犯罪记录的非法移民。我们的团队和我有一个战略选择，即在很大程度上不立即尝试扭转我们继承的政策，因为我们不想提供弹药给批评民主党人不愿意执行现有移民法律的批评者，这种看法我们认为可能破坏我们通过未来的改革法案的机会。但到了2010年，移民权利和拉美裔倡导组织批评我们缺乏进展，就像LGBTQ活动家在DADT问题上批评我们一样。虽然我继续敦促国会通过移民改革，但在中期选举之前，我没有实现新的全面法律的现实途径。

Enter the DREAM Act. The idea that young, undocumented immigrants who'd been brought to the United States as children could be given some sort of relief had been floating around for years, and at least ten versions of the DREAM Act had been introduced in Congress since 2001, each time failing to garner the needed votes. Advocates often presented it as a partial but meaningful step on the road to wider reform. The act would grant "Dreamers"—as these young people had come to be called—temporary legal residence and a pathway to citizenship, so long as they met certain criteria. According to the most recent bill, they had to have entered the United States before the age of sixteen, lived here for five continuous years, graduated from high school or obtained a GED, and attended college for two years or joined the military—and they could have no serious criminal record. Individual states could make Dreamers legally eligible for reduced tuition rates at public colleges and universities—the only realistic way many of them could afford higher education.

推出“DREAM法案”。多年来，关注青年无证移民（即被从小带到美国的无证移民）能否得到某种救济的想法一直存在，自2001年以来，至少有十个版本的“DREAM法案”被提交到国会，但每次都未能获得所需的票数。倡导者经常把它作为朝着更广泛改革的道路上一个部分但有意义的步骤来呈现。该法案将授予这些被称为“梦想家”的年轻人临时的合法居留权和通往公民身份的途径，但必须满足某些标准。根据最新的法案，他们必须在16岁以前进入美国，连续生活五年，在高中毕业或获得GED认证后，再上两年大学或参军，且不能有严重的刑事记录。个别州可以使“梦想家”在公立大学和大专享受合法的减免学费待遇，这是许多人负担高等教育的唯一现实途径。

Dreamers had grown up going to American schools, playing American sports, watching American TV, and hanging out at American malls. In some cases, their parents had never even told them they weren't citizens; they learned of their undocumented status only when they tried to get a driver's license or submitted an application for college financial aid. I'd had a chance to meet many Dreamers, both before and after I entered the White House. They were smart, poised, and resilient—as full of potential as my own daughters. If anything, I found the Dreamers to be less cynical about America than many of their native-born contemporaries—precisely because their circumstances had taught them not to take life in this country for granted.

夢想家們在美國學校長大，打美式運動，看美國電視，在美國商場閒逛。在某些情況下，他們的父母甚至從未告訴過他們他們不是公民；他們只有在嘗試取得駕照或提交大學財政援助申請時才知道自己的無證狀態。我有機會與許多夢想家會面，不論是在我進入白宮之前還是之後。他們聰明、沉著、有韌性，充滿潛力，就像我自己的女兒一樣。如果說有什麼不同的話，我發現夢想家對美國的態度比他們出生在美國的同齡人更不會懷疑——正是因為他們的境遇教育他們不要視這個國家的生活為理所當然。

The case for allowing such young people to stay in the United States, the only country many of them had ever known, was so morally compelling that Kennedy and McCain had incorporated the DREAM Act into their 2007 immigration bill. And without the prospect of passing a more comprehensive rewrite of U.S. immigration laws in the immediate future, Harry Reid—who, in the months leading up to the midterms, had been locked in a tight reelection contest in his home state of Nevada and needed a strong Hispanic turnout to put him over the top—had promised to call the DREAM Act for a vote during the lame-duck session.让这样年轻的人留在美国，这是他们生命中唯一熟悉的国家，这种道德上的力量是如此令人信服，肯尼迪和麦凯恩将DREAM法案纳入他们的2007年移民法案中。在短期内没有通过更全面的美国移民法律重写的前景下，哈里·里德（Harry Reid）——在中期选举前几个月，他在家乡内华达州陷入了激烈的连任竞选之中，需要强有力的西班牙裔选民才能获得胜利——承诺在残废期间进行DREAM法案的投票。

Unfortunately, Harry made this last-minute announcement on the campaign trail without giving us, his Senate colleagues, or immigration reform groups any notice. Though not thrilled with Harry's lack of coordination with her ("You'd think he could have picked up the phone"), Nancy Pelosi did her part,

quickly pushing the legislation through the House. But in the Senate, McCain and Graham denounced Harry's decision as a campaign stunt and said they wouldn't vote for the DREAM Act as a stand-alone bill since it was no longer linked to increased enforcement. The five Republican senators who'd voted for the 2007 McCain-Kennedy bill and were still in office were less declarative about their intentions, but all sounded wobbly. And since we couldn't count on every Democrat to support the bill—especially after the disastrous midterms—all of us in the White House found ourselves scrambling to drum up the sixty votes needed to overcome a filibuster during the waning days before the Senate wrapped up business for the year.不幸的是，哈利在竞选途中做出了这个临时公告，没有提前通知我们参议院同僚或移民改革团体。尽管南希·佩洛西对哈利的协调不满意（“你会认为他可以打个电话”），她积极推动这项立法在众议院通过。但是在参议院，麦凯恩和格雷厄姆谴责哈利的决定是一场竞选噱头，并表示他们不会投票支持DREAM法案作为独立法案，因为它不再与增加执法相关联。投票支持2007年麦凯恩-肯尼迪法案并仍在职位上的五位共和党参议员在其意向上表现得较为含混，但都表现得动摇。由于我们不能指望每个民主党人都支持该提案，特别是在灾难性的中期选举之后，在参议院年底关闭业务前，我们所有在白宫的人都发现自己在争取组织六十票来击败阻挠的最后几天里感到手忙脚乱。

Cecilia Muñoz, the White House director of intergovernmental affairs, was our point person on the effort. When I was a senator, she'd been the senior vice president of policy and legislative affairs at the National Council of La Raza, the nation's largest Latino advocacy organization, and ever since she'd advised me on immigration and other issues. Born and raised in Michigan and the daughter of Bolivian immigrants, Cecilia was measured, modest, and—as I used to joke with her—“just plain nice,” bringing to mind everyone's favorite young elementary or middle school teacher. She was also tough and tenacious (and a fanatical Michigan football fan). Within a matter of weeks, she and her team had launched an all-out media blitz in support of the DREAM Act, pitching stories, marshaling statistics, and enlisting practically every cabinet member and agency (including the Defense Department) to host some kind of event. Most important, Cecilia helped bring together a crew of young Dreamers who were willing to disclose their undocumented status in order to share their personal stories with undecided senators and media outlets. Several times, Cecilia and I talked about the courage of these young people, agreeing that at their age we could never have managed such pressure.

白宫州际事务主任塞西莉亚·穆尼奥斯（Cecilia Muñoz）是我们这项工作的负责人。我当时是参议员时，她是全国最大的拉美裔倡导组织——全国拉美裔委员会的政策和立法事务高级副总裁，自此以后，她一直就移民等问题向我提供咨询。塞西莉亚在密西根州出生和长大，是玻利维亚移民的女儿，她沉着、谦虚，正如我曾经和她开玩笑的那样，“就是个好人”，可以让人想起每个人最喜欢的幼儿或初中老师。她也很坚强和顽强，（还是一个疯狂的密歇根橄榄球迷）。仅仅几周时间，她和她的团队就为“梦想法案”发起了一场全面的媒体攻势，推销故事、汇总数据，并争取几乎每个内阁成员和机构（包括国防部）主持一些活动。最重要的是，塞西莉亚帮助组织了一组年轻的梦想家，他们愿意公开自己的非法身份，以便与未决定的参议员和媒体机构分享自己的个人故事。多次，塞西莉亚和我谈到了这些年轻人的勇气，一致认为在他们这个年龄，我们从未经历过这样的压力。

“I just want to win so bad for them,” she told me.

And yet, despite the countless hours we spent in meetings and on the phone, the likelihood of getting sixty votes for the DREAM Act began to look increasingly bleak. One of our best prospects was Claire McCaskill, the Democratic senator from Missouri. Claire was one of my early supporters and best friends in the Senate, a gifted politician with a razor-sharp wit, a big heart, and not an ounce of hypocrisy or pretension. But she also came from a conservative, Republican-leaning state and was a juicy target for the GOP in its effort to wrest back control of the Senate.

“我只是非常想为他们赢得胜利，”她告诉我。

然而，尽管我们在会议和电话中花费了无数的时间，让DREAM法案获得60个选票的可能性似乎越来越不乐观。我们其中一个最有希望的人是来自密苏里州的民主党参议员克莱尔·麦卡斯基尔。克莱尔是我早期的支持者和参议院中最好的朋友之一，她是一位有天赋的政治家，机智敏锐，有一颗宽容和真心的心，没有丝毫虚伪或做作。但她也来自一个保守的、共和党倾向的州，是共和党努力夺回参议院控制权的一个重要目标。

“You know I want to help those kids, Mr. President,” Claire said when I reached her by phone, “but the polling in Missouri is just terrible on anything related to immigration. If I vote for this, there's a good chance I lose my seat.”

I knew she wasn't wrong. And if she lost, we might lose the Senate, along with any possibility of ever getting the DREAM Act or comprehensive immigration reform or anything else passed. How was I to weigh that risk against the urgent fates of the young people I'd met—the uncertainty and fear they were forced to live with every single day, the possibility that with no notice any one of them might be rounded up in an ICE raid, detained in a cell, and shipped off to a land that was as foreign to them as it would be to me?“总统先生，你知道我想帮助那些孩子们，”当我通过电话联系到克莱尔时，她说，“但密苏里州在任何与移民有关的事情上的民意调查都很糟糕。如果我投票支持这个，很有可能我就会失去我的席位。”

我知道她没错。如果她输了，我们可能会失去参议院，失去任何可能通过DREAM法案或综合移民改革或其他任何法案的可能性。我该如何权衡这种风险和我遇到的年轻人的紧急命运——他们被迫每天都生活在不确定和恐惧中，有可能在没有通知的情况下被ICE突击检查，被关在监狱里，然后被送到一个对他们来说就像对我来说一样陌生的地方？

Before hanging up, Claire and I made a deal to help square the circle. “If your vote's the one that gets us to sixty,” I said, “then those kids are going to need you, Claire. But if we're way short, there's no point in you falling on your sword.”

The Senate voted on the DREAM Act on a cloudy Saturday a week before Christmas, the same day it voted to repeal DADT. I watched on the small TV in the Oval Office with Pete Souza, Reggie, and Katie as the roll call appeared, tallying the votes in favor: 40, 50, 52, 55. There was a pause, the chamber in a state of suspension, a last chance for a senator to change their mind, until the gavel finally fell.

在挂电话之前，克莱尔和我达成了一项协议，帮助解决困难。“如果你的投票能让我们达到六十分之一，”我说，“那么那些孩子们就需要你了，克莱尔。但如果我们太少了，你就没有必要自作自受了。”

参议院在圣诞节前一周的多云星期六对梦想法案进行投票，与此同时还投票废除了DADT。当赞成票的全数出现时，我和皮特·索萨、雷吉和凯蒂一起在椭圆

形办公室的小电视前围观，记录票数：40, 50, 52, 55。众议院暂停了，议员们陷入了悬挂状态，最后一位参议员改变了主意的最后机会，直到最后的槌声落下。

We'd come up five votes short.

I took the stairs up to the second floor of the West Wing and headed to Cecilia's office, where she and her young team had been watching the vote. Most of the room was in tears, and I gave everybody hugs. I reminded them that because of their work we'd come closer to passing the DREAM Act than any previous effort; and that it would be our job to keep pushing as long as we were here, until we finally met our goal. Everyone nodded quietly, and I went back downstairs. On my desk, Katie had left a printout of the roll call. Running my fingers down the page, I noticed that Claire McCaskill had voted "yea." I asked Katie to get Claire on the phone. 我们落后五票。我走楼梯上到西翼的二楼，前往塞西莉亚的办公室，在那里她和她的年轻团队一直在观看投票。房间里大多数人都哭了，我给了每个人一个拥抱。我提醒他们，由于他们的努力，我们已经比以前的任何努力更接近通过DREAM法案。我们的工作就是要不断地推动，直到我们最终实现目标。每个人都安静地点了点头，然后我回到楼下。在我的桌子上，凯蒂留下了一份点名册的打印件。我用手指沿着页面滑动，注意到克莱尔·麦卡斯基尔投了“赞成票”。我让凯蒂打电话给克莱尔。

"I thought you were a 'no' unless the bill was close," I said when she picked up.

"Damn it, Mr. President, I thought so too," Claire said. "But when it came time to record my vote, and I started thinking about those kids who'd come by my office..." Her voice caught in her throat, thick with emotion. "I just couldn't do it to them. I couldn't let them think I didn't care. Anyway," she went on, composing herself, "looks like you're going to have to help me raise a whole lot of money so I can beat back those Republican ads calling me soft on immigration."

“我以为除非法案很接近，否则你会说‘不’。”我打电话时说。

“该死的，总统先生，我也是这样认为的，”克莱尔说。“但当该记录我的投票时，我开始想到那些来我办公室的孩子们……”她的嗓音哽咽，情感充沛。“我不能让他们觉得我不在乎，我不能这样对他们。反正，”她接着说，收拾情绪，“似乎你得帮我筹集很多钱，这样我才能抵制那些共和党人对我对移民问题软弱的攻击广告。”

I promised Claire I would. Even though there'd be no bill-signing ceremony for her to attend and no audience to give her a standing ovation, I believed that my friend's quiet exercise of conscience, no less than Mike Mullen's, was one more step toward a better country.

Our failure to pass the DREAM Act was a bitter pill to swallow. Still, all of us in the White House took heart in the fact that we'd managed to pull off the most significant lame-duck session in modern history. In six weeks, the House and Senate had together clocked a remarkable forty-eight days in session and enacted ninety-nine laws—more than a quarter of the 111th Congress's total legislation over two years. What's more, the public seemed to notice the burst of congressional productivity. Axe reported a rise in both consumer confidence and my approval ratings—not because my message or policies had changed but because Washington had gotten a bunch of stuff done. It was as if, for the span of a month and a half, democracy was normal again, with the usual give-and-take between parties, the push and pull of interest groups, the mixed blessing of compromise. What more might we have accomplished, I wondered, and how much further along would the economic recovery be, had this sort of atmosphere prevailed from the start of my term?

我答應了克莱尔。即使她無法參加簽署儀式，也無法得到觀眾的起立鼓掌。我相信，我的朋友對良心的堅持，和向好的國家邁進所付出的努力，不亞於邁克·穆倫的努力。

無法通過DREAM法案是一個沉痛的教訓。不過，我們在白宮的所有人都很高興，在這次停會期中取得了最具有現代史意義的成就。在六個星期的時間裡，眾議院和參議院共計工作了四十八天，通過了九十九條法律，超過了第111屆國會兩年的立法總額的四分之一。更重要的是，公眾似乎注意到了國會工作量的增加。我的支持率提高了，這不是因為我的政治信息或政策改變了，而是因為華盛頓做了很多事情。彷彿在一個半月的時間裡，民主又成了正常，政黨之間的互相妥協、利益集團的推拉和溝通、以及妥協的優點都再次表現出來。我想知道我們還可以完成多少並達到多少，如果在我任期開始時就有這樣的氣氛，經濟究竟可以進步到多少呢？

## PART SEVEN

### ON THE HIGH WIRE

高空走钢丝

## CHAPTER 25

IF AT THE END OF 2010, anyone had asked me where the next major Middle East crisis would most likely occur, I could have offered them a rich menu of possibilities. There was Iraq, of course, where despite progress, it often felt as if a return to chaos was just a market bombing or militia attack away. The international sanctions we'd imposed on Iran in response to its nuclear program had started to cause some pain, and any defiance or desperation from the regime could lead to a confrontation that spun out of control. Yemen—one of the world's true hard-luck cases—had become headquarters to al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, which was now the deadliest and most active chapter of the terrorist network.

## 第25章

如果在2010年底，有人问我中东下一个重要的危机最可能发生在哪，我可以给他们提供一个丰富的选择。当然有伊拉克，在那里，尽管取得了进展，但往往感觉像是一场市场爆炸或民兵袭击就能回到混乱时期。我们针对伊朗核计划实施的国际制裁已开始造成一些痛苦，政权的任何挑衅或绝望都可能引发失控的对抗。也有也门——世上真正的不幸之一，已成为基地组织在阿拉伯半岛的总部，这是目前是这个恐怖网络中最致命和最活跃的组织。

And then there were the few hundred miles of winding, contested border that separated Israel from the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Mine was hardly the first U.S. administration to lose sleep over those relatively thin pieces of real estate. The conflict between Arabs and Jews had been an open sore on the region for almost a century, dating back to the 1917 Balfour Declaration, in which the British, who were then occupying Palestine, committed to create a “national home for the Jewish people” in a region overwhelmingly populated by Arabs. Over the next twenty or so years, Zionist leaders mobilized a surge of Jewish migration to Palestine and organized highly trained armed forces to defend their settlements. In 1947, in the wake of World War II and in the shadow of the Holocaust’s unspeakable crimes, the United Nations approved a partition plan to establish two sovereign states, one Jewish, the other Arab, with Jerusalem—a city considered holy by Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike—to be governed by an international body. Zionist leaders embraced the plan, but Arab Palestinians, as well as surrounding Arab nations that were also just emerging from colonial rule, strenuously objected. As Britain withdrew, the two sides quickly fell into war. And with Jewish militias claiming victory in 1948, the State of Israel was officially born.

然后是紊乱的两百多英里边境线，将以色列与巴勒斯坦自治区的约旦河西岸和加沙地带隔开。我所领导的美国政府并不是第一个因为这些窄小的领土而失去睡眠的。阿拉伯人和犹太人之间的冲突已经在这个地区成为一个恶性溃疡近一个世纪了，这可以追溯到1917年的巴尔福尔宣言，当时占领巴勒斯坦的英国承诺在一个绝大多数人口是阿拉伯人的地区创立一个“犹太人的国家”。在接下来的20年左右的时间里，犹太复国主义领袖动员了大量的犹太移民前往巴勒斯坦，并组织高度训练有素的武装部队来保卫他们的定居点。1947年，在第二次世界大战的余波和大屠杀的阴影下，联合国批准了分割计划，建立两个独立的国家，一个是犹太国家，一个是阿拉伯国家，耶路撒冷这座被穆斯林、基督徒和犹太人都视为圣地的城市则由一个国际机构来管理。犹太复国主义领袖接受了这个计划，但巴勒斯坦阿拉伯人以及周围刚刚走出殖民统治的阿拉伯国家则强烈反对。随着英国的撤走，两方很快陷入了战争。1948年，以色列犹太民兵宣布获胜，以色列国正式诞生了。

For the Jewish people, it was a dream fulfilled, a state of their own in their historic homeland after centuries of exile, religious persecution, and the more recent horrors of the Holocaust. But for the roughly seven hundred thousand Arab Palestinians who found themselves stateless and driven from their lands, the same events would be a part of what became known as the Nakba, or “Catastrophe.” For the next three decades, Israel would engage in a succession of conflicts with its Arab neighbors—most significantly the Six-Day War of 1967, in which a greatly outnumbered Israeli military routed the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. In the process, Israel seized control of the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and the Golan Heights from Syria. The memory of those losses, and the humiliation that came with it, became a defining aspect of Arab nationalism, and support for the Palestinian cause a central tenet of Arab foreign policy.

對於猶太人來說，這是一個實現夢想的時刻，是他們在經過幾個世紀的流亡、宗教迫害和最近的大屠殺之後，在其歷史家園中擁有自己的國家。但對於大約七十萬名阿拉伯巴勒斯坦人來說，這些事件則成為了所謂的“災難”的一部分，他們成為了無國籍人，被驅逐出自己的土地。在接下來的三十年裡，以色列將與其阿拉伯鄰國進行一系列的衝突，其中最重要的是1967年的“六日戰爭”，以色列優勢不足的軍隊擊敗了埃及、約旦和敘利亞聯軍。在此過程中，以色列從約旦奪取了西岸和東耶路撒冷，從埃及奪取了加沙地帶和西奈半島，從敘利亞奪取了戈蘭高地。這些損失的記憶和隨之而來的屈辱，成為了阿拉伯民族主義的一個決定性方面，並且支持巴勒斯坦事業成為了阿拉伯外交政策的核心信條。

Meanwhile, Palestinians living within the occupied territories, mostly in refugee camps, found themselves governed by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with their movements and economic activity severely restricted, prompting calls for armed resistance and resulting in the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Arab politicians routinely denounced Israel, often in explicitly anti-Semitic terms, and most governments in the region embraced the PLO’s chairman, Yasser Arafat, as a freedom fighter—even as his organization and its affiliates engaged in escalating and bloody terrorist attacks against unarmed civilians.

與此同時，生活在被佔領的地區中的巴勒斯坦人（大多數人居住在難民營中）發現他們被以色列國防軍（IDF）統治，他們的移動和經濟活動受到嚴格限制，促使人們呼籲武裝抵抗，最終導致巴勒斯坦解放組織（PLO）的崛起。阿拉伯政治家經常以明確反猶太主義的措辭譴責以色列，該地區的大多數政府支持PLO主席雅瑟·阿拉法特作為自由戰士，即使他的組織及其隸屬組織也對無辜平民發動越來越多的血腥恐怖襲擊。

The United States was no bystander in all this. Jewish Americans had suffered generations of discrimination in their own country, but they and other Jews emigrating from the West to Israel still shared language, customs, and appearance with their white Christian brethren, and in comparison to Arabs, they still enjoyed far more sympathy from the American public. Harry Truman had been the first foreign leader to formally recognize Israel as a sovereign state, and the American Jewish community pressed U.S. officials to assist the fledgling nation. With the world’s two Cold War superpowers vying for influence in the Middle East, the United States became Israel’s primary patron—and with that, Israel’s problems with its neighbors became America’s problems as well.

美國在這一切中並非旁觀者。那些猶太裔的美國人在自己的國家中已遭受了幾代人的歧視，但他們和其他從西方移民到以色列的猶太人仍與白人基督徒兄弟們分享語言、習俗和外貌，相對於阿拉伯人，他們仍然得到了美國公眾的更多同情。哈利·S·杜魯門曾經是第一位正式承認以色列為主權國家的外國領袖，美國猶太社區敦促美國官員幫助這個新興國家。隨著世界兩個冷戰超級大國在中東爭取影響力，美國成為了以色列的主要支持者，因此，以色列與其鄰國發生的問題也成為了美國的問題。

Practically every U.S. president since then had tried to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, with varying degrees of success. The historic Camp David Accords, brokered in 1978 by Jimmy Carter, achieved a lasting peace between Israel and Egypt and returned Sinai to Egyptian control. The agreement, which yielded a Nobel Peace Prize for the Israeli prime minister, Menachem Begin, and the Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat, also moved Egypt further out of the Soviet orbit and made the two countries critical U.S. security partners (as well as the largest recipients of U.S. economic and military aid in the world, by a wide margin). But it left the Palestinian issue unresolved. Fifteen years later, with the Cold War over and U.S. influence at its zenith, Bill Clinton

brought Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Arafat together for the signing of the first Oslo Accord. In it, the PLO finally recognized Israel's right to exist, while Israel recognized the PLO as the rightful representative of the Palestinian people and agreed to the creation of the Palestinian Authority, which would have limited but meaningful governance over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

自那时以来，几乎每一位美国总统都试图解决阿以冲突，但成效不一。卡特在1978年斡旋的历史性戴维营协议，实现以色列和埃及之间的持久和平，并将西奈半岛归还埃及控制。该协议使以色列总理梅纳赫姆·贝京和埃及总统安瓦尔·萨达特获得了诺贝尔和平奖，并将埃及进一步推出了苏联的势力范围，使这两个国家成为美国的关键安全伙伴（也是全球接受美国经济和军事援助最多的国家）。但是它未解决巴勒斯坦问题。十五年后，随着冷战的结束和美国影响力达到巅峰，比尔·克林顿让以色列总理以扎克·拉宾和阿拉法特为签署第一份奥斯陆协议相聚在一起。其中，巴解组织终于承认了以色列的存在权，而以色列则承认巴解组织是巴勒斯坦人民的合法代表，并同意创立巴勒斯坦权力机构，该机构将在约旦河西岸和加沙地带拥有有限但有意义的统治权。

Along with giving Jordan license to follow Egypt's example and conclude its own peace deal with Israel, Oslo provided a framework for the eventual creation of an autonomous Palestinian state, one that, ideally, would coexist with a secure Israel that was at peace with its neighbors. But old wounds, and the lure of violence over compromise among factions on both sides, proved too much to overcome. Rabin was assassinated by a far-right Israeli extremist in 1995. His liberal successor, Shimon Peres, served for seven months before losing a snap election to Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu, leader of the right-wing Likud party, whose platform had once included total annexation of the Palestinian territories. Unhappy about the Oslo Accords, harder-line organizations like Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad set about undermining the credibility of Arafat and his Fatah party with Palestinians, calling for armed struggle to take back Arab lands and push Israel into the sea.随着奥斯陆协议的签署，约旦获得了仿效埃及的权利，与以色列独立达成和平协定。该协议提供了一个框架，最终创建一个自治的巴勒斯坦国家，该国理想地将与以色列和平共存，并且保证以色列与邻国和平相处。但是，双方派系之间的旧伤口和趋向暴力而非妥协，都无法克服。1995年，右翼以色列极端分子暗杀了拉宾。他的自由派接班人西蒙·佩雷斯在任七个月后输给了右翼利库德党领袖本杰明“毕比”内塔尼亚胡在紧急选举中当选，他的平台曾经包括对巴勒斯坦领土的完全合并。像哈马斯和巴勒斯坦伊斯兰圣战组织这样的强硬派组织对奥斯陆协议表示不满，他们试图削弱阿拉法特和他的法塔赫党在巴勒斯坦人民中的信誉，呼吁武装斗争，夺回阿拉伯土地并将以色列逐出海洋。

After Netanyahu was defeated in the 1999 election, his more liberal successor, Ehud Barak, made efforts to establish a broader peace in the Middle East, including outlining a two-state solution that went further than any previous Israeli proposal. Arafat demanded more concessions, however, and talks collapsed in recrimination. Meanwhile, one day in September 2000, Likud party leader Ariel Sharon led a group of Israeli legislators on a deliberately provocative and highly publicized visit to one of Islam's holiest sites, Jerusalem's Temple Mount. It was a stunt designed to assert Israel's claim over the wider territory, one that challenged the leadership of Ehud Barak and enraged Arabs near and far. Four months later, Sharon became Israel's next prime minister, governing throughout what became known as the Second Intifada: four years of violence between the two sides, marked by tear gas and rubber bullets directed at stone-throwing protesters; Palestinian suicide bombs detonated outside an Israeli nightclub and in buses carrying senior citizens and schoolchildren; deadly IDF retaliatory raids and the indiscriminate arrest of thousands of Palestinians; and Hamas rockets launched from Gaza into Israeli border towns, answered by U.S.-supplied Israeli Apache helicopters leveling entire neighborhoods.

1999年，内塔尼亚胡在选举中被击败后，他的更自由的继任者埃胡德·巴拉克努力实现中东更广泛的和平，包括提出了一项比以往任何以色列提案更进一步的两国解决方案。然而，阿拉法特要求更多的让步，谈判因互相指责而破裂。同时，2000年9月的一天，利库德党领袖阿里埃勒·沙龙率领一群以色列立法者故意挑衅并高度宣传地访问伊斯兰教圣地之一耶路撒冷的圣殿山。这是一个旨在维护以色列对更广泛领土的主张的噱头，挑战了埃胡德·巴拉克的领导地位，激怒了遍布阿拉伯的人们。四个月后，沙龙成为以色列的下一任总理，统治整个被称为第二次起义的时期：双方之间长达四年的暴力冲突，以催泪瓦斯和橡胶子弹对抗投掷石块的抗议者；巴勒斯坦人在以色列夜总会、载老人和学童的巴士外进行自杀式炸弹袭击；以及以军致命的报复性袭击和对数千名巴勒斯坦人的无差别逮捕，还有哈马斯从加沙向以色列边境城镇发射火箭，得到美国提供的以色列阿帕奇直升机对整个社区进行摧毁的回应。

Approximately a thousand Israelis and three thousand Palestinians died during this period—including scores of children—and by the time the violence subsided, in 2005, the prospects for resolving the underlying conflict had fundamentally changed. The Bush administration's focus on Iraq, Afghanistan, and the War on Terror left it little bandwidth to worry about Middle East peace, and while Bush remained officially supportive of a two-state solution, he was reluctant to press Sharon on the issue. Publicly, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states continued to offer support to the Palestinian cause, but they were increasingly more concerned with limiting Iranian influence and rooting out extremist threats to their own regimes. The Palestinians themselves had splintered after Arafat's death in 2004: Gaza came under the control of Hamas and soon found itself under a tightly enforced Israeli blockade, while the Fatah-run Palestinian Authority, which continued to govern the West Bank, came to be viewed by even some of its supporters as feckless and corrupt.

在此期间，大约有一千名以色列人和三千名巴勒斯坦人（包括许多儿童）死亡，到暴力事件于2005年停止时，解决基本冲突的前景已经发生了根本性的变化。布什政府关注于伊拉克、阿富汗和反恐战争，很少有时间关注中东和平问题，尽管布什仍然公开支持两个国家的解决方案，但他在这个问题上不愿向沙龙施加压力。沙特阿拉伯和其他海湾国家继续公开支持巴勒斯坦人的事业，但他们越来越关注限制伊朗的影响力，根除对自己政权的极端主义威胁。阿拉法特在2004年去世后，巴勒斯坦人自己分裂了：加沙为哈马斯所控制，很快就发现自己处于以色列的封锁之下，而在继续管辖约旦河西岸的法塔赫执政的巴勒斯坦政府，甚至一些支持者也认为它无能和腐败。

Most important, Israeli attitudes toward peace talks had hardened, in part because peace no longer seemed so crucial to ensuring the country's safety and prosperity. The Israel of the 1960s that remained lodged in the popular imagination, with its communal kibbutz living and periodic rationing of basic supplies, had been transformed into a modern economic powerhouse. It was no longer the plucky David surrounded by hostile Goliaths; thanks to tens of billions of dollars in U.S. military aid, the Israeli armed forces were now matchless in the region. Terrorist bombings and attacks within Israel had all but ceased, due in some measure to the fact that Israel had erected a wall more than four hundred miles long between itself and the Palestinian population centers in the West Bank, punctuated with strategically placed checkpoints to control the flow of Palestinian workers in and out of Israel. Every so often, rocket fire from Gaza still endangered those living in Israeli border towns, and the presence of Jewish Israeli settlers in the West Bank sometimes

triggered deadly skirmishes. For most residents of Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, however, the Palestinians lived largely out of sight, their struggles and resentments troubling but remote.最重要的是，以色列人对和平谈判的态度已经变得更加强硬，部分原因是和平不再被视作保证国家安全和繁荣的关键因素。60年代的以色列民众在心目中留下的形象是共同生活的“基布兹”社区和基本物资定量供应制度，但现在这个国家已经成为现代经济强国。它不再是被敌对的强大国家包围的小卒子；多亏了美国数千亿美元的军事援助，以色列军队现在在该地区毫无对手。恐怖袭击和轰炸几乎已经停止，这在某种程度上是因为以色列在自己和约旦河西岸巴勒斯坦人居住区之间修建了长达400英里的屏障，并设置了分布有战略意义的检查站以控制巴勒斯坦工人进出以色列的流动。尽管加沙地带的火箭攻击仍然威胁着以色列边境城镇的居民，犹太定居者在约旦河西岸的存在有时会引发致命的小规模冲突，但对于耶路撒冷或特拉维夫的大多数居民来说，巴勒斯坦人的存在基本上是看不到的，他们的斗争和怨恨虽然令人不安，但却很遥远。

Given everything that was already on my plate when I became president, it would have been tempting to just do my best to manage the status quo, quash any outbreaks of renewed violence between Israeli and Palestinian factions, and otherwise leave the whole mess alone. But taking into account the broader foreign policy concerns, I decided I couldn't go that route. Israel remained a key U.S. ally, and even with the threats reduced, it still endured terrorist attacks that jeopardized not only its citizens but also the thousands of Americans who lived or traveled there. At the same time, just about every country in the world considered Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian territories to be a violation of international law. As a result, our diplomats found themselves in the awkward position of having to defend Israel for actions that we ourselves opposed. U.S. officials also had to explain why it wasn't hypocritical for us to press countries like China or Iran on their human rights records while showing little concern for the rights of Palestinians. Meanwhile, the Israeli occupation continued to inflame the Arab community and feed anti-American sentiment across the Muslim world.當我成為總統時，我的手頭已經有了很多事情，讓我無法抗拒地只想盡力維持現狀，平息以色列和巴勒斯坦派系之間的任何爆發性暴力事件，並且不會干預整個混亂狀態。但是考慮到更廣泛的外交政策關切，我決定不能那樣做。以色列仍然是美國的重要盟友，即使威脅已減少，它仍面臨著恐怖襲擊，這不僅危害了以色列人民，而且還威脅著在那裡居住或旅行的成千上萬的美國人。同時，幾乎世界上每個國家都認為以色列繼續佔領巴勒斯坦領土是違反國際法的行為。因此，我們的外交官發現自己處於一個尷尬的位置，不得不為美國所反對的行為辯護以保護以色列。美國官員還不得不解釋為什麼我們在追究像中國或伊朗這樣的國家的人權紀錄時並不太關注巴勒斯坦人的權利並不會具有虛偽性。同時，以色列的佔領繼續激起阿拉伯社區的怒火，並在穆斯林世界中激起反美情緒。

In other words, the absence of peace between Israel and the Palestinians made America less safe. Negotiating a workable solution between the two sides, on the other hand, stood to strengthen our security posture, weaken our enemies, and make us more credible in championing human rights around the world—all in one fell swoop.

In truth, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict also weighed on me personally. Some of the earliest moral instruction I got from my mother revolved around the Holocaust, an unconscionable catastrophe that, like slavery, she explained, was rooted in the inability or unwillingness to recognize the humanity of others. Like many American kids of my generation, I'd had the story of Exodus etched in my brain. In sixth grade, I'd idealized the Israel described to me by a Jewish camp counselor who'd lived on a kibbutz—a place where everyone was equal, he said, everyone pitched in, and everyone was welcome to share in the joys and struggles of repairing the world. In high school, I'd devoured the works of Philip Roth, Saul Bellow, and Norman Mailer, moved by stories of men trying to find their place in an America that didn't welcome them. Later, studying the early civil rights movement in college, I'd been intrigued by the influence of Jewish philosophers like Martin Buber on Dr. King's sermons and writings. I'd admired how, across issues, Jewish voters tended to be more progressive than just about any other ethnic group, and in Chicago, some of my most stalwart friends and supporters had come from the city's Jewish community.

换句话说，以色列和巴勒斯坦之间的和平缺乏使美国变得更不安全。另一方面，通过谈判一种可行的解决方案，有望增强我们的安全姿态，在全球推广人权时使我们的敌人虚弱，进而使我们更具可信度。实际上，以色列和巴勒斯坦之间的冲突也在我个人身上产生了影响。我母亲最早传授给我的一些道德观念围绕着大屠杀展开，那是一场无法容忍的灾难，犹如奴隶制，是根植于无法或不愿承认他人人性的思想。像我这个年代的许多美国孩子一样，我脑海中铭刻着《出埃及记》的故事。六年级时，一个居住在基布兹的犹太营员向我描述的以色列让我赞叹不已——那里每个人都一样平等，每个人都得出力，每个人都受欢迎，能分享修补世界的喜悦和挣扎。在高中时，我狂热地阅读了菲利普·罗斯、索尔·贝罗和诺曼·梅勒的作品，被男人们试图在美国找到自己位置的故事所感动。后来在大学学习早期民权运动时，我被马丁·布伯等犹太哲学家对金博士的演讲和写作产生的影响所吸引。我欣赏犹太选民在跨问题上的倾向于更加进步，而在芝加哥，我的一些最坚定的朋友和支持者来自该市的犹太社区。

I believed there was an essential bond between the Black and the Jewish experiences—a common story of exile and suffering that might ultimately be redeemed by a shared thirst for justice, a deeper compassion for others, a heightened sense of community. It made me fiercely protective of the right of the Jewish people to have a state of their own, though, ironically, those same shared values also made it impossible for me to ignore the conditions under which Palestinians in the occupied territories were forced to live.

我相信黑人和犹太人的经历之间存在着一种基本的联结——流亡与苦难的共同故事，这最终可能可由于共同对正义的渴望、对他人更深刻的同情、对社区更高度的认知而得以救赎。这使我异常地保护犹太人拥有自己国家的权利，然而，具有讽刺意味的是，这些共同的价值也使我无法忽视被迫生活在占领区域的巴勒斯坦人的生存条件。

Yes, many of Arafat's tactics had been abhorrent. Yes, Palestinian leaders had too often missed opportunities for peace; there'd been no Havel or Gandhi to mobilize a nonviolent movement with the moral force to sway Israeli public opinion. And yet none of that negated the fact that millions of Palestinians lacked self-determination and many of the basic rights that even citizens of non-democratic countries enjoyed. Generations were growing up in a starved and shrunken world from which they literally couldn't escape, their daily lives subject to the whims of a distant, often hostile authority and the suspicions of every blank-faced, rifle-carrying soldier demanding to see their papers at each checkpoint they passed.

是的，阿拉法特的许多策略都是可憎的。是的，巴勒斯坦领导人太经常错过了和平的机会；没有哈维尔或甘地来组织一个有道德力量能够影响以色列公众舆论的非暴力运动。但是这些都不能否认这样一个事实，即数百万巴勒斯坦人缺乏自决权和许多连非民主国家公民都享有的基本权利。几代人在一个瘦弱的世

界中成长，他们无法逃脱，他们的日常生活受到遥远的、常常敌对的当局的威胁，每个面无表情、枪手持械的士兵要求他们在通过每个检查站时出示证件的怀疑。

By the time I took office, though, most congressional Republicans had abandoned any pretense of caring about what happened to the Palestinians. Indeed, a strong majority of white evangelicals—the GOP’s most reliable voting bloc—believed that the creation and gradual expansion of Israel fulfilled God’s promise to Abraham and heralded Christ’s eventual return. On the Democratic side, even stalwart progressives were loath to look less pro-Israel than Republicans, especially since many of them were Jewish themselves or represented sizable Jewish constituencies.

然而，当我上任的时候，大多数国会共和党人已经放弃了关心巴勒斯坦人的任何伪装。事实上，白人福音派——共和党最可靠的投票集团——中的大多数人认为，以色列的建立和逐渐扩张实现了上帝对亚伯拉罕的承诺，预示着基督的最终归来。在民主党一侧，即使是忠实的进步人士也不愿比共和党人更不亲以色列，特别是因为他们中的许多人自己就是犹太人或代表着庞大的犹太选民。

Also, members of both parties worried about crossing the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a powerful bipartisan lobbying organization dedicated to ensuring unwavering U.S. support for Israel. AIPAC’s clout could be brought to bear on virtually every congressional district in the country, and just about every politician in Washington—including me—counted AIPAC members among their key supporters and donors. In the past, the organization had accommodated a spectrum of views on Middle East peace, insisting mainly that those seeking its endorsement support a continuation of U.S. aid to Israel and oppose efforts to isolate or condemn Israel via the U.N. and other international bodies. But as Israeli politics had moved to the right, so had AIPAC’s policy positions. Its staff and leaders increasingly argued that there should be “no daylight” between the U.S. and Israeli governments, even when Israel took actions that were contrary to U.S. policy. Those who criticized Israeli policy too loudly risked being tagged as “anti-Israel” (and possibly anti-Semitic) and confronted with a well-funded opponent in the next election.

此外，两党成员都担心反对美国以色列公共事务委员会（AIPAC），这是一个强大的两党游说组织，致力于确保美国对以色列的坚定支持。AIPAC的影响力几乎可以影响到全国的每个国会选区，以及华盛顿的几乎每位政治家，包括我在内，都将AIPAC会员视为其关键支持者和捐助者。过去，该组织对中东和平的观点涵盖了各种各样的观点，主要坚持那些寻求其认可的人支持继续向以色列提供美国援助，并反对通过联合国和其他国际组织孤立或谴责以色列的努力。但随着以色列政治向右移动，AIPAC的政策立场也在变化。其工作人员和领导层越来越认为，美国和以色列政府之间不应该有任何分歧，即使以色列采取的行动与美国政策相违背。那些过于公开批评以色列政策的人面临被贴上“反以色列”（可能也是反犹太主义）的标签，并在接下来的选举中面对资金充裕的对手。

I’d been on the receiving end of some of this during my presidential campaign, as Jewish supporters reported having to beat back assertions in their synagogues and on email chains that I was insufficiently supportive of—or even hostile toward—Israel. They attributed these whisper campaigns not to any particular position I’d taken (my backing of a two-state solution and opposition to Israeli settlements were identical to the positions of the other candidates) but rather to my expressions of concern for ordinary Palestinians; my friendships with certain critics of Israeli policy, including an activist and Middle East scholar named Rashid Khalidi; and the fact that, as Ben bluntly put it, “You’re a Black man with a Muslim name who lived in the same neighborhood as Louis Farrakhan and went to Jeremiah Wright’s church.” On Election Day, I’d end up getting more than 70 percent of the Jewish vote, but as far as many AIPAC board members were concerned, I remained suspect, a man of divided loyalties: someone whose support for Israel, as one of Axe’s friends colorfully put it, wasn’t “felt in his kishkes”—“guts,” in Yiddish.

在我的总统竞选中，我曾遭受过一些这样的攻击，犹太支持者们在他们的犹太教堂和电子邮件群中回击了我不够支持以色列，甚至对其敌对的说法。他们认为这些耳语传言不是由于我持有任何特定的立场（我的支持两国解决方案和反对以色列定居点的立场与其他候选人的立场完全相同），而是因为我对普通巴勒斯坦人的关注表达；和我某些以色列政策批评者的交情，包括一位名叫拉希德·哈利迪的活动家和中东学者；以及事实上，正如本坦率地说的那样，“你是一个带有穆斯林名字的黑人，住在路易斯·法拉卡恩的邻居，并去了杰瑞迈·赖特的教堂。”在选举日，我最终得到了超过70%的犹太选票，但对于许多AIPAC董事会成员来说，我仍然存在怀疑，是一个忠诚有问题的人：一个支持以色列的人，正如Axe的一位朋友彩色地表达的那样，“没有真正体现在他的直觉中”的人 - 在意第绪语中说的是“内脏”。

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“YOU DON’T GET progress on peace,” Rahm had warned me in 2009, “when the American president and the Israeli prime minister come from different political backgrounds.” We had been discussing the recent return of Bibi Netanyahu as Israel’s prime minister, after the Likud party had managed to cobble together a right-leaning coalition government despite winning one less seat than its main opponent, the more centrist Kadima party. Rahm, who’d briefly been a civilian volunteer in the Israeli army and had sat in the front row at Bill Clinton’s Oslo negotiations, had agreed that we should try to restart Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, if for no other reason than that it might keep the situation from getting worse. But he wasn’t optimistic—and the more time I spent with Netanyahu and his Palestinian counterpart, Mahmoud Abbas, the more I understood why.“你无法在美国总统和以色列总理来自不同政治背景的情况下取得和平进展，”拉姆在2009年警告我，“我们当时正在讨论前不久重新出任以色列总理的内塔尼亚胡，自由党成功凑齐右翼联合政府，尽管比主要对手更为中立的卡迪马党少赢了一个席位。”拉姆曾在以色列军队短暂当过志愿者，并在比尔·克林顿的奥斯陆谈判中坐在前排，他同意我们应该尝试重新启动以色列和巴勒斯坦的和谈，即使没有其他原因，也是为了避免情况恶化。但他并不乐观——我和内塔尼亚胡以及他的巴勒斯坦同行马哈茂德·阿巴斯在一起的时间越长，我就越明白为什么了。

Built like a linebacker, with a square jaw, broad features, and a gray comb-over, Netanyahu was smart, canny, tough, and a gifted communicator in both Hebrew and English. (He’d been born in Israel but spent most of his formative years in Philadelphia, and traces of that city’s accent lingered in his polished baritone.) His family had deep roots in the Zionist movement: His grandfather, a rabbi, emigrated from Poland to British-governed Palestine in 1920, while his father—a professor of history best known for his writings on the persecution of Jews during the Spanish Inquisition—became a leader in

the movement's more militant wing before Israel's founding. Although raised in a secular household, Netanyahu inherited his father's devotion to the defense of Israel: He'd been a member of a special forces unit in the IDF and had fought in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and his older brother had died a hero in the legendary Entebbe raid of 1976, in which Israeli commandos rescued 102 passengers from Palestinian terrorists who had hijacked an Air France flight.

内塔尼亚胡背板厚实，下巴方正，特征宽广，留着灰色的平头发型，聪明、狡猾、坚强，而且在使用希伯来语和英语方面都是有天赋的沟通者。(他出生在以色列，但大部分的成长时期在费城度过，因此他沉稳的音调中留有那个城市的口音。) 他的家族在犹太复国主义运动中深深扎根：他的祖父，一位拉比，于1920年从波兰移民到英国治理的巴勒斯坦，而他的父亲——一位以在西班牙宗教裁判所迫害犹太人为主题的历史学家——在以色列成立之前成为运动的更激进派别的领袖。尽管在一个世俗家庭中长大，内塔尼亚胡继承了他父亲对以色列国防的热爱：他曾是以色列国防军的一个特种部队成员，并参加过1973年的耶路撒冷战争，而他的哥哥在1976年的著名恩德贝行动中英勇牺牲，那次行动是以色列突击队成功解救了被巴勒斯坦恐怖分子劫持的法国航空公司航班上的102名乘客。

Whether Netanyahu also inherited his father's unabashed hostility toward Arabs ("The tendency towards conflict is in the essence of the Arab. He is an enemy by essence. His personality won't allow him any compromise or agreement") was harder to say. What was certain was that he had built his entire political persona around an image of strength and the message that Jews couldn't afford phony pieties—that they lived in a tough neighborhood and so had to be tough. This philosophy neatly aligned him with the most hawkish members of AIPAC, as well as Republican officials and wealthy American right-wingers. Netanyahu could be charming, or at least solicitous, when it served his purposes; he'd gone out of his way, for example, to meet me in a Chicago airport lounge shortly after I'd been elected to the U.S. Senate, lavishing praise on me for an inconsequential pro-Israel bill I'd supported in the Illinois state legislature. But his vision of himself as the chief defender of the Jewish people against calamity allowed him to justify almost anything that would keep him in power—and his familiarity with American politics and media gave him confidence that he could resist whatever pressure a Democratic administration like mine might try to apply.

无法确定内塔尼亚胡是否也继承了他父亲对阿拉伯人的公然敌意（“冲突倾向是阿拉伯人本性的一部分。他从本质上就是敌人。他的个性不会让他妥协或达成协议”）。但可以确定的是，他的整个政治形象都建立在强势形象和“犹太人不能承受虚伪”的信息上，表明他们生活在一个艰难的邻里，必须变得坚强。这种哲学将他与AIPAC最强硬的成员、共和党官员和富有的美国右翼人士紧密联系在一起。内塔尼亚胡在为自己谋益处时可以很迷人，或者至少是很关切的；例如，他特意在我当选为美国参议员后不久，在芝加哥机场的休息室里与我见面，因为我曾在伊利诺伊州议会支持了一项无关紧要的亲以色列法案而对我大加赞赏。但他把自己视为犹太人民族的首席捍卫者，以此来证明几乎任何能让他继续掌权的手段都可以得到合理化，而他对美国政治和媒体的熟悉使他有信心可以抵制民主政府（像我这样的政府）试图施加的任何压力。

My early discussions with Netanyahu—both over the phone and during his visits to Washington—had gone well enough, despite our very different worldviews. He was most interested in talking about Iran, which he rightly viewed as Israel's largest security threat, and we agreed to coordinate efforts to prevent Tehran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. But when I raised the possibility of restarting peace talks with the Palestinians, he was decidedly noncommittal.

"I want to assure you, Israel wants peace," Netanyahu said. "But a true peace has to meet Israel's security needs." He made it clear to me that he thought Abbas was likely unwilling or unable to do so, a point he would also stress in public. 我和内塔尼亚胡的早期讨论-无论是电话还是他访问华盛顿期间-虽然我们的世界观截然不同,但是进展顺利。他最感兴趣的话题是伊朗,他正确地将其视为以色列面临的最大安全威胁,我们同意协调努力阻止德黑兰获得核武器。但是当我提出重新启动与巴勒斯坦人的和平谈判的可能性时，他显然不愿作出承诺。

"我要向你保证,以色列想要和平,"内塔尼亚胡说。"但是,真正的和平必须满足以色列的安全需求."他明确告诉我他认为阿巴斯可能不愿或无法这样做,这一点他也会在公开场合强调。

I understood his point. If Netanyahu's reluctance to enter into peace talks was born of Israel's growing strength, then the reluctance of Palestinian president Abbas was born of political weakness. White-haired and mustached, mild-mannered and deliberate in his movements, Abbas had helped Arafat found the Fatah party, which later became the dominant party of the PLO, spending most of his career managing diplomatic and administrative efforts in the shadow of the more charismatic chairman. He'd been the preferred choice of both the United States and Israel to lead the Palestinians after Arafat's death, in large part due to his unequivocal recognition of Israel and his long-standing renunciation of violence. But his innate caution and willingness to cooperate with the Israeli security apparatus (not to mention reports of corruption inside his administration) had damaged his reputation with his own people. Having already lost control of Gaza to Hamas in the 2006 legislative elections, he viewed peace talks with Israel as a risk not worth taking—at least not without some tangible concessions that would provide him political cover.

我明白他的观点。如果内塔尼亚胡不愿意进入和平谈判是因为以色列日益强大，那么巴勒斯坦总统阿巴斯的不愿意则是出于政治上的弱点。阿巴斯满头白发，留着小胡子，性格温和，动作从容，他曾帮助阿拉法特创建法塔赫党，后来成为巴解组织的主导党派，大部分时间都是在阿拉法特主席的阴影下协调外交和行政工作。他曾是美国和以色列领导巴勒斯坦人的首选人选，很大程度上是因为他毫不含糊地承认以色列，并长期放弃使用暴力。但他天生的谨慎和与以色列安全设施的合作意愿（更不用说他管理层内的腐败报道）损害了他在自己人民中的声誉。在2006年的立法选举中已经失去了对哈马斯在加沙地带的控制后，他认为与以色列的和平谈判是不值得冒险的，至少在没有提供某些实质性让步以保障他的政治利益之前。

The immediate question was how to coax Netanyahu and Abbas to the negotiating table. To come up with answers, I relied on a talented group of diplomats, starting with Hillary, who was well versed on the issues and already had relationships with many of the region's major players. To underscore the high priority I'd placed on the issue, I appointed former Senate majority leader George Mitchell as my special envoy for Middle East peace. Mitchell was a throwback—a hard-driving, pragmatic politician with a thick Maine accent who had demonstrated his peacemaking skills by negotiating the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, which brought an end to the decades-long conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

立即的問題是如何說服內塔尼亞胡和阿巴斯回到談判桌前。為了得到答案，我依賴一群有才華的外交官，首先是希拉里，她對這些問題非常熟悉，而且已經與該地區的許多主要人物建立了關係。為了強調我對此問題的高度重視，我任命前參議院多數黨領袖喬治·米切爾作為我在中東和平問題上的特使。米切爾是一位老派人物，是一位努力實幹、具有濃重緬因州口音的政治人物，他曾經過談判1998年的《聖誕協議》，使北愛爾蘭天主教徒和新教徒之間長達數十年的衝突得以結束。

We began by calling for a temporary freeze on Israel's construction of new settlements in the West Bank, a significant sticking point between the two parties, so that negotiations might proceed in earnest. Settlement construction, once limited to small outposts of religious believers, had over time become de facto government policy, and in 2009, there were about three hundred thousand Israeli settlers living outside the country's recognized borders. Developers, meanwhile, continued to build tidy subdivisions in and around the West Bank and East Jerusalem, the disputed, predominantly Arab section of the city that Palestinians hoped to one day make their capital. All this was done with the blessing of politicians who either shared the religious convictions of the settler movement, saw the political benefit of catering to settlers, or were simply interested in alleviating Israel's housing crunch. For Palestinians, the explosion in settlements amounted to a slow-motion annexation of their land and stood as a symbol of the Palestinian Authority's impotence.

我們一開始呼籲暫時停止以色列在約旦河西岸的新住區建設，因為這是雙方之間一個重要的瓶頸，如此可以讓談判能夠認真進行。從前只是一群宗教信徒在小型住區居住，但在此之後，這些住區已成為實質上的政府政策，在2009年，就有大約三十萬名以色列定居者居住在該國已認可的邊境之外。與此同時，開發商仍在約旦河西岸和東耶路撒冷以及巴勒斯坦人希望有一天成為他們首都的被爭議、以阿拉伯人為主的城區周圍建造整齊的住區。所有這些都得到那些支持定居黨派宗教信仰、認為迎合定居黨派的政治利益、或僅僅想減輕以色列住房緊張的政治家們的祝福。對於巴勒斯坦人來說，定居者住區的爆炸式增長等同於他們一塊土地的緩慢被吞併，也象徵著巴勒斯坦當局的無力。

We knew that Netanyahu would probably resist the idea of a freeze. The settlers had become a meaningful political force, their movement well represented within Netanyahu's coalition government. Moreover, he would complain that the good-faith gesture we'd be asking from the Palestinians in return—that Abbas and the Palestinian Authority take concrete steps to end incitements to violence inside the West Bank—was a great deal harder to measure. But given the asymmetry in power between Israel and the Palestinians—there wasn't much, after all, that Abbas could give the Israelis that the Israelis couldn't already take on their own—I thought it was reasonable to ask the stronger party to take a bigger first step in the direction of peace.

我们知道，內塔尼亞胡可能會抵制凍結的想法。定居者已成為有意義的政治力量，他們的運動在內塔尼亞胡的聯合政府中有很好的代表。此外，他會抱怨，我們將要求巴勒斯坦人以善意的姿態採取具體步驟來結束在約旦河西岸的煽動行為，這很難量化。但考慮到以色列和巴勒斯坦之間的權力不對稱——畢竟，阿巴斯（Mahmoud Abbas）沒有太多能夠給以色列人的東西，而以色列人在自己的土地上已經可以做到很多——我認為要求更強勢的一方朝着和平方向邁出更大的第一步是合理的。

As expected, Netanyahu's initial response to our proposed settlement freeze was sharply negative, and his allies in Washington were soon publicly accusing us of weakening the U.S.-Israeli alliance. The White House phones started ringing off the hook, as members of my national security team fielded calls from reporters, leaders of American Jewish organizations, prominent supporters, and members of Congress, all wondering why we were picking on Israel and focusing on settlements when everyone knew that Palestinian violence was the main impediment to peace. One afternoon, Ben hurried in late for a meeting, looking particularly harried after having spent the better part of an hour on the phone with a highly agitated liberal Democratic congressman.

正如預期的那樣，內塔尼亞胡對我們提出的定居點凍結計劃的初步回應極為消極，而他在華盛頓的盟友很快公開指責我們削弱了美以聯盟。白宮的電話開始響個不停，我的全國安全團隊成員接到了記者、美國猶太組織領導人、知名支持者和國會議員的電話，他們都想知道為什麼我們在針對以色列和定居點，而不是大家都知道的巴勒斯坦暴力是和平的主要障礙。一天下午，本很晚才匆匆趕來參加會議，看上去特別疲憊，因為他在電話中與一位極其激動的自由派民主黨議員通話了將近一個小時。

“I thought he opposes settlements,” I said.

“He does,” Ben said. “He also opposes us doing anything to actually stop settlements.”

This sort of pressure continued for much of 2009, along with questions about my kishkes. Periodically, we'd invite the leaders of Jewish organizations or members of Congress to the White House for meetings with me and my team, so that we could assure them of our ironclad commitment to Israel's security and the U.S.-Israel relationship. It wasn't a hard argument to make; despite my difference with Netanyahu on a settlement freeze, I'd delivered on my promise to enhance U.S.-Israel cooperation across the board, working to counteract the Iranian threat and to help fund the eventual development of an “Iron Dome” defense system, which would allow Israel to shoot down Syrian-made rockets coming from Gaza or from Hezbollah positions inside Lebanon. Nevertheless, the noise orchestrated by Netanyahu had the intended effect of gobbling up our time, putting us on the defensive, and reminding me that normal policy differences with an Israeli prime minister—even one who presided over a fragile coalition government—exacted a domestic political cost that simply didn't exist when I dealt with the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, Canada, or any of our other closest allies.我原以為他反對定居點，”我說。

“他確實反對，”本說。“但他也反對我們採取任何實際行動來阻止定居點。”

這種壓力在2009年的大部分時間里持續存在，還伴隨著對我的內心的質詢。我們定期邀請猶太組織領袖或國會議員到白宮與我和我的團隊會面，以便我們向他們保證我們對以色列安全和美以關係有堅如磐石的承諾。這並不是一個難以說服的論點；儘管我在定居點凍結方面與內塔尼亞胡存在分歧，但我履行了承諾，加強了美以在各個方面的合作，努力對抗伊朗威脅，並幫助資助開發了“鋼鐵穹頂”防禦系統，這將使以色列能夠擊落來自加沙或來自黎巴嫩境內真主黨陣地的敘利亞製造的火箭。然而，內塔尼亞胡策劃的噪音產生了預期的影響，耗費了我們的時間，將我們置於被動地位，並提醒我，與以色列總理即使是以掌握著脆弱的聯合政府，正常的政策分歧也會產生國內政治成本，這在我與英國、德國、法國、日本、加拿大或我們其他最親密的盟友打交道時是不存在的。

But shortly after I delivered my Cairo speech, in early June 2009, Netanyahu cracked open the door to progress by responding with an address of his own in which he declared, for the first time, his conditional support for a two-state solution. And after months of wrangling, he and Abbas finally agreed to join me for a face-to-face discussion while they were both in town for the annual leaders' gathering at the U.N. General Assembly at the end of September. The two men were courteous to each other (Netanyahu garrulous and physically at ease, Abbas largely expressionless, save for the occasional nod) but appeared unmoved when I urged them to take some risks for peace. Two months later, Netanyahu agreed to institute a ten-month freeze on the issuance of new settlement permits in the West Bank. Pointedly he refused to extend the freeze to construction in East Jerusalem.

但是在我发表开罗演讲后不久，即2009年6月初，内塔尼亚胡通过发表自己的演讲打开了取得进展的大门，他首次声明有条件支持两国方案。经过数月的争吵，他和阿巴斯终于同意在9月底联合国大会年度领导人集会期间与我进行面对面的讨论。两位男子对彼此礼貌（内塔尼亚胡健谈并身体自在，阿巴斯则大多没有表情，除了偶尔点头外），但当我敦促他们为和平承担一些风险时，他们似乎没有改变主意。两个月后，内塔尼亚胡同意在西岸暂停新的定居许可证的发放，达10个月。他指出，他拒绝将这一禁令延伸到东耶路撒冷的建设上。

Any optimism I felt about Bibi's concession was short-lived. No sooner had Netanyahu announced the temporary freeze than Abbas dismissed it as meaningless, complaining about the exclusion of East Jerusalem and the fact that construction of already-approved projects was continuing apace. He insisted that in the absence of a total freeze, he would not join any talks. Other Arab leaders quickly echoed these sentiments, spurred in part by editorializing from Al Jazeera, the Qatari-controlled media outlet that had become the dominant news source in the region, having built its popularity by fanning the flames of anger and resentment among Arabs with the same algorithmic precision that Fox News deployed so skillfully with conservative white voters in the States.

我對比比的讓步所抱的樂觀情緒很快就消失了。剛宣布暫停的瞬間，內塔尼亞胡就被阿巴斯駁回為無意義，抱怨東耶路撒冷的排除以及已經批准的項目建設仍在順利進行。他堅持說，在缺乏全面停工的情況下，他不會參加任何談判。其他阿拉伯領袖迅速附和這些言論，部分是受卡塔爾控制的媒體機構半島電視台的編輯刊載所激發的。該機構已經成為該地區的主要新聞來源，並以與福克斯新聞在美國巧妙地為保守白人選民煽動憤怒和反感的同樣算法精確性來推動其流行程度。

The situation only got messier in March 2010, when, just as Joe Biden was visiting Israel on a goodwill mission, the Israeli Interior Ministry announced permits for the construction of sixteen hundred new housing units in East Jerusalem. Although Netanyahu insisted that his office had nothing to do with the timing of the permits, the move reinforced perceptions among Palestinians that the freeze was a sham and the United States was in on it. I instructed Hillary to call Netanyahu and let him know I wasn't happy, and we reiterated our suggestion that his government show more restraint on expanding settlements. His response, delivered at AIPAC's annual conference in Washington later that month, was to declare to thunderous applause that "Jerusalem is not a settlement—it is our capital."

2010年3月，當時美國副總統拜登訪問以色列時，以色列內政部宣布在東耶路撒冷建造1600個新住房單位的許可證，使情況更加混亂。雖然內塔尼亞胡堅稱他的辦公室與許可證的時間無關，但此舉加強了巴勒斯坦人對冷凍是虛假的看法，並認為美國也是該計劃的一部分。我要求希拉里打電話給內塔尼亞胡，讓他知道我並不高興，並且重申我們建議他的政府在擴大定居點方面表現出更多節制的建議。他在當月晚些時候在華盛頓舉行的AIPAC年度大會上發回應時，引起了雷鳴般的掌聲，他宣稱“耶路撒冷不是定居點，它是我們的首都”。

The following day, Netanyahu and I sat down for a meeting at the White House. Downplaying the growing tension, I accepted the fiction that the permit announcement had been just a misunderstanding, and our discussions ran well over the allotted time. Because I had another commitment and Netanyahu still had a few items he wanted to cover, I suggested we pause and resume the conversation in an hour, arranging in the meantime for his delegation to regroup in the Roosevelt Room. He said he was happy to wait, and after that second session, we ended the evening on cordial terms, having met for more than two hours total. The next day, however, Rahm stormed into the office, saying there were media reports that I'd deliberately snubbed Netanyahu by keeping him waiting, leading to accusations that I had allowed a case of personal pique to damage the vital U.S.-Israel relationship.

隔天，內塔尼亞胡和我在白宮進行了會談。我約束住自己，將不斷上升的緊張局勢認為只是一場誤會，我們的討論超過了預定的時間。因為我還有其他行程，而內塔尼亞胡還有幾個重要問題要談，我建議暫停會談，一小時後再繼續，期間安排他的代表團在羅斯福房間重新集合。他說他很樂意等待，經過第二次會議後，我們以友好的方式結束了這場會談，共聚了兩個多小時。然而，隔天，拉姆狂風扮演穿梭在辦公室裡，說有媒體報導認為我故意冷落內塔尼亞胡使其等待，導致指責我因個人怨恨而損害了重要的美以關係。

That was a rare instance when I outcursed Rahm.

Looking back, I sometimes ponder the age-old question of how much difference the particular characteristics of individual leaders make in the sweep of history—whether those of us who rise to power are mere conduits for the deep, relentless currents of the times or whether we're at least partly the authors of what's to come. I wonder whether our insecurities and our hopes, our childhood traumas or memories of unexpected kindness carry as much force as any technological shift or socioeconomic trend. I wonder whether a President Hillary Clinton or President John McCain might have elicited more trust from the two sides; whether things might have played out differently if someone other than Netanyahu had occupied the prime minister's seat or if Abbas had been a younger man, more intent on making his mark than protecting himself from criticism.

那是我罕见的一次反骂拉姆。回想起来，我有时会思考古老的问题：在历史大潮中，个别领导者的特定特征有多大差别——我们这些掌握权力的人是否仅是深厚，无情的时代潮流的传导者，还是我们至少在一定程度上是未来的作者？我想知道我们的不安全感和希望，我们的童年创伤或意外善意的回忆是否具有

任何技术变革或社会经济趋势的力量。我想知道希拉里·克林顿总统或约翰·麦凯恩总统是否会从两个方面获得更多信任；如果有人取代内塔尼亚胡担任总理，或者如果阿巴斯是年轻人，更注重创造自己的印记而不是保护自己免受指责，事情会不会发生变化。

What I do know is that despite the hours Hillary and George Mitchell spent doing shuttle diplomacy, our plans for peace talks went nowhere until late in August 2010, just one month before the settlement freeze was set to expire, when Abbas finally agreed to direct talks, thanks largely to the intervention of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and King Abdullah of Jordan. Abbas conditioned his participation, however, on Israel's willingness to keep the settlement freeze in place—the same freeze he'd spent the previous nine months decrying as useless.

我所知道的是，尽管希拉里和乔治·米切尔（George Mitchell）花费了数小时进行班车外交，我们的和平谈判计划直到2010年8月底才有所进展，就在殖民地停顿期即将到期的一个月之前，阿巴斯终于同意直接谈判，这在很大程度上要归功于埃及总统穆巴拉克和约旦国王阿卜杜拉的干预。然而，阿巴斯的参与有一个条件，就是以色列必须愿意保持殖民地停顿，而他之前九个月一直批评这个停顿计划是无效的。

With no time to lose, we arranged to have Netanyahu, Abbas, Mubarak, and Abdullah join me at meetings and an intimate White House dinner on September 1 to launch the talks. The day was largely ceremonial—the hard work of hammering out a deal would shift to Hillary, Mitchell, and the negotiating teams. Still, we dressed up the whole affair with photo ops and press availabilities and as much fanfare as we could muster, and the atmosphere among the four leaders was warm and collegial throughout. I still have a photograph of the five of us looking at President Mubarak's watch to check that the sun had officially set, since it was the Muslim month of Ramadan, and we had to confirm that the religiously prescribed fast had been lifted before seating everyone for dinner.

沒有時間可浪費，我們安排了尼坦雅胡、阿巴斯、穆巴拉克和阿卜杜拉在9月1日加入會議和親密的白宮晚宴，以啟動談判。該日主要是禮儀性的，將過渡到希拉里、米歇爾和談判小組進行談判的艱苦工作。雖然如此，我們還是打扮整個事情，進行照片拍攝和媒體發布，盡可能多的熱鬧氣氛，四位領導人之間的氛圍一直是熱情和融洽的。我仍然有一張五個人在總統穆巴拉克手腕表看著太陽正式下山的照片，因為這是穆斯林的齋月，我們必須確認在晚宴前已經解除宗教規定的禁食。

In the soft light of the Old Family Dining Room, each of us took turns describing our visions for the future. We talked of predecessors like Begin and Sadat, Rabin and Jordan's King Hussein, who'd had the courage and wisdom to bridge old divides. We spoke of the costs of endless conflict, the fathers who never came home, the mothers who had buried their children.

To an outsider, it would have seemed a hopeful moment, the start of something new.

And yet later that night, when the dinner was over and the leaders had gone back to their hotels and I sat in the Treaty Room going over my briefs for the next day, I couldn't help feeling a vague sense of disquiet. The speeches, the small talk, the easy familiarity—it all felt too comfortable, almost ritualized, a performance that each of the four leaders had probably participated in dozens of times before, designed to placate the latest U.S. president who thought things could change. I imagined them shaking hands afterward, like actors taking off their costumes and makeup backstage, before returning to the world that they knew—a world in which Netanyahu could blame the absence of peace on Abbas's weakness while doing everything he could to keep him weak, and Abbas could publicly accuse Israel of war crimes while quietly negotiating business contracts with the Israelis, and Arab leaders could bemoan the injustices endured by Palestinians under occupation while their own internal security forces ruthlessly ferreted out dissenters and malcontents who might threaten their grip on power. And I thought of all the children, whether in Gaza or in Israeli settlements or on the street corners of Cairo and Amman, who would continue to grow up knowing mainly violence, coercion, fear, and the nursing of hatred because, deep down, none of the leaders I'd met with believed anything else was possible.

在老家族餐厅柔和的灯光下，我们轮流描述了自己对未来的愿景。我们谈到了像贝京和萨达特、拉宾和约旦的胡塞因等的前任们，他们勇敢而有智慧地跨越了旧的分歧。我们谈到了无休止冲突的代价，父亲们永不归来，母亲们埋葬了自己的孩子。对于外界来说，这似乎是一个希望的时刻，一个新的开端。然而，当晚晚宴结束时，领导们回到酒店，我坐在条约室里为明天的案子检查堆积如山的资料时，我禁不住感到一丝不安。那些演讲、闲聊和轻松的熟悉感，一切都感觉过于舒适，几乎是例行公事，每个领导人都可能参加过数十次类似的表演，旨在取悦认为事情可以改变的最新美国总统。我想象着他们之后握手，就像演员们在后台脱掉服装和化妆一样，然后回到他们所熟知的世界——在这个世界中，内塔尼亚胡可以责怪巴基斯坦的弱点缺乏和他们保持弱势，而巴基斯坦可以公开指责以色列战争罪行，同时秘密地与以色列人谈判商业合同，阿拉伯领袖可以哀叹巴勒斯坦人在占领下遭受的不公正待遇，而他们自己的内部安全部队则残酷地搜索可能威胁他们权力掌控的持不同政见者和不满分子。我想到了所有的孩子，无论是在加沙、以色列定居点还是埃及和安曼的街角，他们都将健康成长，主要是了解暴力、强迫、恐惧和怀恨在心的护理，因为，在深处，我会见过的所有领导人都不相信还有其他可能。

A world without illusions—that's what they'd call it.

The Israelis and Palestinians would end up meeting only twice in direct peace talks—once in Washington, the day after our White House dinner, and then again twelve days later for a two-part conversation, with Mubarak hosting negotiators in the Egyptian resort town of Sharm el Sheikh before the group moved to Netanyahu's Jerusalem residence. Hillary and Mitchell reported that the discussions were substantive, with the United States dangling incentives to both sides, including plumped-up aid packages, and even considering a possible early release of Jonathan Pollard, an American convicted of spying for Israel who'd become a hero to many right-leaning Israelis.

一個沒有幻想的世界- 那就是人們所謂的。以色列和巴勒斯坦將只在兩次直接和平談判中會面- 一次是在我們的白宮晚宴之後的華盛頓會晤，然後是在12天後的兩次會談中，穆巴拉克在埃及渡假勝地沙姆沙伊赫主持談判代表團，然後該小組移居到內塔尼亞胡的耶路撒冷住所。希拉里和米切爾報告說，討論是實質性的，美國向雙方提供了誘因，包括加大援助計劃，甚至考慮提前釋放為以色列間諜活動被判刑的美國人喬納森·波拉德，他已成為許多右翼以色列人的英雄。

But it was all to no avail. The Israelis refused to extend the settlement freeze. The Palestinians withdrew from negotiations. By December 2010, Abbas was threatening to go to the U.N., seeking recognition of a Palestinian state—and to the International Criminal Court, seeking Israel's prosecution for alleged war crimes in Gaza. Netanyahu was threatening to make life harder for the Palestinian Authority. George Mitchell tried to put things in perspective, reminding me that during negotiations to end the Northern Ireland conflict, "We had seven hundred bad days—and one good one." Still, it felt as if in the near term, at least, the window for any peace deal had closed.

然而，这一切都是徒劳的。以色列人拒绝延长定居点冻结。巴勒斯坦人退出了谈判。到了2010年12月，阿巴斯威胁要去联合国，寻求承认巴勒斯坦国，并寻求以色列在加沙的战争罪的审查。内塔尼亚胡威胁要让巴勒斯坦权力机构的生活更加困难。乔治·米切尔试图客观地看待事情，并提醒我，在结束北爱尔兰冲突的谈判时，“我们有七百个糟糕的日子和一个好日子。”不过，至少在短期内，任何和平协议的机会似乎已经关闭了。

In the months to come, I'd think back often to my dinner with Abbas and Netanyahu, Mubarak and King Abdullah, the pantomime of it, their lack of resolve. To insist that the old order in the Middle East would indefinitely hold, to believe that the children of despair wouldn't revolt, at some point, against those who maintained it—that, it turned out, was the greatest illusion of all.

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INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE, we had frequently discussed the long-term challenges facing North Africa and the Middle East. As petrostates failed to diversify their economies, we asked ourselves what would happen when their oil revenues dried up. We bemoaned the restrictions placed on women and girls—hindering their ability to go to school, work, or, in some cases, even drive a car. We noted the stalled growth and its disproportionate impact on the younger generations in Arabic-speaking nations: People under the age of thirty made up about 60 percent of the population and were suffering unemployment rates double that of the rest of the world.

接下来的几个月里，我经常回想起与阿巴斯、内塔尼亚胡、穆巴拉克和阿卜杜拉国王的晚餐，以及那个闹剧般的场景和他们的无决心。坚持认为中东地区的旧秩序将永远存在，相信绝望之子不会在某个时刻反抗维持它的人，结果证明这是所有幻想中最大的一个。

在白宫内部，我们经常讨论北非和中东面临的长期挑战。当石油国家未能实现经济多样化时，我们问自己，当他们的石油收入枯竭时会发生什么。我们抱怨对女性和女孩的限制——这阻碍了她们上学、工作，甚至在某些情况下都无法开车。我们注意到阿拉伯语系国家停滞不前的经济增长以及其对年轻一代的不成比例影响：年龄在三十岁以下的人占人口的约60%，其失业率是全球其他地区的两倍。

Most of all, we worried about the autocratic, repressive nature of nearly every Arab government—not just the lack of true democracy but also the fact that those who held power seemed entirely unaccountable to the people they ruled. Even as conditions varied from country to country, most of these leaders maintained their grip through an old formula: restricted political participation and expression, pervasive intimidation and surveillance at the hands of police or internal security services, dysfunctional judicial systems and insufficient due process protections, rigged (or nonexistent) elections, an entrenched military, heavy press censorship, and rampant corruption. Many of these regimes had been in place for decades, held together by nationalist appeals, shared religious beliefs, tribal bonds, familial ties, and webs of patronage. It was possible that the stifling of dissent combined with plain inertia would be enough to keep them going for a while. But although our intelligence agencies mainly focused on tracking the actions of terrorist networks, and our diplomats were not always attuned to what was happening on "the Arab street," we could see indications of a growing discontent among ordinary Arabs—which, given the lack of legitimate outlets to express such frustration, could spell trouble. Or, as I told Denis after returning from my first visit to the region as president, "Sometime, somewhere, things are going to blow."

我們最擔心幾乎所有阿拉伯政府的專制、壓迫性質 - 不僅缺乏真正的民主，而且掌權者對統治的人民似乎完全沒有責任。儘管各個國家的情況各有不同，但是大多數領導人通過一個古老的公式保持其統治：受限的政治參與和表達，警察或內部安全服務的普遍恐嚇和監視、功能失調的司法系統和不足的正當程序保護，假冒（或不存在的）選舉，根深蒂固的軍隊，嚴重的新聞審查，猖獗的腐敗。這些政權中的許多已經存在了幾十年，通過民族主義的呼籲、共同的宗教信仰、部落約束、家庭關係和贊助網絡維持著自己的統治。壓抑異議與慢性疾病的結合可能足以使他們再維持一段時間。但是，儘管我們的情報機構主要專注於跟蹤恐怖主義網絡的行動，我們的外交官並不總是注意到“阿拉伯街頭”上正在發生的事情，我們可以看到普通阿拉伯人中日益增長的不滿情緒的迹象 - 鑑於沒有合法的發洩途徑，這可能會帶來麻煩。或者，像我在第一次作為總統訪問該地區之後告訴丹尼斯的那樣：“某個時候，某個地方，事情會爆發。”

What to do with that knowledge? There was the rub. For at least half a century, U.S. policy in the Middle East had focused narrowly on maintaining stability, preventing disruptions to our oil supplies, and keeping adversarial powers (first the Soviets, then the Iranians) from expanding their influence. After 9/11, counterterrorism took center stage. In pursuing each of these goals, we'd made autocrats our allies. They were predictable, after all, and committed to keeping a lid on things. They hosted our military bases and cooperated with us on counterterrorism efforts. And, of course, they did lots of business with U.S. companies. Much of our national security apparatus in the region depended on their cooperation and in many instances had become thoroughly entangled with theirs. Every so often, a report would surface from the Pentagon or Langley, recommending that U.S. policy pay more attention to human rights and governance issues when dealing with our Middle East partners. But then the Saudis would deliver a vital tip that kept an explosive device from being loaded onto U.S.-bound cargo planes or our naval base in Bahrain would prove critical in managing a flare-up with Iran in the Strait of Hormuz, and those reports would be relegated to the bottom of a drawer. Across the U.S. government, the possibility that some sort of populist uprising might bring down one of our allies had historically been met with resignation: Sure, it was likely to happen, the same way a bad hurricane will hit the Gulf Coast or the Big One will hit California; but since we couldn't say exactly when or where, and since we didn't have the means to stop it anyway, the best thing to do was prepare contingency plans and get ready to manage the aftershocks.

那么，该怎么处理这些知识呢？这是个难题。在过去的半个世纪里，美国在中东地区的政策关注点窄，主要集中于维护稳定、防范对我们石油供应的干扰，以及阻止对手国家（起初是苏联，之后是伊朗）扩大其影响力。9/11事件之后，反恐成为了核心任务。在追求这些目标时，我们将独裁者视为盟友。他们毕

竟是可预测的，并致力于维护稳定。他们承载我们的军事基地，与我们在反恐方面合作。当然，他们也与美国企业进行着大量业务往来。我们地区的许多国家安全设施都依赖于他们的合作，并在许多情况下已经与他们的设施相互交织在一起。五角大楼或兰利间歇性地发表的一些报告建议，在与我们的中东伙伴打交道时更加关注人权和治理问题，但沙特提供了一些至关重要的提示，使得装有炸药的货机没有载往美国，或者我们在巴林的海军基地在处理霍尔木兹海峡与伊朗爆炸事件时发挥了关键作用，这些报告就被降至最底层。整个美国政府历来对一些民众起义可能会推翻我们的盟友的可能性表示了无奈：当然，这可能会发生，就像坏的飓风会袭击墨西哥湾或者大灾难会发生在加州一样；但因为我们无法确定何时何地会发生，也因为我们没有办法阻止这种情况，所以最好的做法是准备应对危机方案和事后管理。

I liked to think that my administration resisted such fatalism. Building upon my Cairo speech, I had used interviews and public remarks to urge the governments of the Middle East to heed the voices of citizens calling for reform. In meetings with Arab leaders, my team often put human rights issues on the agenda. The State Department worked diligently behind the scenes to protect journalists, free political dissidents, and widen the space for civic engagement.

And yet only rarely did the United States scold allies like Egypt or Saudi Arabia publicly for their human rights violations. Given our concerns over Iraq, al-Qaeda, and Iran, not to mention Israel's security needs, the stakes felt too high to risk rupturing our relationships. Accepting this type of realism, I told myself, was part of the job. Except that every so often, the story of a women's rights activist being arrested in Riyadh would reach my desk, or I'd read about a local employee of an international human rights organization languishing in a Cairo jail, and I'd feel haunted. I knew that my administration would never be able to transform the Middle East into an oasis of democracy, but I believed we could and should be doing a hell of a lot more to encourage progress toward it.

我喜欢认为，我的政府抵制了这种宿命论。在开罗演讲的基础上，我通过采访和公开讲话敦促中东政府听取呼吁改革的公民的声音。在与阿拉伯领导人的会议中，我的团队经常将人权问题列入议程。国务院在幕后努力保护记者，释放政治异见者，并扩大公民参与空间。

然而，美国几乎从未公开斥责埃及或沙特阿拉伯等盟友的人权侵犯行为。考虑到我们对伊拉克、基地组织和伊朗的担忧，更不用说以色列的安全需要，风险实在太高，不能冒险破裂我们的关系。我告诉自己接受这种现实主义是工作的一部分。除了偶尔会有妇女权利活动人士在利雅得被捕的消息或阅读关于国际人权组织的当地雇员在开罗监狱中苦苦挣扎的消息，这些问题都会折磨着我。我知道，我的政府永远无法将中东变成一个民主的绿洲，但我相信我们应该、也应该更加努力地鼓励进步。

It was during one of those moods that I set aside time for lunch with Samantha Power.

I'd met Samantha while I was in the Senate, after I read her Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide—a moving, tightly reasoned discussion of America's lackluster response to genocide and the need for stronger global leadership in preventing mass atrocities. She was teaching at Harvard at the time, and when I reached out, she jumped at my suggestion that we share ideas over dinner the next time she was in D.C. She turned out to be younger than I'd expected, in her mid-thirties, tall and gangly, with red hair, freckles, and big, thickly lashed, almost sorrowful eyes that crinkled at the corners when she laughed. She was also intense. She and her Irish mother had immigrated to the States when she was nine; she'd played basketball in high school, graduated from Yale, and worked as a freelance journalist covering the Bosnian war. Her experiences there—bearing witness to slaughter and ethnic cleansing—had inspired her to get a law degree, hoping it would give her the tools to cure some part of the world's madness. That evening, after she'd run me through an exhaustive list of U.S. foreign policy errors that she insisted needed correcting, I suggested she might want to get out of the ivory tower and work with me for a spell.

那是在我心情起伏的一天，我安排时间和萨曼莎·鲍尔一起吃午餐。我在参议院时结识了萨曼莎，当时读了她获得普利策奖的书《来自地狱的问题》：美国与种族灭绝时代——一篇感人肺腑、思路紧密的讨论，讲述了美国应对种族灭绝的不力和需要更强的全球领导力来防止大规模暴行。当时她在哈佛授课，我联系她后，她立刻接受了我的建议，在她下次来华盛顿时共同交流思想。她比我想象中年轻，在三十多岁的年龄段，高高瘦瘦的，红头发、雀斑，一双浓密睫毛、近乎忧郁的双眼，笑起来眼角会皱起来。她也很激情。她和她的爱尔兰母亲在她九岁时移民美国，她在高中打篮球，毕业于耶鲁大学，并成为一名自由记者，报道波斯尼亚战争。她在那里所经历的——见证屠杀和种族清洗的过程——激发她去获得法律学位，希望能够有一些工具来治愈世界的一部分疯狂。那天晚上，在她对我进行了一份详尽的美国外交政策错误清单后，我建议她也许想要离开象牙塔，与我一起工作一段时间。

The conversation that started over dinner that night continued on and off for the next several years. Samantha joined my Senate staff as a foreign policy fellow, advising on issues like the genocide then taking place in Darfur. She worked on my presidential campaign, where she met her future husband, my friend and eventual regulatory czar Cass Sunstein, and became one of our top foreign policy surrogates. (I did have to put her in the penalty box, removing her from the campaign, when, during what she thought was an off-the-record moment with a reporter, she called Hillary "a monster.") Following the election, I hired her for a senior position at the NSC, where she did excellent work, mainly out of the limelight, including designing a broad global initiative to increase government transparency and reduce corruption in countries around the world.

那晚晚餐上的对话在之后的几年中断断续续地延续着。Samantha作为外交政策研究员加入了我的参议院工作人员，为类似于当时在达尔富尔发生的种族灭绝等问题提供咨询。她在我的总统竞选活动中工作，结识了她未来的丈夫、我的朋友和最终的监管政策执行者Cass Sunstein，并成为我们的外交政策代理人之一。（当她在认为是不公开发表的时刻向记者称希拉里为“怪兽”时，我确实不得不管教她并将她从竞选中开除。）选举之后，我聘请她担任NSC的高级职位，她在这里做出了出色的工作，主要在舞台幕后，包括设计一个广泛的全球计划来增加政府透明度并减少世界各国的腐败。

Samantha was one of my closest friends in the White House. Much like Ben, she evoked my own youthful idealism, the part of me still untouched by cynicism, cold calculation, or caution dressed up as wisdom. And I suspect it was precisely because she knew that side of me, and understood which heartstrings to pull, that at times she drove me nuts. I didn't actually see her much from day to day, and that was part of the problem; whenever Samantha got time on my calendar, she felt obliged to remind me of every wrong I hadn't yet righted. ("So, what ideals have we betrayed lately?" I'd ask.)

She was shattered, for example, when on Armenian Remembrance Day I failed to explicitly acknowledge the early-twentieth-century genocide of Armenians at the hands of the Turks (the need to name genocide unequivocally was a central thesis of her book). I had good reason for not making a statement at the time—the Turks were deeply touchy about the issue, and I was in delicate negotiations with President Erdogan on managing America's withdrawal from Iraq—but still, she made me feel like a heel. But as exasperating as Samantha's insistence could be, every so often I needed a dose of her passion and integrity, both as a temperature check on my conscience and because she often had specific, creative suggestions for how to deal with messy problems that no one in the administration was spending enough time thinking about.

萨曼莎是我在白宫最亲近的朋友之一。就像本一样，她唤起了我年轻时的理想主义，是我未曾沾染愤世嫉俗、冷酷计算或伪装成智慧的谨慎之人。我怀疑正是因为她认识到我这一面，并明白哪些“心弦”要触动，所以有时她会让我觉得不爽。实际上，我日常很少与她见面，这也是问题所在之一。每当萨曼莎获得我日程表上的时间时，她就觉得有责任提醒我还有哪些错误没有纠正。（我会问：“那么我们最近背叛了哪些理想呢？”）例如，在亚美尼亚屠杀纪念日，我没有明确承认土耳其人在二十世纪初对亚美尼亚人的屠杀（她的书中，明确地说出屠杀这个词是提出中心论点的）。当时，我没有发表声明有充分的理由——土耳其人对这个问题非常敏感，而我正在与埃尔多安总统进行谈判，讨论如何管理美国从伊拉克撤军——但她还是让我觉得自己很糟糕。虽然萨曼莎的坚持有时让人感到恼火，但偶尔我需要一剂她的激情和正直，作为我良心的温度检查，因为她通常会有具体、富有创意的建议，来处理那些政府中没有人花足够时间思考的混乱问题。

Our lunch in May 2010 was a case in point. Samantha showed up that day ready to talk about the Middle East—in particular, the fact that the United States hadn't lodged an official protest of the Egyptian government's recent two-year extension of a state of "emergency law" that had been in place continuously since Mubarak's election in 1981. The extension codified his dictatorial power by suspending the constitutional rights of Egyptians. "I understand there are strategic considerations when it comes to Egypt," Samantha said, "but does anybody stop to ask whether it's good strategy?"

我们在2010年5月的午餐就是一个很好的例子。那天萨曼莎来了，准备谈论中东——特别是美国没有对埃及政府最近将自1981年莫巴拉克当选以来一直实施的“紧急法”延长两年的官方抗议。该延期通过停止埃及人的宪法权利来规范了他的独裁权力。“我理解在处理埃及问题时存在战略考虑，”萨曼莎说，“但有人停下来问问这是否是一个好策略吗？”

I told her that, actually, I had. I wasn't a big fan of Mubarak, but I'd concluded that a one-off statement criticizing a law that had been in place for almost thirty years wouldn't be all that useful. "The U.S. government's an ocean liner," I said. "Not a speedboat. If we want to change our approach to the region, then we need a strategy that builds over time. We'd have to get buy-in from the Pentagon and the intel folks. We'd have to calibrate the strategy to give allies in the region time to adjust."

"Is anybody doing that?" Samantha said. "Coming up with that strategy, I mean?"

我告诉她，实际上我已经这么做了。我不是穆巴拉克的粉丝，但我得出结论，仅一次批评已经实行了将近三十年的法律，对于改变特别有限。“美国政府是一艘远洋客轮，”我说。“而不是快艇。如果我们想改变对该地区的态度，那么我们需要一个随时间推移的策略。我们需要获得五角大楼和情报专家的认可。我们必须校准策略，给该地区的盟友调整时间。”

“有没有人在这样做？”萨曼莎说。“我是说，制定这个策略？”

I smiled, seeing the wheels turning in her head.

Not long afterward, Samantha and three NSC colleagues—Dennis Ross, Gayle Smith, and Jeremy Weinstein—presented me with the blueprint for a Presidential Study Directive stating that U.S. interests in stability across the Middle East and North Africa were adversely affected by the United States' uncritical support of authoritarian regimes. In August I used that directive to instruct the State Department, Pentagon, CIA, and other government agencies to examine ways the United States could encourage meaningful political and economic reforms in the region to nudge those nations closer to the principles of open government, so that they might avoid the destabilizing uprisings, violence, chaos, and unpredictable outcomes that so often accompanied sudden change. The NSC team set about conducting biweekly meetings with Middle East experts from across government to develop specific ideas for reorienting U.S. policy.

我笑了，看着她的思路转变。不久之后，萨曼莎和三位国家安全委员会同事——丹尼斯·罗斯、盖尔·史密斯和杰里米·温斯坦——向我提交了一个总统研究指令的蓝图，指出美国对中东和北非稳定的利益受到了因美国支持独裁政权而导致的负面影响。8月份我使用了这项指令，指示国务院、五角大楼、中央情报局和其他政府机构审查美国如何鼓励该地区进行有意义的政治和经济改革，以推动这些国家朝着开放式政府的原则更加接近，以避免突然变革所伴随的动乱、暴力、混乱和不可预测的后果。国家安全委员会团队开始定期与各部门的中东专家进行双周会议，以制定具体的重新定向美国政策的想法。

Many of the veteran diplomats and experts they talked to were predictably skeptical of the need for any change to U.S. policy, arguing that as unsavory as some of our Arab allies might be, the status quo served America's core interests—something that wasn't guaranteed if more populist governments took their place. Over time, though, the team was able to arrive at a coherent set of principles to guide a shift in strategy. Under the emerging plan, U.S. officials across agencies would be expected to deliver a consistent and coordinated message on the need for reform; they would develop specific recommendations for liberalizing political and civic life in various countries and offer a range of new incentives to encourage their adoption. By mid-December, the documents laying out the strategy were just about ready for my approval, and although I realized that it wouldn't change the Middle East overnight, I was heartened by the fact that we were starting to steer America's foreign policy machinery in the right direction.

許多有經驗的外交家和專家都對美國政策的任何改變持懷疑態度，他們認為儘管一些阿拉伯盟友可能令人不悅，但現狀符合美國的核心利益——如果更多的民粹主義政府取代了這些盟友，這一點就無法保證。然而，隨著時間的推移，該團隊能夠制定一套連貫的原則，以引導戰略轉變。根據正在形成的計劃，各部門的美國官員都應該傳達一致且協調的訊息，強調改革的必要性；他們將為在各個國家實現政治和公民生活自由的具體建議提供新的激勵措施。到了12月

中旬，制定戰略的文件即將得到我的批准。儘管我知道這不會立竿見影地改變中東局勢，但我很高興看到我們已經開始將美國的外交政策機器引向正確的方向。

If only our timing had been a bit better.

—

THE SAME MONTH, in the North African nation of Tunisia, an impoverished fruit vendor set himself on fire outside a local government building. It was an act of protest, born of desperation: one citizen's furious response to a government he knew to be corrupt and indifferent to his needs. By all accounts, the man, twenty-six-year-old Mohamed Bouazizi, was not an activist, nor was he especially concerned with politics. He belonged to a generation of Tunisians raised in a stagnant economy and under the thumb of a repressive dictator named Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali. And after being repeatedly harassed by municipal inspectors and denied a hearing in front of a judge, he was simply fed up. According to a bystander, at the moment of his self-immolation, Bouazizi shouted—to nobody in particular and to everyone at once—"How do you expect me to make a living?"

要是我们的时机更好些就好了。

—

同月，在北非国家突尼斯，一位贫困的水果摊贩在当地政府大楼外自焚。这是一种绝望的抗议行为：一个公民对他知道腐败且不关心他需求的政府的愤怒回应。据所有资料表明，这位26岁的穆罕默德·布阿齐齐并不是一个活跃分子，他也并不特别关心政治。他属于突尼斯一代在停滞的经济和受压制的独裁者齐恩·贝纳·阿里（Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali）的统治下长大的人们。在被市政检查员多次骚扰并被拒绝在法官面前听审之后，他已经厌烦了。据旁观者说，在他自焚的那一刻，布阿齐齐向没有人、却同时向所有人大喊，“你们指望我怎么谋生？”

The fruit vendor's anguish set off weeks of nationwide demonstrations against the Tunisian government, and on January 14, 2011, Ben Ali and his family fled to Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, similar protests, made up mostly of young people, were beginning to happen in Algeria, Yemen, Jordan, and Oman, the first flickers of what became known as the Arab Spring.

As I prepared to give my State of the Union address on January 25, my team debated the extent to which I should comment on the events happening almost at warp speed in the Middle East and North Africa. With public protest having effectively driven a sitting autocrat from power in Tunisia, people across the region seemed galvanized and hopeful about the possibilities for wider change. Still, the complexities were daunting and good outcomes far from guaranteed. In the end, we added a single, straightforward line to my speech:

水果摊贩的痛苦引发了长达数周的全国示威，导致2011年1月14日，本·阿里和他的家人逃往沙特阿拉伯。与此同时，年轻人组成的类似抗议在阿尔及利亚、也门、约旦和阿曼开始发生，成为所谓的阿拉伯之春的最初迹象。当我准备在2011年1月25日发表我的国情咨文时，我的团队争论我应该对中东和北非几乎以光速发生的事件发表多少评论。随着公众抗议有效地驱逐窃权者离开窝囊而坐的权力，整个地区的人们似乎被激发并对更广泛变革的可能性充满希望。然而，这些复杂的问题令人望而却步，成功的结果远非保证。最终，我们在我的演讲中添加了一句简单而直接的话。

"Tonight, let us be clear: The United States of America stands with the people of Tunisia, and supports the democratic aspirations of all people."

From the U.S. perspective, the most significant developments were in Egypt, where a coalition of Egyptian youth organizations, activists, left-wing opposition parties, and prominent writers and artists had issued a nationwide call for mass protests against President Mubarak's regime. On the same day as my State of the Union, close to fifty thousand Egyptians poured into Tahrir Square, in downtown Cairo, demanding an end to emergency law, police brutality, and restrictions on political freedom. Thousands of others participated in similar protests across the country. The police were attempting to disperse the crowds using batons, water cannons, rubber bullets, and tear gas, and Mubarak's government would not only issue an official ban on protesting but also block Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter in an effort to hamper the demonstrators' ability to organize or connect with the outside world. For days and nights to come, Tahrir Square would resemble a permanent encampment, with legions of Egyptians standing in defiance of their president, calling for "bread, freedom, and dignity."

今晚，让我们明确：美利坚合众国与突尼斯人民站在一起，支持所有人的民主渴望。

从美国的角度来看，最重要的发展是在埃及，由埃及青年组织、活动家、左翼反对派政党和著名作家和艺术家组成的联盟发布了全国性的呼吁，要求大规模抗议穆巴拉克政权。在同一天，接近五万名埃及人涌入开罗市中心的解放广场，要求结束紧急状态法、警察暴力和对政治自由的限制。成千上万的人参加了全国范围内的类似抗议活动。警察企图使用警棍、水炮、橡皮子弹和催泪瓦斯驱散人群，穆巴拉克政府不仅宣布禁止游行抗议，而且还屏蔽了Facebook、YouTube和Twitter，试图阻碍示威者组织或与外界联系的能力。未来的几天和几夜，解放广场将类似于一个永久的营地，数千名埃及人挺立在总统面前，呼吁“面包、自由和尊严”。

This was precisely the scenario my Presidential Study Directive had sought to avoid: the U.S. government suddenly caught between a repressive but reliable ally and a population insistent on change, voicing the democratic aspirations we claimed to stand for. Alarmingly, Mubarak himself seemed oblivious about the uprising taking place around him. I'd spoken to him by phone just a week earlier, and he'd been both helpful and responsive as we'd discussed ways to coax the Israelis and Palestinians back to the negotiating table, as well as his government's call for unity in response to the bombing of a Coptic Christian church in Alexandria, carried out by Muslim extremists. But when I'd brought up the possibility that the protests that had begun in Tunisia might spread to his own country, Mubarak had dismissed it, explaining that "Egypt is not Tunisia." He'd assured me that any protest against his government would quickly die down. Listening to his voice, I'd imagined him sitting in one of the cavernous, ornately decorated rooms inside the presidential palace where we'd first met—the curtains drawn, him looking imperious in a high-backed chair as a few aides took notes or just watched, coiled in readiness to attend to his needs. Insulated as he was, he would see what he wanted to see, I thought, and hear what he wanted to hear—and none of it boded well.這正是我總統研究指示書所嚴防的情境：美國政府突然陷入困境，處在一個壓制但可靠的盟友與堅持變革、表達我們所主張的民主願

景的人民之間。值得警惕的是，穆巴拉克本人似乎對周圍發生的起義毫不知情。僅僅一週前，我普通過電話與他交談過，當時他對我們探討如何誘導以色列和巴勒斯坦回到談判桌上以及他所領導的政府對基督徒科普特教堂在亞歷山卓爆炸事件中的呼籲國家團結時亦態度友好且回應快速。然而，當我提及突尼斯爆發的反政府抗議可能會擴散到他自己的國家時，穆巴拉克卻不屑一顧，表示“埃及不是突尼斯”並保證任何反對他政府的抗議很快就會平息。聽著他的聲音，我想象他坐在總統府內的一個巨大且裝飾華麗的房間裡，拉上窗簾，高背椅上顯得自以為是，身邊有幾個助手記錄筆記或只是看著，如同被彈簧擊中般隨時待命。他自我封閉，只會看到自己想看到的，聽到自己想聽到的，這都不是一件好事。

Meanwhile, the news footage from Tahrir Square brought back different memories. The crowds in those first few days appeared to be disproportionately young and secular—not unlike the students and activists who'd been in the audience of my Cairo speech. In interviews, they came off as thoughtful and informed, insisting on their commitment to nonviolence and their desire for democratic pluralism, rule of law, and a modern, innovative economy that could deliver jobs and a better standard of living. In their idealism and courage in challenging an oppressive social order, they appeared no different from the young people who had once helped tear down the Berlin Wall or stood in front of tanks in Tiananmen Square. They weren't so different, either, from the young people who'd helped elect me president.

與此同時，來自廣場新聞的影像帶回了不同的回憶。在那幾天人群中出現的，年輕並且世俗化的人群，看起來和聚集在開羅演講現場的學生和社會活躍人士很像。在訪問中，他們顯得思考深刻且很有見識，堅決主張非暴力，並渴望民主的多元化、法治和能夠提供工作和更好生活水平的現代化創新經濟。在挑戰壓迫社會秩序時所表現出的理想主義和勇氣，他們與曾經幫助推倒柏林圍牆或站在天安門廣場坦克前的年輕人沒有什麼區別。他們也不太不同於曾經幫助我當選總統的年輕人。

“If I were an Egyptian in my twenties,” I told Ben, “I’d probably be out there with them.”

Of course, I wasn't an Egyptian in my twenties. I was president of the United States. And as compelling as these young people were, I had to remind myself that they—along with the university professors, human rights activists, secular opposition party members, and trade unionists also on the front lines of the protests—represented only a fraction of the Egyptian population. If Mubarak stepped down, creating a sudden power vacuum, they weren't the ones most likely to fill it. One of the tragedies of Mubarak's dictatorial reign was that it had stunted the development of the institutions and traditions that might help Egypt effectively manage a transition to democracy: strong political parties, an independent judiciary and media, impartial election monitors, broad-based civic associations, an effective civil service, and respect for minority rights. Outside the military, which was deeply entrenched throughout Egyptian society and reportedly had a significant stake in large swaths of the economy, the most powerful and cohesive force in the country was the Muslim Brotherhood, the Sunni-based Islamist organization whose central objective was to see Egypt—and the entire Arab world—governed by sharia law. Thanks to its grassroots organizing and charitable work on behalf of the poor (and despite the fact that Mubarak had officially banned it), the Brotherhood boasted a substantial membership. It also embraced political participation rather than violence as a way of advancing its goals, and in any fair and free election, the candidates it backed would be odds-on favorites to win. Still, many governments in the region viewed the Brotherhood as a subversive, dangerous threat, and the organization's fundamentalist philosophy made it both unreliable as a custodian for democratic pluralism and potentially problematic for U.S.-Egyptian relations.如果我20多岁时是埃及人，我可能会加入他们。”我告诉本。“当然，我不是20多岁的埃及人，我是美国总统。尽管这些年轻人很有说服力，但我必须提醒自己，他们——和大学教授、人权活动家、世俗反对党成员和工会成员一样——仅代表了埃及人口的一小部分。如果穆巴拉克下台，造成突然的权力真空，他们不太可能成为填补这一真空的人。穆巴拉克独裁统治的悲剧之一就在于它扼杀了发展可能帮助埃及有效管理民主过渡的机构和传统：强大的政党、独立的司法和媒体、公正的选举监察团、广泛的市民组织、有效的公务员队伍和尊重少数权利。除了深深植根于埃及社会各个领域的军方外，最有力和凝聚力的力量是穆斯林兄弟会——一个以逊尼派为基础的伊斯兰组织，其核心目标是看到埃及和整个阿拉伯世界都按照伊斯兰教法治理。由于它在扶贫方面的基层组织和慈善工作（尽管穆巴拉克正式禁止了它）取得了显著成果，兄弟会拥有大量成员。它也支持政治参与而不是暴力作为实现其目标的方式，在任何公正和自由的选举中，由它支持的候选人都有很大机会胜出。尽管如此，许多地区政府将兄弟会视为颠覆性、危险的威胁，该组织的原教旨主义哲学使其在作为民主多元化的监管机构方面不可靠，并有可能对美国和埃及的关系造成问题。

In Tahrir Square, the demonstrations continued to swell, as did violent clashes between protesters and police. Apparently awakened from his slumber, Mubarak went on Egyptian television on January 28 to announce that he was replacing his cabinet, but he offered no signs that he intended to respond to the demands for broader reform. Convinced that the problem wasn't going away, I consulted my national security team to try to come up with an effective response. The group was divided, almost entirely along generational lines. The older and more senior members of my team—Joe, Hillary, Gates, and Panetta—counseled caution, all of them having known and worked with Mubarak for years. They emphasized the role his government had long played in keeping peace with Israel, fighting terrorism, and partnering with the United States on a host of other regional issues. While they acknowledged the need to press the Egyptian leader on reform, they warned that there was no way of knowing who or what might replace him. Meanwhile, Samantha, Ben, Denis, Susan Rice, and Joe's national security advisor, Tony Blinken, were convinced that Mubarak had fully and irretrievably lost his legitimacy with the Egyptian people. Rather than keep our wagon hitched to a corrupt authoritarian order on the verge of collapse (and appear to be sanctioning the escalating use of force against protesters), they considered it both strategically prudent and morally right for the U.S. government to align itself with the forces of change.在解放广场，示威活动继续扩大，并且抗议者和警察之间的暴力冲突也加剧了。显然醒悟过来的穆巴拉克在1月28日通过埃及电视台宣布他要更换内阁，但是他并没有表现出他打算回应广泛改革的要求。因为我相信问题不会消失，所以我与我的国家安全团队商量来想一个有效的回应。该团队分歧很大，几乎完全沿着代际线分裂。我的团队中较老且资深的成员——乔、希拉里、盖茨和帕内塔，都曾与穆巴拉克共事多年。他们强调他的政府长期以来在与以色列保持和平、打击恐怖主义和在其他区域问题上与美国合作方面发挥的作用。虽然他们承认需要敦促埃及领导人进行改革，但他们警告说，没有办法知道谁或什么会取代他。与此同时，萨曼莎、本、丹尼斯、苏珊·赖斯和乔的国家安全顾问托尼·布林肯都坚信穆巴拉克已经完全且不可挽回地失去了他在埃及人民中的合法性。他们认为，与其保持对一个腐败威权机构的依附，这个机构已经濒临崩溃了（并且支持越来越多的暴力镇压抗议者），不如在战略上审慎和道义上正确地将美国政府与变革力量对齐。

I shared both the hopes of my younger advisors and the fears of my older ones. Our best bet for a positive outcome, I decided, was to see if we could persuade Mubarak to embrace a series of substantive reforms, including ending the emergency law, restoring political and press freedoms, and setting a date for free and fair national elections. Such an “orderly transition,” as Hillary described it, would give opposition political parties and potential candidates time to build followings and develop serious plans to govern. It would also allow Mubarak to retire as an elder statesman, which might help mitigate perceptions in the region that we were willing to dump longtime allies at the slightest hint of trouble.

我分享了年轻顾问的希望和年长顾问的恐惧。我认为，获得积极结果的最佳方法是看看我们是否能说服穆巴拉克采取一系列实质性改革措施，包括结束紧急法律，恢复政治和新闻自由，并设定自由公正的全国选举日期。正如希拉里所描述的那样，这样一个“有序过渡”将使反对派政党和潜在候选人有时间建立追随者和制定严肃的执政计划。这也将允许穆巴拉克退休成为长者，这可能有助于缓解地区对我们在最轻微的麻烦迹象时就愿意丢弃长期盟友的看法。

It went without saying that trying to convince an aging, embattled despot to ride off into the sunset, even if it was in his own interests, would be a delicate operation. After the Situation Room discussion, I phoned Mubarak again, raising the idea of him putting forward a bolder set of reforms. He instantly grew combative, characterizing the protesters as members of the Muslim Brotherhood and insisting once again that the situation would soon return to normal. He did agree, though, to my request to send an envoy—Frank Wisner, who’d been a U.S. ambassador to Egypt in the late 1980s—to Cairo for more extensive private consultations.毫无疑问，试图说服一个年迈的、被困的独裁者骑着夕阳西下去，即使这符合他的利益，也将是一项棘手的工作。在“情况室”的讨论之后，我再次给穆巴拉克打电话，提出他提出更加大胆的改革方案的想法。他立刻变得好斗，将示威者描述为穆斯林兄弟会的成员，并再次坚称情况很快就会恢复正常。不过，他同意我的请求，派遣一位曾在1980年代末担任美国驻埃及大使的弗兰克·威斯纳前往开罗进行更加广泛的私人磋商。

Using Wisner to make a direct, face-to-face appeal to the Egyptian president had been Hillary’s idea, and I thought it made sense: Wisner was literally a scion of the American foreign policy establishment, his father having been an iconic leader during the foundational years of the CIA, and he was someone Mubarak knew well and trusted. At the same time, I understood that Wisner’s history with Mubarak and his old-school approach to U.S. diplomacy might make him conservative in evaluating the prospects for change. Before he left, I called him with clear instructions to “be bold”: I wanted him to push Mubarak to announce that he would step down after new elections were held—a gesture I hoped would be dramatic and specific enough to give protesters confidence that change really was coming.

使用韋斯納直接面對埃及總統的呼籲是希拉里的主意，我認為這很有道理：韋斯納毫無疑問是美國外交政策界的重要人物，他的父親曾是中情局奠基期間的具有標誌性的領袖，他也是穆巴拉克熟悉且信任的人。同時，我了解到韋斯納與穆巴拉克的歷史以及他老派的美國外交手法可能使他對變革的前景保守。他離開之前，我給他打了一個清晰的指示：“要大膽”：我希望他推動穆巴拉克宣布將在舉行新選舉後下台——這一姿態我希能夠具有戲劇性和具體性，讓抗議者有信心改變正在來臨。

While we awaited the outcome of Wisner’s mission, the media became more focused on my administration’s reaction to the crisis—and, more specifically, whose side we were on. So far, we’d issued little more than generic public statements in an effort to buy ourselves time. But Washington reporters—many of whom clearly found the cause of the young protesters compelling—began pressing Gibbs on why we weren’t unambiguously standing with the forces of democracy. Foreign leaders in the region, meanwhile, wanted to know why we weren’t supporting Mubarak more forcefully. Bibi Netanyahu insisted that maintaining order and stability in Egypt mattered above all else, telling me that otherwise “you will see Iran in there in two seconds.” King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia was even more alarmed; the spread of protests in the region was an existential threat to a family monarchy that had long squelched any form of internal dissent. He also believed that the Egyptian protesters weren’t in fact speaking for themselves. He ticked off the “four factions” he believed were behind the protests: the Muslim Brotherhood, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, and Hamas.

當我們等待Wisner使命的結果時，媒體越來越關注我的政府對危機的反應，尤其是我們站在誰那一邊。到目前為止，我們只發布了一些通用的公共聲明，以爭取更多時間。但是華盛頓的記者，其中許多人明顯認為年輕抗議者的事業令人動容，開始向吉布斯追問為什麼我們沒有毫不含糊地支持民主力量。與此同時，該地區的外國領導人想知道為什麼我們不更有力地支持穆巴拉克。比比·內塔尼亞胡堅持說，在埃及維持秩序和穩定比其他任何事情都重要，告訴我否則“你將在兩秒鐘內看到伊朗介入”。沙特阿拉伯的阿卜杜拉國王更加擔憂；該地區的示威活動擴散對一個長期壓制任何形式的內部異議的家族君主制來說是一個存在威脅。他還認為，埃及抗議者實際上並不代表自己。他列舉了他認為在抗議活動背後的“四個派系”：穆斯林兄弟會，真主黨，基地組織和哈馬斯。

Neither of these leaders’ analyses stood up to scrutiny. The Sunnis, who made up the vast majority of Egyptians (and all of the Muslim Brotherhood), were hardly susceptible to the influence of Shiite Iran and Hezbollah, and there was absolutely no evidence that al-Qaeda or Hamas was behind the demonstrations in any way. Still, even younger, more reform-minded leaders in the region, including King Abdullah of Jordan, feared the possibility of protests engulfing their countries, and while they used more sophisticated language, they clearly expected the United States to choose, as Bibi had put it, “stability” over “chaos.”

这些领导人的分析都无法经得起审查。埃及人口中绝大多数是逊尼派（包括所有穆斯林兄弟会成员），并不容易受到什叶派伊朗和真主党的影响，绝对没有证据表明基地组织或哈马斯以任何方式参与了示威活动。尽管如此，甚至包括约旦国王阿卜杜拉在内的更年轻、更具改革意识的地区领导人也担心示威可能席卷他们的国家，尽管他们使用的语言更为复杂，但他们明确期望美国选择“稳定”而不是“混乱”，正如内塔尼亞胡所说的那样。

By January 31, Egyptian army tanks were stationed throughout Cairo, the government had shut down internet service across the city, and protesters were planning a nationwide general strike for the next day. Wisner’s readout on his meeting with Mubarak arrived: The Egyptian president would publicly commit not to run for another term but had stopped short of suspending emergency law or agreeing to support a peaceful transfer of power. The report only widened the split within my national security team: The more senior members saw Mubarak’s concession as enough justification to stick with him, while the younger staffers considered the move—much like Mubarak’s sudden decision to appoint his chief of intelligence, Omar Suleiman, as vice

president—as no more than a stalling tactic that would fail to placate the demonstrators. Tom Donilon and Denis let me know that staff debates had turned acrimonious and that reporters were picking up on the discrepancy between Joe's and Hillary's cautiously anodyne statements and the more strident criticism of Mubarak coming from Gibbs and others in the administration.

截至1月31日，埃及军队坦克已经部署在开罗城市各处，政府已经关闭了整个城市的互联网服务，抗议者计划在第二天发起全国性的大罢工。Wisner的会议记录表明，埃及总统将公开承诺不再竞选连任，但是没有停止紧急法律或同意支持和平过渡权力。这份报告进一步加剧了我的国家安全团队之间的分歧：年纪更大的成员认为穆巴拉克的让步足以证明他还是应该继续留任，而年轻的工作人员则认为这种做法——类似穆巴拉克突然决定任命他的情报负责人奥马尔·苏莱曼为副总统——不过是一种拖延战术，不会安抚示威者。Tom Donilon和Denis让我知道，工作人员之间的争论变得激烈，而记者也注意到了Joe和Hillary谨慎的声明与政府中其他人对穆巴拉克更强烈的批评之间的差异。

Partly to make sure that everyone was singing from the same hymnal while we determined our next steps, I paid an unscheduled visit to a meeting of the NSC Principals Committee in the Situation Room late in the afternoon on February 1. The discussion had barely begun when an aide informed us that Mubarak was addressing the Egyptian people on a nationwide broadcast. We turned on the room's TV monitor so we could watch it in real time. Dressed in a dark suit and reading from a prepared text, Mubarak appeared to be following through on his pledge to Wisner, saying that he had never intended to nominate himself for another term as president and announcing that he would call on the Egyptian parliament—a parliament he entirely controlled—to discuss speeding up a timeline for new elections. But the terms of an actual transfer of power were so vague that any Egyptian watching would likely conclude that whatever promises Mubarak was now making could and would be reversed the moment the protests died down. In fact, the Egyptian president devoted the bulk of the speech to accusing provocateurs and unnamed political forces of hijacking the protests to undermine the nation's security and stability. He insisted that he would continue to fulfill his responsibility, as someone who had "never, ever been seeking power," to protect Egypt from agents of chaos and violence. When he finished the address, someone turned off the monitor, and I leaned back in my chair, stretching my arms behind my head.為了確保我們採取下一步行動時大家的意見是一致的，2月1日下午我親自到位於緊急情況房間的國家安全會議主要委員會的會議現場，進行了一次未預定的拜訪。當討論才剛開始時，一名助手通知我們穆巴拉克正在全國廣播中向埃及民眾發表講話。我們打開了房間的電視屏幕，實時觀看。穆巴拉克身穿深色西裝，從準備好的稿子中讀出他的講話，他似乎在履行他對維斯納的承諾，聲明他從未打算再次提名自己競選總統，並宣布他將要求埃及國會（他完全控制）討論加快新選舉的時間表。但是，實際的權力轉移條款非常模糊，任何看到這個廣播的埃及人都可能會得出這樣一個結論，即穆巴拉克現在作出的承諾可以且會在抗議活動平息後被推翻。事實上，埃及總統把講話的大部分時間都用來指責煽動者和未明示的政治勢力利用抗議活動破壞國家的安全和穩定。他堅持說，他作為一個“從未，從未尋求權力”的人，將繼續履行他的責任，保護埃及免受混亂和暴力的侵害。當他結束演講時，有人關掉了屏幕，我靠在椅子上，舒展開我的手臂。

"That," I said, "is not going to cut it."

I wanted to take one last shot at convincing Mubarak to initiate a real transition. Returning to the Oval Office, I placed a call to him, and I put the phone on speaker mode so that my assembled advisors could hear. I began by complimenting him on his decision not to run again. I could only imagine how difficult it might be for Mubarak, someone who'd first assumed power when I was in college and had outlasted four of my predecessors, to hear what I was about to say.

“那樣做是不夠的，”我說。

我想最後一次嘗試說服穆巴拉克開始進行真正的過渡。回到橢圓形辦公室，我打了一通電話給他，將手機換成揚聲器模式，讓我聚集的顧問可以聽到。我開始讚美他決定不再競選。我只能想象，對於穆巴拉克這樣一個在我上大學時首次掌權並且已經比我任期的前任多了四屆的人來說，聽到我接下來要說的話有多困難。

"Now that you've made this historic decision for a transition of power," I said, "I want to discuss with you how it will work. I say this with the utmost respect...I want to share my honest assessment about what I think will accomplish your goals." I then cut to the bottom line: If he stayed in office and dragged out the transition process, I believed, the protests would continue and possibly spin out of control. If he wanted to ensure the election of a responsible government that wasn't dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood, then now was the time for him to step down and use his stature behind the scenes to help usher in a new Egyptian government.

“現在您已經做出了這個具有歷史意義的權力轉換決定，”我說，“我想和您討論它將如何發揮作用。我想要以最大的尊重方式告訴您我的誠實評估，關於我認為可以實現您目標的方式。”然後我從結論開始：如果他留在職位並拖延轉移過程，我認為抗議活動將繼續，甚至可能失控。如果他想保證選出一個負責任的政府並且不受穆斯林兄弟會的控制，那麼現在是他下台並在幕後幫助引領新埃及政府誕生的時候了。”

Although Mubarak and I normally spoke to each other in English, he chose this time to address me in Arabic. I didn't need the translator to catch the agitation in his voice. "You don't understand the culture of the Egyptian people," he declared, his voice rising. "President Obama, if I go into the transition this way, it will be the most dangerous thing for Egypt."

I acknowledged that I didn't know Egyptian culture the way he did, and that he'd been in politics far longer than I had. "But there are moments in history where just because things have been the same way in the past doesn't mean they will be the same way in the future. You've served your country well for over thirty years. I want to make sure you seize this historic moment in a way that leaves a great legacy for you."

儘管穆巴拉克和我平時用英語交談，但他這次選擇用阿拉伯語與我交談。我不需要翻譯員就能聽出他聲音裡的不安。他的聲音越來越高：“你不懂埃及人的文化，奧巴馬總統，如果我這樣進入轉型期，對埃及來說將是最危險的事情。”

我承認我並不像他那樣熟悉埃及文化，而且他在政治方面的經驗也遠超過我。但我說：“在歷史的某些時刻，過去一直以來的做法並不意味著未來也會是如此。您已經為您的國家貢獻了三十多年。我希望您能夠抓住這個歷史性的時刻，以一種讓您留下偉大遺產的方式進行轉型。”

We went back and forth like this for several more minutes, with Mubarak insisting on the need for him to remain where he was and repeating that the protests would soon be over. “I know my people,” he said toward the end of the call. “They are emotional people. I will talk to you after a while, Mr. President, and I will tell you that I was right.”

I hung up the phone. For a moment, the room was silent, everyone’s eyes glued on me. I had given Mubarak my best advice. I had offered him a plan for a graceful exit. Any leader who replaced him, I knew, might end up being a worse partner for the United States—and potentially worse for the Egyptian people. And the truth was, I could have lived with any genuine transition plan he might have presented, even if it left much of the regime’s existing network intact. I was enough of a realist to assume that had it not been for the stubborn persistence of those young people in Tahrir Square, I’d have worked with Mubarak for the rest of my presidency, despite what he stood for—just as I would continue to work with the rest of the “corrupt, rotting authoritarian order,” as Ben liked to call it, that controlled life in the Middle East and North Africa.

我們像這樣來回爭吵了幾分鐘，穆巴拉克堅持他需要留在原地，並重申抗議活動很快就會結束。到了通話結束時，他說：“我知道我的人民，他們是情感豐沛的人。稍後我會和你談話，告訴你我是對的，總統先生。”

我掛斷了電話。片刻之間，房間裡安靜了下來，每個人的眼睛盯著我。我已經給了穆巴拉克最好的建議。我提供了一個優雅退出的計劃。我知道，任何接替他的領袖，可能會成為美國的更壞合作夥伴，對埃及人民也可能更糟糕。事實上，即使他提出了任何真正的過渡計劃，即使它讓現有的政權網絡保持不變，我也可以接受。我足夠現實，認為如果不是塔赫利爾廣場上那些年輕人的頑強堅持，我將與穆巴拉克合作到我的總統任期結束，儘管他代表的價值觀讓我感到厭惡 - 就像我將繼續與本稱之為“腐敗、腐朽的威權秩序”的掌控中東和北非生活的人合作一樣。

Except those kids were in Tahrir Square. Because of their brash insistence on a better life, others had joined them—mothers and laborers and shoemakers and taxi drivers. Those hundreds of thousands of people had, for a brief moment at least, lost their fear, and they wouldn’t stop demonstrating unless Mubarak restored that fear the only way he knew how: through beatings and gunfire, detentions and torture. Earlier in my presidency, I hadn’t managed to influence the Iranian regime’s vicious crackdown on Green Movement protesters. I might not be able to stop a China or Russia from crushing its own dissidents. But the Mubarak regime had received billions of U.S. taxpayer dollars; we supplied them with weapons, shared information, and helped train their military officers; and for me to allow the recipient of that aid, someone we called an ally, to perpetrate wanton violence on peaceful demonstrators, with all the world watching—that was a line I was unwilling to cross. It would do too much damage, I thought, to the idea of America. It would do too much damage to me.

除了那些孩子在塔赫里爾廣場上。因為他們大膽堅持更好的生活，其他人也加入了他們——母親、工人、鞋匠和出租车司机。那數以千計的人，在那短暫的時刻里，失去了他們的恐懼，除非穆巴拉克通過毆打和槍擊、拘留和折磨，恢復了那種恐懼。在我任期的早期，我沒有成功影響伊朗政權對綠色運動抗議者的殘酷鎮壓。我可能無法阻止中國或俄羅斯鎮壓自己的異見人士。但穆巴拉克政權收到了數十億美元的美國納稅人的資助；我們為他們提供武器、分享信息、幫助培訓他們的軍官；而讓我們稱之為盟友的那個受援國，對和平示威者實施肆意暴力，在全世界的關注下，這是我不願逾越的底線。我想會對美國的理念造成太大的傷害，對我也是如此。

“Let’s prepare a statement,” I said to my team. “We’re calling on Mubarak to step down now.”

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CONTRARY TO THE BELIEFS of many in the Arab world (and more than a few American reporters), the United States is not a grand puppet master whimsically pulling the strings of the countries with which it does business. Even governments that rely on our military and economic assistance think first and foremost of their own survival, and the Mubarak regime was no exception. After I publicly announced my conviction that it was time for Egypt to start a quick transition to a new government, Mubarak remained defiant, testing how far he could go in intimidating the protesters. The next day, while the Egyptian army stood idly by, gangs of pro-Mubarak supporters descended on Tahrir Square—some on camels and horses, brandishing whips and clubs, others hurling firebombs and rocks from surrounding rooftops—and began assaulting the demonstrators. Three protesters were killed and six hundred were injured; over the course of several days, authorities detained more than fifty journalists and human rights activists. The violence continued into the next day, along with large-scale counterdemonstrations organized by the government. Pro-Mubarak forces even began roughing up foreign reporters, accusing them of actively inciting the opposition.

“讓我們準備一份聲明，”我對我的團隊說道。“我們呼籲穆巴拉克現在下台。”

與許多阿拉伯世界（以及許多美國記者）的信仰相反，美國並不是一個隨意操縱與其做生意的國家的大搖杆。即使是依靠我們的軍事和經濟援助的政府，也會首先考慮自己的生存，而穆巴拉克政權也不例外。在我公開宣布我堅信現在是時候讓埃及開始快速過渡到新政府之後，穆巴拉克依然固執己見，試探他可以在恐吓抗議者方面走多遠。接下來的一天，當埃及軍隊無動於衷時，支持穆巴拉克的暴徒團伙下降在塔赫利爾廣場上，有人騎着駱駝和馬，揮舞着皮鞭和棍棒，還有人從周圍的屋頂上投擲汽油彈和石塊，開始襲擊抗議者。三個抗議者被殺，六百人受傷；在接下來的幾天里，當局還拘留了五十多名記者和人權活動人士。暴力事件持續到了第二天，同時，政府組織了大規模的反對示威活動。支持穆巴拉克的力量甚至開始粗暴地對待外國記者，指責他們積極煽動反對派。

My biggest challenge during those tense several days was keeping everybody in my administration on the same page. The message coming out of the White House was clear. When Gibbs was asked what I meant when I said that the transition in Egypt had to begin “now,” he said simply, “Now means yesterday.” We were also successful in getting our European allies to issue a joint statement that mirrored my own. Around the same time, though, Hillary

was interviewed at a security conference in Munich and seemed to go out of her way to warn of the dangers in any rapid transition in Egypt. At the same conference, Frank Wisner—who no longer had an official role in the administration and claimed to be speaking only as a private citizen—voiced the opinion that Mubarak should stay in power during any transition period. Hearing this, I told Katie to track down my secretary of state. When I got her on the phone, I didn't mask my displeasure.

在那些緊張的幾天裡，我遇到的最大挑戰是讓我手下的人都站在同一陣線上。白宮傳達的訊息很清晰。當問起吉布斯我所說的「轉型現在就要開始」指的是什麼時，他只是簡單地回答：「現在指的是昨天。」我們也成功地讓歐洲盟友發布了一份跟我的聲明相似的聯合聲明。然而大約在同一時間，希拉里參加了在慕尼黑舉行的安全會議，在那裡她似乎刻意警告了埃及快速轉型的危險性。在同一場會議上，已經不再擔任政府官員，聲稱只是以私人身份發言的弗蘭克·維斯納表達了穆巴拉克應該在轉型期間繼續掌權的觀點。聽到這個消息後，我告訴凱蒂去找我的國務卿。當我和她通電話時，我並沒有掩飾自己的不滿。

"I understand full well the potential problems with any move away from Mubarak," I said, "but I've made a decision, and I can't have a bunch of mixed messages out there right now." Before Hillary could respond, I added, "And tell Wisner I don't give a damn about what capacity he's speaking in—he needs to be quiet."

Despite the occasional frustrations I experienced in dealing with a national security establishment that remained uncomfortable with the prospect of an Egypt without Mubarak, that same establishment—particularly the Pentagon and the intelligence community—probably had more impact on the final outcome in Egypt than any high-minded statements coming from the White House. Once or twice a day, we had Gates, Mullen, Panetta, Brennan, and others quietly reach out to high-ranking officers in the Egyptian military and intelligence services, making clear that a military-sanctioned crackdown on the protesters would have severe consequences on any future U.S.-Egyptian relationship. The implication of this military-to-military outreach was plain: U.S.-Egyptian cooperation, and the aid that came with it, wasn't dependent on Mubarak's staying in power, so Egypt's generals and intelligence chiefs might want to carefully consider which actions best preserved their institutional interests.

我说：“我非常理解从穆巴拉克迈出任何一步都可能带来的潜在问题，但我已做出决定，现在我不能让一堆错综复杂的信息散布出去。”在希拉里还没回应之前，我加了一句：“同时告诉维斯纳，我不在乎他在任何职务上发表的言论——他需要保持沉默。”

虽然我在处理一个国家安全部系时偶尔会感到沮丧，因为这个体系对没有穆巴拉克的埃及还感到不适，但同样的机构——尤其是五角大楼和情报社区——很可能对埃及的最终结果产生了更大的影响，而不是来自白宫的高尚言论。每天一两次，我们会让盖茨、马伦、潘纳塔、布伦南和其他人悄悄地联系埃及军方和情报部门的高级官员，明确表示军方认可的打压抗议者的行为将对未来美国与埃及的关系产生严重后果。这种军事间的联络的暗示很清楚：美国和埃及的合作以及伴随其而来的援助不取决于穆巴拉克是否继续掌权，因此埃及的将军们和情报领袖们可能需要认真考虑哪些行动最有利于维护他们的机构利益。

Our messaging appeared successful, for by the evening of February 3, Egyptian army troops had positioned themselves to keep the pro-Mubarak forces separate from the protesters. The arrests of Egyptian journalists and human rights activists began to slow. Encouraged by the change in the army's posture, more demonstrators flowed peacefully into the square. Mubarak would hang on for another week, vowing not to bow to "foreign pressure." But on February 11, just two and a half weeks after the first major protest in Tahrir Square, a weary-looking Vice President Suleiman appeared on Egyptian television to announce that Mubarak had left office and a caretaker government led by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces would initiate the process for new elections.

我们的信息传递似乎是成功的，因为到2月3日晚上，埃及军队已经部署好了，将亲穆巴拉克的力量与抗议者隔离。逮捕埃及记者和人权活动人士的行动开始减缓。在军队态度的改变鼓舞下，更多的抗议者和平地涌入了广场。穆巴拉克坚持不放弃的维持了另一个星期，誓言不屈服于“外来压力”。但是在2月11日，也就是第一次大规模抗议在泰赫里尔广场发生的仅仅两个半星期后，看起来疲惫不堪的副总统苏莱曼出现在埃及电视上，宣布穆巴拉克已经离职，由军事委员会领导的临时政府将启动新一轮选举的进程。

In the White House, we watched CNN broadcast footage of the crowd in Tahrir Square erupting in celebration. Many staffers were jubilant. Samantha sent me a message saying how proud she was to be a part of the administration. Walking down the colonnade on our way to my press statement to reporters, Ben couldn't wipe the smile off his face. "It's pretty amazing," he said, "being a part of history like that." Katie printed out a wire photo and left it on my desk; it showed a group of young protesters in the Egyptian square hoisting a sign that read, YES WE CAN.

在白宫，我们观看CNN播出塔赫里尔广场人群欢庆的画面。许多工作人员都感到欣喜若狂。萨曼莎发了消息给我，说她为成为政府的一员感到自豪。在前往向记者发表声明的柱廊走路时，本无法从脸上抹去微笑。“这太神奇了”，他说，“成为历史的一部分”。凯蒂打印了一张新闻照片，放在我的桌子上；它显示了一群在埃及广场上高举标语“是我们能”。

I was relieved—and cautiously hopeful. Still, I did find myself occasionally thinking about Mubarak, who just a few months earlier had been my guest in the Old Family Dining Room. Rather than flee the country, the elderly leader had apparently taken up residence in his private compound in Sharm el Sheikh. I pictured him there, sitting in lavish surroundings, a dim light casting shadows across his face, alone with his thoughts.

I knew that for all the celebration and optimism in the air, the transition in Egypt was only the beginning of a struggle for the soul of the Arab world—a struggle whose outcome remained far from certain. I remembered the conversation I'd had with Mohammed bin Zayed, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi and the de facto ruler of the United Arab Emirates, immediately after I called for Mubarak to step down. Young, sophisticated, close to the Saudis, and perhaps the savviest leader in the Gulf, MBZ, as we called him, hadn't minced words in describing how the news was being received in the region.我松了一口气，也有一些小小的希望。尽管如此，我不时仍会想起不久前曾在老家庭餐厅招待的穆巴拉克。这位老领导人没有逃离这个国家，似乎已在沙姆沙伊赫的私人庄园里安顿下来。我想象着他坐在那里，豪华的环境中，暗淡的灯光在他的脸上投下阴影，孤独地想着些什么。

我知道，尽管气氛中有庆祝和乐观的情绪，但埃及的转型只是阿拉伯世界灵魂争夺的开始，其结果仍然不确定。我记得我与阿布扎比的王储、实际上的阿联酋统治者穆罕默德·本·扎耶德通话的时候。年轻、精明、与沙特关系密切，或许是海湾地区最明智的领导人，正如我们所称呼的MBZ，他毫不掩饰其对该消息在该地区所受到的看法。

MBZ told me that U.S. statements on Egypt were being watched closely in the Gulf, with increasing alarm. What would happen if protesters in Bahrain called for King Hamad to step down? Would the United States put out that same kind of statement that we had on Egypt?

I had told him I hoped to work with him and others to avoid having to choose between the Muslim Brotherhood and potentially violent clashes between governments and their people.

“The public message does not affect Mubarak, you see, but it affects the region,” MBZ told me. He suggested that if Egypt collapsed and the Muslim Brotherhood took over, there would be eight other Arab leaders who would fall, which is why he was critical of my statement. “It shows,” he said, “that the United States is not a partner we can rely on in the long term.”

MBZ告诉我，美国关于埃及的声明在海湾地区备受关注，引发了越来越多的警觉。如果巴林的抗议者呼吁哈马德国王下台，美国会发表和我们在埃及一样的声明吗？

我告诉他，我希望与他和其他人合作，避免在穆斯林兄弟会和政府与民众之间选择。

“公开的信息对穆巴拉克没有影响，但影响着整个地区，”MBZ告诉我。他暗示，如果埃及崩溃，穆斯林兄弟会接管，将有8个阿拉伯领导人会倒台，这就是为什么他批评我的声明。“这表明，”他说，“美国不是我们可以长期依靠的伙伴。”

His voice was calm and cold. It was less a plea for help, I realized, than a warning. Whatever happened to Mubarak, the old order had no intention of conceding power without a fight.

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IF ANYTHING, ANTI-GOVERNMENT demonstrations in other countries only grew in scope and intensity following Mubarak’s resignation, as more and more people came to believe that change was possible. A handful of regimes successfully managed to make at least symbolic reform in response to protesters’ demands while avoiding significant bloodshed or upheaval: Algeria lifted its nineteen-year-old emergency law, the king of Morocco engineered constitutional reforms that modestly increased the power of the country’s elected parliament, and Jordan’s monarch would soon do the same. But for many Arab rulers, the main lesson out of Egypt was the need to systematically, ruthlessly crush the protests—no matter how much violence that might require and no matter how much international criticism such crackdowns might generate. 他的聲音冷靜而寡言，這不是尋求幫助，而是警告。我意識到，無論穆巴拉克發生了什麼事情，舊秩序都不打算放棄權力而不鬥爭。事實上，其他國家的反政府示威只有越來越大規模和強烈，因為越來越多的人相信改變是可能的。一些政權成功地在回應示威者的要求方面進行了至少象徵性的改革，同時避免了重大的流血或動盪：阿爾及利亞解除了長達十九年的緊急法，摩洛哥國王引入憲法改革，稍微增加了該國選舉議會的權力，約旦的君主也將很快這樣做。但對許多阿拉伯統治者來說，埃及帶來的主要教訓是需要系統地、無情地粉碎抗議活動，不論需要多少暴力，也不論這樣的鎮壓可能會產生多少國際批評。

Two of the countries that saw the worst violence were Syria and Bahrain, where sectarian divisions ran high and privileged minorities governed large and resentful majorities. In Syria, the March 2011 arrest and torture of fifteen schoolboys who had sprayed anti-government graffiti on city walls set off major protests against the Alawite Shiite-dominated regime of President Bashar al-Assad in many of the country’s predominantly Sunni communities. After tear gas, water cannons, beatings, and mass arrests failed to quell the demonstrations, Assad’s security forces went on to launch full-scale military operations across several cities, complete with live fire, tanks, and house-to-house searches. Meanwhile, just as MBZ had predicted, in the small island nation of Bahrain, huge, mostly Shiite demonstrations against the government of King Hamad bin Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa were taking place in the capital city of Manama, and the Bahraini government responded with force, killing scores of protesters and injuring hundreds more. As outrage over police brutality fueled even bigger demonstrations, the beleaguered Hamad went further, taking the unprecedented step of inviting armed divisions of the Saudi and Emirati armies to help suppress his own citizens.

兩個見證最激烈暴力事件的國家是敘利亞和巴林，因分裂主義高漲和少數特權族群統治眾多怨氣沸騰的多數派而聞名。2011年3月，敘利亞首都境內，繪畫反政府地塗鴉的15名學童被逮捕和拷問，擾動敘利亞主要以遜尼派為主的社區對由阿拉威特什葉派主導的總統阿薩德的政權的抗議浪潮。在催淚瓦斯、水炮、毆打和大量逮捕等手段無法鎮壓示威活動後，阿薩德的安全部隊展開全面軍事行動，包括實彈、坦克和走透透的搜查等遍佈多個城市。同時，就像穆罕默德·本·扎耶德（MBZ）所預測的那樣，巴林這個小島國主要以什葉派為主的民眾在首都麥地那大規模遊行，抗議哈曼國王賓伊薩賓薩爾曼·阿爾哈利法政權的鎮壓，政府則以武力回應，為了鎮壓自己的公民，殺死了許多抗議者，並使數百人受傷。當公民對警察暴力的憤怒引發更大規模的抗議時，憂心忡忡的哈曼進一步採取了史無前例的措施，邀請沙烏地阿拉伯和艾米拉特武裝部隊幫助壓制自己的公民。

My team and I spent hours wrestling with how the United States could influence events inside Syria and Bahrain. Our options were painfully limited. Syria was a longtime adversary of the United States, historically allied with Russia and Iran, as well as a supporter of Hezbollah. Without the economic, military, or diplomatic leverage we’d had in Egypt, the official condemnations of the Assad regime we made (and our later imposition of a U.S. embargo) had no real effect, and Assad could count on Russia to veto any efforts we might make to impose international sanctions through the U.N. Security Council. With Bahrain, we had the opposite problem: The country was a longtime U.S. ally and hosted the U.S. Navy’s Fifth Fleet. That relationship allowed us to privately pressure Hamad and his ministers to partially answer the protesters’ demands and to rein in the police violence. Still, Bahrain’s ruling establishment viewed the protesters as Iranian-influenced enemies who had to be contained. In concert with the Saudis and the Emiratis, the Bahraini regime was going to force us to make a choice, and all were aware that when push came to shove, we couldn’t afford to risk our strategic position in the Middle East by severing relations with three Gulf countries.

我的团队和我花了数小时的时间思考美国如何影响叙利亚和巴林内部事件。我们的选择非常有限。叙利亚是美国的长期对手，历史上与俄罗斯和伊朗结盟，并支持真主党。由于缺乏我们在埃及所拥有的经济、军事或外交影响力，我们对阿萨德政权作出的官方谴责（以及之后实施的美国禁运）并没有产生真正的影响，而阿萨德可以指望俄罗斯否决我们通过联合国安理会实施国际制裁的任何努力。对于巴林，我们面临着相反的问题：这个国家是美国的长期盟友，还承载着美国海军第五舰队。这种联系使我们能够私下向哈马德和他的部长施加压力，部分回应抗议者的要求并遏制警方的暴力。然而，巴林的统治阶层认为抗议者受到伊朗影响，是必须遏制的敌人。与沙特和阿联酋合作，巴林政权将迫使我们作出选择，并且所有人都清楚，当局势逼人时，我们不能冒险削弱与三个海湾国家的关系，这将威胁到我们在中东的战略地位。

In 2011, no one questioned our limited influence in Syria—that would come later. But despite multiple statements from my administration condemning the violence in Bahrain and efforts to broker a dialogue between the government and more moderate Shiite opposition leaders, our failure to break with Hamad—especially in the wake of our posture toward Mubarak—was roundly criticized. I had no elegant way to explain the apparent inconsistency, other than to acknowledge that the world was messy; that in the conduct of foreign policy, I had to constantly balance competing interests, interests shaped by the choices of previous administrations and the contingencies of the moment; and that just because I couldn't in every instance elevate our human rights agenda over other considerations didn't mean that I shouldn't try to do what I could, when I could, to advance what I considered to be America's highest values. But what if a government starts massacring not hundreds of its citizens but thousands and the United States has the power to stop it? Then what?

在2011年，没有人质疑我们在叙利亚的有限影响力-这会在稍后发生。但尽管我政府多次发表声明谴责巴林的暴力行为，并努力斡旋政府与更温和的什叶派反对派领导人之间的对话，我们未能与哈马德分道扬镳-特别是在我们对穆巴拉克的姿态之后-遭到了广泛批评。我没有优雅的方式来解释这个显而易见的不一致，除了承认世界是混乱的；在外交政策的实施中，我必须不断地平衡竞争性利益，这些利益受到前任政府的选择和当时的偶然因素的影响；而且，即使我不能在每个案例中将我们的人权议程提高到其他考虑的水平，也并不意味着我不应该尽力做我能做的事情，以推进我认为是美国最高价值的东西。但如果一个政府开始屠杀不是数百而是数千名公民，并且美国有能力制止它呢？那该怎么办？

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FOR FORTY-TWO YEARS, Muammar Gaddafi had ruled Libya with a viciousness that, even by the standards of his fellow dictators, spilled into madness. Prone to flamboyant gestures, incoherent rants, and odd behavior (in advance of the 2009 UNGA meetings in New York, he'd tried to get approval to erect a massive Bedouin tent in the middle of Central Park for himself and his entourage), he had nevertheless been ruthlessly efficient in stamping out dissent in his country, using a combination of secret police, security forces, and state-sponsored militias to jail, torture, and murder anyone who dared to oppose him. Throughout the 1980s, his government had also been one of the leading state sponsors of terrorism around the world, facilitating such horrific attacks as the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which killed citizens of twenty-one countries, including 189 Americans. Gaddafi had more recently tried to wrap himself in the cloak of respectability by ending his support for international terrorism and dismantling his nascent nuclear program (which led Western countries, including the United States, to resume diplomatic relations). But inside Libya itself, nothing had changed.

历经四十二年的统治，穆阿迈尔·卡扎菲以其残忍程度甚至超过了其他独裁者的标准，并且已经发展到疯狂的地步。他喜欢卖弄姿态，言语不清，古怪行为频出（在2009年前往纽约参加联合国大会期间，他试图获得在中央公园为自己和随行人员搭建一个巨大的贝都因人的帐篷的批准），但他非常有效地用秘密警察、安全部队和国家支持的民兵组织打压国内的反对声音，对敢于反抗的人进行监禁、酷刑和谋杀。在上世纪八十年代，他的政府还是世界上主要的国家恐怖主义资助者之一，促成了一些可怕的袭击，例如1988年泛美航空103航班的爆炸事件，导致包括189名美国公民在内的21个国家的人员遇难。近年来，卡扎菲试图结束其对国际恐怖主义的支持，并拆除其新兴的核计划（这导致包括美国在内的西方国家恢复了外交关系）。但在利比亚内部，没有任何改变。

Less than a week after Mubarak left power in Egypt, Gaddafi's security forces fired into a large group of civilians who'd gathered to protest the arrest of a human rights lawyer. Within days, the protests had spread, and more than a hundred had been killed. A week later, much of the country was in open rebellion, with anti-Gaddafi forces taking control of Benghazi, Libya's second-largest city. Libyan diplomats and former loyalists, including the country's ambassador to the U.N., began to defect, appealing to the international community to come to the aid of the Libyan people. Accusing the protesters of being fronts for al-Qaeda, Gaddafi unleashed a campaign of terror, declaring, "Everything will burn." By the beginning of March, the death count had risen to a thousand.

在穆巴拉克下台不到一周后，卡扎菲的安全部队向聚集在一起抗议一位人权律师被捕的大批平民开枪，不到几天，抗议活动蔓延开来，已有超过一百人死亡。一周后，该国的许多地方都在公开反抗，反卡扎菲力量控制着利比亚第二大城市班加西。利比亚外交官和前忠诚者，包括该国驻联合国大使，开始叛变，呼吁国际社会来援助利比亚人民。卡扎菲指责抗议者是基地组织的前线，放手进行恐怖活动，宣称“一切都会燃起来。”到三月初，死亡人数上升到一千。

Appalled by the escalating carnage, we quickly did everything we could short of using military force to stop Gaddafi. I called for him to relinquish power, arguing that he had lost the legitimacy to govern. We imposed economic sanctions, froze billions of dollars in assets that belonged to him and his family, and, at the U.N. Security Council, passed an arms embargo and referred the case of Libya to the International Criminal Court, where Gaddafi and others could be tried for committing crimes against humanity. But the Libyan leader was undeterred. Analysts forecasted that once Gaddafi's forces reached Benghazi, tens of thousands of lives could be lost.

對於暴力事件不斷升級，我們盡力協助制止卡達菲，除了使用軍事力量以外的一切方式都已採取。我曾呼籲他放棄權力，主張他已失去治理的合法性。我們實行經濟制裁，凍結他和家人的數十億美元資產，還在聯合國安理會通過武器禁運，把利比亞的案件提交給國際刑事法庭，卡達菲和其他人將受到審判，因犯下反人類罪。然而，卡達菲仍毫不畏懼。分析師預測，當卡達菲的部隊到達班加西時，將有數萬人的生命會受到威脅。

It was around this time that a chorus grew, first among human rights organizations and a handful of columnists, and then members of Congress and much of the media, demanding that the United States take military action to stop Gaddafi. In many ways, I considered this a sign of moral progress. For most of America's history, the thought of using our combat forces to stop a government from killing its own people would have been a nonstarter—because such state-sponsored violence happened all the time; because U.S. policy makers didn't consider the death of innocent Cambodians, Argentinians, or Ugandans relevant to our interests; and because many of the perpetrators were our allies in the fight against communism. (This included the reportedly CIA-backed military coup that toppled a Communist government in Indonesia in 1965, two years before my mother and I arrived there, with a bloody aftermath that resulted in between five hundred thousand and a million deaths.) In the 1990s, though, more timely international reporting of such crimes, combined with America's ascendance as the world's lone superpower after the Cold War, had led to a reexamination of U.S. inaction and prompted the successful American-led NATO intervention in the Bosnian conflict. Indeed, the obligation of the United States to prioritize the prevention of atrocities in its foreign policy was what Samantha's book had been all about—one of the reasons I'd brought her into the White House. 大约在这个时候，人权组织和一些专栏作家首先开始要求美国采取军事行动阻止卡扎菲的行动，之后国会成员和大部分媒体都加入进来。在很多方面，我认为这是道德进步的表现。在美国历史的大部分时间里，使用我们的战斗力量阻止政府杀害自己的人民的想法本来是不可能的，因为这样的国家赞助暴力时有发生；因为美国的政策制定者并不认为无辜的柬埔寨人、阿根廷人或乌干达人的死亡与我们的利益相关；因为许多施暴者是我们在对抗共产主义的斗争中的盟友。这包括了据报道由 CIA 支持的政变击败了一届共产主义政府，发生在 1965 年，就在我和我母亲两年前到达印度尼西亚的时候，紧接着的流血后果导致了五十万至一百万人死亡。但在 1990 年代，更及时的国际报道配合美国在冷战后成为世界唯一超级大国，引发了美国对不作为进行重新审视，并促成了成功的美国领导下的北约干预波斯尼亚冲突。事实上，美国在其外交政策中优先考虑防止暴行的义务，这正是萨曼莎的书所谈之处，也是我将她带到白宫的原因之一。

And yet, as much as I shared the impulse to save innocent people from tyrants, I was profoundly wary of ordering any kind of military action against Libya, for the same reason that I'd declined Samantha's suggestion that my Nobel Prize address include an explicit argument for a global "responsibility to protect" civilians against their own governments. Where would the obligation to intervene end? And what were the parameters? How many people would need to have been killed, and how many more would have to be at risk, to trigger a U.S. military response? Why Libya and not the Congo, for example, where a series of civil conflicts had resulted in millions of civilian deaths? Would we intervene only when there was no chance of U.S. casualties? Bill Clinton had thought the risks were low back in 1993, when he sent special operations forces into Somalia to capture members of a warlord's organization in support of U.S. peacekeeping efforts there. In the incident known as "Black Hawk Down," eighteen service members were killed and seventy-three more wounded.

不过，尽管我分享了保护无辜民众免受暴政侵害的冲动，但我还是非常警惕下令对利比亚采取任何军事行动，理由与我拒绝萨曼莎建议我的诺贝尔奖演讲包括明确提出全球“保护责任”，保护平民免受自己政府侵害的原因相同。干涉的界限在哪里？参数是什么？需要有多少人死亡，多少人才会处于风险之中，才能引起美国的军事反应？为什么是利比亚，而不是刚果？例如，一系列内部冲突导致数百万平民死亡。我们只有在没有美国军队遇难的可能性时才会干涉吗？比尔·克林顿曾经认为风险很低，因此在1993年向索马里派遣特种部队，支持美国的维和行动，捕捉战争贵族组织的成员。在“黑鹰坠落”事件中，有18名士兵阵亡，73人受伤。

The truth is that war is never tidy and always results in unintended consequences, even when launched against seemingly powerless countries on behalf of a righteous cause. When it came to Libya, advocates for U.S. intervention had tried to obfuscate that reality by latching on to the idea of imposing a no-fly zone to ground Gaddafi's military planes and prevent bombing, which they presented as an antiseptic, risk-free way of saving the Libyan people. (Typical question from a White House reporter at the time: "How many more people have to die before we take this one step?") What they were missing was the fact that establishing a no-fly zone in Libyan airspace would require us to first fire missiles into Tripoli to destroy Libya's air defenses—a clear act of war against a country that posed no threat to us. Not only that, but it wasn't even clear that a no-fly zone would have any effect, since Gaddafi was using ground forces and not air bombardment to attack opposition strongholds.

事实上，战争从来都不是干净利落的，常常带来无意的后果，即使是在代表正义的情况下对看似无力的国家发动战争。在利比亚问题上，美国干预的支持者试图通过采用实施禁飞区的办法来阻止卡扎菲政权的飞机，防止轰炸，他们将其视为拯救利比亚人民的无风险、无菌的方式，以回避这个现实。（当时白宫记者的典型问题是：“在我们采取这一步之前，还需要多少人死亡？”）他们忽视的是，建立禁飞区在利比亚领空内需要我们首先对的黎波里发射导弹，摧毁利比亚的防空力量——这是对一个对我们没有威胁的国家的明显的战争行为。不仅如此，甚至没有人能明确预测禁飞区会有任何影响，因为卡扎菲正在使用地面部队，而不是空袭来攻击反对派的据点。

America was also still knee-deep in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. I had just ordered U.S. forces in the Pacific to help the Japanese handle the worst nuclear accident since Chernobyl, brought on by a tsunami that had leveled the city of Fukushima; we were seriously concerned about the potential of radioactive fallout reaching the West Coast. Add in the fact that I was still dealing with a U.S. economy that was barely above water and a Republican Congress that had pledged to undo everything my administration had accomplished in our first two years, and it's fair to say that I found the idea of waging a new war in a distant country with no strategic importance to the United States to be less than prudent. I wasn't the only one. Bill Daley, who'd become my chief of staff in January, seemed bewildered that anyone was even entertaining the notion.

美國當時還深陷伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭，我剛下令太平洋軍隊協助負責自福島核災以來最嚴重的輻射事故的日本，該事故是由津波摧毀了福島市引起的。我們非常擔心輻射物質會傳播到西海岸。再加上我還在處理勉強維持的經濟和立志要取消我在前兩年政府所做出的所有成就的共和黨國會，可以說，在這種情況下，我不認為在一個對美國沒有戰略意義的遙遠國家發動一場新戰爭是明智的。我不是唯一的一個這樣想的人。比爾·戴利在一月份成為我的幕僚長後，看到有人甚至在考慮這種想法，感到困惑。

"Maybe I'm missing something, Mr. President," he said during one of our evening wrap-ups, "but I don't think we got clobbered in the midterms because voters don't think you're doing enough in the Middle East. Ask ten people on the street and nine of them don't even know where the heck Libya is."

And yet, as reports of hospitals filling up with gruesome injuries and young people being unceremoniously executed on the streets continued to trickle out of Libya, support around the world for intervention gathered steam. To the surprise of many, the Arab League voted in support of an international intervention against Gaddafi—a sign not only of how extreme the levels of violence in Libya had become but also of the extent to which the Libyan strongman’s erratic behavior and meddling in the affairs of other countries had isolated him from his fellow Arab leaders. (The vote may also have been a handy way for countries in the region to deflect attention from their own human rights abuses, given that nations like Syria and Bahrain remained members in good standing.) Meanwhile, Nicolas Sarkozy, who’d been criticized mercilessly in France for supporting the Ben Ali regime in Tunisia till the bitter end, suddenly decided to make saving the Libyan people his personal cause. Together with David Cameron, he announced his intention to immediately introduce a resolution in the U.N. Security Council on behalf of France and the United Kingdom, authorizing an international coalition to initiate a no-fly zone over Libya—a resolution on which we’d have to take a position.“或许我有所遗漏，总统先生”，他在我们的晚间总结会议上说道，“但我不认为我们在中期选举中惨败是因为选民认为您在中东问题上做得不够。在街上问十个人，有九个人甚至不知道利比亚在哪儿。”然而，随着有关利比亚医院充满了可怕伤口和年轻人在街头被无情处决的报道继续传出，全世界对干预的支持不断增长。令许多人惊讶的是，阿拉伯联盟投票支持国际干预打击卡扎菲—这不仅表明利比亚暴力水平达到了何种极端程度，而且还表明卡扎菲这位利比亚强人因其古怪的行为和干涉其他国家事务而被孤立于其阿拉伯领导人同侪之外。（投票可能也是该地区国家转移注意力，转移自己的人权滥用问题的便捷方式，考虑到像叙利亚和巴林这样的国家仍然是良好成员国。）与此同时，尼古拉·萨科齐曾因一直支持本·阿里在突尼斯政权垮台之前受到法国的无情批评，突然决定将拯救利比亚人民作为他的个人事业。他与大卫·卡梅伦一起宣布，他们打算立即提出一项由法国和英国代表的决议，在联合国安理会上授权国际联盟启动利比亚禁飞区——我们必须对此表明立场的决议。

On March 15, I convened a meeting of my national security team to discuss the pending Security Council resolution. We began with a briefing on Gaddafi’s progress: Libyan troops with heavy armaments were poised to overtake a town on the outskirts of Benghazi, which could allow them to cut off water, food, and power to the city’s six hundred thousand residents. With his forces massed, Gaddafi was pledging to go “house by house, home by home, alley by alley, person by person, until the country is cleansed of dirt and scum.” I asked Mike Mullen what difference a no-fly zone would make. Essentially none, he told me, confirming that since Gaddafi was using ground forces almost exclusively, the only way to stop an assault on Benghazi was to target those forces directly with air strikes.

3月15日，我召集了我的国家安全团队，讨论即将通过的安理会决议。我们首先听取了关于卡扎菲的进展的简报：利比亚部队装备精良，准备攻占班加西郊区的一个城镇，这可能导致断水、断粮和断电，影响该市60万居民的生活。卡扎菲集结部队，并承诺要“一幢一幢地搜查，一户一户地搜查，一条巷子一条巷子地搜查，一个人一个人地搜查，直到这个国家被清除干净。”我询问迈克·马伦，实施禁飞区会有何影响。基本上没有，他告诉我，证实由于卡扎菲几乎完全使用地面部队，阻止对班加西的攻击的唯一方法是直接打击这些部队。

“In other words,” I said, “we are being asked to participate in a no-fly zone that will make everyone look like they’re doing something but that won’t actually save Benghazi.”

I then asked for people’s recommendations. Gates and Mullen were strongly opposed to any U.S. military action, emphasizing the stress that missions in Iraq and Afghanistan were already placing on our troops. They were also convinced—correctly, I thought—that despite the rhetoric from Sarkozy and Cameron, the U.S. military would end up having to carry most of the load for any operation in Libya. Joe considered it foolish to get involved in yet another war abroad, while Bill remained astonished that we were even having the debate.

“換句話說，”我說，“我們被要求參與一個禁飛區，這將使每個人看起來都在做些什麼，但實際上並不能拯救班加西。”

然後我請求人們提出建議。蓋茨和穆倫強烈反對任何美國軍事行動，強調伊拉克和阿富汗的任務已經對我們的部隊造成了壓力。他們還相信-正確地說，我認為-儘管薩科齊和卡梅倫的言辭，美國軍隊最終將不得不為利比亞的任何行動承擔大部分負擔。喬認為在參與另一場海外戰爭方面是愚蠢的，而比爾則對我們正在進行辯論感到驚訝。

As I worked my way around the room, though, the voices for intervention weighed in. Hillary had been conferred in from Paris, where she was attending a G8 meeting, and said she’d been impressed by the Libyan opposition leader she’d met there. Despite—or perhaps because of—her realpolitik on Egypt, she now favored us joining an international mission. Speaking from our U.N. offices in New York, Susan Rice said the situation reminded her of the international community’s failure to intervene in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. She’d been a member of Bill Clinton’s National Security Council at the time and remained haunted by the lack of action. If a relatively modest action could save lives, she argued, we should take it—though she suggested that rather than sign on to the proposal for a no-fly zone, we should present our own resolution seeking a broader mandate to take whatever actions were necessary to protect Libyan civilians from Gaddafi’s forces.

然而，当我在房间里走来走去时，干预的声音也出现了。希拉里从参加G8会议的巴黎来电，她印象深刻地谈到了她在那里遇到的利比亚反对派领袖。尽管在埃及问题上她是现实主义者，但她现在支持我们参加国际任务。苏珊·赖斯从我们在纽约的联合国办事处发表了讲话，她说当前的局势让她想起了1994年卢旺达种族屠杀时国际社会的失败。她当时是比尔·克林顿的国家安全委员会成员，并一直为缺乏行动而痛心。她争辩说，如果一个相对温和的行动可以拯救生命，我们应该采取行动-尽管她建议我们不要签署有关禁飞区的提案，而是提出我们自己的决议，寻求更广泛的授权以采取保护利比亚平民免受卡扎菲军队伤害的必要行动。

A few of the younger staffers expressed concern that a military action against Libya might have the unintended consequence of convincing countries like Iran that they needed nuclear weapons as a hedge against a future U.S. attack. But as had been true with Egypt, Ben and Tony Blinken felt we had a responsibility to support those forces protesting for democratic change in the Middle East—particularly if the Arab states and our closest allies were prepared to act with us. And while Samantha remained uncharacteristically clinical when describing the potential death toll in Benghazi should we decide not to act, I knew that she was in daily, direct contact with Libyans pleading for help. I almost didn’t need to ask what her position was.

一些年轻的工作人员表达了担忧，对利比亚的军事行动可能会产生意外后果，使像伊朗这样的国家认为他们需要核武器作为未来防备美国攻击的保障。但正如我们对埃及所做的那样，本和托尼·布林肯认为，如果阿拉伯国家和我们最亲密的盟友准备和我们一起行动，我们有责任支持中东那些争取民主变革的力量。而尽管萨曼莎在描述如果我们决定不采取行动，班加西可能的死亡人数时显得不同寻常地冷静，但我知道她每天直接接触利比亚人民求助。我几乎不需要问她的立场。

I checked my watch, knowing I was soon due to host an annual dinner with the U.S. military's combatant commanders and their spouses in the Blue Room of the residence. "All right," I said. "I'm not ready to make a decision yet. But based on what I'm hearing, here's the one thing we're not going to do—we're not going to participate in some half-assed no-fly zone that won't achieve our objective."

I told the team we'd reconvene in a couple of hours, by which time I expected to hear real options for what an effective intervention would look like, including an analysis of the costs, human resources, and risks involved. "Either we do this right," I said, "or we stop pretending that we're serious about saving Benghazi just to make ourselves feel better."

我看了看手表，知道我很快就要在驻地的蓝色房间为美国军方的作战指挥官和他们的配偶主持一年一度的晚宴。“好吧，”我说。“我还没有准备好做决定。但基于我听到的内容，我们不会参与一些半吊子的禁飞区行动，这样做无法实现我们的目标。”

我告诉团队我们将在几个小时内重新集合，届时我希望听到对于有效干预的真正选项，包括成本、人力资源和风险的分析。“要么我们做到这一点，”我说，“要么我们停止假装我们在拯救班加西，只是为了让自己感觉更好罢了。”

By the time I arrived in the Blue Room, Michelle and our guests had already assembled. We took photos with each commander and spouse, making small talk about our kids and trading jokes about our golf games. During dinner I sat next to a young Marine and his wife; he had stepped on an IED while working as a bomb technician in Afghanistan and lost both his legs. He was still getting accustomed to his prosthetics, he told me, but he looked to be in good spirits and was handsome in his uniform. I could see on his wife's face the mixture of pride, determination, and suppressed anguish that had become so familiar to me during my visits with military families over the previous two years.

當我到達藍色房間時，米歇爾和我們的客人已經聚集在一起了。我們與每位指揮官和其配偶合照，談論我們的孩子，交換關於高爾夫比賽的笑話。晚餐期間，我坐在一位年輕的海軍陸戰隊員和他的妻子旁邊。他曾在阿富汗擔任炸彈技術人員時踩到IED，失去了雙腿。他告訴我，他仍在適應假肢，但是他的精神狀態看起來很好，他的制服也非常英俊。我可以看到他妻子臉上的驕傲、決心和抑制的痛苦混合的表情，在過去兩年中，我拜訪軍人家庭時已變得如此熟悉。

All the while, my brain was churning with calculations, thinking about the decision I'd have to make as soon as Buddy and Von and the other butlers cleared away the dessert plates. The arguments Mullen and Gates had made against military action in Libya were compelling. I'd already sent thousands of young men like the Marine sitting next to me into battle, and there was no guarantee, whatever those on the sidelines might think, that a new war wouldn't lead others to suffer such injuries, or worse. I was irritated that Sarkozy and Cameron had jammed me on the issue, in part to solve their domestic political problems, and I felt scornful of the Arab League's hypocrisy. I knew that Bill was right: that outside of Washington, there wasn't a lot of support for what America was being asked to do, and that the minute anything about a U.S. military operation in Libya went south, my political problems would only worsen.

一直以来，我脑海中都在计算，思考着等巴迪、冯和其他的男仆们清理掉甜点盘后，我将不得不做出的决定。穆伦和盖茨反对在利比亚采取军事行动的论点很有说服力。我已经派遣了成千上万像我旁边坐着的海军一样的年轻人走上战场，但无论旁观者如何，都不能保证新的战争不会导致其他人遭受这样的伤害，甚至更糟。萨科齐和卡梅隆在这个问题上给我制造了麻烦，部分原因是为了解决他们国内的政治问题，我对阿拉伯联盟的虚伪感到鄙视。我知道比尔是对的：除了华盛顿，美国所被要求做的事情没有得到很多支持，而一旦任何关于美国在利比亚采取军事行动的事情出现问题，我的政治问题只会更加恶化。

I also knew that unless we took the lead, the European plan would likely go nowhere. Gaddafi's troops would lay siege to Benghazi. At best, a protracted conflict would ensue, perhaps even a full-blown civil war. At worst, tens of thousands or more would be starved, tortured, or shot in the head. And at the moment, at least, I was perhaps the one person in the world who could keep that from happening.

The dinner ended. I told Michelle I'd be home in an hour and made my way back to the Situation Room, where the team had been reviewing options and sat awaiting further instructions.

我也知道，除非我们带头，否则欧洲计划很可能一无所获。卡扎菲的军队将包围班加西。最好的情况是，可能会发生一场持久的冲突，甚至可能是一场全面的内战。最坏的情况是，成千上万甚至更多的人会挨饿、受虐待或被枪杀。此时此刻，至少我是世界上唯一一个可以阻止这种情况发生的人。

晚饭结束了。我告诉米歇尔我会在一个小时内回家，并回到情景室，团队一直在审查各种选择，等待进一步的指示。

"I think I've got a plan that might work," I said.

我想我有一个可能有效的计划，我说。

## CHAPTER 26

WE MET FOR ANOTHER TWO hours that night in the Situation Room, going point by point through the plan I'd sketched out in my mind during dinner, knowing we had to try to prevent a massacre in Libya while minimizing the risks and burdens on an already overstretched U.S. military. I was ready to take a meaningful stance against Gaddafi and to give the Libyan people an opportunity to engineer a new government. But we would do it swiftly, with the support of allies, and with the parameters of our mission clearly spelled out.

## 第26章

那天晚上我们再次在情报室相遇，一遍一遍地详细审查我在晚餐时构想的计划，我们必须尽力阻止在利比亚发生大屠杀，同时不增加美国军队不必要的风险和负担。我准备采取有意义的立场反对卡扎菲，并给利比亚人民创造一个建立新政府的机会。但我们必须快速行动，得到盟友的支持，清楚地规定我们任务的范围。

I told the team I wanted to start as Susan Rice had suggested—by persuading the French and British to back off their proposal for a no-fly zone so that we could put an amended resolution before the Security Council, asking for a broader mandate to halt attacks by Gaddafi's forces in order to protect Libyan civilians. Meanwhile, the Pentagon would develop a military campaign that involved a clear division of labor among allies. In the campaign's first phase, the United States would help stop Gaddafi's advance on Benghazi and take out his air-defense systems—a task for which we were uniquely suited, given our superior capabilities. After that we'd hand off the bulk of the operation to the Europeans and the participating Arab states. European fighter jets would be principally responsible for carrying out any targeted air strikes needed to keep Gaddafi's forces from advancing against civilian populations (in essence, establishing a no-fly and no-drive zone), with Arab allies mainly providing logistical support. Because North Africa was in Europe's backyard and not ours, we would also ask the Europeans to pay for much of the post-conflict aid that would be required to rebuild Libya and help the country transition to democracy once Gaddafi was no longer in power.

我告訴團隊，我想起如同Susan Rice建議的方式開始——說服法國和英國撤回其提出的禁飛區建議，以便我們可以提交一份修訂後的決議案至安理會，要求擴大授權以阻止卡扎菲部隊對利比亞平民的進攻。同時，五角大廈將制定一個包括盟國在內的明確的工作分工的軍事行動計劃。在行動的第一階段，美國將協助阻止卡扎菲對班加西的進攻，並摧毀他的防空系統——這是我們在先進能力方面獨有的任務。此後，我們將把大部分的行動移交給歐洲和其他參與的阿拉伯國家。歐洲戰鬥機將主要負責進行任何有針對性的空襲，以避免卡扎菲部隊對平民人口的進攻（實質上建立起一個禁飛和禁行區），而阿拉伯同盟國主要提供後勤支持。由於北非在歐洲的後院而不是我們的後院，所以我們也將要求歐洲支付大部分重建利比亞所需的戰後援助，並幫助國家在卡扎菲不再掌權的情況下過渡到民主。

I asked Gates and Mullen what they thought. Although they were still reluctant to engage in what was essentially a humanitarian mission while in the middle of two other wars, they acknowledged that the plan was viable, limited the cost and risk to U.S. personnel, and could probably reverse Gaddafi's momentum in a matter of days.

Susan and her team worked with Samantha through the night, and the next day we circulated a revised draft resolution among U.N. Security Council members. The main drama ahead of the vote was whether Russia would veto the new measure, so while Susan sought to persuade her counterparts on the floor of the U.N., we hoped that our efforts over the past two years with Dmitry Medvedev would help gain his support, stressing to Russia that beyond the moral imperatives of preventing a mass atrocity, it was in both Russia's and America's interests to make sure that we didn't see a prolonged civil war in Libya, as the country could then become a breeding ground for terrorism. It was clear that Medvedev had serious reservations about any Western-led military action that could lead to regime change, but he also wasn't inclined to run interference for Gaddafi. In the end, the Security Council approved our resolution on March 17 by a vote of ten to zero, with five abstentions (Russia among them). I called the two key European leaders, Sarkozy and Cameron, both of whom showed barely disguised relief that we had handed them a ladder with which to get down from the limb they'd climbed out on. Within days, all elements of the operation were in place, with the Europeans agreeing that their forces would operate under a NATO command structure, and with enough Arab participation—from the Jordanians, Qataris, and Emiratis—to insulate us from accusations that the Libya mission was yet another case of Western powers waging war against Islam.我询问了盖茨和穆伦的想法。虽然他们在进行两场战争的同时仍不愿参与实质上的人道主义任务，但他们承认这个计划是可行的，可以将成本和对美国人员的风险限制在一定范围内，并且可能能够在几天内扭转卡扎菲的势头。

苏珊和她的团队通过一夜的努力与萨曼莎合作，接下来的一天我们在联合国安理会成员国之间流通了修订后的草案决议。投票之前的主要戏剧性在于俄罗斯是否会否决新措施，因此，虽然苏珊试图说服她的同行在联合国的会议室里，我们仍然希望过去两年与德米特里·梅德韦杰夫的努力能够获得他的支持，并向俄罗斯强调，除了防止大规模暴行的道德义务外，确保我们不会看到利比亚的长期内战也符合俄罗斯和美国的利益，因为这个国家可能会成为恐怖主义滋生的温床。显然，梅德韦杰夫对可能导致政权更迭的西方主导的军事行动有严重的保留意见，但他也不倾向于为卡扎菲干扰。最终，安理会于3月17日以10票赞成、5票弃权（其中包括俄罗斯）的投票结果批准了我们的决议。我打电话给两个关键的欧洲领导人萨科齐和卡梅隆，他们俩都表现出了几乎掩盖不住的松了一口气，因为我们给了他们一个下树的梯子。几天内，所有行动的要素都准备就绪，欧洲人同意他们的部队将在北约指挥结构下运作，并有足够的阿拉伯参与——来自约旦人、卡塔尔人和阿联酋人——使我们免受指责，认为利比亚任务是另一种西方强权对伊斯兰发动战争的情况。

With the Pentagon prepared and awaiting my order to begin air strikes, I publicly offered Gaddafi one last chance, urging him to pull his forces back and respect the rights of Libyans to engage in peaceful protest. I hoped that, with the world lined up against him, his survival instincts might kick in and he'd try to negotiate a safe exit to a willing third country, where he could live out his days with the millions in oil money that over the years he'd siphoned into various Swiss bank accounts. But it seemed that whatever attachment Gaddafi might have once had to reality had been severed.

隨著五角大樓做好準備，等待我下令開始空襲，我公開給卡扎菲最後一次機會，敦促他撤回部隊，尊重利比亞人民參與和平抗議的權利。我希望，在全世界對他構成壓力的情況下，他的生存本能可能會被激發，並嘗試與一個願意接納他的第三個國家談判，讓他能夠在多年來轉移到各種瑞士銀行帳戶的數百萬石油貨幣資金的支持下，安然度日。但似乎卡扎菲曾經具有現實感的任何情感都已經被切斷了。

As it happened, I had to depart that evening for Brazil for the start of a four-day, three-nation tour designed to boost the United States' image in Latin America. (The Iraq War, as well as the Bush administration's drug interdiction and Cuba policies, hadn't played well there.) The best part was that we'd deliberately scheduled the trip to take place during Malia and Sasha's spring break, allowing us to travel as a family.

What we hadn't factored in was an imminent military conflict. As Air Force One touched down in the capital city of Brasília, Tom Donilon informed me that Gaddafi's troops showed no signs of pulling back—and had in fact started breaching the perimeter of Benghazi.

正如事情发生的那样，当天晚上我不得不前往巴西开始为期四天的三国之旅，旨在提高美国在拉丁美洲的形象。（伊拉克战争以及布什政府的毒品禁制和古巴政策在那里表现不佳。）最好的部分是，我们故意安排这次旅行在玛丽亚和萨莎的春假期间，让我们可以一家人一起旅行。但我们没考虑到的是即将发生的军事冲突。当空军一号降落在巴西利亚首都时，汤姆·多尼隆告诉我，卡扎菲的部队没有撤回的迹象，实际上已经开始破坏班加西的周界。

“You’re probably going to have to issue an order sometime today,” he said.

Under any circumstances, launching a military action while visiting another country posed a problem. The fact that Brazil generally tried to avoid taking sides in international disputes—and had abstained in the Security Council vote on the Libya intervention—only made matters worse. This was my first visit to South America as president and my first time meeting Brazil’s newly elected president, Dilma Rousseff. She was an economist and a former chief of staff to her charismatic predecessor, Lula da Silva, and was interested in, among other things, improving trade relations with the United States. She and her ministers greeted our delegation warmly as we arrived at the presidential palace, an airy, modernist structure with winged buttresses and high glass walls. Over the next several hours, we discussed ways to deepen U.S.-Brazilian cooperation on energy, trade, and climate change. But with global speculation swirling over when and how strikes against Libya would start, the tension became hard to ignore. I apologized to Rousseff for any awkwardness the situation was causing. She shrugged, her dark eyes fixed on me with a mix of skepticism and concern.

他说：“你可能需要在今天下达一项命令。”

在任何情况下，访问另一个国家时发动军事行动都会带来问题。巴西通常避免在国际争端中选择立场，而且在利比亚干预行动的安理会投票中弃权，这只会更加恶化局势。这是我作为总统首次访问南美洲，也是我第一次与巴西新当选的总统迪尔玛·罗塞夫会面。她是一位经济学家，曾是她迷人前任卢拉·达席尔瓦的幕僚长，她对加强美巴能源、贸易和应对气候变化合作感兴趣。当我们抵达总统府，一个带有翼型扶壁和高玻璃墙的通风现代化建筑时，她和她的部长们热情地迎接了我们的代表团。在接下来的几个小时中，我们讨论了加深美巴在能源、贸易和气候变化上的合作方式。但随着全球对何时和如何打击利比亚的猜测与风声四起，紧张气氛变得难以忽视。我向罗塞夫表示对情况造成的任何尴尬表示歉意。她耸了耸肩，用一种怀疑和关切的眼神注视着我。

“We’ll manage,” she said in Portuguese. “I hope this will be the least of your problems.”

As my meeting with Rousseff ended, Tom and Bill Daley hurried me to a nearby holding room, explaining that Gaddafi’s forces were still on the move and that now was our best window for making a call. To formally commence military operations, I needed to reach Mike Mullen. Except the state-of-the-art, secure mobile communications system—the system that was supposed to let me function as commander in chief from any place on the planet—apparently wasn’t working.

“我们会处理的。”她用葡萄牙语说道，“我希望这不会成为你最大的问题。”在我与罗塞夫的会议结束后，汤姆和比尔·戴利急忙将我带到附近的一个等候室，解释说卡扎菲的军队仍在行动中，现在是我们进行通话的最佳时机。为了正式开始军事行动，我需要联系迈克·莫伦。但是，这个最先进的安全移动通信系统 - 这个系统原本应该让我可以在地球上的任何地方担任总司令，但显然没有起作用。

“Sorry, Mr. President...we’re still having trouble connecting.”

As our communications technicians rushed about checking for loose cords and faulty portals, I sat down in a chair and scooped a handful of almonds from a bowl on a side table. I had long stopped sweating the logistical details of the presidency, knowing that I was surrounded at all times by a highly competent crew. Still, I could see the beads of sweat breaking across foreheads around the room. Bill, on his first foreign trip as chief of staff and no doubt feeling the pressure, was apoplectic.

“對不起，總統先生... 我們還是連接不上。”當我們的通訊技術人員匆忙檢查鬆動的電線和故障的入口時，我坐在椅子上，從旁邊一張桌子上的碗裡取了一把杏仁。在任期中，我已經停止了對總統職務的後勤細節的著迷，因為我知道我隨時被一個高度有能力的團隊圍繞著。但是，我可以看到房間裡的人額頭上開始冒汗。作為首席助手的比爾第一次外交之旅，毫無疑問感受到了壓力，他非常擔憂。

“This is unbelievable!” he said, his voice rising in pitch.

I checked my watch. Ten minutes had passed, and our next meeting with the Brazilians was pending. I looked at Bill and Tom, who both appeared on the verge of strangling someone.

“Why don’t we just use your cell phone?” I said to Bill.

“What?”

“It won’t be a long conversation. Just check to make sure you’ve got enough bars.”

After some consultations among the team members regarding the advisability of me using a nonsecure line, Bill dialed the number and handed me his phone.

“這太不可思議了！”他的聲音漸漸提高。

我看了一下手錶，已經過去了十分鐘，下一次與巴西人的會議即將到來。我看著比爾和湯姆，他們看起來都快要勒死某個人了。

“為什麼不用你的手機呢？”我對比爾說。

“什麼？”

“這不會是一個長時間的對話。只是檢查一下你的信號是否足夠好。”

在團隊成員經過一些討論之後，決定我使用一個非安全的電話線路是否明智，比爾撥打了這個號碼，然後把他的手機遞給我。

“Mike?” I said. “Can you hear me?”

“I can, Mr. President.”

“You have my authorization.”

And with those four words, spoken into a device that had probably also been used to order pizza, I initiated the first new military intervention of my presidency.

—

FOR THE NEXT two days, even as U.S. and British warships began firing Tomahawk missiles and destroying Libya's air defenses, we kept my schedule largely unchanged. I met with a group of U.S. and Brazilian CEOs to discuss ways to expand commercial ties. I attended a cocktail reception with government officials and took pictures with U.S. embassy staffers and their families. In Rio de Janeiro, I gave an address to a couple thousand of Brazil's most prominent political, civic, and business leaders about the challenges and opportunities our countries shared as the hemisphere's two largest democracies. All the while, though, I was checking in with Tom for news about Libya, imagining the scenes unfolding more than five thousand miles away: the rush of missiles piercing the air; the cascade of explosions, the rubble and smoke; the faces of Gaddafi loyalists as they looked to the sky and calculated their chances of survival.

**“邁克？”我說，“你聽得到我嗎？”**

**“聽得到，總統先生。”**

**“你有我的授權。”**

**就在這四個字被說出來，透過一個可能曾用來訂購披薩的設備，我開始了我總統任期中的首個軍事干預。**

在接下來的兩天裡，即使美國和英國的戰艦開始發射陸戰雄風飛彈並摧毀利比亞的防空設施，我們的日程安排基本保持不變。我與一群美國和巴西的CEO會面，討論擴大商業聯繫的方式。我參加了一個與政府官員和美國大使館的職員及其家人拍照的雞尾酒會。我在里約熱內盧向幾千名巴西最著名的政治、公民和商業領袖發表演講，談論作為南半球最大的兩個民主國家，我們所共有的挑戰和機遇。但是，我一直在與Tom聯繫，了解利比亞的最新消息，想象著五千公里之外正在上演的一幕：密密麻麻的導彈穿越空氣疾馳；爆炸聲、煙塵和碎石四處飛散；卡扎菲的忠實支持者望著天空計算自己的生存機會。

I was distracted, but I also understood that my presence in Brazil mattered, especially to Afro-Brazilians, who made up just over half of the country's population and experienced the same sort of deeply entrenched—though frequently denied—racism and poverty as Black folks did back home. Michelle, the girls, and I visited a sprawling favela on the western end of Rio, where we dropped in at a youth center to watch a capoeira troupe perform and I kicked a soccer ball around with a handful of local kids. By the time we were leaving, hundreds of people had massed outside the center, and although my Secret Service detail nixed the idea of me taking a stroll through the neighborhood, I persuaded them to let me step through the gate and greet the crowd. Standing in the middle of the narrow street, I waved at the Black and brown and copper-toned faces; residents, many of them children, clustered on rooftops and small balconies and pressed against the police barricades. Valerie, who was traveling with us and witnessed the whole scene, smiled as I walked back inside, saying, “I'll bet that wave changed the lives of some of those kids forever.”

我曾分心，但我也明白我在巴西的存在很重要，特別是對於那些佔據該國超過一半人口，同樣經歷著被深深植根但經常被否認的種族歧視和貧困的非裔巴西人來說。Michelle、女孩們和我參觀了里約西部的一個庞大貧民窟，在那裡我們來到一個青少年中心觀看了一場卡波耶拉團體表演，我還和一些當地孩子一起踢足球。我們離開時，成百上千的人聚集在中心外面，雖然我的特勤隊員反對我在社區散步，但我說服了他們讓我穿過大門和人群打招呼。站在狹窄的街道中央，我向黑人、棕色和銅色面孔揮手；居民，很多是孩子，聚集在頂樓和小陽台上，擠在警察路障旁邊。和我們一起旅行的瓦萊麗目睹了整個場面，她笑着對我說：“我打賭那個揮手對某些孩子的生命產生了永遠的影響。”

I wondered if that was true. It's what I had told myself at the start of my political journey, part of my justification to Michelle for running for president—that the election and leadership of a Black president stood to change the way children and young people everywhere saw themselves and their world. And yet I knew that whatever impact my fleeting presence might have had on those children of the favelas and however much it might cause some to stand straighter and dream bigger, it couldn't compensate for the grinding poverty they encountered every day: the bad schools, polluted air, poisoned water, and sheer disorder that many of them had to wade through just to survive. By my own estimation, my impact on the lives of poor children and their families so far had been negligible—even in my own country. My time had been absorbed by just trying to keep the circumstances of the poor, both at home and abroad, from worsening: making sure a global recession didn't drastically drive up their ranks or eliminate whatever slippery foothold they might have in the labor market; trying to head off a change in climate that might lead to a deadly flood or storm; or, in the case of Libya, trying to prevent a madman's army from gunning people down in the streets. That wasn't nothing, I thought—as long as I didn't start fooling myself into thinking it was anywhere close to enough.我想知道那是不是真的。這是我政治之旅開端時告訴自己的事情之一，也是我為競選總統向米歇爾辯護時的理由之一——一位黑人總統的選舉和領導將改變孩子們和年輕人在世界上看待自己和這個世界的方式。然而我知道，無論我的短暫存在對貧民窟的孩子們有多大影響，它都無法彌補他們每天所遭遇的極度貧困：糟糕的學校、污染的空氣、被污染的水以及他們不得不為了生存而穿行的純粹混亂。按我的估算，我對貧困兒童及其家庭生活的影响到目前为止微乎其微——甚至在我自己的國家。我的時間被消耗在試圖阻止貧困國內外情況惡化：確保全球经济衰退不會急劇增加他們的人數或消除他們在勞動市場中可能有的滑動立足點；試圖避免氣候變化可能導致的致命洪澇或暴風雨等自然災害；或者，在利比亞問題上，試圖阻止瘋子的軍隊在街道上槍殺平民。我想，儘管這些並不是毫無意義的，但只要我不開始自欺欺人地認為這足夠了，就好了。

On the short Marine One flight back to the hotel, the helicopter tracked along the magnificent chain of forested mountains that line the coast, with Rio's iconic ninety-eight-foot-high Christ the Redeemer statue suddenly coming into view, perched atop the conical peak known as Corcovado. We had made plans to visit the site that evening. Leaning in close to Sasha and Malia, I pointed out the landmark: a distant, cloaked figure with outstretched arms,

white against blue sky.

“Look...that's where we're going tonight.”

在回酒店的短途海军一号飞行中，直升机沿着沿岸延伸的壮丽山脉链，里约热内卢标志性的九十八英尺高救世基督像突然映入眼帘，栖息在被称为卡尔科瓦多圆锥峰的山顶上。我们已经计划在晚上去参观这个景点了。我靠近萨莎和玛利亚，指着这座地标：一个遥远的、伸出双臂的、在蓝天下的白色身影。

“看.....晚上我们要去那里。”

The two girls were listening to their iPods while thumbing through some of Michelle's magazines, their eyes scanning glossy images of dewy-faced celebrities I didn't recognize. After I waved my hands to get their attention, they took out their earbuds, swiveled their heads in unison toward the window, and nodded wordlessly, pausing for a beat as if to humor me before putting the buds back in their ears. Michelle, who appeared to be dozing to music from her own iPod, offered no comment.

Later, as we sat having dinner at our hotel's outdoor restaurant, we were informed that a heavy fog had settled over Corcovado and we might have to cancel the trip to see Christ the Redeemer. Malia and Sasha didn't look all that disappointed. I watched as they questioned the waiter about the dessert menu and felt a little bruised by their lack of enthusiasm. With more of my time spent monitoring developments in Libya, I was seeing the family even less on this trip than I did at home, and it compounded my sense—already too frequent of late—that my daughters were growing up faster than I'd expected. Malia was about to be a teenager—her teeth glinting with braces, her hair in a ropy ponytail, her body stretched as if on some invisible rack, so that somehow overnight she'd become long and lean and almost as tall as her mother. At nine, Sasha at least still looked like a kid, with her sweet grin and dimpled cheeks, but I'd noticed a shift in her attitude toward me: She was less inclined to let me tickle her these days; she seemed impatient and a touch embarrassed when I tried to hold her hand in public.兩個女孩正在聽著自己的iPod，同時翻看Michelle的一些雜誌，他們的眼睛掃過光滑的名人照片，我無法辨認。我揮舞著手讓她們注意到我，她們拿下耳機，一致地轉向窗外，點了一下頭，沉默了片刻，似乎是為了幫我打發時間，然後又把耳塞放回耳朵裡。Michelle似乎正在聽自己iPod中的音樂打盹，沒有發表任何評論。

晚些時候，當我們在酒店的露天餐廳用餐時，有人告訴我們科爾科沃多陷入了濃霧，我們可能要取消去看救世主基督像的旅行。Malia和Sasha並不太失望。我看著她們問侍者甜品菜單，對她們缺乏熱情感到有些受傷。在這次旅行中，我花費更多的時間監控利比亞的發展，比在家裡時要更少見到家人，這加重了我日益頻繁的感覺，我的女兒正在比我預期中成長得更快。Malia即將成為青少年-她的牙齒閃閃發光，頭髮扎著編繩馬尾，身體像被擠壓在某種看不見的架子上，一夜之間變得又長又瘦，幾乎和她的母親一樣高。九歲的Sasha至少看起來還像個孩子，她帶著甜美的微笑和酒窩，但我注意到她對我態度的轉變：現在她不太願意讓我抓弄她。這些日子，當我試著在公共場合牽她的手時，她似乎有些不耐煩和尷尬。

I continued to marvel at how steady the two of them were, how well they'd adapted to the odd and extraordinary circumstances in which they were growing up, gliding seamlessly between audiences with the pope and trips to the mall. Mostly, they were allergic to any special treatment or undue attention, just wanting to be like the other kids at school. (When, on the first day of fourth grade, a classmate had tried to get a photo of Sasha, she had taken it upon herself to snatch the camera, warning that he'd better not try that again.) In fact, both girls vastly preferred hanging out at friends' houses, partly because those households seemed to be less strict about the snacks they ate and the amount of TV they watched, but mainly because it was easier in those places to pretend their lives were normal, even with a Secret Service detail parked on the street outside. And all of this was fine, except for the fact that their lives were never less normal than when they were with me. I couldn't help fearing that I might lose whatever precious time I had with them before they flew the nest....

我不停地想着，她們兩個是多么的成熟穩重，她們很好地適應了奇怪和特殊的成長環境，在和教皇的接見和去商場之間游刃有餘地穿梭著。她們最反感的就是被特別照顧或過度關注，只想和學校里的其他孩子一樣。實際上，兩個女孩更喜歡在朋友家玩，部分原因是那些家庭看起來對她的零食和電視時間不那麼嚴格，但主要原因是在那些地方，即使警衛處在外面巡邏，她們可以更容易地偽裝著普通的生活。所有這些都很好，但問題是當她們和我在一起時，她們的生活從來沒有比那更不正常了。我不禁擔心我可能會失去與她們在一起的寶貴時間，因為她們很快就將要飛離巢穴了.....

“We're good,” Marvin said, walking up to our table. “Fog's lifted.”

The four of us then piled into the back of the SUV, and soon we were heading up a winding, tree-lined road in the dark, until our convoy halted abruptly in front of a wide, spotlit plaza. A massive, shining figure seemed to beckon us through the mist. As we made our way up a series of steps, our necks craning back to take in the sight, I felt Sasha grab my hand. Malia slipped an arm around my waist.

“Are we supposed to pray or something?” Sasha asked. “我們沒事了，”馬文走到我們的桌子旁說。“霧散了。”

我們四個人隨後擠進了SUV的後座，很快我們就在黑暗中沿着一條蜿蜒的樹線大道前行，直到車隊突然停在一座寬敞、燈光輝煌的廣場前。一尊巨大、閃閃發光的像似乎在向我們招手。當我們沿着一系列的階梯上行，仰著脖子欣賞這一景象時，我感到莎莎抓住了我的手。瑪莉亞搭在我的腰上。

“我們應該禱告什麼嗎？”莎莎問道。

“Why not?” I said. We huddled together then, our heads bowed in silence, with me knowing that at least one of my prayers that night had been answered.

—  
WHETHER OUR BRIEF pilgrimage to that mountaintop helped fulfill my other prayer, I can't say for certain. I do know that the first few days of the Libya campaign went as well as possible. Gaddafi's air defenses were quickly dismantled. European jets had moved into place as promised (with Sarkozy making certain it was a French plane that first crossed into Libyan airspace), executing a series of air strikes against the forces advancing on Benghazi. Within days, Gaddafi's forces had retreated and our no-fly/no-drive zone had been effectively established across much of the eastern part of the country.

“為什麼不呢？”我說。我們紮在一起，然後低頭靜默，我明白那晚至少有一個祈禱被回答了。

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至於我們短暫的朝聖之旅是否有助於實現其他祈禱，我不能確定。我只知道利比亞行動的前幾天進展順利。卡扎菲的防空能力被迅速解除。歐洲戰機按計劃部署到位（薩科齊確定第一架越過利比亞領空的是法國戰機），對進攻班加西的勢力實施了一系列空襲。幾天內，卡扎菲的部隊已經撤退，我們的禁飛禁行區已經在該國東部的大部分範圍內有效建立。

Still, as our Latin American tour continued, I remained on pins and needles. Each morning, I consulted with my national security team via secure videoconference and got updates from General Carter Ham, the commander overseeing the operation, as well as from military leadership at the Pentagon, before reviewing a detailed list of next steps. Beyond maintaining a clear sense of how well we were meeting our military objectives, I wanted to make sure our allies held up their end of the bargain and that the U.S. role didn't stray beyond the narrow parameters I'd set. I was well aware that the American public's support for what we were doing was exceedingly thin, and that any setbacks could prove devastating.

然而，隨著我們的拉丁美洲之旅繼續，我仍然感到緊張不安。每天早晨，我透過安全的視頻會議與我的國家安全團隊諮詢，得到由負責進行操作的指揮官卡特·漢姆將軍以及五角大樓的軍事領導層提供的最新消息，然後審查下一步具體行動的詳細清單。除了要清楚地知道我們在實現軍事目標方面做得如何，我還想確保我們的盟友踐行他們的承諾，並且美國的角色不會超出我設定的狹窄範圍。我深知美國公眾對我們所做的支持非常薄弱，任何挫折都可能是毀滅性的。

We did have one bad scare. On our first night in Santiago, Chile, Michelle and I attended a state dinner hosted by Sebastián Piñera, the gregarious, center-right billionaire who'd been elected president just a year earlier. I was sitting at the head table, listening to Piñera talk about the growing market in China for Chilean wine, when I felt a tap on my shoulder and turned to find Tom Donilon, looking even more stressed than usual.

“What is it?” I asked.

He leaned in to whisper in my ear: “We just received a report that a U.S. fighter jet crashed over Libya.”

我們確實經歷了一次驚慌。在我們第一晚抵達智利聖地牙哥時，米歇爾和我參加了一個由塞巴斯蒂安·皮涅拉（Sebastián Piñera）主持的國宴，這位中間偏右的億萬富翁在一年前當選總統。我坐在主席桌旁，聽皮涅拉談論中國對智利葡萄酒日漸增長的市場時，我感到有人在我的肩膀上輕拍了一下，轉頭發現湯姆·多尼隆看起來比平時更有壓力。

「怎麼了？」我問道。

他靠過來在我耳邊低聲說：「我們剛剛接到一份報告，一架美國戰鬥機在利比亞墜毀了。」

“Shot down?”

“Technical failure,” he said. “Two servicemen ejected before the crash, and we’ve picked up one, the pilot. He’s fine...but the weapons officer is still missing. We’ve got search-and-rescue teams near the site of the crash, and I’m in direct contact with the Pentagon, so as soon as there’s news, I’ll let you know.”

As Tom walked away, Piñera gave me a searching look.

“Everything all right?” he asked.

“Yeah, sorry about that,” I replied, my mind quickly running through scenarios—most of them bad.

“被擊落了？”

他說：“技術故障。墜機前有兩名軍人彈射，我們救出了其中一人，也就是駕駛，他沒問題...但是武器官還失蹤了。我們在墜機現場附近有搜索和救援隊，我和五角大廈有直接聯繫，一旦有消息，我會告訴您。”

當湯姆走開時，皮涅拉對我投以關切的眼神。

“沒有問題吧？”他問道。

“沒事，對不起，”我回答道，迅速想象了幾種情況——大多數都不好。

For the next ninety minutes or so, I smiled and nodded as Piñera and his wife, Cecilia Morel Montes, told us about their children and how they first met and the best season to visit Patagonia. At some point, a Chilean folk-rock band called Los Jaivas started to perform what sounded like a Spanish version of Hair. The entire time, I waited for another tap on the shoulder. All I could think about was the young officer I had sent into war, who was now possibly injured or captured or worse. I felt as if I might burst. Not until Michelle and I were about to climb into the Beast after dinner did I finally see Tom heading toward us. He was slightly out of breath.

接下来的90分钟左右，我一直面帶微笑地聽着皮涅拉和他的妻子塞西莉亞·莫雷爾·蒙特斯講他們的孩子們，以及他們是如何相遇的，哪個季節是去巴塔哥尼亞最好的。在某些時候，一個名叫Los Jaivas的智利民謡搖滾樂隊開始演奏一首聽起來像是《秀發》的西班牙版本。整個時間里，我一直等待着另一次肩膀輕拍。我現在只想着我派去參加戰爭的年輕軍官，現在可能受傷、被俘或更糟。我感覺自己可能會爆炸。直到米歇爾和我在晚餐後準備上野獸時，我終於看到湯姆朝我們走來。他有點喘不過氣。

“We have him,” he said. “It seems he was picked up by some friendly Libyans, and he’s going to be fine.”

I wanted to kiss Tom at that moment, but I kissed Michelle instead.

When someone asks me to describe what it feels like to be the president of the United States, I often think about that stretch of time spent sitting helplessly at the state dinner in Chile, contemplating the knife’s edge between perceived success and potential catastrophe—in this case, the drift of a soldier’s parachute over a faraway desert in the middle of the night. It wasn’t simply that each decision I made was essentially a high-stakes wager; it was

the fact that unlike in poker, where a player expects and can afford to lose a few big hands even on the way to a winning night, a single mishap could cost a life, and overwhelm—both in the political press and in my own heart—whatever broader objective I might have achieved.

“我们找到他了，”他说道。“看来他被一些友好的利比亚人救起来了，他会没事的。”

那一刻，我想亲吻汤姆，但我却亲了米歇尔。

当有人问我如何描述成为美国总统的感受时，我经常想到在智利的国宴上无助地坐着，思考着被认为是成功与潜在灾难之间的刀锋——在这种情况下，士兵的降落伞在夜间漂流到遥远的沙漠上。不仅仅是每一个决定都本质上是一种高利润的赌博，更重要的是在扑克中，玩家希望并能承担在获胜之夜之路上失去几个重要的手牌，而单个失误可能会造成人命的损失，并让我自己和广泛目标达成的政治新闻在心中不受控制地压倒一切。

As it was, the jet crash ended up becoming a relative blip. By the time I returned to Washington, the overwhelming superiority of the international coalition's air forces had left Gaddafi's loyalists with few places to hide, and opposition militias—including many high-ranking defectors from the Libyan army—began advancing westward. Twelve days into the operation, NATO took command of the mission, with several European countries assuming responsibility for repelling Gaddafi's forces. By the time I addressed the nation on March 28, the U.S. military had begun to move into a supporting role, primarily helping with logistics, refueling aircraft, and identifying targets.

在那時，噴氣機失事成為相對不重要的事件。當我回到華盛頓時，國際聯軍的空軍壓倒性優勢使得卡扎菲的忠實支持者無處躲藏，包括許多從利比亞軍隊叛逃的高級將領在內的反對派武裝力量開始向西推進。在行動進行12天後，北約接管了任務，多個歐洲國家負責阻止卡扎菲的軍隊。到我在3月28日向全國發表講話時，美國軍方已經開始轉而擔任支援角色，主要協助物流、加油補給飛機和識別目標。

Given that a number of Republicans had been vocal advocates for intervention, we might have expected some grudging praise for the swift precision of our operation in Libya. But a funny thing had happened while I was traveling. Some of the same Republicans who had demanded that I intervene in Libya had decided that they were now against it. They criticized the mission as being too broad, or coming too late. They complained that I hadn't consulted with Congress enough, despite the fact that I'd met with senior congressional leaders on the eve of the campaign. They cast doubt on the legal basis for my decision, suggesting that I should have sought congressional authorization under the War Powers Act, a legitimate, long-standing question about presidential power, were it not coming from a party that had repeatedly given previous administrations carte blanche on the foreign policy front, particularly when it came to waging war. The Republicans seemed unembarrassed by the inconsistency. Effectively, they were putting me on notice that even issues of war and peace, life and death, were now part of a grim, unrelenting partisan game.

鉴于一些共和党人曾公开主张干预，我们本可以预料到他们会对我们利比亚的迅速、精准的行动表示些许赞扬。但在我旅行期间发生了一件有趣的事情。一些曾经要求我干涉利比亚的共和党人，现在却反对此行动。他们批评行动范围太广，或者来得太晚了。他们抱怨我没有足够地与国会磋商，尽管事实上，我在行动前夕与高级国会领袖进行了会面。他们质疑我的决定是否合法，暗示我应该根据战争权力法案寻求国会授权，这是有关总统权力的一个合法而长期存在的问题，但这个问题来自一个曾经在外交政策领域给予前几届政府无限制授权的政党，尤其是在开战时。共和党人似乎没有意识到他们的不一致。实际上，他们提醒我，即使是关乎战争、和平、生死的问题，也已成为了一场令人沮丧、不息的党派游戏的一部分。

They weren't the only ones playing games. Vladimir Putin had been publicly criticizing the U.N. resolution—and, by implication, Medvedev—for allowing a wide mandate for military action in Libya. It was inconceivable that Putin hadn't signed off on Medvedev's decision to have Russia abstain rather than veto our resolution, or that he'd failed to understand its scope at the time; and as Medvedev himself pointed out in response to Putin's comments, coalition fighter jets were continuing to bomb Gaddafi's forces only because the Libyan strongman showed no signs of calling them into retreat or muzzling the vicious mercenary fighters he sponsored. But clearly that was beside the point. In openly second-guessing Medvedev, Putin seemed to have decided to deliberately make his handpicked successor look bad—a sign, I had to assume, that Putin planned to formally retake the reins in Russia.

他們不是唯一在玩遊戲的人。弗拉基米爾·普京一直在公開批評聯合國決議——暗示梅德韋杰夫允許在利比亞進行廣泛的軍事行動。普京沒有拒絕梅德韋杰夫決定棄權而不是否決我們的決議一事是不可想象的，或者他沒有在當時理解其範圍。正如梅德韋杰夫對普京的評論所回應的那樣，聯合國聯軍戰鬥機繼續轟炸卡扎菲的軍隊，只是因為利比亞強人沒有表現出召回他們或制止他所贊助的殘酷僱傭戰士的跡象。但很明顯這不是重點。普京在公開對梅德韋杰夫進行猜測時，似乎決定故意讓他選定的繼承人看起來很差——這表明我必須假定普京計劃在俄羅斯正式重新掌權。

Still, March ended without a single U.S. casualty in Libya, and for an approximate cost of \$550 million—not much more than what we spent per day on military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan—we had accomplished our objective of saving Benghazi and its neighboring cities and perhaps tens of thousands of lives. According to Samantha, it was the quickest international military intervention to prevent a mass atrocity in modern history. What would happen with regard to Libya's government remained unclear. With Gaddafi ordering further attacks even in the face of NATO bombing operations, and with the opposition fueled by a loose coalition of rebel militias, my team and I worried about the prospect of prolonged civil war. According to the U.S. diplomat Hillary had sent to Benghazi to act as a liaison to the emerging governing council there, the opposition was at least saying all the right things about what a post-Gaddafi Libya would look like, emphasizing the importance of free and fair elections, human rights, and rule of law. But with no democratic traditions or institutions to draw on, the councillors had their work cut out for them—and with Gaddafi's police force no longer in place, the security situation in Benghazi and other rebel areas now had a Wild West aspect.

然而，三月结束时在利比亚没有发生一起美国伤亡事件，我们以大约5.5亿美元的成本（仅比我们在伊拉克和阿富汗的军事行动每天的支出稍微多一点）实现了拯救班加西和附近城市、甚至拯救数万人的目标。根据萨曼莎的说法，这是现代史上最快的国际军事干预以防止大规模暴行。至于利比亚政府的发展，仍然不明确。随着卡扎菲即使在北约轰炸行动面前下达进一步攻击命令，并且反对派由一些叛军组成的松散联盟所驱动，我和我的团队担心内战会持续不断。根据希拉里派到班加西担任联络委员会的美国外交官的说法，反对派至少在口头上说了一些正确的事情，关于一个后卡扎菲时代的利比亚将会是什么样子，

强调自由和公正选举、人权和法治的重要性。但是，缺乏可依赖的民主传统和机构，委员会们必须切实努力——而随着卡扎菲的警察部队不再存在，班加西和其他反叛区域的安全局势现在已经出现了荒野西部的局面。

“Who is it that we sent to Benghazi?” I asked, after hearing one of these dispatches.

“A guy named Chris Stevens,” Denis told me. “Used to be chargé d’affaires at the U.S. embassy in Tripoli, a bunch of Middle East posts before that. Apparently, he and a small team slipped into Benghazi on a Greek cargo ship. Supposed to be excellent.”

“Brave guy,” I said.

—  
ONE QUIET SUNDAY in April, I found myself alone in the residence—the girls were off somewhere with their buddies, Michelle was having lunch with friends—and so I decided to head downstairs to do some work. It was a cool day, in the sixties with a mix of sun and clouds, and walking along the colonnade I took time to appreciate the plush beds of tulips—yellow, red, pink—the groundskeepers had planted in the Rose Garden. I rarely worked at the Resolute desk on weekends, since there were always at least a few West Wing tours passing through, and visitors could catch a glimpse of the Oval Office from behind a red velvet rope only if I wasn’t there. Instead, I usually set up shop in the Oval’s adjoining dining room and study, a comfortable, private area filled with mementos I’d gathered over the years: a framed Life magazine cover of the Selma march, signed by John Lewis; a brick from Abraham Lincoln’s law office in Springfield; a pair of boxing gloves from Muhammad Ali; Ted Kennedy’s painting of the Cape Cod coastline, which he’d sent to me as a gift after I’d admired it in his office. But as the clouds broke and sunlight splashed across the window, I moved myself to the terraced patio just outside the dining room—a lovely, secluded space with hedges and plantings on one side and a small fountain on the other.听到其中一次报告后，我问：“我们派去班加西的是谁？”

“一个名叫克里斯·斯蒂文斯的家伙，”丹尼斯告诉我，“曾经是美国驻的里雅斯特大使馆的代办，之前在中东担任过多个职务。显然，他和一个小团队悄悄地从一艘希腊货船上溜到了班加西。他被认为是一位杰出战士。”

“勇敢的家伙，”我说。

—

四月的一个安静的星期日，我发现自己独自一人在住所里 - 女孩们和她们的伙伴们一起去了别的地方，米歇尔正在和朋友们吃午餐 - 所以我决定下楼做些工作。天气凉爽，气温在六十多度，晴天和多云交替，沿着柱廊漫步时，我花了些时间欣赏红花园里园丁们种植的豪华郁金香花坛 - 黄色，红色，粉色。我很少在周末在决定桌前工作，因为总有至少一些西翼参观团经过，如果我不在那里，游客们可以透过一条红天鹅绒绳子看到椭圆形办公室。相反，我通常在椭圆形办公室旁边的餐厅和书房里安排工作，那是一个舒适，私密的区域，充满了多年来收集的纪念品：John Lewis签名的Selma游行的Life杂志封面；亚伯拉罕·林肯在斯普林菲尔德的律师事务所的一块砖；穆罕默德·阿里的拳击手套；Ted Kennedy送给我的开普敦海岸线画作，我在他的办公室里称赞过它后送给我的礼物。但当云彩散开，阳光洒在窗户上时，我转移到了餐厅外的阶梯式天井上 - 一个可爱，隐蔽的空间，在一侧有树篱和植物，在另一侧有一个小喷泉。

I’d carried down a stack of memos to read, but my mind kept drifting. I had just announced that I’d be running for reelection. It was a formality, really, a matter of filing the papers and filming a short video announcement—a stark contrast to that heady, frigid day in Springfield four years earlier when I’d declared my candidacy before a crowd of thousands, promising to deliver hope and change. It seemed like an eternity ago, a time of optimism and youthful energy and undeniable innocence. My reelection campaign would be an entirely different endeavor. Certain of my vulnerability, Republicans were already lining up for the chance to run against me. I’d noticed that my political team had begun to layer a series of early fundraisers into my schedule, anticipating an expensive, bare-knuckle contest. Part of me resented the idea of gearing up for the election so soon—for if my first campaign seemed a distant memory, my actual work as president felt as if it had only just begun. But there was no point arguing about it. I could read the polls myself.

我拿着一堆备忘录准备阅读，但我的思绪开始漂移。我刚刚宣布我将竞选连任。实际上，这是一项例行公事，只需要提交文件和拍摄一个简短的宣言视频，与四年前在斯普林菲尔德那个兴奋而寒冷的日子形成了鲜明的对比，当时我在成千上万的观众面前宣布我的候选人身份，承诺传递希望与改变。那似乎是一段遥远的历史，一个充满乐观和年轻能量，无可否认的纯真的时代。我的连任竞选将是一项完全不同的努力。共和党已经开始为对抗我而排队了。我注意到我的政治团队已经开始把一系列早期筹款活动加入我的日程安排中，预计这将是一场昂贵而残酷的竞选。我内心有些不满意这么早就开始为选举做准备——因为如果我的第一场竞选看起来像是一个遥远的记忆，那么我的实际工作作为总统似乎刚刚开始。但这没有争论的必要。我可以自己看着民意调查结果。

The irony was that our labors of the previous two years were finally bearing some fruit. When I hadn’t been dealing with foreign policy issues, I’d been traveling the country, highlighting the shuttered auto factories that had just reopened, the small businesses that had been saved, the wind farms and energy-efficient vehicles that pointed the way to a clean energy future. A number of infrastructure projects funded by the Recovery Act—roads, community centers, light-rail lines—were already completed. A host of ACA provisions had already come into force. In so many different ways, we’d made the federal government better, more efficient and more responsive. But until the economy really started picking up, none of it would matter much politically. So far, we’d managed to ward off a “double-dip” second recession, in large part thanks to the billions of stimulus dollars we’d attached to the Bush tax cut extension during the lame-duck session. But just barely. And by the looks of it, the new House majority seemed intent on shifting the economy into reverse.

讽刺的是，我们在过去两年的努力终于开始结出果实。当我不忙于处理外交政策问题时，我一直在全国各地旅行，强调那些刚刚重新开业的关闭的汽车工厂、被挽救下来的小企业、指引清洁能源未来的风力发电厂和能源高效车辆。由复苏法案资助的许多基础设施项目——公路、社区中心、轻轨线路——已经完成。许多医保条款已经开始生效。在许多方面，我们使联邦政府更好、更有效率和更能响应。但在经济真正开始复苏之前，这些都不会在政治上有太大的意义。到目前为止，我们设法避免了“双重”第二次衰退，这在很大程度上要归功于我们在淘汰赛期间附加到布什税收减免计划上的数十亿美元的刺激资金。但是非常勉强。从外表看，新的众议院多数党似乎有意将经济逆转。

From the moment he'd been elected Speaker in January, John Boehner had insisted that House Republicans had every intention of following through on their campaign pledge to end what he called my "job-crushing spending binge of the last two years." Speaking after my 2011 State of the Union address, Paul Ryan, the House Budget Committee chair, had predicted that as a result of such out-of-control spending, the federal debt would "soon eclipse our entire economy and grow to catastrophic levels in the years ahead." The new crop of GOP members, many of whom had run on a Tea Party platform, were pressing Boehner hard for an immediate, drastic, and permanent reduction in the size of the federal government—a reduction that they believed would finally restore America's constitutional order and take their country back from corrupt political and economic elites.

從一月當選眾議院議長的那一刻起，約翰·貝納堅稱眾議院共和黨有意跟進他們的競選承諾，結束他所稱的“過去兩年失業率飆升的支出瘋狂”。2011年國情咨文演說後，眾議院預算委員會主席保羅·瑞安預測，由於這種不受控制的支出，聯邦債務將“很快超過我們整個經濟，並在未來數年達到災難性水平”。許多人參加茶黨運動的新一批共和黨成員正在強力敦促貝納立即、從根本上和永久性地減少聯邦政府的規模 - 他們認為這種減少將最終恢復美國的憲法秩序，把國家從腐敗的政治和經濟精英手中拿回來。

Purely as a matter of economics, all of us in the White House thought that enacting the House GOP's agenda of deep federal spending cuts would result in absolute disaster. Unemployment remained at about 9 percent. The housing market had yet to recover. Americans were still trying to work off the \$1.1 trillion in credit card debt and other loans they'd accumulated over the previous decade; millions of people owed more on their mortgages than their homes were worth. Businesses and banks faced a similar debt hangover and remained cautious about investing in expansion or making new loans. It was true that the federal deficit had risen sharply since I'd taken office—mainly as a result of lower tax revenues and increased spending on social programs in the aftermath of what was now commonly known as the Great Recession. At my request, Tim Geithner was already mapping out plans to bring the deficit back to pre-crisis levels once the economy had fully rebounded. I'd also formed a commission, headed by former Clinton chief of staff Erskine Bowles and former Wyoming senator Alan Simpson, to come up with a sensible plan for long-term deficit and debt reduction. But for now, the best thing we could do to lower the deficit was to boost economic growth—and with aggregate demand as weak as it was, this meant more federal spending, not less.

从纯粹的经济角度来看，我们在白宫都认为，实行众议院共和党的深度联邦支出削减议程将导致绝对的灾难。失业率仍保持在约9%左右。房地产市场尚未恢复。美国人仍在试图偿还他们在过去十年中积累的1.1万亿美元的信用卡债务和其他贷款；数百万人的抵押贷款超过了他们房子的价值。企业和银行面临类似的债务危机，并对扩大投资或提供新贷款持谨慎态度。确实，自我就任总统以来，联邦赤字已经大幅上升，主要原因是税收收入下降和在伟大的衰退后增加对社会项目支出。应我要求，蒂姆·盖特纳已经在制定计划，以在经济完全复苏后将赤字降至危机前的水平。我还组建了一个由前克林顿总统幕僚长厄斯金·鲍尔斯和前怀俄明州参议员艾伦·辛普森领导的委员会，以制定一个合理的长期赤字和债务减轻计划。但目前为止，我们能做的最好的事情，是增加联邦支出，而不是减少，以提高经济增长——随着总需求如此疲软。

The problem was that I'd lost the argument in the midterms, at least among those who'd bothered to go to the polls. Not only could Republicans claim they were following the will of the voters in seeking to cut spending, but the election results seemed to have turned all of Washington into deficit hawks. The media was suddenly sounding the alarm about America living beyond its means. Commentators decried the legacy of debt we were foisting on future generations. Even CEOs and Wall Street types, many of whom had benefited, directly or indirectly, from the bailout of the financial system, had the temerity to jump on the anti-deficit bandwagon, insisting that it was high time politicians in Washington did the "courageous" thing by cutting "entitlement spending"—using the misleading catchall term for Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and other social safety net programs. (Few of them expressed interest in sacrificing their own tax breaks to address this supposed crisis.)問題在於，我在期中選舉中輸了論戰，至少在那些去投票的人中輸了。共和黨人不僅可以聲稱他們在追求削減開支方面是在遵循選民的意願，而且選舉結果似乎已經把華盛頓變成了擔憂財政赤字的鷹派。媒體突然警告美國超越了自己的負擔。評論家譴責我們正在強加給未來世代的債務遺產。即使是許多從金融系統救助中直接或間接受益的CEO和華爾街人士，也有膽量跳上反赤字的馬車，堅持認為政治家們削減"福利支出"是一件勇敢的事情，並使用這個混淆性的統稱來指社會保障、醫療保障和其他社會福利網絡計劃。（他們中的很少人表現出願意犧牲自己的稅收優惠來解決這個所謂的危機。）

In our first skirmish with Boehner, over funding levels for the rest of the 2011 fiscal year, we'd conceded just 38 billion in spending cuts, a amount large enough for Boehner to take back to his conservative caucus members (they had originally sought 3.6 trillion budget to avoid any real economic harm—especially since a big chunk of those cuts amounted to accounting tricks and wouldn't reduce vital services or programs. Boehner had already signaled, though, that the Republicans would soon be coming back for more, even suggesting that his caucus might withhold the votes necessary to increase the statutory debt limit if we didn't meet future demands. None of us believed that the GOP would actually act that irresponsibly. After all, raising the debt ceiling was a routine legislative duty observed by both parties, a matter of paying for spending that Congress had already approved, and the failure to do so would result in the United States defaulting on its debt for the first time in history. Still, the fact that Boehner had even broached such a radical idea—and the fact that it had quickly gained traction among Tea Party members and conservative media outlets—offered a hint of what was in store.

在我们第一次与博纳打的撤退战中，关于2011财年其余的资金水平，我们只割让了380亿美元的支出削减额，在3.6万亿美元的预算中足够小，他可以将这些削减额带回给他的保守派议员，（他们最初寻求的是将近两倍）。这个数目又足够小，以避免任何真正的经济伤害——特别是因为那些削减的很大一部分只是会计把戏，不会减少重要的服务或项目开支。然而，博纳已经暗示，共和党人很快会回来寻找更多，甚至提出如果我们不能满足未来的要求，他的caucus可能会拒绝增加法定债务上限所需的票数。我们都不相信共和党会这么不负责任地行事。毕竟，提高债务上限是一项例行的立法职责，受到两党的尊重，是支付国会已经批准的支出的一个问题，而不这样做会导致美国历史上首次违约。尽管如此，博纳甚至提出这样一个激进的想法，并且很快在茶党和保守派媒体中获得了认同，这表明我们将要面对什么。

Is that, I wondered, what my presidency was now reduced to? Fighting rearguard actions to keep the Republicans from sabotaging the American economy and undoing whatever I'd done? Could I really hope to find common ground with a party that increasingly seemed to consider opposition to me to be its unifying principle, the objective that superseded all others? There was a reason why in selling our recent budget deal to his caucus, Boehner had apparently emphasized how "angry" I was during our discussions—a useful fiction that I'd told my team not to dispute in the interest of keeping the deal on track. For his members, there was no greater selling point. In fact, more and more, I'd noticed how the mood we'd first witnessed in the fading days of Sarah Palin's campaign rallies and on through the Tea Party summer had migrated from the fringe of GOP politics to the center—an emotional, almost visceral, reaction to my presidency, distinct from any differences in policy or ideology. It was as if my very presence in the White House had triggered a deep-seated panic, a sense that the natural order had been disrupted.

我曾想过，我的总统地位现在是否被降格为了只是防止共和党破坏美国经济和撤销我所做的任何事情这样一个战术防线？我真的希望能够与一个越来越认为反对我的党派达成共识吗？这似乎已经成为了他们的统一原则，比其他任何目标都更加优先。Boehner在向他的党派出售最近的预算协议时，强调了我们进行讨论时我多么“愤怒”，这是我告诉我的团队不予反驳以保持协议顺利达成的有用谎言。对于他的成员来说，没有比这更好的卖点了。实际上，我越来越发现，我们首次在萨拉·佩林竞选集会的余晖和茶党夏季中所见到的情绪已从共和党政治的边缘转移到了中心——这是一种情感深刻、几乎是本能的对我的总统地位的反应，与任何政策或意识形态的差异都不同。好像我的存在本身就引发了一种根深蒂固的恐慌感，让人感觉自然秩序被打乱了。

Which is exactly what Donald Trump understood when he started peddling assertions that I had not been born in the United States and was thus an illegitimate president. For millions of Americans spooked by a Black man in the White House, he promised an elixir for their racial anxiety.

The suggestion that I hadn't been born in the United States wasn't new. At least one conservative crank had pushed the theory as far back as my Senate race in Illinois. During the primary campaign for president, some disgruntled Hillary supporters had recirculated the claim, and while her campaign strongly disavowed it, conservative bloggers and talk radio personalities had picked it up, setting off feverish email chains among right-wing activists. By the time the Tea Party seized on it during my first year in office, the tale had blossomed into a full-blown conspiracy theory: I hadn't just been born in Kenya, the story went, but I was also a secret Muslim socialist, a Manchurian candidate who'd been groomed from childhood—and planted in the United States using falsified documents—to infiltrate the highest reaches of the American government.

當唐納德·特朗普開始宣揚我沒有在美國出生，因此是一位非法總統時，這正是他所理解的。對於那些被一位黑人統治者嚇倒的數百萬美國人來說，他承諾通過他們種族焦慮的解藥。

提出我沒有在美國出生的建議並不是新的。至少有一位保守派瘋子在我在伊利諾伊州參議員選舉期間就推動了這個理論。在總統初選活動期間，一些不滿的希拉里支持者重新燃起了這一說法，儘管她的競選活動極力否認，但保守派部落客和談話節目主持人已經把它接過去，在右翼活動家之間引發了狂熱的電子郵件鏈。到了茶黨在我上任的第一年利用這一點時，這個故事已經演變成了一個完整的陰謀論：我不僅出生在肯尼亞，還是一個秘密的穆斯林社會主義者，是一個從童年開始就受過培訓，使用虛假文件被種植在美國政府最高層的間諜。

Still, it wasn't until February 10, 2011, the day before Hosni Mubarak stepped down in Egypt, that this absurd theory really got traction. During a speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, Trump hinted that he might run for president, asserting that "our current president came out of nowhere....The people that went to school with him, they never saw him, they don't know who he is. It's crazy."

At first, I paid no attention. My biography had been exhaustively documented. My birth certificate was on file in Hawaii, and we'd posted it on my website back in 2008 to deal with the first wave of what came to be called "birtherism." My grandparents had saved a clipping from the August 13, 1961, edition of the Honolulu Advertiser that announced my birth. As a kid, I'd walked past Kapi'olani Medical Center, where my mother had delivered me, on my way to school every day.

然而，这种荒謬的理論直到2011年2月10日，也就是埃及总统穆巴拉克下台的前一天才真正引起关注。在华盛顿举行的保守派政治行动大会上，特朗普暗示自己可能会竞选总统，并声称“我们现任的总统是从哪里冒出来的……和他一起上学的人从未见过他，不知道他是谁。这很疯狂。”

起初，我没有关注。我的传记已经被详细记录。我的出生证明已经在夏威夷备案，并且我们在2008年就把它发布在我的网站上，以应对第一波所谓的“出生地争议”。我的祖父母还保存了1961年8月13日《檀香山广告》的文章，宣布了我的出生。作为一个孩子，我每天上学都会经过我母亲生下我的卡皮奧拉尼醫療中心。

As for Trump, I'd never met the man, although I'd become vaguely aware of him over the years—first as an attention-seeking real estate developer; later and more ominously as someone who'd thrust himself into the Central Park Five case, when, in response to the story about five Black and Latino teens who'd been imprisoned for (and were ultimately exonerated of) brutally raping a white jogger, he'd taken out full-page ads in four major newspapers demanding the return of the death penalty; and finally as a TV personality who marketed himself and his brand as the pinnacle of capitalist success and gaudy consumption.特朗普的话，我从未见过他，尽管多年来我隐约知道他——开始是作为一个渴望关注的房地产开发商；后来更凶险的是，他插手中央公园五少年案件，当时对于五个黑人和拉丁裔的青少年被判入狱（而后来被证明是无罪的）残忍强奸了一名白人女子，他在四家主要报纸上刊登了全版广告，要求恢复死刑；最后，他成为了一个在电视上宣传自己和他的品牌的资本主义成功和俗气消费高峰的名人。

For most of my first two years in office, Trump was apparently complimentary of my presidency, telling Bloomberg that "overall I believe he's done a very good job"; but maybe because I didn't watch much television, I found it hard to take him too seriously. The New York developers and business leaders I knew uniformly described him as all hype, someone who'd left a trail of bankruptcy filings, breached contracts, stiffed employees, and sketchy financing arrangements in his wake, and whose business now in large part consisted of licensing his name to properties he neither owned nor managed. In fact, my closest contact with Trump had come midway through 2010, during the Deepwater Horizon crisis, when he'd called Axe out of the blue to suggest that I put him in charge of plugging the well. When informed that the well was almost sealed, Trump had shifted gears, noting that we'd recently held a state

dinner under a tent on the South Lawn and telling Axe that he'd be willing to build "a beautiful ballroom" on White House grounds—an offer that was politely declined.

在我上任的头两年中，特朗普似乎对我的总统任期表示了赞赏，他告诉彭博社：“总体而言，我认为他做得非常好”；但也许是因为我很少看电视，所以我不把他太当回事。我认识的纽约开发商和商业领袖都一致认为，他只是个炒作，留下了许多破产申请、违约、拖欠员工薪酬和可疑融资安排的痕迹，而他的业务现在在很大程度上是将他的名字授权给他既不拥有也不管理的财产。事实上，我和特朗普之间最亲近的联系发生在2010年深水地平线危机期间，当时他在不打招呼的情况下打电话给艾克斯（我的助手），建议让我任命他来负责封堵油井。当被告知油井几乎被封堵时，特朗普换了个方向，指出我们最近在南草坪上的一顶帐篷下举行了国宴，并告诉艾克斯，他愿意在白宫的庭院里建造“一个漂亮的宴会厅”，但这个提议礼貌地被拒绝了。

What I hadn't anticipated was the media's reaction to Trump's sudden embrace of birtherism—the degree to which the line between news and entertainment had become so blurred, and the competition for ratings so fierce, that outlets eagerly lined up to offer a platform for a baseless claim. It was propelled by Fox News, naturally, a network whose power and profits had been built around stoking the same racial fears and resentments that Trump now sought to exploit. Night after night, its hosts featured him across their most popular platforms. On Fox's O'Reilly Factor, Trump declared, "If you are going to be president of the United States you have to be born in this country. And there is a doubt as to whether or not he was....He doesn't have a birth certificate." On the network's morning show Fox & Friends, he suggested that my birth announcement might have been a fake. In fact, Trump was on Fox so much that he soon felt obliged to throw in some fresh material, saying that there was something fishy about my getting into Harvard, given that my "marks were lousy." He told Laura Ingraham he was certain that Bill Ayers, my Chicago neighbor and former radical activist, was the true author of *Dreams from My Father*, since the book was too good to have been written by someone of my intellectual caliber.

我所沒有預料到的是媒體對特朗普突然採用「出生論」的反應 - 新聞與娛樂之間的界線已經變得如此模糊，競爭收視率如此激烈，以至於媒體積極為沒有根據的主張提供平台。這是由福克斯新聞驅動的，自然而然，該網絡的權力和利潤是建立在激起與特朗普現在尋求利用的種族恐懼和怨恨相同的基礎上的。夜夜打機要節目，該網絡的主持人橫跨其最受歡迎的平台，特朗普在福克斯的O'Reilly Factor上宣布：“如果你要成為美國總統，你必須出生在這個國家。是否他出生于這裡存在疑問...他沒有出生證明。”在該網絡的早晨節目福克斯& Friends上，他暗示我的出生公告可能是假的。事實上，特朗普在福克斯直播如此頻繁，以至於他感到有義務加入一些新鮮材料，說我的成績很差，為什麼能進入哈佛。他告訴勞拉·英格拉漢姆（Laura Ingraham），他肯定我的芝加哥鄰居和前激進分子比爾·艾爾斯（Bill Ayers）是《我的父親之夢》的真正作者，因為這本書太好了，不可能是由我的智力水平所撰寫的。

But it wasn't just Fox. On March 23, just after we'd gone to war in Libya, he surfaced on ABC's *The View*, saying, "I want him to show his birth certificate. There's something on that birth certificate that he doesn't like." On NBC, the same network that aired Trump's reality show *The Celebrity Apprentice* in prime time and that clearly didn't mind the extra publicity its star was generating, Trump told a *Today* show host that he'd sent investigators to Hawaii to look into my birth certificate. "I have people that have been studying it, and they cannot believe what they're finding." Later, he'd tell CNN's Anderson Cooper, "I've been told very recently, Anderson, that the birth certificate is missing. I've been told that it's not there and it doesn't exist."

然而，不只是福克斯。3月23日，我们在利比亚开战后不久，他现身ABC的《The View》，说：“我想让他展示他的出生证明。在那张出生证明上有他不喜欢的东西。”在NBC上，在该网络黄金时段播出特朗普的真人秀节目“名人学徒”，并明显不介意其明星带来的额外宣传，特朗普告诉《今日秀》的主持人，他派调查人员前往夏威夷调查我的出生证明。“我有人一直在研究，他们无法相信他们所发现的。”后来，他告诉CNN的安德森·库珀，“我最近听说，安德森，出生证明已经丢失。我被告知它不在那里，也不存在。”

Outside the Fox universe, I couldn't say that any mainstream journalists explicitly gave credence to these bizarre charges. They all made a point of expressing polite incredulity, asking Trump, for example, why he thought George Bush and Bill Clinton had never been asked to produce their birth certificates. (He'd usually reply with something along the lines of "Well, we know they were born in this country.") But at no point did they simply and forthrightly call Trump out for lying or state that the conspiracy theory he was promoting was racist. Certainly, they made little to no effort to categorize his theories as beyond the pale—like alien abduction or the anti-Semitic conspiracies in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. And the more oxygen the media gave them, the more newsworthy they appeared.

在福克斯公司的圈子之外，我不能说有哪个主流记者明确给这些奇怪的指控以信任。他们都表达了礼貌的怀疑，比如问特朗普，为什么乔治·布什和比尔·克林顿从未被要求出示出生证明。（他通常会回答类似于“我们知道他们出生在这个国家。”）但是，他们从未毫不客气地谴责特朗普撒谎，或者声明他在宣扬的阴谋论是种族主义的。当然，他们几乎没有努力将他的理论归类为超出常规的范畴，例如外星人绑架或者《锡安长老会议议事录》中的反犹太人的阴谋论。并且，媒体越是给予这些理论报道空间，它们显得越具新闻价值。

We hadn't bothered to dignify all this with any sort of official White House response, uninterested in giving Trump a bigger spotlight and knowing we had better things to do. In the West Wing, birtherism was treated like a bad joke, and my younger staffers were heartened by the way late-night TV hosts frequently skewered "the Donald." But I couldn't help noticing that members of the media weren't just booking Trump for interviews; they were also breathlessly covering his forays into presidential politics, including press conferences and travel to the early voting state of New Hampshire. Polls were showing that roughly 40 percent of Republicans were now convinced that I hadn't been born in America, and I'd recently heard from Axe that according to a Republican pollster he knew, Trump was now the leading Republican among potential presidential contenders, despite not having declared his candidacy.

我们没有打算用任何官方的白宫回应来给这一切体面，不感兴趣让特朗普获得更大的聚光灯，并知道我们有更重要的事情要做。在西厅，出生证明争议被当作一个坏笑话对待，我的年轻幕僚们对深夜电视节目频繁揶揄“唐纳德”感到振奋。但我不禁注意到，在媒体界，他们不仅纷纷邀请特朗普接受采访，而且

热切地报道他进军总统政治领域的种种活动，包括新罕布什尔州参加提前投票。民调表明，大约40%的共和党人现在相信我不是美国出生，而我最近从Axe那里听说根据他所了解到的一个共和党民意调查员的说法，特朗普现在是潜在总统竞选人中领先的共和党人，尽管他尚未宣布竞选。

I chose not to share that particular piece of news with Michelle. Just thinking about Trump and the symbiotic relationship he'd developed with the media made her mad. She saw the whole circus for what it was: a variation on the press's obsession with flag pins and fist bumps during the campaign, the same willingness on the part of both political opponents and reporters to legitimize the notion that her husband was suspect, a nefarious "Other." She made clear to me that her concerns regarding Trump and birtherism were connected not to my political prospects but, rather, to the safety of our family. "People think it's all a game," she said. "They don't care that there are thousands of men with guns out there who believe every word that's being said."

我选择不与米歇尔分享那个特定的消息。只是一想到特朗普与媒体建立的共生关系，她就会生气。她把整个马戏团都看作是竞选期间媒体对旗帜和拳头碰撞的痴迷变化，以及政治对手和记者愿意认可她的丈夫可疑的观念，一种邪恶的“其他”。她向我明确表示，她对特朗普和出生证问题的担忧与我的政治前景无关，而是与我们家庭的安全有关。“人们认为这是一场游戏，”她说。“他们不关心有成千上万带枪的人相信每句话。”

I didn't argue the point. It was clear that Trump didn't care about the consequences of spreading conspiracy theories that he almost certainly knew to be false, so long as it achieved his aims; and he'd figured out that whatever guardrails had once defined the boundaries of acceptable political discourse had long since been knocked down. In that sense, there wasn't much difference between Trump and Boehner or McConnell. They, too, understood that it didn't matter whether what they said was true. They didn't have to actually believe that I was bankrupting the country or that Obamacare promoted euthanasia. In fact, the only difference between Trump's style of politics and theirs was Trump's lack of inhibition. He understood instinctively what moved the conservative base most, and he offered it up in an unadulterated form. While I doubted that he was willing to relinquish his business holdings or subject himself to the necessary vetting in order to run for president, I knew that the passions he was tapping, the dark, alternative vision he was promoting and legitimizing, were something I'd likely be contending with for the remainder of my presidency.

我并没有争论这一点。特朗普显然不在乎散布几乎可以肯定的是错误的阴谋论所带来的后果，只要这可以达到他的目的；而他已经发现，任何曾经定义过政治话题范围的防护栏都已经被打破。从这个意义上讲，特朗普和博纳或麦康奈尔之间并没有太大的区别。他们也明白真相并不重要。他们并不需要真的相信我在破产国家或奥巴马医改推广安乐死。实际上，特朗普的政治风格和他们的唯一区别就是特朗普缺乏抑制。他本能地理解什么能最大程度地调动保守基础，然后毫不掺杂地在他们面前呈现出来。虽然我怀疑他是否愿意放弃他的商业利益或接受必要的审核以参加总统竞选，但我知道他唤起的激情、他所提倡和合法化的黑暗、替代性的愿景是我可能在任期剩余时间内不得不应对的。

I'd have plenty of time to worry about the Republicans later, I told myself. Same with budget issues, campaign strategy, and the state of American democracy. In fact, of all that was giving me cause to brood that day on the patio, I knew that one thing above all else would demand my attention in the next few weeks.

I had to decide whether or not to authorize a raid deep inside Pakistan to go after a target we believed to be Osama bin Laden—and whatever else happened, I was likely to end up a one-term president if I got it wrong.

我告訴自己，我會有充足的時間去擔心共和黨人、預算問題、競選策略和美國民主的狀態。事實上，那一天我所鬱悶的問題中，最需要我在接下來的幾週中關注的事情，是決定是否授權深入巴基斯坦的突襲行動，以打擊我們相信的奧薩馬·賓·拉登目標，無論發生什麼，如果我做錯了，我可能會成為一屆總統。

## CHAPTER 27

OSAMA BIN LADEN'S PRECISE whereabouts had been a mystery since December 2001, when, three months after the 9/11 attacks that killed nearly three thousand innocent people, he had narrowly escaped as American and allied forces closed in on his headquarters in Tora Bora, a mountainous area along the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The search had continued in earnest for a number of years, though by the time I took office, bin Laden's trail had gone cold. He was still out there, though: As al-Qaeda had slowly reorganized, basing itself in Pakistan's FATA region, their leader would periodically release audio and video messages, rallying supporters with calls for jihad against Western powers.

### 第27章

自2001年12月911袭击案几乎夺去了三千无辜生命后，美国和盟友部队逐渐逼近他在阿富汗和巴基斯坦边境沿线多拉博拉的总部时，奥萨马·本·拉登的确切行踪一直是个谜。搜索持续了好几年，但在我就任总统时，本·拉登的踪迹已经断了。他仍然存在：随着基地组织慢慢重组，以巴基斯坦的FATA地区为基地，他的领导人会定期发布音频和视频信息，呼吁支持者发动针对西方大国的圣战。

From the very first time I spoke publicly on America's response to 9/11, opposing the Iraq War at Chicago's Federal Plaza on the eve of my U.S. Senate race in 2002, I had advocated for a renewed focus on bringing bin Laden to justice. I'd returned to the same theme during the presidential race, pledging to go after bin Laden inside Pakistan if the government there was unable or unwilling to take him out. Most of Washington, including Joe, Hillary, and John McCain, had dismissed that promise as a stunt, a way for a junior senator unschooled in foreign policy to sound tough. And even after I took office, some people undoubtedly assumed I would set aside the issue of bin Laden in order to deal with other matters. But in May 2009, following a Situation Room meeting about terrorist threats, I had brought a handful of advisors—including Rahm, Leon Panetta, and Tom Donilon—up to the Oval Office and closed the door.從我第一次在2002年美國參議院競選前夕在芝加哥聯邦廣場公開發表有關美國對911事件的反應及反對伊拉克戰爭開始，我一直主張重新聚焦將賓拉登繩之以法。在總統競選期間，我也回到了同一主題，承諾如果巴基斯坦政府無力或不願將賓拉登逮捕，我會進行追捕。華盛頓的大部分人，包括喬·希拉里和約翰·麥凱恩，都將這個諾言視為一種噱頭，認為這是一個對外交政策毫無經驗的初出茅廬參議員裝腔作勢的方式。即使我上任後，一些人無疑認為我會搁置賓拉登問題以應對其他事務。但在2009年5月，經過有關恐怖威脅的狀況室會議後，我帶了幾位顧問（包括拉姆·李昂·帕內塔和湯姆·多尼隆）到橢圓形辦公室，並關上了門。

“I want to make the hunt for bin Laden a top priority,” I said. “I want to see a formal plan for how we’re going to find him. I want a report on my desk every thirty days describing our progress. And, Tom, let’s put this in a presidential directive—just so everyone’s on the same page.”

There were the obvious reasons for my focus on bin Laden. His continued freedom was a source of pain for the families of those who’d been lost in the 9/11 attacks and a taunt to American power. Even deep in hiding, he remained al-Qaeda’s most effective recruiter, radicalizing disaffected young men around the world. According to our analysts, by the time I was elected, al-Qaeda was more dangerous than it had been in years, and warnings about terrorist plots emanating from the FATA appeared regularly in my briefings.

我说：“我希望追捕本·拉登成为重中之重。我想看到一项正式计划，描述我们将如何找到他。我希望每三十天在我的办公桌上得到一份报告，描述我们的进展情况。并且，汤姆，让我们将这放在总统指令中，这样每个人都在同一页面上。”

我对本·拉登的关注有明显的原因。他的继续自由对于那些在9/11事件中失去亲人的家庭来说是一种痛苦，对美国的权力来说是一种嘲弄。即使在藏身之深，他仍然是基地组织最有效的招募人员，激励全球范围内的不满青年。据我们的分析师所述，当我当选时，基地组织比多年来更加危险，来自FATA的恐怖阴谋警告经常出现在我的简报中。

But I also viewed the elimination of bin Laden as critical to my goal of reorienting America’s counterterrorism strategy. By losing our focus on the small band of terrorists who had actually planned and carried out 9/11 and instead defining the threat as an open-ended, all-encompassing “War on Terror,” we’d fallen into what I believed was a strategic trap—one that had elevated al-Qaeda’s prestige, rationalized the Iraq invasion, alienated much of the Muslim world, and warped almost a decade of U.S. foreign policy. Rather than gin up fears about vast terror networks and feed extremists’ fantasies that they were engaged in some divine struggle, I wanted to remind the world (and, more important, ourselves) that these terrorists were nothing more than a band of deluded, vicious killers—criminals who could be captured, tried, imprisoned, or killed. And there would be no better way of demonstrating that than by taking out bin Laden.

但我也认为消灭本·拉登对于重新定位美国的反恐战略至关重要。通过放弃我们对实际策划和实施911袭击的少数恐怖分子的关注，而将威胁定义为一个没完没了、包罗万象的“反恐战争”，我们已经陷入了一个我认为是战略陷阱的境地——这导致基地组织的声望上升、使伊拉克入侵变得合理化、疏远了穆斯林世界的大部分，并扭曲了近十年的美国外交政策。我不想制造有关广泛恐怖网络的恐惧，并滋养极端分子的幻想，认为他们正在进行某种神圣的斗争，我想提醒世界（更重要的是，提醒我们自己）这些恐怖分子只不过是一群被愚弄的、残忍的杀手——可以被捕获、审判、监禁或杀死的罪犯。然后通过消灭本·拉登来证明这一点，这将是最好的方式。

A day before the ninth anniversary of 9/11, Leon Panetta and his CIA deputy, Mike Morell, asked to see me. They made a good team, I thought. As someone who’d spent much of his career in Congress before serving as Bill Clinton’s chief of staff, the seventy-two-year-old Panetta not only provided steady management of the agency but also enjoyed the public stage, maintained good relationships across Congress and with the press, and had a keen nose for the politics of national security issues. Morell, on the other hand, was the consummate insider, with the meticulous mind of an analyst, and while only in his early fifties he had decades of experience at the agency.在9/11事件的九周年前一天，李昂·潘内塔和他的中央情报局副局长迈克·莫雷尔请我去见他们。我觉得他们是一个好组合。作为一个在国会工作了很多年，然后担任比尔·克林顿的白宫幕僚长的人，现年72岁的潘内塔不仅提供了对该机构的稳定管理，而且享有公众的关注，与国会和新闻界都保持良好的关系，并对国家安全问题的政治嗅觉敏锐。另一方面，莫雷尔是一个彻底的内部人士，具有分析家的敏锐头脑。虽然他只有50多岁，但在该机构拥有几十年的经验。

“Mr. President, it’s very preliminary,” Leon said, “but we think we have a potential lead on bin Laden—the best one by far since Tora Bora.”

I absorbed the news in silence. Leon and Mike explained that—thanks to patient and painstaking work, involving the compilation and pattern mapping of thousands of bits of information—analysts had identified the whereabouts of a man known as Abu Ahmed al-Kuwaiti, who they believed served as an al-Qaeda courier and had known ties to bin Laden. They had been tracking his phone and daily habits, which had led them not to some remote location in the FATA but rather to a large compound in an affluent neighborhood on the outskirts of the Pakistani city of Abbottabad, thirty-five miles north of Islamabad. According to Mike, the size and structure of the compound indicated that somebody important lived there, quite possibly a high-value al-Qaeda member. The intelligence community had set up surveillance on the compound, and Leon promised to update me on anything we learned about its occupants.

“总统先生，这只是一个初步的消息，”莱昂说，“但我们认为我们已经找到了本·拉登的一个潜在线索，这是自托拉·博拉以来最好的进展。”

我默默地吸收了这个消息。莱昂和迈克解释说，通过耐心而繁琐的工作，涉及数千条信息的编制和模式映射，分析师们已经确定了一个名为阿布·艾哈迈德·库韦蒂（Abu Ahmed al-Kuwaiti）的男子的下落，这个人据信是基地组织的信使，并与本·拉登有关系。他们一直在追踪他的电话和日常习惯，这使得他们不是找到了FATA地区的某个偏远地方，而是找到了位于巴基斯坦伊斯兰堡以北35英里处的艾波塔巴德市郊富裕社区一个大型住宅区。迈克说，这个住宅区的规模和结构表明住在那里的可能是某个重要人物，很可能是一个高价值的基地组织成员。情报社区已经在住宅区设立了监视装置，并承诺将及时向我通报有关住宅区居民的任何信息。

After they’d gone, I made a point of tempering my expectations. Anyone could be in that compound; even if it was someone with al-Qaeda connections, the likelihood that bin Laden would be staying in a populated urban area seemed small. But on December 14, Leon and Mike were back, this time with an officer and an analyst from the CIA. The analyst was a young man with the polished, fresh-faced look of a senior congressional staffer, the officer a lean, thickly bearded gentleman who was older and with a slightly rumpled, professorial air. He turned out to be the head of the CIA’s Counterterrorism Center and the team leader for the bin Laden hunt. I imagined him holed up in some subterranean warren, surrounded by computers and thick manila folders, oblivious to the world as he combed through mounds of data.他们走后，我意识到不应抱太高期望。在那个地方，任何人都可能出现；即使是与基地组织有联系的人，本·拉登在人口稠密的城区住宿的可能性也很小。但12月14日，利奥恩和迈克带着一名军官和一名中央情报局分析师又回来了。这位分析师是个年

轻人，看上去很干练，像个资深国会工作人员；那位军官则瘦削，胡须浓密，带着略显凌乱的教授气息。结果证明，他是中央情报局反恐中心的负责人，也是本·拉登追捕团队的领队。我想象着他躲在地下室的某个洞穴里，周围堆满了电脑和厚厚的袋装文件，专注于梳理眼花缭乱的数据，与外面的世界完全隔绝。

The two men walked me through everything that had led us to the Abbottabad compound—a remarkable feat of detective work. Apparently the courier al-Kuwaiti had purchased the property under an assumed name. The compound itself was unusually spacious and secure, eight times larger than neighboring residences, surrounded by ten- to eighteen-foot walls topped with barbed wire, and with additional walls inside the perimeter. As for the people who lived there, the analysts said they went to great lengths to conceal their identities: They had no landline or internet service, almost never left the compound, and burned their trash instead of putting it outside for collection. But the age and number of children in the compound's main house appeared to match those of bin Laden's children. And through aerial surveillance, our team had been able to observe a tall man who never left the property but regularly walked in circles in a small garden area within the compound's walls.

這兩個人詳細地給我講解了所有導致我們進入阿伯塔巴德的大院的原因，這是一項驚人的偵探工作。顯然，信差al-Kuwaiti以假名購買了該物業。這個大院本身非常寬敞和安全，比鄰近的住宅大八倍，被十至十八英尺高的圍牆包圍，並有額外的圍牆在週邊。至於住在那裡的人們，分析師們說他們盡了很大的努力來隱藏自己的身份：他們沒有座機或互聯網服務，幾乎從未離開過這個院子，而是燃燒他們的垃圾，而不是將它放在外面收集。但是，大院的主房子裡的孩子的年齡和數量似乎與本·拉登的孩子的年齡和數量相匹配。通過空中監視，我們的團隊能夠觀察到一個高大的男人從未離開過該物業，但經常在該院子的圍牆內的一個小花園區域裡走來走去。

“We call him the Pacer,” the lead officer said. “We think he could be bin Laden.”

I had a ton of questions, but the main one was this: What else could we do to confirm the Pacer's identity? Although they were continuing to explore possible strategies, the analysts confessed that they weren't hopeful. Given the configuration and location of the compound, as well as the caution of its occupants, the methods that might yield greater certainty that it was in fact bin Laden might quickly trigger suspicion; without us ever knowing it, the occupants could vanish without a trace. I looked at the lead officer.

“我们称他为“节奏者”，”领队警官说。“我们认为他可能是本·拉登。”我有很多问题，但主要问题是：我们还能做什么来确认节奏者的身份？尽管他们正在继续探索可能的策略，但分析人员承认他们不抱希望。鉴于该建筑物的配置和位置，以及其居民的谨慎性，可能产生更大确定性的方法可能会很快引发怀疑；在我们毫不知情的情况下，居民可能会消失得无影无踪。我看着领队警官。”

“What's your judgment?” I asked.

I could see him hesitating. I suspected that he'd been around during the run-up to Iraq; the intelligence community's reputation was still recovering from the role it had played in supporting the Bush administration's insistence that Saddam Hussein was developing weapons of mass destruction. Still, I caught an expression on his face that indicated the pride of someone who'd cracked an intricate puzzle—even if he couldn't prove it.

“I think there's a good chance he's our man,” he said. “But we can't be certain.” 「你的判斷是什麼？」我問道。

我看得出他猶豫了。我懷疑他在伊拉克戰爭前就已經在情報圈子裡工作；情報機構的聲譽至今仍然未能從他們在支持布殊政府聲稱薩達姆·侯賽因正在發展大規模殺傷性武器的角色中恢復過來。但我發現他臉上的表情顯示了一個人成功解決一個錯綜複雜謎題所擁有的驕傲感——即使他無法證明。

「我認為他很有可能就是我們要找的人，不過我們無法確定。」他說。

Based on what I'd heard, I decided we had enough information to begin developing options for an attack on the compound. While the CIA team continued to work on identifying the Pacer, I asked Tom Donilon and John Brennan to explore what a raid would look like. The need for secrecy added to the challenge; if even the slightest hint of our lead on bin Laden leaked, we knew our opportunity would be lost. As a result, only a handful of people across the entire federal government were read into the planning phase of the operation. We had one other constraint: Whatever option we chose could not involve the Pakistanis. Although Pakistan's government cooperated with us on a host of counterterrorism operations and provided a vital supply path for our forces in Afghanistan, it was an open secret that certain elements inside the country's military, and especially its intelligence services, maintained links to the Taliban and perhaps even al-Qaeda, sometimes using them as strategic assets to ensure that the Afghan government remained weak and unable to align itself with Pakistan's number one rival, India. The fact that the Abbottabad compound was just a few miles from the Pakistan military's equivalent of West Point only heightened the possibility that anything we told the Pakistanis could end up tipping off our target. Whatever we chose to do in Abbottabad, then, would involve violating the territory of a putative ally in the most egregious way possible, short of war—raising both the diplomatic stakes and the operational complexities.

基于我听到的消息，我决定我们已经有足够的信息开始制定袭击该基地的选项。尽管CIA团队继续努力找到“Pacer”，但我请汤姆·多尼隆和约翰·布伦南探讨突袭行动的方案。保密性的需要增加了难度；如果即使是最微小的泄露我们对本·拉登的线索，我们知道我们的机会将会丧失。因此，在整个联邦政府机构中只有少数几个人参与了这次行动的计划阶段。我们还有另一重限制：无论我们选择什么选项，都不能涉及巴基斯坦人。尽管巴基斯坦政府在反恐方面与我们配合，也为我们在阿富汗提供了重要的补给路线，但是一个公开的秘密是该国军方内部的某些人，尤其是其情报服务，与塔利班甚至基地组织保持联系，有时借助他们作为战略资产确保阿富汗政府保持虚弱，无法与巴基斯坦的头号竞争对手印度联合。而阿伯塔巴德基地距离巴基斯坦军方的西点军校仅几英里，这进一步增加了我们告知巴基斯坦人可能会泄露我们目标的风险。因此，我们在阿伯塔巴德所做的任何事情，都将涉及到以最严重的方式违反一个假定的盟友的领土，除战争外，这会提高外交风险和操作复杂性。

By mid-March, in the days leading up to the Libya intervention and my trip to Latin America, the team had presented what they cautioned were only preliminary concepts for an assault on the compound in Abbottabad. Roughly speaking, I had two options. The first was to demolish it with an air strike. The benefits of that approach were obvious: No American lives would be risked on Pakistani soil. Publicly, at least, this option also offered a certain

deniability—the Pakistanis would, of course, know that we were the ones who'd carried out the strike, but they would have an easier time maintaining the fiction that we might not be, which could help quell outrage among their people.

三月中旬，在利比亚干涉和我前往拉丁美洲之前，团队已经提出了仅仅是对阿伯塔巴德袭击的初步构想。大致上，我有两个选择。第一个是用空袭摧毁它。这种方法的好处显而易见：不会有美国人在巴基斯坦境内冒险。公开地说，这个选择也提供了一定的否认性 - 巴基斯坦人当然会知道我们是实施这次袭击的人，但是他们可以更容易地保持我们可能不是的虚构，这可以帮助平息他们的人民的愤怒。

As we delved into the details of what a missile strike would look like, though, the downsides were significant. If we destroyed the compound, how would we ever be certain that bin Laden had been there? If al-Qaeda denied that bin Laden had been killed, how would we explain having blown up a residence deep inside Pakistan? Moreover, there were an estimated five women and twenty children living with the four adult males at the Abbottabad compound, and, in its initial iteration, the proposed strike would not only annihilate the compound but almost certainly level several adjacent residences as well. Not long into the meeting, I told Joint Chiefs vice chairman Hoss Cartwright that I'd heard enough: I was not going to authorize the killing of thirty or more people when we weren't even certain it was bin Laden in the compound. If we were going to use a strike, they'd have to come up with a much more precise plan.

然而，当我们深入探讨导弹袭击的细节时，缺点显而易见。如果我们摧毁了整个建筑群，我们如何确定本·拉登曾经在那里？如果基地组织否认本·拉登已经被杀，我们又该如何解释为什么在巴基斯坦深处的住宅被炸毁了呢？此外，据估计，在阿伯塔巴德的建筑群里住着四名成年男子、五名妇女和二十名儿童。且在最初的计划中，这次袭击不仅会摧毁整个建筑群，而且几乎肯定会夷为平地周围几栋相邻的民居。在会议进行不久后，我告诉参谋长联席会议副主席霍斯·卡特赖特，我听够了：当我们甚至不能确定阿伯塔巴德的建筑群里面是不是本·拉登的时候，我不会授权杀死三十个或更多的人。如果我们打算使用导弹袭击，他们必须想出一个更精确的计划。

The second option was to authorize a special ops mission, in which a select team would covertly fly into Pakistan via helicopter, raid the compound, and get out before the Pakistani police or military had time to react. To preserve the secrecy of the operation, and deniability if something went awry, we'd have to conduct it under the authority of the CIA rather than the Pentagon. On the other hand, for a mission of this magnitude and risk, we needed a topflight military mind—which is why we had the Defense Department's Vice Admiral William McRaven, head of Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), in the room to walk us through what a raid might entail.

第二個選項是授權一個特殊行動小組，他們可以秘密地搭乘直升機進入巴基斯坦，突襲該複合物，然後在巴基斯坦警察或軍隊有反應的時間之前離開。為了保護行動的保密性，以及如果出現問題時可以否認，我們必須在CIA的權限下進行，而不是在五角大樓的權限下進行。另一方面，對於這樣一個規模和風險的任務，我們需要一個頂級的軍事思想，這就是為什麼我們在房間裡有國防部的副海軍上將威廉·麥克雷文，聯合特種作戰司令部（JSOC）的負責人，來為我們展示突襲可能涉及的任務。

The chance to work closely with the men and women of the U.S. armed forces—to witness firsthand their teamwork and sense of duty—had been one of the most humbling aspects of my two years in office. And if I'd had to pick one individual to represent everything right about our military, Bill McRaven might have been that person. In his mid-fifties, with a friendly, open face, a deadpan sense of humor, and a plainspoken, can-do demeanor, he reminded me of a sandy-haired Tom Hanks—if Tom Hanks had been a career Navy SEAL. Like his predecessor at JSOC, Stan McChrystal, for whom he'd served as deputy, McRaven had helped write the book on special ops. For his postgraduate thesis eighteen years earlier, in fact, McRaven had studied a series of twentieth-century commando operations—including a 1943 glider rescue of Mussolini ordered by Hitler, and the 1976 Israeli operation to free hostages in Entebbe—examining the conditions under which a small group of well-rehearsed, highly trained soldiers could use stealth to maintain short-term superiority over larger or better armed forces.

有机会与美国武装部队的男女们密切合作，亲眼目睹他们的团队精神和责任感，这是我任职两年中最让人谦卑的方面之一。如果我必须选择一个能够代表我们军队一切正面的人，比尔·麦克雷文可能就是那个人。他五十多岁，面容友好，幽默憨厚，干练明快，如果汤姆·汉克斯是个职业海豹突击队员的话，那麦克雷文就像是一头拥有金发的汤姆·汉克斯。像他在联合特别作战司令部的前任斯坦·麦克里斯托尔一样，麦克雷文也是特种部队方面的专家。事实上，十八年前，他的研究生论文就是在研究二十世纪的一系列突击行动，包括1943年希特勒下令的滑翔机解救墨索里尼行动以及1976年以色列突击队在恩特贝机场解救人质等，探讨一个小规模、训练有素的士兵小队如何利用隐秘行动来对抗人数更多或者装备更好的敌军。

McRaven had gone on to develop a model for special operations that shaped U.S. military strategy around the world. During his storied career, he had personally commanded or carried out more than a thousand special ops in some of the most dangerous settings imaginable, most recently going after high-value targets in Afghanistan. He was also famously cool under pressure. As a SEAL captain, he'd survived a 2001 parachuting accident in which he was knocked semiconscious during a jump and plunged four thousand feet before his chute properly deployed. (The accident broke his back and tore his leg muscles and tendons from his pelvis.) Although the CIA had developed its own internal special ops teams, Leon had wisely chosen to consult with McRaven in mapping out what a raid on Abbottabad might look like. He'd concluded that no CIA operators could match the skill and experience of McRaven's Navy SEAL team and, thus, had recommended an unusual arrangement in which the chain of command ran from me to him to McRaven, who would have complete authority to design and conduct the mission if we decided to go forward with it.

麦克雷文已发展出一种特种作战模式，塑造了美国在世界各地的军事战略。在他的传奇职业生涯中，他个人指挥或执行了超过一千次特种行动，他最近的目标是在阿富汗追踪高价值目标。他也以冷静应对压力而闻名。作为海豹突击队队长，他曾在2001年一次跳伞事故中幸存下来，当时他在跳伞过程中被撞晕并坠落了四千英尺，直到他的降落伞正常展开才恢复意识。（这次事故使他的背部骨折，腿部肌肉和腱从骨盆处断裂。）尽管中央情报局已经自行发展了其内部的特别行动小组，但里昂明智地选择与麦克雷文商讨阿巴巴德袭击行动的具体计划。他得出的结论是，没有任何中情局操作人员能够与麦克雷文所属的海

豹突击队匹敌，因此，他推荐了一种不同寻常的安排，即指挥链从我到他到麦克雷文，并授予麦克雷文完全的权利来设计和执行任务，如果我们决定前进的话。

Guided by data collected by aerial photography, the CIA had built a small three-dimensional replica of the Abbottabad compound, and during our March meeting McRaven walked us through how a raid might go: A select team of SEALs would fly one or more helicopters for nearly an hour and a half under the cover of darkness from Jalalabad, Afghanistan, to the target, landing inside the compound's high walls. They would then secure every perimeter entry point, door, and window before breaking into the three-story main house, searching the premises, and neutralizing any resistance they encountered. They would apprehend or kill bin Laden and fly back out, stopping to refuel somewhere inside Pakistan before returning to the base in Jalalabad. When McRaven's presentation was over, I asked him if he thought his team could pull it off.

在由航空照片收集的数据指引下，中央情报局建立了阿伯特巴德复合体的小型三维复制品。在我们三月的会议上，麦克雷文向我们展示了一次袭击的可能方式：一队精锐海豹突击队员将驾驶一架或多架直升机飞行近一个半小时，利用夜色从阿富汗加拉拉巴德飞往目标区域，在复合体的高墙内降落。他们将保卫每一个周界入口、门和窗户，然后闯进三层主楼，搜索房屋并消灭任何阻碍他们的抵抗。他们将逮捕或击毙本·拉登，然后回转，先在巴基斯坦内部补给，在返回加拉拉巴德基地之前停留。当麦克雷文的报告结束时，我问他他认为他的队伍能否完成这项任务。

"Sir, right now we've just sketched out a concept," he said. "Until I can get a larger team together to run through some rehearsals, I won't know if what I'm currently thinking is the best way to do it. I also can't tell you how we would get in and out—we need detailed air planners for that. What I can tell you is that if we get there, we can pull off the raid. But I can't recommend the mission itself until I've done the homework."

I nodded. "Let's do the homework, then."

Two weeks later, on March 29, we reconvened in the Situation Room, and McRaven reported feeling highly confident that the raid could be executed. Getting out, on the other hand, he said, might be a little more "sporty." Based on his experience with similar raids and the preliminary rehearsals he'd run, he was fairly certain that the team could finish the job before any Pakistani authorities caught wind of what was happening. Nevertheless, we considered all the scenarios in which that assumption proved incorrect. What would we do if Pakistani fighters intercepted our helicopters, either on the way in or on the way out? What if bin Laden was on-site but hidden or in a safe room, thus extending the amount of time the special ops team spent on the ground? How would the team respond if Pakistani police or military forces surrounded the compound during the raid?

“先生，现在我们仅仅是草拟了一个概念，”他说。“在我能组建一个更大的团队进行一些排练之前，我不会知道我当前考虑的是不是最好的方法。我也不能告诉你我们将如何进出——我们需要详细的空中计划师来做这件事。我能告诉你的是，如果我们到那里，我们可以完成袭击。但在我完成功课之前，我不能推荐这项任务。”

我点了点头。“那我们来完成功课吧。”

两周后的3月29日，我们在情报室重新聚集，麦克拉文报告说，他非常有信心能够执行袭击。但他表示，出局可能会有些“危险”。根据他以往执行类似袭击的经验和初步的排练，他相当确定特种部队可以在巴基斯坦有关当局察觉之前完成任务。尽管如此，我们考虑了所有这种假设不正确的情况。如果巴基斯坦战斗机拦截了我们的直升机，不管是在进入还是离开时会怎样？如果本·拉登在现场但被藏匿或藏在一个安全房间里，特种部队在地面上停留的时间会延长，我们该怎么办？如果巴基斯坦警察或军队在袭击期间包围了该建筑，特种部队将如何应对？

McRaven emphasized that his planning was built on the premise that his team should avoid a firefight with Pakistani authorities; and if the authorities confronted us on the ground, his inclination would be to have the SEALs hold in place while our diplomats tried to negotiate a safe exit. I appreciated those instincts; his proposed approach was yet another example of the prudence I'd consistently encountered when dealing with our top military commanders. But with U.S.-Pakistan relations in a particularly precarious state, both Bob Gates and I expressed serious reservations about this strategy. U.S. drone strikes against al-Qaeda targets in the FATA had been generating increasing opposition from the Pakistani public. Anti-American sentiment had been further inflamed late in January when a CIA contractor named Raymond Allen Davis killed two armed men who approached his vehicle in the teeming city of Lahore, setting off angry protests over the CIA presence in Pakistan and resulting in nearly two months of tense diplomatic drama as we brokered Davis's release. I told McRaven and the team that I was not going to risk putting the fate of our SEALs in the hands of a Pakistani government that would no doubt face intense public pressure over whether to jail or release them—especially if it turned out that bin Laden wasn't in the compound. I therefore wanted him to beef up plans to get the raiding party out no matter what—possibly adding two extra helicopters to provide backup for the team in the compound.

麥克拉文強調，他的計劃是建立在避免與巴基斯坦當局交火的前提下進行的；並且如果當局在地面上遭遇了我們，他的傾向是讓封印隊長站在原地，而讓我們的外交官嘗試談判安全撤離。我欣賞這些直覺；他提出的方法是我一直在處理我們頂尖軍事指揮官時一貫遇到的謹慎性的又一個例子。但由於美巴關係尤其脆弱，鮑勃·蓋茨和我都對這一策略表示了嚴重的保留。美國對基地組織在FATA的目標進行無人機襲擊，越來越多的巴基斯坦公眾反對。1月底的時候，一名名叫雷蒙德·艾倫·戴維斯的中央情報局承包商在人聲鼎沸的城市拉合爾開車時殺死了兩名武裝人員，引發了對中央情報局在巴基斯坦的存在的憤怒抗議，並導致近兩個月的緊張外交事件，當中我們斡旋達成了戴維斯的釋放。我告訴麥克拉文和團隊，我不會冒險將我們的封印隊員的命運交付到巴基斯坦政府手中，因為毫無疑問，他們會面臨是否監禁或釋放他們的巨大公眾壓力，尤其是如果發現本拉登不在大樓裡的話。因此，我希望他加強計劃，無論如何都要讓突擊隊員團結一致——可能會添加兩架額外的直升機，為大樓內的隊伍提供支援。

Before we adjourned, Hoss Cartwright offered a new, more surgical option for an air strike—one involving a drone that would fire a small, thirteen-pound missile directly at the Pacer while he was taking his daily walk. According to Cartwright, the collateral damage would be minimal, and given the experience our military had developed in targeting other terrorist operatives, he felt satisfied that it could do the job while avoiding the risks inherent in a raid.

The possible courses of action were now in focus. McRaven would oversee the construction of a full-scale model of the Abbottabad compound at Fort

Bragg, North Carolina, where the SEAL team would conduct a series of dress rehearsals. Should I decide to authorize the raid, he said, the optimal time to do it would be the first weekend in May, when a couple of moonless nights would provide the SEALs with extra cover. Left unstated were obvious concerns that with each step we took to plan and prepare, and every day that passed, more people were being read into our secret. I told both McRaven and Cartwright that I wasn't yet ready to make a decision as to which option, if any, we'd pursue. But for planning purposes, I said, "Assume it's a go."

在我们休会之前，霍斯·卡特莱特提供了一个更为精细的空袭选项，涉及无人机直接向步行时的Pacer发射一枚小型13磅导弹。卡特莱特表示，附带损失将是最小的，并且考虑到我们军队在针对其他恐怖分子的经验，他感到满意，认为可以完成任务，同时避免突击所固有的风险。

现在，可能的行动方案已经清晰明了。麦克雷文将在北卡罗来纳州布拉格堡建造一个阿伯塔巴德复合体的全尺寸模型，海豹突击队将进行一系列的彩排。他说，如果我决定授权突袭，最佳时间将是5月的第一个周末，在那里，几个没有月亮的夜晚将为海豹突击队提供额外的掩护。未被明确表述的是，随着我们计划和准备的每一步，以及每一天的过去，越来越多的人正在了解我们的秘密。我告诉麦克雷温德和卡特莱特，我还没有准备好决定是否要选择哪个选项。但是我说，为了策划的目的，“假设它可以进行。”

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ALL THE WHILE, we carried on with business as usual at the White House. I was tracking the situation in Libya, the war in Afghanistan, and the Greek debt crisis, which had flared up again and was once more starting to affect U.S. markets. One day, on the way back from the Situation Room, I ran into Jay Carney, who'd succeeded Robert Gibbs as my press secretary. Jay was a former journalist who'd had a front-row seat for all sorts of historic moments. He'd covered the breakup of the Soviet Union as Time magazine's Moscow correspondent and had been on Air Force One with President Bush on the morning of 9/11. Now he was telling me he'd just spent part of his daily press briefing fielding questions about whether my birth certificate was valid.与此同时，我们在白宫照常进行业务。我在追踪利比亚局势、阿富汗战争以及希腊债务危机，后者再次爆发并开始影响美国市场。有一天，在回到情报室的路上，我遇到了接替罗伯特·吉布斯成为我的新闻秘书的杰伊·卡尼。杰伊曾经是一位新闻记者，亲眼见证了许多历史性事件。他曾经担任《时代》杂志莫斯科记者，报道苏联解体，并曾与布什总统一起乘坐空军一号，亲眼见证了9/11事件的发生。现在他告诉我，他刚刚在日常新闻发布会上回答了有关我的出生证明是否有效的问题。

It had been more than a month since Donald Trump had inserted himself into the national political dialogue. My advisors and I had assumed that, having milked it for all it was worth, the media would gradually tire of his obsession with my birth. And yet, like algae in a stagnant pond, the number of stories on his conspiratorial musings proliferated with each passing week. Cable shows ran long segments on Trump and his theories. Political reporters searched for fresh angles on the sociological significance of birtherism, or its impact on my reelection campaign, or (with barely acknowledged irony) what it said about the news business. A major point of discussion was the fact that the document we'd made available on the internet in 2008 was a "short-form" birth certificate, which was the standard document issued by the Hawaii State Department of Health and could be used to obtain a passport, Social Security number, or driver's license. According to Trump and his fellow birthers, however, the short-form document proved nothing. Why hadn't I produced the original long-form version of my birth certificate? we were asked. Had information on the long form been deliberately omitted from the short form—perhaps some clue that I was Muslim? Had the long form itself been doctored? What was Obama hiding?

唐納德·特朗普插手全國政治對話已有一個多月之久。我和我的顧問們認為，媒體會逐漸厭倦他對我的出生地的妄想，然而，就像停滯池塘中的藻類一樣，每過一周，他的陰謀論言論在媒體中便呈爆發式增長。有線節目開始長時間報導特朗普和他的陰謀論。政治記者們則在研究出新的角度，例如陰謀論的社會學意義、它對我的連任競選帶來的影響，以及（含有微妙的諷刺意味）這反映了新聞業的什麼問題。主要討論點之一是，我們在2008年在網上公佈的文檔只是“短格式”出生證明，這是夏威夷州衛生署發放的標準文檔，可用於獲得護照、社保號碼或駕駛執照等。然而，特朗普和他的同黨認為，短格式文檔並不能證明什麼。為什麼我沒有提供原件的長格式出生證明？人們問道。長格式文檔中是否故意隱瞞了一些信息，例如我是穆斯林的暗示？長格式文檔本身是否被篡改？奧巴馬在隱瞞什麼？

Finally I decided I'd had enough. I called in White House counsel Bob Bauer and told him to go ahead and obtain the long-form birth certificate from its home in a bound volume, somewhere deep in the bowels of the Hawaii Vital Records office. I then let David Plouffe and Dan Pfeiffer know that I planned not just to release the document but to say something publicly as well. They thought this was a bad idea, arguing that I'd just feed the story, and anyway, answering such ridiculous charges was beneath both me and the office of the president.

最终我决定已经受够了。我叫进了白宫法律顾问鲍勃·鲍尔，并告诉他去获取长格式出生证明，这份证明深藏在夏威夷重要记录办公室的某个卷宗中。随后我通知了戴维·普洛夫和丹·普费弗，我不仅计划公开发这份文件，还打算发表一些公开言论。他们认为这是个不好的主意，认为我将只是在推动这个故事加剧，而且回应如此荒谬的指控既有失我的身份，也不符合总统办公室的尊严。

"That," I said, "is exactly the point."

On April 27, I walked to the podium in the White House briefing room and greeted the press. I began by remarking on the fact that the national TV networks had all decided to break from their regularly scheduled programming to carry my remarks live—something they very rarely did. I observed that two weeks earlier, when the House Republicans and I had issued sharply contrasting budget proposals, with profound implications for the nation, the news had instead been dominated by talk of my birth certificate. I noted that America faced enormous challenges and big decisions; that we should expect serious debates and sometimes fierce disagreements, because that was how our democracy was supposed to work, and I was certain that we had it in us to shape a better future together.

我说：“那正是问题所在。”

4月27日，我走到白宫新闻发布厅的讲台上，向记者问候。我开始谈论全国电视网络都决定打破常规节目直播我的讲话这一事实——这是他们极少做的事

情。我观察到两周前，当众议院共和党人和我发表了截然不同的预算建议，对国家有着深远的影响时，新闻却被我的出生证明所掌控。我指出美国面临巨大的挑战和重大的决策；我们应该期望进行严肃的辩论，有时会有激烈的分歧，因为这就是我们民主的本质所在。我相信我们有能力共同创造一个更美好的未来。

“But,” I said, “we’re not going to be able to do it if we are distracted. We’re not going to be able to do it if we spend time vilifying each other. We’re not going to be able to do it if we just make stuff up and pretend that facts are not facts. We’re not going to be able to solve our problems if we get distracted by sideshows and carnival barkers.” I looked out at the assembled reporters. “I know that there’s going to be a segment of people for which, no matter what we put out, this issue will not be put to rest. But I’m speaking to the vast majority of the American people, as well as to the press. We do not have time for this kind of silliness. We’ve got better stuff to do. I’ve got better stuff to do. We’ve got big problems to solve. And I’m confident we can solve them, but we’re going to have to focus on them—not on this.”

但是，我说：“如果我们分心，我们将无法完成这件事。如果我们花时间互相诋毁，我们将无法完成这件事。如果我们只是编造事实，假装事实不是事实，我们将无法完成这件事。如果我们被杂耍表演和马戏团吸引了注意力，我们将无法解决我们的问题。”我看着聚集的记者。“我知道，有一部分人无论我们发布什么消息，这个问题都不会停息。但我是向绝大多数美国民众和新闻界说话。我们没有时间为这种愚蠢的事情浪费时间。我们有更重要的事情要做。我有更重要的事情要做。我们有重大的问题要解决，但我们必须专注于解决这些问题，而不是关注这个问题。”

The room was quiet for a moment. I exited through the sliding doors that led back into the communications team’s offices, where I encountered a group of junior members of our press shop who’d been watching my remarks on a TV monitor. They all looked to be in their twenties. Some had worked on my campaign; others had only recently joined the administration, compelled by the idea of serving their country. I stopped and made eye contact with each one of them.

“We’re better than this,” I said. “Remember that.”

房间里静了一会儿。我穿过滑动门回到了通信团队的办公室，碰到了一群看着电视监视器上我讲话的新晋媒体成员。他们中的一些人曾在我的竞选团队工作，另一些人则是最近才加入政府，被为国家服务的想法所感动。我停下来，与他们每一个人都进行了眼神交流。

“我们比这更好。”我说，“记住这一点。”

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BACK IN THE Situation Room the next day, my team and I conducted a final review of our options for a possible Abbottabad operation to take place that weekend. Earlier in the week, I had given McRaven approval to dispatch the SEAL team and helicopter assault force to Afghanistan, and the group was now in Jalalabad, awaiting further orders. In order to make sure that the CIA had adequately pressure-tested its work, Leon and Mike Morell had asked the chief of the National Counterterrorism Center, Mike Leiter, to have a fresh team of analysts pore over the available intelligence on the compound and its residents, to see how the agency’s conclusions matched up with those of Langley. Leiter reported that his team had expressed a 40 to 60 percent degree of certainty that it was bin Laden, compared to the CIA team’s assessment of 60 to 80 percent. A discussion ensued about what accounted for the difference. After a few minutes, I interrupted.

在第二天回到戰情室後，我和我的團隊進行了最後的審查，以確定週末是否進行阿伯塔巴德行動的選項。本週早些時候，我已經批准麥克雷文將海豹突擊隊和直升機突擊部隊派往阿富汗，他們現在正在賈拉拉巴德等待進一步的命令。為了確保中央情報局已充分測試了他們的工作，萊昂和邁克摩雷爾要求國家反恐中心的主管邁克萊特，組織一支新的分析團隊，仔細研究了有關該複合物和其居民的可用情報，以查看中央情報局的結論與蘭利相比是否相符。萊特報告稱，他的團隊表達出40%至60%的確定度是本·拉登，而中央情報局團隊的評估為60%至80%。接著進行了一場討論，關於這種差異值得考慮的原因。幾分鐘後，我打斷了討論。

“I know we’re trying to quantify these factors as best we can,” I said. “But ultimately, this is a fifty-fifty call. Let’s move on.”

McRaven let us know that preparations for the raid were complete; he and his men were ready. Cartwright likewise confirmed that the drone missile option had been tested and could be activated at any time. With the options before us, I went around the table to get everyone’s recommendations. Leon, John Brennan, and Mike Mullen favored the raid. Hillary said that for her, it was a 51–49 call, carefully ticking through the risks of a raid—especially the danger that we could rupture our relations with Pakistan, or even find ourselves in a confrontation with the Pakistani military. She added, however, that considering that this was our best lead on bin Laden in ten years, she ultimately came down on the side of sending in the SEALs.

“我知道我们正在尽力以最佳方式量化这些因素，”我说。“但最终，这是个五五之约的决定。让我们继续前进吧。”麦克雷文告诉我们，突袭的准备已经完成，他和他的士兵已经准备好了。卡特赖特同样确认，无人机导弹选择已经进行了测试，并随时可被激活。在我们面前的选择下，我绕过桌子，听取每个人的建议。利昂·约翰·布伦南和迈克·马伦支持突袭。希拉里则表示，对她来说，这是一个51比49的决定，仔细分析突袭的风险——尤其是我们可能会破坏与巴基斯坦的关系，甚至发生与巴基斯坦军方的对抗。然而，她补充说，考虑到这是我们在十年里对本·拉登最好的线索，她最终站在派遣海豹突击队的一边。

Gates recommended against a raid, although he was open to considering the strike option. He raised the precedent of the April 1980 attempt to rescue the fifty-three American hostages held in Iran, known as Desert One, which had turned catastrophic after a U.S. military helicopter crashed in the desert, killing eight servicemembers. It was a reminder, he said, that no matter how thorough the planning, operations like this could go badly wrong. Beyond the risk to the team, he worried that a failed mission might adversely impact the war in Afghanistan. Earlier that same day, I had announced Bob’s planned retirement after four years as secretary of defense and my intention to nominate Leon as his successor. As I listened to Bob’s sober, well-reasoned assessment, I was reminded of just how valuable he’d been to me.

蓋茨建議不要進行突襲，但他願意考慮這種選擇。他提到了1980年4月試圖解救伊朗被困53名美國人質的沙漠之怒行動的先例，該行動因為一架美國軍用直升機在沙漠中墜毀而釀成災難，造成八名軍人死亡。他说，这是一个提醒，无论计划如何周全，这样的行动都可能出现严重问题。除了对团队的风险外，他担心一次失败的任务可能会对阿富汗战争产生不利影响。同一天早些时候，我宣布鲍勃将退休，他已担任国防部长四年，而我打算提名莱昂作为他的继任者。当我听取鲍勃冷静、理性的评估时，我想起了他对我的价值。

Joe also weighed in against the raid, arguing that given the enormous consequences of failure, I should defer any decision until the intelligence community was more certain that bin Laden was in the compound. As had been true in every major decision I'd made as president, I appreciated Joe's willingness to buck the prevailing mood and ask tough questions, often in the interest of giving me the space I needed for my own internal deliberations. I also knew that Joe, like Gates, had been in Washington during Desert One. I imagined he had strong memories of that time: the grieving families, the blow to American prestige, the recrimination, and the portrayal of Jimmy Carter as both reckless and weak-minded in authorizing the mission. Carter had never recovered politically. The unspoken suggestion was that I might not either.

乔也反对突袭，认为考虑到失败的巨大后果，我应该推迟任何决定，直到情报部门更加确定拉登在那个建筑物里。作为总统做出每一个重大决策时都是如此，我赞赏乔的 willingness to buck the prevailing mood 和提出艰难的问题，这通常是为了给自己的内部思考留出更多的空间。我也知道，像盖茨一样，乔曾在沙漠1号事件期间在华盛顿工作。我想象他对那段时间有深刻的记忆：哀悼的家庭、对美国威望的打击、反复指责和将吉米·卡特描绘成鲁莽和思想软弱的形象，以授权行动。卡特从未在政治上恢复过来。话里话外的意思是我也许也会遭到这样的惩罚。

I told the group that they would have my decision by morning—if it was a go on the raid, I wanted to make sure that McRaven had the widest window possible to time the operation's launch. Tom Donilon walked back to the Oval Office with me, his usual assortment of binders and notebooks tucked under his arm, and we quickly went down his checklist of potential action items for the weekend ahead. He and Brennan had prepared a playbook for every contingency, it seemed, and I could see the strain and nervousness on his face. Seven months into his tenure as my national security advisor, he'd been trying to exercise more and lay off the caffeine but was apparently losing the battle. I'd come to marvel at Tom's capacity for hard work, the myriad details he kept track of, the volume of memos and cables and data he had to consume, the number of snafus he fixed and interagency tussles he resolved, all so that I could have both the information and the mental space that I needed in order to do my job. I'd asked Tom once where his drive and diligence came from, and he'd attributed it to his background. He'd grown up in an Irish working-class family, putting himself through law school and serving on various political campaigns to eventually become a heavy-hitting foreign policy expert; but despite his successes, he said, he still constantly felt the need to prove himself, terrified of failure.

我告诉了小组，他们会在早上得到我的决定 - 如果突袭行动可以进行，我想确保麦克拉文有最广泛的时间窗口来确定操作的启动时间。汤姆·多尼伦和我一起走回椭圆形办公室，他习惯性地拿着一些文件夹和笔记本电脑，在周末即将到来之前迅速查看了他的潜在行动清单。他和布伦南似乎为每种应付情况都准备了手册，我可以看到他脸上的紧张和焦虑。七个月任职我的国家安全顾问后，他一直试图更多地锻炼并避免摄入咖啡因，但显然正在失败。我惊叹于汤姆的努力工作能力，他能够跟踪各种细节，消耗的备忘录、电缆和数据的数量以及他解决的问题和解决的跨机构的争执的数量，以便我能够进行工作所需的信息和心理空间。我曾问过汤姆他的动力和勤奋的来源，他归功于他的背景。他在一个爱尔兰工人阶级家庭中长大，自费上了法学院并在各种政治活动中服务，最终成为重要的外交政策专家。但尽管他取得了成功，他说他仍然不断感到需要证明自己，害怕失败。

I'd laughed and said I could relate.

Michelle and the girls were in rare form at dinner that night, teasing me relentlessly about what they called my “ways”—how I ate nuts a handful at a time, always shaking them in my fist first; how I always wore the same pair of ratty old sandals around the house; how I didn't like sweets (“Your dad doesn't believe in delicious things...too much joy”). I hadn't told Michelle about my pending decision, not wanting to burden her with a secret until I knew for certain what I planned to do, and if I was more tense than usual, she didn't seem to notice. After tucking the girls in, I retired to the Treaty Room and turned on a basketball game, my gaze following the moving ball as my mind ran through various scenarios one last time.

我笑了笑说我能理解。那天晚上，米歇尔和女孩们非常高兴，不断地拿我开玩笑，称呼我的“习惯”——我一次吃一大把的坚果，总是先把它们摇几下；我总是穿着同一双旧拖鞋在家里走来走去；我不喜欢甜食（“你爸爸不信什么美味的东西……太过欢乐了”）。我没有告诉米歇尔我即将做出的决定，不想在我确定了自己的计划之前让她知道我的秘密，如果我比平常更紧张，她似乎没有注意到。在安置女孩们之后，我退到《条约厅》并打开了一场篮球比赛，我的目光随着运动的球在各种情况下运转了一遍。

The truth was, I'd narrowed the scope of the decision at least a couple of weeks earlier; every meeting since had helped confirm my instincts. I wasn't in favor of a missile strike, even one as precise as Cartwright had devised, feeling that the gamble wasn't worth it without the ability to confirm that bin Laden had been killed. I was also skeptical of giving the intelligence community more time, since the extra months we'd spent monitoring the compound had yielded virtually no new information. Beyond that, considering all the planning that had already taken place, I doubted we could hold our secret another month.

事实上，我至少在几周前就已经缩小了决策的范围；之后的每次会议都帮助确认了我的直觉。我不赞成进行导弹打击，即使是像卡特莱特所设计的那样精确，因为我感觉如果没有确认本·拉登已被击毙，这种赌博是不值得的。我也对给情报机构更多时间持怀疑态度，因为我们在监测这个建筑群已经花费了几个月的时间，却几乎没有新的信息。另外，考虑到已经进行了所有的计划，我怀疑我们不能再保守秘密一个月了。

The only remaining question was whether or not to order the raid. I was clear-eyed about the stakes involved. I knew we could mitigate the risks but not eliminate them. I had supreme confidence in Bill McRaven and his SEALs. I knew that in the decades since Desert One and the years since the Black Hawk Down incident in Somalia, America's special forces capability had been transformed. For all the strategic mistakes and ill-conceived policies that

had plagued the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, they had also produced a cadre of men who had carried out innumerable operations and learned to respond to almost every situation imaginable. Given their skill and professionalism, I trusted that the SEALs would find a safe way out of Abbottabad, even if some of our calculations and assumptions proved to be incorrect.

唯一剩下的问题就是是否发起突袭。我对涉及的赌注有清醒的认识。我知道我们可以减轻风险，但无法消除风险。我对比尔·麦克雷文和他的海豹突击队有极高的信心。我知道从伊朗人质危机以来，在索马里黑鹰坠落事件发生的那些年里，美国的特种部队能力已经得到了改变。尽管在伊拉克和阿富汗战争中犯过战略错误和草率决策，但它们也培养了一批曾执行过无数次任务并学会应对几乎每种可能情况的人员。鉴于他们的技能和专业素养，我相信海豹突击队会找到安全的逃脱方法，即使有一些我们的计算和假设被证明是错误的。

I watched Kobe Bryant launch a turnaround jumper in the paint. The Lakers were playing the Hornets, on their way to wrapping up the first round of the play-offs. The grandfather clock ticked from its spot against the Treaty Room wall. Over the past two years, I'd made countless decisions—on the faltering banks, on Chrysler, pirates, Afghanistan, healthcare. They had left me familiar with, if never casual about, the possibilities of failure. Everything I did or had done involved working the odds, quietly and often late at night in the room where I now sat. I knew that I could not have come up with a better process to evaluate those odds or surrounded myself with a better mix of people to help me weigh them. I realized that through all the mistakes I'd made and the jams I'd had to extract us from, I had in many ways been training for exactly this moment. And while I couldn't guarantee the outcome of my decision, I was fully prepared and fully confident in making it.

我看着科比·布莱恩特在油漆区内发起一个转身跳投。湖人队正在对阵黄蜂队，封锁第一轮季后赛的胜局已逐渐形成。外面的祖父钟在条约房墙边的位置上发出嘀嗒声。在过去的两年里，我做出了无数个决策——关于不断疲软的银行、克莱斯勒、海盗、阿富汗、医保等等。它们使我熟悉了失败的可能性，虽然从未对其显得轻慢。我的一切行动都涉及对赔率的静悄悄地计算，而我经常在现在所坐的房间里熬夜这样做。我知道我找到了最好的决策过程，来评估这些赔率。我也知道我所选的人才搭配非常完美，能够帮助我权衡这些赔率。我认识到，虽然我犯过很多错误并不得不从中解脱出来，但在很多方面我正是为这个时刻而训练的。虽然我不能保证我的决策会产生怎样的结果，但我做好了充分的准备，完全自信地做出这个决策。

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THE NEXT DAY—Friday, April 29—was mostly travel. I was going to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to survey the damage from a devastating tornado outbreak and had an evening commencement address to deliver in Miami. In between, I was scheduled to take Michelle and the girls to Cape Canaveral to see the final launch of the space shuttle Endeavour before it was decommissioned. Ahead of leaving, I sent an email asking Tom, Denis, Daley, and Brennan to meet me in the Diplomatic Reception Room, and they found me just as the family exited to the South Lawn, where Marine One awaited. With the roar of the helicopter in the background (along with the sound of Sasha and Malia engaging in some sisterly bickering), I officially gave the go-ahead for the Abbottabad mission, emphasizing that McRaven had full operational control and that it would be up to him to determine the exact timing of the raid.

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第二天，即4月29日的星期五，大部分时间我都在旅行。我要前往阿拉巴马州的图斯卡卢萨，调查一次毁灭性龙卷风爆发带来的破坏，并在迈阿密发表一次晚间的毕业典礼演讲。在两者之间，我计划带着米歇尔和女儿们去卡纳维拉尔角观看航天飞机奋斗号的最后一次发射，然后该航天飞机就要退役了。在出发之前，我发了一封电子邮件，邀请汤姆·丹尼斯、戴利和布伦南来到外交接待室与我见面，而正当我们全家走向南草坪，等候着“海军陆战队一号”时，他们就到了。在“海军陆战队一号”的咆哮声中（以及 Sasha 和 Malia 之间的一些姐妹口角声中），我正式授权阿伯塔巴德行动，并强调麦克雷文将有充分的操作控制权，具体袭击时间将由他决定。

The operation was now largely out of my hands. I was glad to get out of Washington, if only for the day—to occupy my mind with other work and, as it turned out, to appreciate the work of others. Earlier in the week, a monstrous supercell storm had swept across the southeastern states, dropping tornadoes that killed more than three hundred people, which made it the deadliest natural disaster since Hurricane Katrina. A single mile-and-a-half-wide tornado fueled by 190-mile-per-hour winds had ripped through Alabama, destroying thousands of homes and businesses.

这项任务现在基本上已经超出了我的控制范围。我很高兴能够离开华盛顿，即使只是一天——用其他工作来占用自己的思维，并且如实所说，欣赏别人的工作。本周早些时候，一场巨大的超级单体风暴席卷了东南部的几个州，引发龙卷风，导致三百多人死亡，这使得它成为自“卡特里娜飓风”以来最致命的自然灾害。一个1.5英里宽，风速达到190英里每小时的龙卷风袭击了阿拉巴马州，摧毁了数千个家庭和企业。

Landing in Tuscaloosa, I was met by the director of FEMA, a burly, low-key Floridian named Craig Fugate, and along with state and local officials the two of us toured neighborhoods that looked like they'd been flattened by a megaton bomb. We visited a relief center to offer solace to families that had lost everything they owned. Despite the devastation, nearly every person I talked to—from the state's Republican governor to the mother comforting her toddler—praised the federal response, mentioning how quickly teams had been on the ground; how effectively they had worked with local officials; how every request, no matter how small, had been handled with care and precision. I wasn't surprised, for Fugate had been one of my best hires, a no-nonsense, no-ego, no-excuses public servant with decades of experience dealing with natural disasters. Still, it gave me satisfaction to see his efforts recognized, and I was once again reminded that so much of what really mattered in government came down to the daily, unheralded acts of people who weren't seeking attention but simply knew what they were doing and did it with pride.

抵達塔斯卡盧薩後，我遇見了聯邦緊急事務署的主管，一位名叫克雷格·富蓋特的佛羅里達人，他身形魁武、風格低調。隨著州和當地官員，我們參觀了看起來像是被萬噸炸彈夷平的社區。我們前往救援中心，慰問失去所有物品的家庭。儘管受災嚴重，但幾乎每個我交談過的人，無論是州的共和黨州長還是安撫幼兒的母親，都讚揚了聯邦的應對，提到該團隊多麼迅速地到達現場，他們如何有效地與當地官員合作，如何處理每一個請求，無論多麼微小，都要以關懷和精確處理。我對此並不感到驚訝，因為富蓋特一直是我最優秀的僱員之一，一位毫不客氣、不自我膨脹、沒有藉口的公共服務人員，有幾十年處理自然災

害的經驗。但是，看到他的努力得到認可，我感到滿意，並再次提醒自己，政府中真正重要的事情往往取決於那些不尋求關注，只是知道自己在做什麼並以驕傲的態度去做的人們的日常不知名行為。

In Cape Canaveral, we were disappointed to learn that NASA had been forced to scrub the space shuttle launch at the last minute due to problems in an auxiliary power unit, but our family still had a chance to talk to the astronauts and spend time with Janet Kavandi, the director of flight crew operations at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, who'd come to Florida for the launch. As a kid, I'd been fascinated by space exploration, and while president I'd made it a priority to highlight the value of science and engineering whenever possible, including instituting an annual science fair at the White House at which students proudly showcased their robots, rockets, and solar-powered cars. I'd also encouraged NASA to innovate and prepare for a future mission to Mars, in part by collaborating with commercial ventures on low-orbit space travel. Now I watched Malia and Sasha grow wide-eyed as Kavandi emphasized all the people and the hours of diligent work that went into even a single launch, and as she described her own path from being a young girl entranced by the night sky over her family's cattle farm in rural Missouri to becoming an astronaut who had flown on three space shuttle missions.

在卡纳维拉尔角，我们很失望地得知由于辅助动力装置出现问题，NASA被迫在最后一刻取消了航天飞机的发射，但我们的家人仍然有机会与宇航员交谈并与前来佛罗里达州参加发射活动的约瑟芬·卡万迪 (Janet Kavandi) 交流，她是休斯顿约翰逊航天中心的飞行机组操作主任。当我还是个孩子时，我就对太空探索感到着迷，而在担任总统期间，我倡导尽可能突出科学和工程的价值，包括在白宫举办年度科学展，学生们自豪地展示他们的机器人，火箭和太阳能汽车。我还鼓励NASA进行创新，并为未来的火星探险做准备，其中包括与商业合作进行低轨道航天旅行。现在我看着玛利亚和萨莎的瞳孔放大，卡万迪强调即使是单个发射也需要许多人和几个小时的勤勉工作，并描述了她自己的经历，从年幼时对她家庭的牛场上的夜空着迷到成为完成了三次航天飞机任务的宇航员。

My day ended at the graduation ceremony for students at Miami Dade, which, with more than 170,000 students on eight campuses, was the country's largest college. Its president, Eduardo Padrón, had attended the school in the 1960s as a young Cuban immigrant with rudimentary English and no other options for a higher education. After receiving his associate's degree there and later earning a PhD in economics from the University of Florida, he'd turned down lucrative job offers in the private sector to return to Miami Dade, where for the past forty years he'd made it his mission to throw others the same lifeline the school had thrown him. He described the college as "a dream factory" for its students, who primarily came from low-income, Latino, Black, and immigrant families and were, in most cases, the first in their families to attend college. "We don't give up on any student," he told me, "and if we're doing our jobs, we don't let them give up on themselves." I couldn't help being inspired by the generosity of his vision.

我的一天在迈阿密戴德学生毕业典礼上结束。这所学校是全美最大的大学，有八个校区，有超过170,000名学生。该校校长爱德华多·帕德龙曾在1960年代作为一个英语基础薄弱且没有其他高等教育选择的年轻古巴移民在这所学校学习。在获得副学士学位后，他后来又从佛罗里达大学获得了经济学博士学位，拒绝了私营部门大量的工作机会，回到迈阿密戴德学校，他把让其他人像学校给他摆出的同样的救命稻草作为自己的使命。他描述这所学校是“梦想工厂”，因为学生主要来自低收入、拉丁裔、黑人和移民家庭，而且在大多数情况下是他们家族中首要上大学的人。“我们不放弃任何学生，”他告诉我，“如果我们做到自己的工作，我们就不会让他们放弃自己。”他的慷慨愿景让我不禁感到鼓舞。

In my remarks to the graduates that evening, I spoke about the American idea: what their accomplishment said about our individual determination to reach past the circumstances of our birth, as well as our collective capacity to overcome our differences to meet the challenges of our time. I recounted an early childhood memory of sitting on my grandfather's shoulders and waving a tiny American flag in a crowd gathered to greet the astronauts from one of the Apollo space missions after a successful splashdown in the waters off Hawaii. And now, more than forty years later, I told the graduates, I'd just had a chance to watch my own daughters hear from a new generation of space explorers. It had caused me to reflect on all that America had achieved since my own childhood; it offered a case of life coming full circle—and proof, just as their diplomas were proof, just as my having been elected president was proof, that the American idea endures.当晚，我对毕业生的发言中谈论了美国的理念:他们的成就展示了我们个人克服自身出生条件的决心，也证明了我们共同克服分歧迎接时代挑战的能力。我回忆了一个儿时记忆:坐在祖父肩上，在人群中挥舞一面小小的美国国旗，欢迎阿波罗太空任务成功返航后降落在夏威夷附近海域的宇航员。我告诉毕业生们，四十多年后的现在，我刚刚有机会观看自己的女儿与新一代的太空探险家交流。这让我回想起自己童年时代以来美国所取得的一切成就。这是生命完整循环的案例，也是证明美国理念在继续的证据，就像他们的毕业证书，就像我当选总统的证据一样。

The students and their parents had cheered, many of them waving American flags of their own. I thought about the country I'd just described to them—a hopeful, generous, courageous America, an America that was open to everyone. At about the same age as the graduates were now, I'd seized on that idea and clung to it for dear life. For their sake more than mine, I badly wanted it to be true.

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AS ENERGIZED AND OPTIMISTIC as I felt during the trip on Friday, I knew that my Saturday night back in Washington—when Michelle and I were scheduled to attend the White House Correspondents' Dinner—promised to be decidedly less inspiring. Hosted by the White House press corps and attended at least once by every president since Calvin Coolidge, the dinner had originally been designed to give journalists and those they covered a chance, for one evening, to set aside their often-adversarial stance toward one another and have some fun. But over time, as the news and entertainment businesses had begun to blend, the annual gathering had evolved into Washington's version of the Met Gala or the Oscars, with a performance from a comedian, televised on cable, and with a couple of thousand journalists, politicians, business tycoons, and administration officials, plus an assortment of Hollywood celebrities, packing themselves into an uncomfortable hotel ballroom to schmooze, be seen, and listen to the president deliver what amounted to a stand-up routine, roasting rivals and joking about the latest political news of the day.

學生和他們的父母歡呼著，其中許多人揮舞著自己的美國國旗。我想到了我剛剛向他們描述的國家——一個充滿希望、慷慨、勇敢、對每個人都開放的美國。就像畢業生現在的年齡一樣，我當時非常珍惜這個想法，并竭盡所能地讓它成為現實。出於他們的利益而非我的，我非常希望這是真的。

雖然在星期五的旅程中我感到充滿活力和樂觀，但我知道星期六晚上回到華盛頓城后——當米歇爾和我被安排參加白宮記者晚宴——這一刻承諾變得不太激動人心了。這次晚宴由白宮新聞記者協會主持，至少自卡爾文·柯立芝以來，每位總統都至少參加過一次。最初，晚宴被設計為讓新聞工作者和他們報導的對象在一個晚上放下彼此常常對立的態度，盡情地享受一下。但隨著新聞和娛樂產業開始融合，這一年度盛會漸漸演變成了華盛頓版的“大都會盛會”或奧斯卡金像獎，伴有一位喜劇演員的表演，被有線電視播出，再加上幾千名記者、政治家、商業大亨和政治官員，以及一些好萊塢名人擠進一個不舒適的酒店舞廳中社交、被看見，聽總統講解什麼相當於一個喜劇演員所做的常規，諷刺對手，以及開玩笑關於當天最新的政治新聞。

At a time when people across the country were still trying to figure out how to find a job, keep their homes, or pay their bills in the wake of a recession, my attendance at the black-tie affair—with its clubbiness and red-carpet glitz—had always felt politically awkward. But because I'd shown up the past two years, I knew I couldn't afford to raise any suspicions by skipping out of this year's dinner at the last minute; despite the knowledge that McRaven would soon join the SEAL team in Jalalabad and could likely launch the operation within hours, I'd have to do my best to act like everything was normal in front of a ballroom full of reporters. Fortunately it turned out that the country's leading distraction had been invited to sit at the Washington Post's table that night, and those of us aware of what was going on took odd comfort in knowing that once Donald Trump entered the room, it was all but guaranteed that the media would not be thinking about Pakistan.

當全國的人們仍在試圖找工作、保住他們的房子或支付帳單的時候，我參加黑領結晚會的感覺總是在政治上引起尷尬。但因為我過去兩年都出現過，我知道我不能在最後一刻缺席今年的晚宴，以免引起任何懷疑；雖然我知道麥克雷文很快就會加入Jalalabad的海豹部隊，有可能在幾個小時內開始行動，但我必須在全屏的記者面前盡力表現得一切正常。幸運的是，那天晚上，這個國家的主要分心因素被邀請到了《華盛頓郵報》的桌子旁坐，對於我們知道的情況，知道唐納德·特朗普進入房間後，媒體不會想到巴基斯坦，這讓我們感到奇怪的安慰。

To some degree, the release of my long-form birth certificate and my scolding of the press in the White House briefing room had yielded the desired effect: Donald Trump had grudgingly acknowledged that he now believed I was born in Hawaii, while taking full credit for having forced me—on behalf of the American people—to certify my status. Still, the whole birther controversy remained on everybody's mind, as became clear that Saturday, when I met with Jon Favreau and the team of writers who'd prepared my remarks—none of whom were aware of the operation about to take place. They'd come up with an inspired monologue, though I paused on a line that poked fun at the birthers by suggesting that Tim Pawlenty, the former Republican governor of Minnesota, who was exploring a run for president, had been hiding the fact that his full name was actually “Tim bin Laden Pawlenty.” I asked Favs to change “bin Laden” to “Hosni,” suggesting that given Mubarak's recent turn in the news, it would be more current. I could tell he didn't see my edit as an improvement, but he didn't argue the point.

在某種程度上，我公開長篇出生證明并在白宮新聞發布會上指責媒體的做法產生了預期效果：唐納德·特朗普勉強承認我出生在夏威夷，並為迫使我代表美國人民證明自己身份而拿走全部榮譽。但整個“出生門”事件仍然讓大家牽挂在心，這在星期六變得明顯，當我會見喬恩·法夫羅和籌備我的講話的團隊時（他們誰都不知道即將發生的行動）。他們想出了一篇鼓舞人心的獨白，儘管我在一個嘲笑出生門的台詞上停頓，建議明尼蘇達州前共和黨州長蒂姆·波倫蒂（他正在考慮競選總統）一直隱藏着他的全名“蒂姆·本·拉登·波倫蒂”這個事實。我請求法夫斯把“本·拉登”改成“胡斯尼”，認為考慮到穆巴拉克最近的新聞，這更加適當。我可以看出他不認為我的修改是一種改進，但他沒有爭論這個觀點。

At the end of the afternoon, I placed a last call to McRaven, who let me know that due to some foggy weather in Pakistan, his intention was to wait until Sunday night to commence the operation. He assured me that everything was in place and his team was ready. I told him that wasn't the main reason for my call.

“Tell everyone on the team how much I appreciate them,” I said.

“Yes, sir.”

“Bill,” I said, not having the words at that moment to convey how I felt. “I mean it. Tell them this.”

“I will, Mr. President,” he said.

下午結束時，我最後一次給麥克雷文打電話，他告訴我由於巴基斯坦有些濃霧天氣，他打算等到星期天晚上開始行動。他向我保證一切都已就緒，他的團隊已經準備好了。我告訴他這不是我打電話的主要原因。

“告訴每個團隊成員我有多麼感激他們，”我說。

“是的，先生。”

“比爾，”我說，此時我還沒有詞語來表達我的感受。“我是認真的，告訴他們這個。”

“我會的，總統先生，”他說。

That night, Michelle and I motorcaded over to the Washington Hilton, took pictures with various VIPs, and sat on a dais for a couple of hours, making small talk while guests like Rupert Murdoch, Sean Penn, John Boehner, and Scarlett Johansson mingled over wine and overcooked steaks. I kept my face fixed in an accommodating smile, as I quietly balanced on a mental high wire, my thoughts thousands of miles away. When it was my turn to speak, I stood up and started my routine. About halfway through, I turned my attention directly to Trump.

那個晚上，米歇爾和我騎摩托車前往華盛頓希爾頓酒店，在各種重要人士身旁拍照，並坐在主席台上幾個小時，一邊小聊天，一邊品酒吃過熟的牛排。我一直保持著包容的微笑，靜靜地在精神上保持平衡，我的想法千里之外。輪到我講話時，我站起來開始我的表演。大約進行到一半時，我將注意力直接轉向特朗普。

“Now, I know that he's taken some flak lately,” I said, “but no one is happier, no one is prouder to put this birth certificate matter to rest than the Donald. And that's because he can finally get back to focusing on the issues that matter—like, Did we fake the moon landing? What really happened in Roswell?”

And where are Biggie and Tupac?" As the audience broke into laughter, I continued in this vein, noting his "credentials and breadth of experience" as host of *Celebrity Apprentice* and congratulating him for how he'd handled the fact that "at the steakhouse, the men's cooking team did not impress the judges from Omaha Steaks....These are the kinds of decisions that would keep me up at night. Well handled, sir. Well handled."

"現在，我知道他最近受到了一些批評，"我說，"但沒有人比唐納德更開心，更自豪地讓這個出生證明問題得以解決。這是因為他終於可以專注於重要的問題——比如，人類登上月球是不是假的？羅斯威爾事件究竟發生了什麼？Biggie和Tupac去哪了？"當觀眾爆笑時，我繼續用這種口吻，指出他作為《名人學徒》的主持人的"資格和經驗"，並祝賀他如何處理"在牛排館中，男子烹飪團隊沒有打動來自奧馬哈牛排的評委.....這些決定會讓我夜不能寐。干得好，先生。干得好。"

The audience howled as Trump sat in silence, cracking a tepid smile. I couldn't begin to guess what went through his mind during the few minutes I spent publicly ribbing him. What I knew was that he was a spectacle, and in the United States of America in 2011, that was a form of power. Trump trafficked in a currency that, however shallow, seemed to gain more purchase with each passing day. The same reporters who laughed at my jokes would continue to give him airtime. Their publishers would vie to have him sit at their tables.

观众咆哮着，特朗普默默坐在那里，微笑着。我无法猜测他在我公开嘲笑他的几分钟里想到了什么。我知道的是，他是一个场景，而在2011年的美国，这是一种权力。特朗普使用了一种货币，虽然肤浅，但似乎每天都能赢得更多的支持。同样嘲笑我的记者们将继续给予他播出时间。他们的出版商将竞相邀请他坐在他们的桌子旁。

Far from being ostracized for the conspiracies he'd peddled, he in fact had never been bigger.

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I WAS UP early the next morning, before the White House operator's regular wake-up call. We'd taken the unusual step of canceling the public tours of the West Wing for the day, presuming there were important meetings ahead. I'd decided to get in a quick nine holes of golf with Marvin, as I often did on quiet Sundays, partly to avoid telegraphing anything else being out of the ordinary and partly to get outside rather than sit checking my watch in the Treaty Room, waiting for darkness to fall in Pakistan. It was a cool, windless day, and I hacked around the course, losing three or four balls in the woods. Returning to the White House, I checked in with Tom. He and the rest of the team were already in the Situation Room, making sure we were set to respond to whatever might happen. Rather than distract them with my presence, I asked that he notify me once the helicopters carrying the SEAL team were in the air. I sat in the Oval, trying to read through some papers, but got nowhere, my eyes running over the same lines again and again. I finally called in Reggie, Marvin, and Pete Souza—all of whom by this time had been read into what was about to transpire—and the four of us sat down in the Oval dining room to play Spades.

他的阴谋说并没有让他被驱逐出局，事实上，他从来没有比现在更成功过。

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第二天早上，我比白宫接线员定的闹钟还早起床了。我们采取了不同寻常的措施，取消了西翼公共游览计划，因为我们认为今天有重要的会议。我决定和马文打个快速的九洞高尔夫球，正如平常安静的星期天那样，一方面是为了不让任何事态变得不寻常，另一方面也是为了出门走走，而不是在条约厅里看着我的手表等待巴基斯坦的黑暗。那是一个凉爽、无风的日子，我在球场上瞎打，把三四个球掉到了树林里。回到白宫后，我与汤姆汇报了一下情况。他和其他成员已经进入"危机处理室"，确保我们做好了应对任何可能发生的准备。为了不分散他们的注意力，我要求他通知我海豹突击队的直升机升空的消息。我坐在总统办公室里，试图阅读一些文件，但一直看不进去，我的目光一遍又一遍落在同样的行上。最后，我叫来了雷吉、马文和皮特·索扎——这时他们已经知道将要发生的事情——我们四人在椭圆形餐厅坐下来玩纸牌游戏。

At two p.m. eastern time, two Black Hawk helicopters that had been modified for stealth lifted off from Jalalabad Airfield, carrying twenty-three members of the SEAL team, along with a Pakistani American CIA translator and a military dog named Cairo—the commencement of what was officially known as Operation Neptune's Spear. It would take them ninety minutes to reach Abbottabad. I left the dining room and went back down to the Situation Room, which had effectively been converted into a war room. Leon was on a videoconference line from Langley, relaying information from McRaven, who was holed up in Jalalabad and in continuous, direct communication with his SEALs. The atmosphere was predictably tense, with Joe, Bill Daley, and most of my national security team—including Tom, Hillary, Denis, Gates, Mullen, and Blinken—already seated at the conference table. I was given updates on plans for notifying Pakistan and other countries and our diplomatic strategies in the event of either success or failure. If bin Laden was killed in the raid, preparations had been made for a traditional Islamic burial to take place at sea, avoiding the creation of a pilgrimage site for jihadists. After a time, I could tell that the team was simply covering old ground for my benefit. Worried that I was sidetracking them, I went back upstairs until shortly before three-thirty, when Leon announced that the Black Hawks were approaching the compound.

在東部時間下午兩點，兩架已經改裝成隱形戰機的黑鷹直升機從加拉拉巴德空軍基地起飛，搭載二十三名海豹突擊隊成員、一名巴基斯坦裔美國中央情報局翻譯和一只名為開羅的軍用狗——這標誌著正式開始所謂的"海神之矛行動"。他們需要九十分鐘時間到達阿伯塔巴德。我離開餐廳，回到被有效轉換成指揮所的情況室。李昂在從蘭利的視訊會議中發送信息，轉達了麥克雷文的消息，他躲在加拉拉巴德，與他的海豹突擊隊成員進行持續而直接的通信。氣氛幾乎緊張，包括喬、比爾·戴利和我的大部分國家安全團隊——包括湯姆、希拉里、丹尼斯、蓋茨、穆倫和布林肯——都坐在會議桌前。我得到了關於通知巴基斯坦和其他國家以及成功或失敗時的外交策略的更新。如果本·拉登在襲擊中被殺，已經為傳統的伊斯蘭海葬做好了準備，避免成為聖戰者的朝聖地。過了一段時間，我意識到團隊只是為了讓我了解再談舊事。擔心我會分散他們的注意力，我返回樓上等到李昂宣布黑鷹直升機接近大樓前不久，大約是下午三點半。

The team had planned for us to follow the operation indirectly, through Leon, since Tom was concerned about the optics of me communicating directly with McRaven, which might leave the impression that I was micromanaging the operation—a bad practice generally and a political problem if the mission

failed. On my way back into the Situation Room, though, I had noticed that a live aerial view of the compound, as well as McRaven's voice, was being transmitted to a video monitor in a smaller conference room across the hall. As the helicopters drew close to the target, I stood up from my seat. "I need to watch this," I said, before heading to the other room. There I found a blue-uniformed air force brigadier general, Brad Webb, seated in front of his computer at a small table. He tried to offer me his seat. "Sit down," I said, putting a hand on his shoulder and finding a spot in a side chair. Webb let McRaven and Leon know that I had changed venues and was watching the feed. Soon the entire team had squeezed into the room.

團隊原本安排我們透過Leon間接地跟隨行動，因為Tom擔心我直接與McRaven溝通會給人留下我在微觀管理行動的印象，這通常是個壞習慣，如果任務失敗了，那就是政治問題。在回到情報室的途中，我注意到一個小型會議室的視訊監視器正在播放遠程的直升機對目標的實況畫面，以及McRaven的聲音。當直升機接近目標時，我從座位上站起來。“我需要看看這個，”我說，然後前往另一個房間。我在那裡找到了一位穿著藍色制服的空軍准將Brad Webb，他坐在小桌子前的電腦前。他試圖讓我坐在他的座位上。“坐下，”我說，伸手拍了拍他的肩膀，找到了一張旁邊的椅子。Webb告訴McRaven和Leon我已經換了位置並且正在觀看實況。很快，整個團隊都擠進了房間。

This was the first and only time as president that I'd watch a military operation unfold in real time, with ghostly images moving across the screen. We'd been following the action for barely a minute when one of the Black Hawks lurched slightly on descent, and before I could grasp exactly what was happening, McRaven informed us that the helicopter had momentarily lost lift and then clipped the side of one of the compound's walls. For an instant, I felt an electric kind of fear. A disaster reel played in my head—a chopper crashing, the SEALs scrambling to get out before the machine caught fire, a neighborhood of people emerging from their homes to see what happened as the Pakistani military rushed to the scene. McRaven's voice interrupted my nightmare.

这是我作为总统第一次也是唯一一次在实时观看军事行动的过程中，看到幽灵般的图像在屏幕上移动。我们才跟踪行动不到一分钟，当其中一架黑鹰直升机在降落时略微晃动，我还没来得及明确发生了什么事，麦克拉文就告诉我们，直升机瞬间失去了提升力量，然后刮到了这个建筑的一侧墙壁。瞬间，我感到了一种电流般的恐惧。我的头脑里播放出一段灾难的画面——一架直升机坠毁，海豹突击队员在机器着火前拼命逃生，当地居民涌出家门去看发生了什么事，巴基斯坦军队紧急赶到现场。麦克拉文的声音打断了我的噩梦。

"It'll be fine," he said, as though remarking on a car fender bumping into a shopping cart at the mall. "The pilot's the best we have, and he'll bring it down safely."

And that's exactly what happened. I'd later learn that the Black Hawk had been caught in a vortex caused by higher than anticipated temperatures and the rotor's downwash of air getting trapped inside the compound's high walls, forcing the pilot and the SEALs on board to improvise both a landing and their exit. (In fact, the pilot had purposely set the tail of the chopper on the wall to avoid a more perilous crash.) But all I saw in the moment were grainy figures on the ground, rapidly moving into position and entering the main house. For twenty excruciating minutes, even McRaven had a limited view of what was taking place—or perhaps he was staying silent on the details of the room-to-room search his team was conducting. Then, with a suddenness I didn't expect, we heard McRaven's and Leon's voices, almost simultaneously, utter the words we'd been waiting to hear—the culmination of months of planning and years of intelligence gathering.

“他说：“没事的”，就像在购物中心停车场里汽车挤到购物车那样轻描淡写。“飞行员是我们最好的，他会安全降落的。”于是事情也的确是这样发生的。后来我得知，黑鹰直升机被高于预期的温度引起的旋涡搅动了，而旋翼下压的空气被困在了基地高墙里，迫使飞行员和搭载的海豹突击队员们不得不就地improvisation，完成了着陆和出舱。（实际上，飞行员有意将直升机的尾部放在墙上以避免更危险的坠毁。）但就在那一刻，我只看到了地面上模糊的身影，迅速地进入位置并进入主楼。在长达二十分钟的时间里，即使是麦克雷文也只能看到有限的情况，也许他对他的团队正在进行的逐屋搜索细节保持沉默。然后，我没想到的是，我们几乎同时听到了麦克雷文和莱昂的声音，他们说出了我们一直等待着听到的话 - 月份的计划和几年的情报收集的最终结果。”

“Geronimo ID'd...Geronimo EKIA.”

Enemy killed in action.

Osama bin Laden—code-named “Geronimo” for the purposes of the mission—the man responsible for the worst terrorist attack in American history, the man who had directed the murder of thousands of people and set in motion a tumultuous period of world history, had been brought to justice by a team of American Navy SEALs. Inside the conference room, there were audible gasps. My eyes remained glued to the video feed.

“We got him,” I said softly.

Nobody budged from their seats for another twenty minutes, while the SEAL team finished its business: bagging bin Laden's body; securing the three women and nine children present and questioning them in one corner of the compound; collecting computers, files, and other material of potential intelligence value; and attaching explosives to the damaged Black Hawk, which would then be destroyed, replaced by a rescue Chinook that had been hovering a short distance away. As the helicopters took off, Joe placed a hand on my shoulder and squeezed.

“格伦莫被确认...格伦莫已陨。”敌人被击毙。

奥萨马·本·拉登，代号“格伦莫”，他是制造美国历史上最严重恐怖袭击的罪犯，他指挥了成千上万人的谋杀，引发了世界历史上动荡的时期，现在他已被一支美国海豹突击队抓住。会议室里听到了明显的倒抽气声。我的眼睛一直盯着视频画面。

“我们得到了他，”我轻声说。

在接下来的二十分钟里，没有人离开座位，海豹突击队完成了他们的任务：装备拉登的尸体；保护住场地上的三个妇女和九个孩子，并在场地的一个角落里对他们进行询问；收集电脑、文件和其他可能有情报价值的物品；并在损坏的黑鹰直升机上安装炸药，用一架等候不远的救援大型直升机进行替换。当直升机起飞时，乔把手放在我的肩上，轻轻地握了一下。

“Congratulations, boss,” he said.

I stood up and nodded. Denis gave me a fist bump. I shook hands with others on the team. But with the helicopters still rotoring through Pakistani airspace, the mood remained quiet. It wasn't until around six p.m., when the choppers had safely landed in Jalalabad, that I finally felt some of the tension start to drain out of me. Over a video teleconference line a short while later, McRaven explained that he was looking at the body as we spoke, and that in his judgment it was definitely bin Laden; the CIA's facial recognition software would soon indicate the same. To further confirm, McRaven had a six-foot-two member of his team lie next to the body to compare his height to bin Laden's purported six-foot-four frame.

“恭喜您，老板，”他说。

我站起来点了点头，Denis 给了我一个拳头碰。我和其他团队成员握手。但随着直升机仍然在巴基斯坦领空旋转，气氛依然安静。直到下午六点左右，当直升机安全降落在贾拉拉巴德时，我终于感觉到一些紧张情绪开始消退。稍后不久，麦克雷文通过视频电话线解释说，他在我们谈话时正在观看尸体，并且根据他的判断，这肯定是本·拉登；中央情报局的面部识别软件很快也会得出同样的结论。为了进一步确认，麦克雷文让他团队中的一位身高六英尺两英寸的成员躺在尸体旁边，以比对他的身高和拉登所谓的六英尺四英寸的身高。

“Seriously, Bill?” I teased. “All that planning and you couldn't bring a tape measure?”

It was the first lighthearted thing I'd said all day, but the laughter didn't last long, as photographs of bin Laden's corpse were soon passed around the conference table. I glanced at them briefly; it was him. Despite the evidence, Leon and McRaven said that we couldn't be fully certain until the DNA results came back, which would take another day or two. We discussed the possibility of holding off on an official announcement, but reports of a helicopter crash in Abbottabad were already starting to pop up on the internet. Mike Mullen had put a call in to Pakistan's army chief, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, and while the conversation had been polite, Kayani had requested that we come clean on the raid and its target as quickly as possible in order to help his people manage the reaction of the Pakistani public. Knowing there was no way to hold the news for another twenty-four hours, I went upstairs with Ben to quickly dictate my thoughts on what I would say to the nation later that evening.

“說真的，比爾？”我戲弄他說，“你計劃了那麼久還沒帶捲尺？”這是我整天第一次輕鬆的說笑，但是很快就沒有了笑聲，因為賓拉登的屍體照片很快在會議桌上流傳。我簡單地看了一眼，確認了是他。盡管有證據，李昂和麥克雷文說在DNA結果出來之前我們不能完全確定，那需要再等上一天或兩天的時間。我們討論了推遲正式公佈的可能性，但已經有奧巴馬巴德的直升機墜毀的報導開始在互聯網上出現。邁克·莫倫已經給巴基斯坦陸軍參謀長凱亞尼將軍打了個電話，雖然這次交談很客氣，但凱亞尼要求我們儘快公佈突襲和目標的消息，以便幫助他的人民應對巴基斯坦公眾的反應。知道沒有辦法再等待24個小時，我和本一起上樓，快速構思我晚上向全國發表的講話。

For the next several hours, the West Wing ran at full throttle. While diplomats began to contact foreign governments and our communications team got ready to brief the press, I placed calls to George W. Bush and Bill Clinton and told them the news, making a point to acknowledge with Bush that the mission was the culmination of a long, hard process begun under his presidency. Though it was the middle of the night across the Atlantic, I contacted David Cameron as well, to recognize the stalwart support our closest ally had provided from the very beginning of the Afghan War. I expected my most difficult call to be with Pakistan's beleaguered president, Asif Ali Zardari, who would surely face a backlash at home over our violation of Pakistani sovereignty. When I reached him, however, he expressed congratulations and support. “Whatever the fallout,” he said, “it's very good news.” He showed genuine emotion, recalling how his wife, Benazir Bhutto, had been killed by extremists with reported ties to al-Qaeda.

在接下来的几个小时里，西翼恢复了全速运转。外交家开始联系外国政府，我们的通讯团队准备向媒体提供简报，而我则给乔治·W·布什和比尔·克林顿打电话，告诉他们这个消息，尤其是向布什表示这次行动是在他的总统任期内开始的一项漫长而艰辛的进程的终结。尽管距离大西洋彼岸的半夜，我也联系了大卫·卡梅伦，以赞扬我们最亲密盟友自阿富汗战争伊始提供的坚定支持。我预计我最艰难的一通电话将是与巴基斯坦备受困扰的总统阿西夫·阿里·扎尔达里的通话，他肯定会在国内面临违反巴基斯坦主权的反弹。然而，当我联系他时，他表达了祝贺和支持的立场：“不管会有什么后果，这是非常好的消息。”他表现出真正的情感，回忆起他的妻子贝娜齐尔·布托（Benazir Bhutto）是如何被据报与基地组织有关系的极端分子杀害的。

Meanwhile, I hadn't seen Michelle all day. I'd let her know earlier what would be happening, and rather than sit anxiously at the White House, waiting for news, she'd left Malia and Sasha in their grandmother's care and gone out to dinner with friends. I had just finished shaving and putting on a suit and tie when she walked through the door.

“So?” she said.

I gave a thumbs-up, and she smiled, pulling me into a hug. “That's amazing, babe,” she said. “Really. How do you feel?”

“Right now, just relieved,” I said. “But check back with me in a couple of hours.”

同时，我整天都没有见到米歇尔。我之前已经告诉她会发生什么事情，她没有焦虑地在白宫等待消息，而是让玛利亚和萨莎在她母亲的照顾下出去和朋友们共进晚餐了。我刚刚刮完胡须，并穿上了西装和领带，她走进门口。

“怎么样？”她问道。

我竖起了大拇指，她微笑着抱住我。“太棒了，亲爱的，”她说，“真的很棒。你的感觉怎么样？”

“现在，只是感到宽慰，”我说，“但过几个小时再来问我吧。”

Back in the West Wing, I sat with Ben to put the finishing touches on my remarks. I had given him a few broad themes. I wanted to recall the shared anguish of 9/11, I said, and the unity we'd all felt in the days that immediately followed. I wanted to salute not just those involved in this mission but everyone in our military and intelligence communities who continued to sacrifice so much to keep us safe. I wanted to reiterate that our fight was with al-Qaeda and not Islam. And I wanted to close by reminding the world and ourselves that America does what it sets out to do—that as a nation we were still capable of achieving big things.回到西翼，我和本一起为我的讲话做最后的润色。我告诉他我想要回忆起9/11时共同的痛苦，以及紧随其后的众人感受到的

团结。不仅要向参与此次任务的人们致敬，还要向我们军事和情报社区中为了我们的安全而继续做出牺牲的所有人致敬。我想要重申我们的战斗是与基地组织而非伊斯兰教的，同时提醒世界和我们自己，美国能够做到它所设想的任何事情——作为一个国家，我们仍然有能力实现重大目标。

As usual, Ben had taken my stray thoughts and crafted a fine speech in less than two hours. I knew that this one mattered to him more than most, since the experience of watching the Twin Towers collapse had changed the trajectory of his life, propelling him to Washington with a burning drive to make a difference. It brought back my own memories of that day: Michelle having just taken Malia to her first day of preschool; me standing outside the State of Illinois Building in downtown Chicago, feeling overwhelmed and uncertain after assuring Michelle over the phone that she and the girls would be okay; three-month-old Sasha sleeping on my chest later that night as I sat in the dark watching the news reports and trying to contact friends in New York. No less than Ben's, my own course in life had been fundamentally altered by that day, in ways that at the time I could not possibly have predicted, setting off a chain of events that would somehow lead to this moment.像往常一样，班很快就抓住了我的琐碎想法，用不到两个小时就做出了一篇精彩的演讲。我知道这对他来说比大多数事情都更重要，因为看到双子塔倒塌的经历改变了他的人生轨迹，推动他前往华盛顿，怀着一股燃烧的动力去做出改变。这让我回想起那一天自己的记忆：米歇尔刚刚带着玛莉亚去上她的第一天学前班；我站在芝加哥市中心的伊利诺伊州大厦外，感到压倒性的不确定，之前在电话里向米歇尔保证她和女儿们会没事；那天晚上，三个月大的萨沙睡在我怀里，我坐在黑暗中观看新闻报道，试图联系在纽约的朋友。我的人生轨迹不亚于班的，那天改变了我的命运，以在当时难以预测的方式引发了一系列事件，最终导致了这个时刻的到来。

After scanning the speech one last time, I stood up and clapped Ben on the back. "Good job, brother," I said. He nodded, a jumble of emotions passing across his face before he rushed out the door to get the final edits on my remarks entered into the teleprompter. It was now almost eleven-thirty p.m. The major networks had already reported bin Laden's death and were waiting to take my address live. Celebratory crowds had gathered outside the White House gates, thousands of people filling the streets. As I stepped into the cool night air and started walking down the colonnade toward the East Room, where I'd give my remarks, I could hear the raucous, rhythmic chants of "USA! USA! USA!" coming from Pennsylvania Avenue—a sound that echoed far and wide and would continue deep into the night.

最後我再次瀏覽講話稿後站起來，拍了拍本的背部。「做得好，兄弟。」我說。他點頭，臉上一堆情緒湧現，然後趕緊跑出門去，把我演講的最後修訂輸入提示器。現在已經快到晚上11時半了。主要的電視網已經報導了本·拉登的死訊，正在等待播出我的演講。慶祝的人群已經聚集在白宮大門外，數千人充滿街道。當我走進涼爽的夜空，沿著柱廊朝東廳走去，在那裡我要發表我的言論，我可以聽到來自賓夕法尼亞大道的喧鬧而有節奏的“USA ! USA ! USA ! ”的呼喊聲 - 這是在遠處回響，並深入深夜。

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EVEN AFTER THE jubilation quieted down, all of us in the White House could feel a palpable shift in the country's mood in the days immediately following the Abbottabad raid. For the first and only time in my presidency, we didn't have to sell what we'd done. We didn't have to fend off Republican attacks or answer accusations from key constituencies that we'd compromised some core principle. No issues with implementation or unforeseen consequences sprang up. I still had decisions to make, including whether to release photos of bin Laden's dead body. (My answer was no: We didn't need to "spike the football" or hoist a ghoulish trophy, I told my staff, and I didn't want the image of bin Laden shot in the head to become a rallying point for extremists.) We still had to patch up relations with Pakistan. While the documents and computer files seized from the compound proved to be a treasure trove of intelligence, confirming that bin Laden had continued to play a central role in planning attacks against the United States, as well as the enormous pressure we'd managed to put on his network through our targeting of its leaders, none of us believed that the threat from al-Qaeda was over. What was beyond dispute, though, was that we'd dealt the organization a decisive blow, moving it a step closer to strategic defeat. Even our harshest critics had to acknowledge that the operation had been an unequivocal success.

即使在欢呼声逐渐平息后，我们在白宫仍然能感觉到阿伯特巴德袭击事件之后国家心情的明显变化。这是我担任总统期间第一次也是唯一一次，我们不需要推销我们的行动，也不需要抵御共和党的攻击或回答关键社群的指责，认为我们已经损害了一些核心原则。没有任何实施方面的问题或出乎意料的后果出现。我仍然需要做决策，比如是否公布本·拉登的尸体照片。（我的答案是否定的：我告诉我的工作人员，我们不需要“踢足球”或高举恶心的战利品，我不希望本·拉登被枪击头部的形象成为极端主义者集会的一个集结点。）我们仍然需要修补与巴基斯坦的关系。虽然从藏身处没收的文件和计算机文件证明是一个情报宝库，证实本·拉登一直在策划对美国的袭击，以及我们通过打击其领导层而对他的网络施加的巨大压力，但我们都不认为对基地组织构成的威胁已经结束。然而，毫无争议的是，我们对该组织给予了决定性的打击，使其离战略失败又近了一步。即使是我们最尖锐的批评者也不得不承认，这次行动是一个毫无疑问的成功。

As for the American people, the Abbottabad raid offered a catharsis of sorts. In Afghanistan and Iraq, they'd seen our troops wage almost a decade of war, with outcomes they knew to be ambiguous at best. They'd expected that violent extremism was here to stay in one form or another, that there'd be no conclusive battle or formal surrender. As a result, the public instinctively seemed to seize on bin Laden's death as the closest we'd likely ever get to a V-Day—and at a time of economic hardship and partisan rancor, people took some satisfaction in seeing their government deliver a victory.

至于美国人民而言，阿伯特巴德袭击提供了某种程度上的心理宣泄。在阿富汗和伊拉克，他们见证了我们的军队进行了近10年的战争，结果最多也只是模棱两可。他们预计暴力极端主义以某种形式会一直存在，不可能有决定性的战斗或正式的投降。因此，公众本能地似乎抓住了本·拉登之死，将其视为我们可能会获得的最接近V-Day的胜利——在经济困难和党派争吵的时候，人们从中获得了一些满足感。

Meanwhile, the thousands of families who'd lost loved ones on 9/11 understood what we'd done in more personal terms. The day after the operation, my daily batch of ten constituent letters contained a printed email from a young woman named Payton Wall, who'd been four years old at the time of the attacks and was now fourteen. She explained that her dad had been in one of the Twin Towers and had called to speak to her before it collapsed. All her life, she wrote, she'd been haunted by the memory of her father's voice, along with the image of her mother weeping into the phone. Although nothing

could change the fact of his absence, she wanted me and all those who'd been involved in the raid to know how much it meant to her and her family that America hadn't forgotten him.

與此同時，數千個失去親人的家庭對我們的行為有了更個人化的理解。在行動的第二天，我收到了一封名為佩頓·沃爾（Payton Wall）的年輕女孩的打印電子郵件，當時她只有四歲，而現在已經十四歲了。她解釋說，她的父親當時在雙子塔中，塔倒塌前給她打了電話。她寫道，她的整個人生都被父親的聲音所困擾，還有母親在電話裡哭泣的畫面。儘管無法改變他缺席的事實，她希望我和所有參與行動的人知道，對她和她的家人來說，美國沒有忘記他是多麼重要。

Sitting alone in the Treaty Room, I reread that email a couple of times, my eyes clouded with emotion. I thought about my daughters and how profoundly the loss of their mother or father would hurt them. I thought about young people who'd signed up for the armed forces after 9/11, intent on serving the nation, no matter the sacrifice. And I thought about the parents of those wounded or killed in Iraq and Afghanistan—the Gold Star moms Michelle and I had comforted, the fathers who'd shown me pictures of their departed sons. I felt an overwhelming pride in those who'd been part of the mission. From the SEALs themselves, to the CIA analysts who'd pieced together the trail to Abbottabad, to the diplomats who had prepared to manage the fallout, to the Pakistani American translator who'd stood outside the compound shooing away curious neighbors as the raid took place—they had all worked together seamlessly and selflessly, without regard to credit or turf or political preferences, to achieve a shared goal.

獨自坐在條約室裡，我重讀那封電子郵件幾次，眼睛因情感而模糊。我想到我的女兒，想到失去他們的母親或父親對他們造成的深切傷痛。我想到那些在911事件之後報名參軍的年輕人，他們決心為國家服務，不計任何犧牲。我也想到伊拉克和阿富汗受傷或死亡的父母，那些Michelle和我安慰過的金星媽媽，那些曾經給我看過他們已離開人世的兒子照片的父親們。我對那些參與任務的人感到無比自豪。從海豹突擊隊員、到拼湊出到阿伯塔巴德的線索的中央情報局分析師、到準備應對後續事態的外交官、再到在襲擊發生時站在大門外驅趕好奇鄰居的巴基斯坦裔翻譯員，他們都毫無顧忌地協同合作，不論是贏得名聲、擴張地盤還是政治取態，一心達成共同的目標。

With these thoughts came another: Was that unity of effort, that sense of common purpose, possible only when the goal involved killing a terrorist? The question nagged at me. For all the pride and satisfaction I took in the success of our mission in Abbottabad, the truth was that I hadn't felt the same exuberance as I had on the night the healthcare bill passed. I found myself imagining what America might look like if we could rally the country so that our government brought the same level of expertise and determination to educating our children or housing the homeless as it had to getting bin Laden; if we could apply the same persistence and resources to reducing poverty or curbing greenhouse gases or making sure every family had access to decent day care. I knew that even my own staff would dismiss these notions as utopian. And the fact that this was the case, the fact that we could no longer imagine uniting the country around anything other than thwarting attacks and defeating external enemies, I took as a measure of how far my presidency still fell short of what I wanted it to be—and how much work I had left to do.

隨著這些想法，又湧現出另一個問題：只有當目標是殺死恐怖分子時，才能達到這種團結一致，共同的目的感嗎？這個問題一直困擾著我。儘管我對阿伯塔巴德行動的成功感到自豪和滿足，但我沒有像當醫療保健法案通過時那樣感到興奮。我不自覺地想象著，如果我們能夠團結全國，使我們的政府在教育我們的孩子或為無家可歸者提供住房等問題上像對待本·拉登一樣專業、堅定，如果我們能夠在減少貧困、控制溫室氣體或確保每個家庭都能夠獲得良好的日托保育方面投入同樣的毅力和資源，美國會是什麼樣子。我知道，即使是我的工作人員也會將這些想法視為烏托邦。這種情況，即我們不能再想像將整個國家團結在防禦攻擊和打敗外部敵人以外的任何事情上，我認為這是我的總統任期仍然沒有達到我所期望的程度——以及我還有多少工作要做的一個指標。

I set such musings aside for the rest of that week, allowing myself a chance to savor the moment. Bob Gates would attend his last cabinet meeting and get a rousing ovation, appearing, for a moment, genuinely moved. I spent time with John Brennan, who had been involved one way or another in the hunt for bin Laden for close to fifteen years. Bill McRaven stopped by the Oval Office and, along with my heartfelt thanks for his extraordinary leadership, I presented him with a tape measure I'd had mounted on a plaque. And on May 5, 2011, just four days after the operation, I traveled to New York City and had lunch with the firefighters of Engine Company 54/Ladder 4/Battalion 9, which had lost all fifteen members who'd been on duty the morning of the attack, and participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at Ground Zero. Some of the first responders who had rushed into the burning towers served in the honor guard that day, and I had a chance to meet with the 9/11 families in attendance—including Payton Wall, who got a big hug from me and promptly asked if I could arrange for her to meet Justin Bieber (I told her I was pretty sure I could make that happen).

我在那個星期將這些想法放在一旁，給自己一個品味時刻的機會。鮑勃·蓋茨將參加他的最後一次內閣會議，並得到了熱烈的掌聲，出現了真正感動的一刻。我花時間與約翰·布倫南在一起，他一直以某種方式參與本·拉登的追捕工作已經接近十五年了。比爾·麥克雷文也來到了橢圓形辦公室，除了我的真誠感謝他的卓越領導才能外，我還送給他一個裝在匾板上的卷尺。2011年5月5日，距離行動僅四天，我前往紐約市和54 /梯4 /營9消防員共進午餐，在這次襲擊事件發生的那個早上失去了所有15名值班成員，並在現場舉行了獻花儀式。那些衝向燃燒的塔樓的第一反應者中的一些人在那天擔任了榮譽衛隊，我有機會與出席的9/11家庭會面，包括佩頓·沃爾（Payton Wall），她得到了我一個大擁抱，並迅速問我是否能安排她見賈斯汀·比伯（Justin Bieber），（我告訴她我非常確定我可以讓這件事發生）。

The next day, I flew to Fort Campbell, Kentucky, where McRaven introduced me and Joe to the SEAL team and pilots involved in the Abbottabad raid. A small-scale model of the compound had been set up at the front of the room, and as the commanding officer methodically walked us through the operation, I studied the thirty or so elite military members seated before me in folding chairs. Some of them looked the part—strapping young men whose muscles bulged through their uniforms. But I was struck by how many of them could have passed for accountants or high school principals—guys in their early forties, with graying hair and understated demeanors. They were a testament to the role that skill and judgment born of experience played in successfully navigating the most dangerous missions—experience, the commander emphasized, that had also cost the lives of many of their colleagues. When the briefing was over, I shook hands with everyone in the room and presented the team with the Presidential Unit Citation, the highest award a

military unit could receive. In return, the men surprised me with a gift: an American flag they had taken with them to Abbottabad, now in a frame with their signatures on the back. At no point during my visit did anyone mention who had fired the shot that killed bin Laden—and I never asked.

第二天，我飛往肯塔基州的福特坎貝爾，麥克雷文帶我和喬見識搜索巴巴達行動中的海豹突擊隊和飛行員。小型的複合體模型放在房間的前面，當指揮官有條不紊地向我們介紹行動時，我仔細觀察著坐在折疊椅上的三十幾個精英軍人。有些人看起來真的像精英—穿著制服，肌肉凸顯。但是我對其中有多少人像會計師或高中校長印象深刻—40多歲的人，有著灰色的頭髮和低調的氛圍。他們證明了經驗產生的技能和判斷在成功地完成最危險的任務中所扮演的角色——指揮官強調，這種經驗也以許多同僚的生命為代價。當簡報結束時，我與房間裡的每個人握手，並向該小組授予總統部隊嘉獎章，這是一個軍事部隊可以接受的最高榮譽。作為回報，那些人給了我一份禮物：他們帶到巴巴達的美國國旗現在用框架裝着，背面有他們的簽名。在我訪問期間，沒有人提到誰開了擊殺賓拉登的子彈——我從來沒有問過。

On the flight back, Tom gave me an update on Libya. Bill Daley and I reviewed my schedule for the month ahead, and I caught up on some paperwork. By six-thirty p.m., we'd landed at Andrews Air Force Base, and I boarded Marine One for the short ride back to the White House. I was in a quiet mood as I gazed out at the rolling Maryland landscape and the tidy neighborhoods below, and then the Potomac, glistening beneath the fading sun. The helicopter began its gentle turn, due north across the Mall. The Washington Monument suddenly materialized on one side, seeming almost close enough to touch; on the other side, I could see the seated figure of Lincoln, shrouded in shadow behind the memorial's curved marble columns. Marine One began to shudder a bit, in a way that was now familiar to me, signaling the final descent as it approached the South Lawn, and I looked down at the street below, still thick with rush-hour traffic—fellow commuters, I thought, anxious to get home.在飞回的路上，汤姆向我通报了利比亚的最新情况。比尔·戴利和我审查了我接下来一个月的日程安排，并且我赶上了一些文书工作。晚上六点半，我们降落在安德鲁斯空军基地，我登上了海军陆战队一号，结束了短暂返回白宫的旅程。我静静地坐着，凝视着摇曳的马里兰景色和下方整洁的社区，还有晒红了的夕阳下闪耀着的波托马克河。直升机开始缓缓转弯，从国家广场向北飞去。一侧突然出现了华盛顿纪念碑，看起来几乎就能够摸到；另一侧，我可以看到林肯坐像的身影在纪念碑弧形的大理石柱后被深深地笼罩在光影之中。海军陆战队一号开始微微颤抖，这种情况在我现在已经很熟悉了，标志着即将降落。我向下看着仍然充斥着交通高峰期车辆的街道——我想，这些是同样急于回家的通勤者。

#### PHOTOGRAPH INSERT

照片插入

My maternal grandparents were from Kansas and eloped just ahead of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. He served in Patton's army, and she worked on a bomber assembly line.

我母系的祖父母來自堪薩斯，他們在珍珠港遭轟炸前私奔了。祖父在巴頓的軍隊服役，祖母則在轟炸機組件生產線工作。

When you grow up in Hawaii, hikes through mountain forests and lazy days at the beach are a birthright—as easy as stepping out your front door.

當你在夏威夷長大時，穿越山林和在海灘上悠閒的日子，就像從你的前門走出一樣簡單，是一種天賜的禮物。

I'm clearly proud of my swing.

我對我的揮杆非常自豪。

My father, Barack Obama, Sr., grew up in Kenya and studied economics at the University of Hawaii, where he met my mother, and at Harvard. After they divorced, he returned to Africa.

我父親奧巴馬·賽因父（Barack Obama, Sr.）在肯亞長大，曾在夏威夷大學學習經濟學，認識了我的母親，並在哈佛大學進修。他們離婚後，他返回非洲。

My mother, Ann Dunham, rebelled against convention, but she was also suspicious of platforms or absolutes. "The world is complicated, Bar," she told me. "That's why it's interesting."

我母親安·敦納姆反抗傳統，但她也對平台或絕對主義持懷疑態度。她告訴我：“這個世界很復雜，巴爾，這就是它有趣的原因。”

My mother with my half sisters, Maya Soetoro-Ng (left) and Auma Obama.

我的母親与我的同父异母姐妹，Maya Soetoro-Ng（左）和Auma Obama。

My grandmother and I with my mother the day she got her degree in anthropology from the University of Hawaii.

和我與外婆一起，出席母親從夏威夷大學人類學系畢業的那一天。

At our wedding. We missed having Michelle's father and Gramps there, but on that day, I felt like the luckiest man alive.

在我们的婚礼上，我们很遗憾没有Michelle的父亲和外公在场，但那一天，我感到自己是全世界最幸运的男人。

My joys.

我的喜悅。

Delivering an old-school soapbox speech in Chillicothe, Illinois, early in my U.S. Senate campaign.

在我参加美国参议院竞选之前，我曾在伊利诺伊州奇利科西发表过一次老式的跑车演讲。

Looking impossibly young while delivering the keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston. This was probably the last day I was able to walk into a public space unrecognized.

在2004年民主党全国大会波士顿场上发表主旨演讲时，看起来依然非常年轻。这可能是我最后一次能够走进公共场所而不被认出来的日子了。

With Michelle after my DNC speech.

在我参加民主黨全國代表大會後，和米歇爾在一起。

After the convention, Michelle and I and the girls set out for a weeklong RV trip in downstate Illinois. It was the girls' first real taste of the campaign trail.

大會結束後，米歇爾、我和女孩們啟程前往伊利諾伊州的RV旅行，全程一週。對於女孩們來說，這是第一次真正體驗競選之旅。

Election night, 2004. We won by the biggest margin of any Senate race in Illinois history. The girls were more enthralled by the confetti.

2004年大选之夜，我们以伊利诺伊州史上最大的优势赢得了参议院选举。女孩们更加为那些五彩纸屑而兴奋。

I was elected to the U.S. Senate on November 2, 2004.

我於2004年11月2日當選為美國參議院議員。

As a rookie senator, I persuaded Pete Rouse to come on as my chief of staff. He was a godsend—vastly experienced, unfailingly decent, and known around town as “the 101st senator.”

作为一位新手参议员，我说服皮特·劳斯担任我的幕僚长。他是一位天赐之人，经验丰富，一貫公正，被城里的人称为“第101位参议员”。

When I arrived in Washington, I was ninety-ninth in seniority, and my temporary office showed it. But with a great team around me, I was able to hit the ground running.

當我到達華盛頓時，我在資歷方面排在第九十九位，而我的臨時辦公室也表現出這一點。但有了一個偉大的團隊支持，我能夠迅速開展工作。

As a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, I got to work alongside a hero of mine, Representative John Lewis.

作为国会黑人集团的成员，我有幸与我的英雄之一——约翰·刘易斯代表一起工作。

On my first official overseas trip as a senator, in August 2005, I toured a conventional weapons destruction facility in Donetsk, Ukraine, with Republican senator Dick Lugar.

在2005年8月作为参议员的首次官方海外访问中，我与共和党参议员迪克·卢格一起参观了乌克兰顿涅茨克的一个常规武器销毁设施。

During a trip to Kenya in August 2006, Michelle and I wanted to help draw attention to rapid HIV testing by getting tests ourselves. People lined the roads to greet us.

在2006年8月肯尼亞的旅行中，米歇爾和我想藉由接受快速愛滋病檢測，從而喚起人們對此議題的關注。人們在道路兩旁接待我們。

I announced my candidacy for president on February 10, 2007. It was freezing in Springfield, but I barely felt it. I sensed we were tapping into something essential and true about America.

我于2007年2月10日宣布竞选总统。斯普林菲尔德非常寒冷，但我几乎没感觉到。我感觉我们正在触及美国的某些根本和真实之处。

I missed out on a lot of time with the girls while campaigning. But a day at the Iowa State Fair, with games and snacks and bumper cars? Can't beat that.

在競選期間，我錯過了與女孩們相處的許多時間。但是在愛荷華州州集市上度過的一天，玩遊戲、吃小吃和駕駛碰碰車？那是無法超越的。

Campaigning in Austin, Texas. I had become an outsized symbol of hope, a vessel for a million different dreams, and I worried that a time would come when I would disappoint my supporters.

在德克薩斯州奧斯丁進行競選活動。我已成為希望的巨大象徵，一個百萬不同夢想的容器，我擔心會有一天讓支持者失望。

Storming into Tom Harkin's Annual Steak Fry in 2007 with a bunch of my field organizers. So much of our success in Iowa was due to those unstoppable young staffers and volunteers.

2007年，带着一群我的现场组织者在汤姆·哈金的年度煎牛排派对上闯入。在爱荷华州，我们的成功很大程度上归功于那些不可阻挡的年轻员工和志愿者。

Less than a month before the Iowa caucus, we held a rally in Des Moines. With Oprah there to introduce me, we had a pretty good turnout.

在爱荷华州党内初选前不到一个月的时间里，我们在得梅因市举行了一次集会。在奥普拉的介绍下，我们有相当不错的人数出席。

With the architect of my campaign, David Plouffe, right before I went onstage to accept the Democratic nomination. Beneath his low-key persona, he was a brilliant strategist.

在我上台接受民主党提名之前，和我的选举总策划大卫·普洛夫在一起。尽管他低调，但是他是一个卓越的策略家。

On July 24, 2008, I gave a speech at the Victory Column in Berlin, declaring that, just as an earlier generation had torn down the wall that had once divided Europe, it was our job to tear down other, less visible walls between classes, races, and religions.

2008年7月24日，我在柏林的勝利柱演講，宣布，就像早期的一代人曾推倒了曾經分裂歐洲的圍牆，我們的工作就是推倒其他不太明顯的隔閡，如階級、種族和宗教之間的分界牆。

John McCain and I took a break from campaigning to pay our respects in New York City on September 11, 2008. Within days, the big banks, many of them headquartered only a few blocks away, would begin to collapse.

約翰·麥凱恩和我在2008年的9月11日停止競選活動悼念紐約市的事件。在幾天後，許多座總部位於幾個街區之內的大型銀行開始崩盤。

That same month, as the economy was in free fall, McCain asked President Bush to assemble congressional leaders from both parties at the White House to try to strike a deal on a rescue package.

同一個月，當經濟正在自由墜落時，麥凱恩請求布希總統召集兩黨的國會領袖在白宮進行談判，試圖達成一項救援計劃的協議。

David Axelrod wasn't just a skilled strategist but a kindred spirit. We started working together in 2002, when I faced long odds in my Senate campaign, and he became one of my most trusted advisors. Meanwhile, Marvin Nicholson (back right), my unflappable trip director, had an easy charm and took care of every detail.

大衛·阿克塞羅德不僅是一位熟練的策略家，更是一位心靈相通的朋友。我們從2002年開始合作，當時我參加參議院競選，長期面臨挑戰，他成為了我的最信任的顧問之一。與此同時，我的旅行總監馬文·尼科爾森（右後方）擁有輕鬆的魅力，負責處理每一個細節。

Campaigning in the rain in Fredericksburg, Virginia, with less than six weeks to go until the election.

在弗雷德里克斯堡，弗吉尼亞州的雨中競選，距離選舉只有不到六周的時間。

Our biggest rally was on October 19, when I spoke at the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, Missouri. About a hundred thousand people showed up.

我們最大的集會是在10月19日，當我在密蘇里州聖路易斯的門戶拱門發表演講時。大約有十萬人出席。

Sitting next to Marian Robinson, my mother-in-law, watching the election night returns. "This is kind of too much," she said to me. I knew what she meant.

坐在我岳母瑪麗安·羅賓遜旁邊，一起觀看選舉夜的結果。她對我說：“這太過分了。”我知道她的意思。

On election night, more than two hundred thousand people came to Chicago's Grant Park to celebrate. Malia was worried that nobody would show up because there weren't any cars on the road.

選舉當晚，超過二十萬人湧向芝加哥格蘭特公園，慶祝勝利。瑪麗亞很擔心沒有人會出現，因為路上沒有任何車輛。

My favorite photograph from that night is this one, of people gathered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, listening to my acceptance speech on a transistor radio.

那晚我最喜欢的照片是這張，在林肯紀念堂的階梯上聚集着的人們，通過收音機聆聽我的接受演說。

Just before walking out to take the oath of office, I summoned a prayer.

在走出去宣誓之前，我祈求了一次禱告。

I took the oath on the same Bible Abraham Lincoln used for his swearing in on March 4, 1861.

我在同一本聖經上宣誓，該聖經曾被亞伯拉罕·林肯在1861年3月4日的宣誓儀式上使用。

A sea of Americans. When their flags waved in the sun, it looked like an ocean current. I promised myself I'd give them my best.

一片美洲人的海啊。當他們的旗幟在陽光下飄揚時，宛如海流般漫延。我承諾要盡我所能，為他們獻上最好的。

Walking the inaugural parade route. As always, Michelle stole the show.

走過就職遊行路線。一如既往，米歇爾成為了焦點。

My first day sitting at the Resolute desk—a gift from Queen Victoria in 1880, carved from the hull of a British ship that a U.S. whaling crew helped salvage from catastrophe.

我坐在毅然桌旁的第一天，那是维多利亚女王在1880年赠送给美国的一份礼物，毅然桌由一艘英国船的残骸雕刻而成，这艘船曾经遭遇大灾难，被一支美国捕鲸队帮助打捞上岸。

The best part of any day was when the girls would stop by.

任何一天最美好的部分就是女孩们的造访。

Rahm letting me know that the House had just passed a landmark climate bill. My chief of staff lived for days like this, when we scored a clear win.

拉姆告訴我眾議院剛剛通過了一項具有里程碑意義的氣候法案。我的幕僚長為這樣的時刻而生，當我們贏得明確的勝利時。

A marathon Sunday session with my economic team, including ( from left) Larry Summers, Tim Geithner, and Christy Romer.

星期日和我的经济团队开了一场马拉松式的会议，包括（从左到右）拉里·萨默斯、蒂姆·盖特纳和克里斯蒂·罗默。

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and I hit it off early on. Despite our differences in age and experience, we both had the sense that we had overcome long odds.

參議院多數黨領袖哈里·里德和我從一開始就很合得來。儘管我們在年齡和經驗方面存在差異，但我們都有這樣的感覺：我們克服了很大的困難。

Even as we navigated the pressures of those first months in the White House, Michelle and I could always make each other laugh. And having our friend and senior advisor Valerie Jarrett close by made everything easier.

即使我们在白宫度过了那些充满压力的头几个月，米歇尔和我仍然能够让对方开怀大笑。而有我们的朋友和高级顾问瓦莱丽·贾雷特在身边，使得一切都变得更容易。

Bo showed up at the White House ready to explore. He was a gift from Ted and Vicki Kennedy and instantly made the place more of a home.波(Bó)出现在白宫，准备探索。他是特德(Ted)和维姬(Vicki)·肯尼迪的礼物，立即使这个地方更像家。

Touring the Pyramids of Giza offered a humbling reminder that this world endures long after we're gone.

參觀吉薩金字塔提醒人們謙卑，這個世界在我們離去後仍然持續存在。

Palestinians in Gaza watching me speak in Cairo on June 4, 2009. During the campaign, I'd pledged to deliver an address to the world's Muslims, believing that acknowledging the sources of tension between the West and the Muslim world would be a first step toward peaceful coexistence.

2009年6月4日，加沙的巴勒斯坦人在开罗观看我的讲话。在竞选期间，我承诺要向全球穆斯林发表讲话，认为承认西方与穆斯林世界之间的紧张关系是迈向和平共处的第一步。

Congratulating Sonia Sotomayor just before she officially became a Supreme Court justice. I believed that her life experiences gave her a fuller understanding of the real-world context of the Court's decisions.

在索尼婭·索托邁奧爾正式成為最高法院法官之前，我向她表示祝賀。我相信她的生活經歷讓她對法院判決的現實背景有更全面的了解。

Denis McDonough was one of my closest advisors on foreign policy and a good friend. He sweated the details; volunteered for the most difficult, thankless tasks; and could not be outworked.

丹尼斯·麦克唐纳是我在外交政策方面最亲近的顾问和好朋友。他极为注重细节，自愿承担最困难、最不受欢迎的任务，而且从不懒惰。

French president Nicolas Sarkozy and German chancellor Angela Merkel—two leaders who couldn't be more temperamentally different—at the G8 Summit in July 2009.

2009年7月在G8峰会上，法国总统尼古拉·萨科齐和德国总理安格拉·默克尔这两位性格截然不同的领导人相聚一堂。

Ben Rhodes started out as my National Security Council speechwriter and proved vital. I could count on him to turn in a draft speech that not only captured my voice but channeled my worldview.

本·罗兹起初是我的国家安全委员会的演讲撰稿人，并且证明了其重要性。我可以依赖他提交的草案演讲不仅捕捉了我的声音，还引领了我的世界观。

A visit to Vladimir Putin's dacha included a long monologue by our host, chronicling every perceived injustice, betrayal, and slight that he and the Russian people had suffered at the hands of the arrogant Americans.

造訪弗拉基米爾·普廷的別墅包括了一個長時間的獨白，描述了我們的主人對於自認高傲的美國人所犯下的每一個不公，背叛和輕蔑，以及俄羅斯人所受的每一個不公的苦難。

The girls made every trip they joined better. Here's eight-year-old Sasha strolling through the Kremlin like a pint-sized secret agent in a trench coat.

女孩們加入的每一次旅行都更有趣。這裡有一個八歲的女孩莎莎，穿著一件短褂子外套，在克里姆林宮裡像個小特工一樣漫步。

My "body man" Reggie Love and I took it upon ourselves to help coach Sasha's fourth-grade basketball team. When the Vipers won the championship in an 18-16 nail-biter, we celebrated like it was the NCAA finals.

我的身體教練雷吉·洛夫和我負責指導薩莎的四年級籃球隊。當蝰蛇隊以18比16擊敗對手，贏得冠軍時，我們像慶祝大學籃球錦標賽一樣慶祝了起來。

With press secretary Robert Gibbs ( center), whose smart-aleck humor and keen instincts often saved the day, and Reggie Love, who never took it easy on me on the basketball court.

在媒體秘書羅伯特·吉布斯（中）的帮助下，他智慧幽默、敏锐的直觉经常拯救了这一天，而且雷吉·洛夫（Reggie Love）在篮球场上从未给我放松。

Stealing a moment to read. The quiet never lasted long.

偷偷抽出一瞬間閱讀。靜謐從未持續太久。

Part of the argument I made to Michelle before running for president was that if I pulled it off, kids all over the world would see themselves and their possibilities differently. And that alone would be worth it.

在我競選總統前向Michelle提出的論點之一是，如果我成功當選，世界各地的孩子們將有不同的看待自己和他們的可能性的方式。而這本身就是值得的。

I can still hear Bob Dylan reworking a stirring version of "The Times They Are a-Changin'" before shaking my hand and vanishing without a word.

我仍能听到Bob Dylan重新演绎《时光变迁》的激动人心版本，然后握了握我的手，没有一句话就消失了。

At Dover Air Force Base with Attorney General Eric Holder ( far right) for the dignified transfer of eighteen Americans who had died in Afghanistan. It was rare for presidents to attend transfers, but I thought it was important that a commander in chief reckon with the true cost of war.

在多佛空軍基地和司法部長埃里克·霍爾德（最右邊）一起參加了來自阿富汗的十八名美國人的莊嚴傳送。總統參與軍人傳送是很少見的，但我認為國家元首能夠深刻體驗戰爭的真正代價是非常重要的。

Announcing our troop deployment to Afghanistan at West Point on December 1, 2009. Sending more young people to war was one of the hardest decisions I had to make as president.

於2009年12月1日，在西點軍校宣布我們部隊將被調派到阿富汗。作為總統，派更多的年輕人去參戰是我最困難的決定之一。

I first met Sergeant First Class Cory Remsburg in Normandy, several weeks before he headed to his tenth deployment in Afghanistan. By coincidence, I encountered him again at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, after he'd been severely injured by an IED. Over the years, we visited and stayed in touch.

我第一次在諾曼底遇見了克里·倫斯伯格軍士長，那是在他前往阿富汗的第十次派遣的几周之前。几经巧合，我遇見了他在貝塞斯達海軍醫院，當時他已經被IED炸傷。這些年來，我們保持着聯繫。

Meeting some of our brave young men and women in Afghanistan in March 2010. They inspired me so much.

在2010年三月我在阿富汗與一些勇敢的年輕男女見面，他們深深地激發了我的靈感。

Members of my national security team at West Point. The hours we spent debating the deployment plan forced us to refine America's strategic objectives in Afghanistan in a way that prevented mission creep.

我在西點的國家安全團隊成員。我們花了數小時辯論部署計劃，推動美國在阿富汗的戰略目標得到細致完善，避免了任務膨脹。

Queen Elizabeth II embodied the special relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom, and Michelle and I always loved spending time with her.

伊麗莎白二世女王代表了美國和英國之間的特殊關係，米歇爾和我总是很喜歡和她共度時光。

With President Hu Jintao at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

與胡錦濤主席在北京人民大會堂。

Going over my address to a joint session of Congress on healthcare reform with speechwriter Jon Favreau. I could be a demanding editor.

與演講撰稿人喬恩·費伏共同審稿，檢查我向國會聯席會議發表有關醫療改革的演講稿。我可能是一個苛求的編輯。

Standing in the Roosevelt Room with Joe Biden and my staff on March 21, 2010, as the Affordable Care Act secured the votes to pass. I thought about my mom, who'd died of cancer, and all the Americans like her who'd needed this for so long.

站在2010年3月21日，羅斯福房間裡，和喬·拜登以及我的工作人員一起，我們的健保法案贏得了通過的票。我想起了我母親，她死於癌症，以及所有像她一樣需要這個的美國人。

Celebrating the passage of the Affordable Care Act with Secretary of Health and Human Services Kathleen Sebelius and Speaker Nancy Pelosi, the toughest, most skilled legislative strategist I've met.

在与卫生与公众服务部长凯瑟琳·塞贝利斯及议长南希·佩洛西一起庆祝《平价医疗法案》的通过时，我遇到了最为强悍、技艺最高的立法策略家。

Getting a briefing on the Deepwater Horizon disaster during a trip to the Gulf Coast. U.S. Coast Guard commandant Admiral Thad Allen (seated, left) and EPA administrator Lisa Jackson (far right) were essential members of the team managing our response to the oil spill.

在前往海灣海岸進行考察時，就深海地平線災難進行了簡報。美國海岸警衛總司令薩德·艾倫上將（坐在左邊）和環保署署長麗莎·傑克森（右邊最遠）是管理我們應對漏油事件的關鍵成員。

A swing-set summit with eleven-year-old Malia, who was always full of questions. Here, she's asking me about the oil spill.

一次与十一岁的玛莉亚的秋千召开，她总是问很多问题。在这里，她正在问我关于油污的问题。

Serving on the National Security Council, with a focus on atrocity prevention and human rights, Samantha Power was a close friend—and a temperature check on my conscience.

在國家安全委員會的任職期間，Samantha Power 專注於防止暴行和人權，她是我身邊的好友，也是我的良心溫度計。

I didn't feel that I deserved to be in the company of the transformative figures who'd been given the Nobel Peace Prize. Instead, I saw the prize as a call to action.

我感觉自己不配与那些获得诺贝尔和平奖的改变世界人士为伍，相反，我把这个奖项看作一种行动的号召。

With Joe on my way to sign Dodd-Frank, our Wall Street reform bill, into law. I kept my word and made sure he was always the last voice in the room. In return I received wise counsel—and found another brother.

隨著Joe一起前往簽署多德-弗蘭克法案，我遵守了承諾，確保他始終成為房間裡最後的聲音。作為回報，我得到了智慧的建議 - 並找到了另一個兄弟。

August 31, 2010: About to announce the end of combat operations in Iraq from the same desk where President Bush announced their beginning. A long time coming, but a promise kept.

2010年8月31日：即將在布什總統宣布伊拉克戰爭開始的同一張桌子前宣布結束作戰行動。經過漫長的等待，我們信守了承諾。

May 1, 2011: With my national security team, watching as Navy SEALs raided Osama bin Laden's compound. It was the first and only time as president that I watched a military operation unfold in real time.

2011年5月1日：我與我的國家安全團隊一起觀看海豹突擊隊突襲奧薩馬·本·拉登的藏身處。那是我擔任總統期間唯一一次親眼觀看實時軍事行動。

Dining at the presidential palace in New Delhi with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, a thoughtful and uncommonly decent man.

在新德里的總統府和印度總理曼莫漢·辛格共進晚餐，他是一個深思熟慮且不尋常地正直善良的人。

President Mahmoud Abbas, President Hosni Mubarak, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu checking their watches to see if the sun had officially set. It was the Muslim month of Ramadan, and we had to be sure the fast had been lifted before sitting down to dinner.

阿巴斯总统、穆巴拉克总统和内塔尼亚胡总理看了看手表，确认太阳已经正式落山。这是穆斯林的斋月，我们必须确认日落后才能开始晚餐。

Preparing to face the press corps the day after the Democrats were routed in the 2010 midterms.

在2010年期中选举民主党遭到挫败的第二天，准备迎接新闻记者团队。

I treasured any time I got with my family. A visit to the Christ the Redeemer statue in Rio de Janeiro turned out to be magical.

我很珍惜與家人在一起的每一分每一秒。在里約热內盧參觀基督像，讓我感到非常神奇。

For eight years the walk down the West Colonnade framed my day—a minute-long, open-air commute from home to office and back again.

八年來，從家到辦公室和從辦公室回家的路上，我的日程表都被西廊柱的步行路程所包裹著——分鐘的開放式通勤路線。

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Sara Corbett added editorial expertise and creative vision to this project, coordinating our team, editing multiple drafts, and making critically helpful suggestions throughout. She's also been full of wisdom, encouragement, and good cheer, and made this a far better book than it otherwise would be.

## 致謝

此書涉及許多辛勤工作的幕後人員，我對他們心懷感激：

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Sara Corbett 為此項目增添了編輯專業知識和創意視野，協調我們的團隊，編輯多稿，並在整個過程中提供建設性意見。她充滿智慧、鼓勵和好心情，讓這本書比它原本應該的更好。

Cody Keenan, who helped me pen some of the best-known speeches of my career, remained a valuable collaborator over the past three years, conducting background interviews, helping to organize my thinking on the book's structure, and contributing thoughtfully to my work in innumerable ways.

Ben Rhodes was not only present for many of the moments described in this book but also supplied key editorial and research support for each draft. More important, our countless hours of conversation and years of friendship have helped to shape many of the insights contained in these pages.

科迪·基南是我职业生涯中帮助我撰写一些最著名演讲的人之一，在过去三年中仍然是一个宝贵的合作伙伴，进行背景采访，帮助组织我对书籍结构的思考，并以无数种方式有深思熟虑地为我的工作提供贡献。

本·罗兹不仅在这本书描述的许多时刻中都在场，而且还为每个版本提供了关键的编辑和研究支持。更重要的是，我们无数个小时的交谈和多年的友谊帮助塑造了这些页面中包含的许多见解。

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我做的每件事都得益于我团队中聪明、精力充沛而富有幽默感的员工的技能、勤劳和努力，其中许多人陪伴我多年：Anita Decker Breckenridge努力保护我的写作时间的神圣性，成功地引导我们完成了出版流程。Henock Dory以无数种方式为这本书做出了贡献，且工作始终专业，紧密关注每一个细节，让我不断向前。Emily Blakemore、Graham Gibson、Eric Schultz、Katie Hill、Addar Levi、Dana Remus和Caroline Adler Morales也帮助我们成功出版。同样感谢Joe Paulsen、Joelle Appenrodt、Kevin Lewis、Desirée Barnes、Greg Lorjuste、Michael Brush和Kaitlin Gaughran。

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在皇冠出版公司，David Drake和Tina Constable的专业知识和战略规划在每个阶段都是至关重要的。他们不仅在公关和营销方面发挥了创造力和洞察力，还与他们的同事、我的员工和这本书的国外出版商密切合作，来协调出版过程，有时候这是非常复杂和令人望而生畏的。此外，即使意味着一本书出乎意料地变成了两本书，他们仍然对他们的作者的文学选择表示极大的尊重。我感到很幸运我的书落入了他们有能力的双手中。

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吉莉安·布莱克仔细阅读手稿，并对结构和内容做出了敏锐的观察。克里斯·布兰德对这本书的愿景，体现在他的设计中——从封面到照片插页到网站，都很有灵感。兰斯·菲茨杰拉德已经将这本书的权利出售给24种语言和数不清的国际合作伙伴，并在与英国同行的关系上表现出色。丽莎·福尔兹和林内亚·克诺尔穆勒在制造这本书的过程中尽了最大的努力，确保时间、质量和精良的工艺得到了保证，他们与打印商和供应商一道创造了奇迹。莎莉·弗兰克林写了无数个时间表，即使这似乎不可能，也将一切都安排妥当。克里斯汀·谷川熬夜细读每个词汇和分号，扫除错误，并确保我说的话是我想说的。伊丽莎白·伦德弗雷希确保书的内容和封面一样美观。

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