



美国总统巴拉克·奥巴马 6 月 4 日在埃及开罗大学发表讲话，阐明美国致力于寻求与穆斯林国家关系的新开端。翻译由美国国际信息局（IIP）提供。

I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning, and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement. Together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I am grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. I am also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: assalaamu alaykum.

非常感谢你们。下午好。我荣幸地来到永恒的开罗古城，荣幸地受到两所著名学府的邀请。爱资哈尔(Al-Azhar)一千多年来一直是一座伊斯兰学术的灯塔，开罗大学(Cairo University)一百多年来一直是埃及发展的源泉。你们并肩而立，象征着传统与进步的和谐共进。我对你们的盛情邀请，对埃及人民的盛情邀请表示感谢。我也自豪地带来美国人民的友好情谊，带来我国穆斯林民众的平安问候：“Assalaamu alaykum.”（“愿你平安。”）

We meet at a time of tension between the United States and Muslims around the world - tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

我们相聚在美国和穆斯林世界之间关系十分紧张的时期——这种紧张关系的历史根源远远超出了当前的任何政策辩论。伊斯兰教与西方世界之间的关系史既包括好几个世纪的共存与合作，也包括冲突和宗教战争。在近代，剥夺众多穆斯林权利和机会的殖民主义，以及穆斯林占主体的国家往往被视为傀儡、对其自身意愿鲜有顾及的冷战，加剧了这种紧张。此外，

现代化和全球化带来的巨大变化致使很多穆斯林将西方视为伊斯兰传统的敌人。

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. This has bred more fear and mistrust.

暴力极端主义分子利用这种紧张关系煽动穆斯林世界为数不多但很有影响的少数派。9.11袭击事件以及这些极端主义分子不断对平民百姓采用暴力的行径使得我们国家中的一些人认为，伊斯兰教注定不仅与美国和西方国家，而且与人权为敌。所有这一切导致滋生出更多的恐惧，更多的不信任。

So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, and who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. This cycle of suspicion and discord must end.

只要我们之间的关系定位于我们的分歧，我们就会让那些播种仇恨而不是和平，宣扬冲突而不是合作的人得势，而合作会帮助将正义与繁荣带给所有人。我们必须打破这种怀疑与不和的恶性循环。

I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect; and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive, and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles - principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

我来到这里是要在美国和穆斯林世界之间寻求一种以共同利益和相互尊重为基点的新开端——基于美国和伊斯兰教并不相互排斥、不必相互竞争的真情。不仅如此，它们相互重合，拥有一些共同原则——公正与进步的原则；容忍与全人类都有尊严的原则。

I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. No single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly the things we hold in our hearts, and that too often are said only behind closed doors. There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth." That is what I will try to do - to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.

我认识到，变化不会发生于一夜之间。一次讲话不可能排除多年来的不信任，我也不可能在我有限的时间内应答迄今摆到我们面前的所有复杂问题。但是我深信，为了向前推进，我们必须公开说出内心深处话，但我们往往关起门来才说这些话。这必须成为相互倾听、相互学习、相互尊重并寻求共同之处的持久努力。《古兰经》(Holy Koran)教诲我们："明记真主，永吐真言。"这就是我将在今天努力做到的——尽最大努力说实话，兢兢业业面对使命，坚信我们同为人类的共同利益远比给我们造成隔阂的力量强大得多。

Part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I am a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

这种信念一部分来源于我个人的经历。我是基督教徒。我父亲来自肯尼亚一个数代穆斯林家庭。我小时候在印度尼西亚生活过几年，听到过宣礼塔在破晓和日落时刻的召唤。我年轻时在芝加哥的社区工作，那里有很多人从他们的穆斯林信仰中找到了尊严与安宁。

As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam - at places like Al-Azhar University - that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

作为一个研读历史的人，我还知道伊斯兰教对文明的重大贡献。正是伊斯兰教——在爱资哈尔这样的地方——让学术之光照亮了一个又一个世纪，为欧洲的文艺复兴和启蒙运动铺平了道路。穆斯林群体不断创新，发明了代数学；磁性罗盘仪和导航工具；掌握了书写与印刷术；使我们了解了疾病的传播与治疗方式。伊斯兰文化为我们创造了雄伟的拱顶和高耸的尖塔；永恒的诗篇和美妙的音乐；遒劲的书法和冥想静想之所。纵观历史，伊斯兰教以言词和行动揭示了宗教容忍与种族平等的可能。

I know, too, that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President John Adams wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims." And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States. They have fought in our wars, served in government, stood for civil rights, started businesses, taught at our Universities, excelled in our sports arenas, won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. And when the first Muslim-American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers - Thomas Jefferson - kept in his personal library.

我也知道，伊斯兰教一直是美国历程的一个组成部分。第一个承认我的国家的是摩洛哥。我国第二任总统约翰·亚当斯(John Adams)在 1796 年签署《的黎波里条约》(Treaty of Tripoli)时写道，“美国自身对穆斯林的法律、宗教或安宁绝无任何敌意”。自我国建国以来，美国穆斯林使美国丰富多姿。他们为国作战，担任公职，为民权奋斗，创办企业，在高等院校任教，在体育场上出类拔萃，赢得诺贝尔奖，建造我国最高建筑，点燃奥林匹克火炬。当第一位当选国会议员的美国穆斯林在宣誓捍卫我国宪法时，他手抚的是来自我国建国先父之一——托马斯·杰斐逊(Thomas Jefferson)•私人图书馆藏书的那本《古兰经》。

So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam



must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.

因此，在来到伊斯兰教的最初降示之地以前，我已经在三大洲了解了伊斯兰教。这段经历使我确信不疑，美国和伊斯兰教的伙伴关系必须基于真实的伊斯兰教，而不是那些不实之词。身为美国总统，我认为我的职责之一是随时驳斥对伊斯兰教的消极成见。

But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words - within our borders, and around the world. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum: "Out of many, one."

然而，同样的原则也必须适用于穆斯林对美国的态度。就像穆斯林不是一个模子里刻出来的一样，美国也不能被用妄自尊大的帝国模子定型。美国是世界历来所知的最伟大的发展源泉之一。我的国家是在反抗一个帝国的斗争中诞生的。我们的建国理念是人人平等。几个世纪以来，我们不惜流血奋斗，实现那些话的含义——在我国国内，以及在世界各地。我们受到来自地球四面八方的各种文化的影响，但笃信一个简单的理念：合众为一(E pluribus unum)。

Much has been made of the fact that an African-American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. But my personal story is not so unique. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores - that includes nearly seven million American Muslims in our country today who enjoy incomes and education that are higher than average.

对一个名叫巴拉克·侯赛因·奥巴马的非洲裔美国人能够当选美国总统这一点已经议论繁多。但我的个人经历并不是那么独特。虽然人人都有机会的这个理想还没有在美国每一个人身上实现，但对于登陆我国的所有人来说，这个希望是存在的——其中包括属于我国今天 80 多个族裔群体的近 700 万美国穆斯林。实际上，美国穆斯林的收入及教育水平超过了我国的平均线。

Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state of our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders. That is why the U.S. government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab, and to punish those who would deny it.

而且，美国的自由与信奉宗教的自由密不可分。这就是为什么清真寺遍及我们合众国的每个州，在我们境内有着 1200 多座清真寺。这就是为什么美国政府为保护妇女和女童戴头巾的权利和为了惩罚那些想剥夺这项权利的人而诉诸司法手段。

So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations - to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.



所以，毋庸置疑：伊斯兰是美国的一部分。我认为美国自身坚信这样一个真理：我们大家，无论种族、宗教或生活地位，都有着共同的理想——和平安全地生活；受教育和有尊严地工作；热爱我们的家庭、我们的社区、我们的神主。这些是我们共享的东西。它是全人类的希望。

Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

当然，认识到我们共同的人性还只是我们使命的开始。仅凭言语无法满足我们人民的需要。要做到满足这些需要，我们必须在今后的年月里大胆行动，我们必须理解，全世界人民面临的种种挑战是共同的，不能应对这些挑战将使我们所有人受害。

For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. And when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.

我们已经懂得，当一个国家的金融体系衰弱时，世界各地的繁荣都受损害。当一种新流感感染了一个人时，对所有人都有威胁。当一个国家寻求核武器时，所有国家都面临核袭击的更大危害。当暴力极端分子在一个山区活动时，大洋彼岸的人受到威胁。当波斯尼亚和达尔富尔无辜的人民遭屠杀时，它给我们大家的良心留下污点。这就是在 21 世纪共享世界的含义。这就是我们作为人类相互具有的责任。

This is a difficult responsibility to embrace. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes subjugating one another to serve their own interests. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners of it. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; progress must be shared.

这是一项艰难的责任；人类的历史常常是国家、部落甚至宗教为自身利益征服他方的历史。然而，在这个新时代，那种心态是自我消损。任何旨在让某一国家或某一群体提高地位的世界秩序都将注定失败。因此，无论我们如何看待过去，我们绝不成为它的俘虏。我们的种种问题必须通过合作方式来处理，我们必须分享进步。

That does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: we must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

这并不意味着我们应忽视紧张关系的来源。恰恰相反，它需要我们必须严正面对。本着这一精神，请让我尽力明确和直率地谈谈某些我认为我们最终必须共同面对的具体问题。

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.

我们必须面对的第一个问题是一切形式的极端主义。

In Ankara, I made clear that America is not - and never will be - at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security. Because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

我在安卡拉明确表示，美国并非——也绝不会——与伊斯兰教交战。但我们会无情抗击对我国安全构成严重威胁的暴力极端主义分子。因为我们绝不接受所有宗教的信众都会拒绝的同样的行为：杀害无辜的男子、妇女和儿童。保护美国人民的安全是我作为总统的首要职责。

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support. We did not go by choice, we went because of necessity. I am aware that some question or justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. And yet Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

阿富汗的形势既说明了美国的目标，也说明我们必须进行合作。7年多前，美国在广泛的国际支持下追剿“基地”组织和塔利班。我们毫无选择的余地，因为我们必须这样做。我知道，有人仍对 9.11 事件有疑问或为其找借口。但我们必须清楚地认识到：2001 年 9 月 11 日，“基地”组织杀害了将近 3000 人，受害者是美国和许多其他国家的无辜男子、妇女和儿童，他们未曾伤害任何人。他们与“基地”组织政治上的嫌怨或仇恨意识形态毫不相干。然而，“基地”组织蓄意残忍地杀害了这些人，声称这一袭击行动系其所为，并一再表明打算再次进行大规模屠杀的狼子野心。他们在很多国家都有同伙，并企图扩大他们的影响。这些都不是可以辩论的看法问题，而是必须正视的事实。

Make no mistake: we do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We seek no military bases there. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

不要有任何误解：我们不希望保持在阿富汗的驻军。我们不在阿富汗寻求军事基地。失去我国青年男女的生命是美国十分痛苦的事。继续这场冲突要付出昂贵的代价，在政治上也是困难的决定。一旦我们可以确定在阿富汗和巴基斯坦已经不存在要尽可能多地杀害美国人的丧心病狂的暴力极端主义分子，我们会很高兴地撤回每一名美军士兵。但目前还不是这种情况。

That's why we're partnering with a coalition of forty-six countries. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths - more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings,



the progress of nations, and with Islam. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent, it is as if he has killed all mankind; and whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism - it is an important part of promoting peace.

因此我们在与 46 个国家结成合作联盟。尽管需要付出代价，美国的决心不会减弱。的确，我们任何人都不应容忍这些极端主义分子。他们在很多国家杀人。他们杀害了持有各种宗教信仰的人——杀害最多的是穆斯林。他们的行为与人类的权利、国家的进步和伊斯兰教的教义是不相容的。《古兰经》教导说，谁杀害一个无辜者就好比杀害了整个人类；《古兰经》还说，谁拯救了一个人就好比拯救了整个人类。有超过 10 亿人口的这一永恒信仰之宏大是一小撮人狭隘的仇恨之心无法比拟的。我知道，在打击暴力极端主义的斗争中，伊斯兰教并不是一个问题——伊斯兰教必须是解决问题的途径之一。

We also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That is why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who have been displaced. And that is why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend upon.

我们也知道，仅凭军事力量无法解决阿富汗和巴基斯坦的问题。正是因为这个原因，我们打算在今后 5 年内每年投入 15 亿美元，与巴基斯坦合作建造学校、医院、道路和企业，另投资 1.7 亿美元帮助流离失所的人。也正是因为这个原因，我们提供超过 28 亿美元帮助阿富汗人发展经济和提供人民赖以生存的服务。

Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be."

我再来谈谈伊拉克问题。不同于阿富汗的是，伊拉克战争是一场可以选择不打的战争，在美国国内和国际上引起了巨大分歧。虽然我相信没有萨达姆·侯赛因的暴虐政权，伊拉克人民最终会获益良多，但我也相信，伊拉克发生的事件提醒我们，有必要通过外交手段和建立国际共识解决我们的问题。确实，我们可以回想一下托马斯·杰斐逊曾经说过的话：“我希望我们的智慧会随我们的力量而增长，并告诫我们，我们的力量使用得越少，它就越有力。”

Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future - and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq's sovereignty is its own. That is why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all our troops from Iraq by 2012. We will help Iraq train its Security Forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

今天，美国承担着双重责任：帮助伊拉克人打造更美好的未来，同时要将伊拉克交给伊拉克人。我明确地向伊拉克人民表示，我们不寻求基地，对领土或资源没有要求。伊拉克的主权属于伊拉克自己。正是出于这个原因，我已下令在明年 8 月前撤出我们的作战部队。也正是出于这个原因，我们将履行与伊拉克民选政府达成的协议，在 7 月前从伊拉克城市撤出作战部队，在 2012 年年底将所有的部队撤出伊拉克。我们将帮助伊拉克训练安全部队和发展经济。但我们是伙伴的身份，而绝不是以保护人的身份支持伊拉克的安全与统一。

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter our principles. 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year.

最后，美国绝不能容忍极端主义分子的暴力，同样我们也绝不能改变或忘记我们的原则。9.11 事件给我国造成了巨大的创伤。这一事件引起的忧惧和愤怒是可以理解的，但在某些情况下，这一事件也使我们采取了与我们的传统和理想相悖的行动。我们正在采取具体行动改变路线。我明确禁止美国使用酷刑，我已下令明年初关闭关塔纳摩湾监狱。

So America will defend itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

因此，美国将进行自卫，同时尊重其他国家的主权和法治。我们在这样做的时候，将与同样受到威胁的穆斯林社区结成伙伴。早一天使极端主义分子在穆斯林社区受到孤立和丧失人心，我们就能早一天获得更大的安全。

The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

我将讨论的紧张关系的第二大根源是以色列人、巴勒斯坦人和阿拉伯世界之间的局势。

America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

美国与以色列之间的牢固关系众所周知。这种关系坚不可摧。它基于文化和历史的纽带以及这样一个认识：对犹太家园的渴望有着一个悲哀的历史源头，这个历史是无可否认的。

Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich. Six million Jews were killed - more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today. Denying that fact is baseless, ignorant, and hateful. Threatening Israel with destruction - or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews - is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

犹太人在世界各地经受了很很多世纪的迫害，反犹太主义被前所未有的大屠杀推到顶峰。明天，

我将参观布痕瓦尔德，那里曾是犹太人遭受纳粹奴役、折磨、杀害和被毒气致死的集中营之一。600 万犹太人惨遭杀害——这超过了今天以色列的全部犹太人口。否认这一事实是站不住脚的，无知的，仇视性的。威胁毁灭以色列——或不断重复有关犹太人的恶意成见——是极其错误的，而且只会在以色列人心中唤起这一最痛苦的记忆，同时阻碍这个地区人民应得的和平。

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people - Muslims and Christians - have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than sixty years they have endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations - large and small - that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

然而，同样不能否认的是，巴勒斯坦人民——穆斯林和基督徒——在寻找家园的过程中历经苦难。60 多年以来，他们承受了流离失所的痛苦。许多人在西岸、加沙以及邻国土地的难民营里等待着他们从不曾过上的和平与稳定的生活。他们每天忍受着由占领带来的大大小小的羞辱。所以，毋庸置疑：巴勒斯坦人民的境况是不能容忍的。美国对巴勒斯坦人追求尊严、机会和自身国家的合理抱负不会置之不理。

For decades, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It is easy to point fingers - for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: the only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security.

几十年来，一直存在着一种僵持局面：有着合理追求的两族人民，因各自的痛苦历史而使妥协可望不可及。相互指责并不难——巴勒斯坦人指责由以色列建国而造成的流离失所，以色列人指责贯穿其全部历史的来自境内外的敌意和袭击。然而，如果我们仅仅从一方或另一方来看待这一冲突，我们将无视事实：实现双方愿望的惟一出路是以色列人和巴勒斯坦人和平安全共存的两国解决方案。

That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. That is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience that the task requires. The obligations that the parties have agreed to under the Road Map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them - and all of us - to live up to our responsibilities.

这符合以色列的利益，符合巴勒斯坦的利益，符合美国的利益，符合世界的利益。因此我将亲自致力于取得这一结果。各方根据“路线图”已同意承担的义务是明确的。为了实现和平，现在是他们——以及我们各方——应该履行自己职责的时候了。

Palestinians must abandon violence. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a

peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end. It is a sign of neither courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That is not how moral authority is claimed; that is how it is surrendered.

巴勒斯坦人必须放弃暴力。暴力抵抗和屠杀不能达到目的。在几个世纪里，美国黑人奴隶遭鞭打，受种族隔离的凌辱。然而，最终导致获得全面平等权利的不是暴力，而是对美国建国核心理想的和平与执著的坚持。同样的经历也可在从南非到南亚，从东欧到印度尼西亚的其他国家人民的历史中看到。这个经历揭示了一个简单的真理：暴力是死路一条。向睡梦中的以色列儿童发射火箭炮或炸死公共汽车上的老妇，既非胆识也非力量的表现。它不是在申明道义权威，而是在丧失道义权威。

Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, and to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist.

现在是巴勒斯坦人致力于如何进行建设的时候了。巴勒斯坦权力机构必须发展治理能力，建立为人民的需求服务的机制。“哈马斯”确实有一些巴勒斯坦人中拥有支持，但他们也有责任。要为实现巴勒斯坦的抱负而发挥作用，“哈马斯”就必须停止过去的暴力，遵守过去的协议，承认以色列的生存权。

At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop.

与此同时，以色列人必须意识到，正如以色列的生存权不能被剥夺一样，巴勒斯坦的生存权也不能被剥夺。美国不接受以色列继续建造定居点的合法性。这一做法违反了过去的协议，有损实现和平的努力。现在是停止这些定居点的时候了。

Israel must also live up to its obligations to ensure that Palestinians can live, and work, and develop their society. And just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

以色列也必须履行其义务，确保巴勒斯坦人能够生活、工作、建设其社会。正如摧毁巴勒斯坦人的家庭一样，加沙持续的人道危机无益于以色列的安全，西岸缺乏机会也同样如此。巴勒斯坦人民日常生活的改善必须是通向和平之路的一个关键部分。

Finally, the Arab States must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state; to recognize

Israel's legitimacy; and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

最后，阿拉伯国家必须认识到，阿拉伯和平倡议（Arab Peace Initiative）是一个重要的开端，而不是责任的终止。阿-以冲突决不应再被用来转移阿拉伯国家人民对其他问题的视线。相反，它应成为一个行动的号召，帮助巴勒斯坦人民发展维系国家的机制；承认以色列的合法性；选择进步，而不是自我消耗地向后看。

America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

美国将使我们的政策与追求和平者的政策协调一致。无论在公开场合还是非公开场合，我们将对以色列人、巴勒斯坦人和阿拉伯人说同样的话。我们不能把和平强加于人。但是，在非公开场合，许多穆斯林承认以色列不会消失。同样，许多以色列人也承认建立巴勒斯坦国的必要性。时不我待，我们必须基于人所共知的事实行动起来。

Too many tears have flowed. Too much blood has been shed. All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed (peace be upon them) joined in prayer.

眼泪已流得太久；鲜血已洒得太多。我们大家都有责任为这样一天的到来而奋斗，那就是：以色列和巴勒斯坦的母亲能够看到自己的孩子毫无恐惧地长大，三大信仰的圣地(Holy Land)成为天意属望的和平之地，耶路撒冷是犹太人、基督徒和穆斯林的安全和永久的家园，并像伊斯拉(ISRA)故事中摩西、耶稣和穆罕默德(颂安)共同祈祷那样，成为亚伯拉罕所有子孙和平相处的地方。

The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

第三个造成紧张关系的原因涉及国家在核武器问题上的权利和责任，对此，我们必须达成共识。

This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is indeed a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically- elected Iranian government. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I have made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question, now, is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

这个问题是美国与伊朗伊斯兰共和国之间关系紧张的一个根源。多年来，伊朗在某种程度上用它与我的国家的对立来给其自身定位。伊朗与美国之间确实有着坎坷的历史。在冷战期间，美国对伊朗的民选政府被推翻起了作用。自伊斯兰革命以来，伊朗在劫持人质和对美军及平

民发动的暴力事件中扮演了角色。这一历史众所周知。我没有选择自陷于过去，我已经向伊朗领导人和伊朗人民表明，我国已做好向前迈进步的准备。对于伊朗而言，现在的问题不在于反对什么，而在于它希望建设什么样的未来。

It will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude and resolve. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America's interests. It is about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

消除数十年的不信任决非易事，但是我们有勇气、有正气、有决心向前迈进。我们两国之间有许多问题有待商讨，我们愿意在没有先决条件的情况下基于相互尊重向前迈进。但是，有关各方都很清楚，在核武器方面我们已经处在一个决定性关头。它所关系到的不单纯是美国的利益，而是为了阻止一场可能会使中东地区和全世界走上一条极其危险的道路的核武器竞赛。

I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nations hold nuclear weapons. That is why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. And any nation - including Iran - should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That commitment is at the core of the Treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I am hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

我理解有些人针对一些国家拥有核武器而其他国家没有核武器而提出的抗议。任何一个国家都不应挑选哪些国家可以拥有核武器。因此，我坚决重申，美国承诺争取建立一个任何国家都不拥有核武器的世界。任何一个国家——包括伊朗——如果它履行对《不扩散核武器条约》(Non-Proliferation Treaty)承担的责任，就应当有权获取用于和平目的的核能源。这一承诺是这项条约的核心，应为条约各方全面遵守。我希望这个地区的所有国家都支持这一目标。

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy.

我要讲的第四个题目是民主。

I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by any other.

我知道，近几年来在推进民主方面存在争议，而且许多争议与伊拉克战争有关。所以，我要明确表示：没有任何一种政府体制能够或应该被一个国家强加给另一个国家。

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are



governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. Those are not just American ideas, they are human rights, and that is why we will support them everywhere.

但是，我并不因此而减少我对代表人民意愿的政府的承诺。每个国家以植根于本国人民传统的各自方式给这一原则赋予生命力。美国并不自认知道什么是对所有人最为有益的做法，正如我们不会主观选择和平选举的结果一样。但是我确实坚信，某些东西是所有人都渴望的：能够畅所欲言并对自己被管理的方式有发言权；对法治和司法公正有信心；政府施政透明，不盗窃人民财富；以及有自由按自己选择的方式生活等。这些不是美国人的发明，这些是人的权利，因此美国在各地都支持这些权利。

There is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments - provided they govern with respect for all their people.

实现这一诺言没有直线可循，但是有一点是明确的：保护这些权利的政府最终会更稳定、更成功、更安全。压制思想决不会让这些思想消失。美国尊重世界各地一切和平、守法人士的发言权，即使我们与他们意见不一。我们将欢迎所有民选的和平政府——只要这些政府在施政时尊重本国人民。

This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they are out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who hold power: you must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

最后一点很重要，因为有些人只是在不当政时呼吁民主，一旦大权在握，他们就残暴压制他人的权利。无论植根于何处，民有和民治的政府为所有当权者设定了一个标准：你必须通过人民的许可保持权力，而不是采用强迫手段；你必须尊重少数派的权利，本着宽容和妥协的精神参与；你必须把人民的利益以及合法的政治程序至于自己的政党利益之上。没有这些要素，单凭选举无法实现真正的民主。

The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

我们必须共同解决的第五个问题是宗教自由问题。

Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind, heart, and soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it is being challenged in many different ways.



伊斯兰教拥有值得自豪的宽容的传统。这一点我们在宗教法庭时期安达鲁西亚（Andalusia）和科尔多瓦（Cordoba）的历史上看得很清楚。我童年时在印度尼西亚亲眼所见，在这个穆斯林占人口绝大多数的国家，虔诚的基督教徒可以自由地从事礼拜活动。这种精神是我们今天所需要的。每一个国家的人民都应能听从自己的思想、感情和灵魂的驱使，自由地选择宗教信仰和过自己的宗教生活——无论他们选择的是何种宗教。这种宽容精神对宗教的兴旺是必不可少的，但现在受到了来自多方面的挑战。

Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld - whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. And fault lines must be closed among Muslims as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

在某些穆斯林中，有一种令人不安的倾向：通过排斥他人的信仰来显示对自己的信仰之忠诚。丰富的宗教多样性必须得到维护——无论是黎巴嫩的马龙派教徒(Maronites)还是埃及的科普特教会成员(Copts)。另外，如果我们能够诚实地对待这个问题，穆斯林内部的裂隙也必须弥合，因为逊尼派和什叶派的分歧在某些地方已导致悲惨的暴力，特别是在伊拉克。

Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That is why I am committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

宗教自由对各族人民能否和睦相处至关重要。我们必须经常认真地考虑我们保护宗教自由的方式。例如，在美国，有关慈善捐款的规定加大了穆斯林履行宗教捐助义务的难度。为此，我承诺与美国穆斯林共同努力，以确保他们能够施行天课（zakat）。

Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit - for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear. We cannot disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism.

同样，西方国家必须避免妨碍穆斯林公民按照自己的意愿从事宗教活动——例如，不能对穆斯林妇女的着装进行强制规定。我们不能以自由主义为幌子敌视任何宗教。

Indeed, faith should bring us together. That is why we are forging service projects in America that bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That is why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's Interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into Interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action - whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

的确，信仰应有助于我们休戚与共。因此，我们正在美国制订一些新的服务计划，使基督徒、穆斯林和犹太人共同参与。因此，我们欢迎阿卜杜拉国王倡导的宗教间对话和土耳其在文明联盟(Alliance of Civilizations)中发挥的领导作用。在全世界各地，我们可以使宗教间对话发展成宗教间服务，通过各种连接各族人民的桥梁促使我们采取行动推进共同的人道精神——不论是在非洲抗击疟疾，还是在自然灾害后提供救援。

The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights.

我要谈的第六个问题是妇女的权利。



I know there is debate about this issue. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well-educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

我知道在这个问题上存在着争论，在座的各位就是例证。西方某些人认为一位妇女选择遮盖自己的头发即说明不那么平等，我反对这种看法。但我确实认为剥夺妇女的教育权利就是剥夺了妇女的平等权利。妇女受到良好教育的国家有极大的可能实现繁荣，这种情况决非偶然。

Now let me be clear: issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, we have seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

我希望明确表示：妇女的平等权利绝不仅仅是伊斯兰教的问题。在土耳其、巴基斯坦、孟加拉国和印度尼西亚，我们看到这些穆斯林人口占多数的国家选举了妇女领导人。与此同时，在美国社会生活的许多方面以及在世界上其他国家，争取妇女平等的斗争仍在持续。

Our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons, and our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity - men and women - to reach their full potential. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. That is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams.

我深信，我们的女儿们也能像我们的儿子们一样为社会作出很大贡献。让全人类——包括男人和女人——充分发挥其潜力将促进我们的共同繁荣。我并不认为，妇女为了获得平等必须作出与男人相同的选择，我尊重在生活中选择承担传统角色的妇女。但是，这应当是她们自己的选择。因此，美国愿意与任何一个以穆斯林为主体的国家进行合作，支持提高女童识字率，并通过小型信贷帮助年轻妇女创业，实现自己的梦想。

Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

我要谈的最后一个问题是经济发展和经济机会。

I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and changing communities. In all nations - including my own - this change can bring fear. Fear that because of modernity we will lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities - those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

我知道对许多人来说，全球化的景象充满着矛盾。因特网和电视能传播知识和信息，但同时也会展示露骨的性行为和肆无忌惮的暴力。贸易可以带来新的财富和机会，但也会造成巨大的分化和社区的演变。在所有的国家——其中也包括美国——这种变化可以引起恐惧，担心现代化会意味着我们失去对自己的经济选择、对政治，最重要的是对自身特征的控制——那

些我们挚爱的有关我们的社区、我们的家庭和我们的宗教信仰的方方面面。

But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradiction between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

但我知道，人类的进步不可阻挡。发展与传统并不矛盾。日本和韩国等国家在保持自己特有文化的同时发展了经济。在从吉隆坡到迪拜的穆斯林占主体的国家内，也出现了同样惊人的经济进步。无论在古代还是现代，穆斯林社区都站在创新和教育的前列。

This is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work. Many Gulf States have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century, and in too many Muslim communities there remains underinvestment in these areas. I am emphasizing such investments within my country. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas in this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

这一点十分重要，因为发展战略绝不能仅仅建立在地下资源的基础之上，在年轻人失业的情况下，发展也不可能持续。很多海湾国家因丰富的石油资源而享有富足的生活，其中有些国家已开始专注于更广泛的发展。但是，我们大家都必须认识到，教育和创新将成为 21 世纪的资本，而太多穆斯林社区对这些领域投资不足。我正在我的国家强调这一点。过去，美国特别重视这一地区的石油和天然气资源，如今，我们将寻求更广泛的接触。

On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America, while encouraging more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in on-line learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a teenager in Kansas can communicate instantly with a teenager in Cairo.

在教育领域，我们将扩大交流项目，增加奖学金，就像我父亲，当年就是靠奖学金有机会去美国的。与此同时，我们将鼓励更多的美国人到穆斯林地区学习。我们将安排有前途的穆斯林学生到美国实习，为世界各地的教师与儿童投资发展在线教学，创造新的在线网络，让堪萨斯的青少年能够即时与开罗的青少年进行网上沟通。

On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

谈到经济发展，我们将建立新的商务志愿队，与穆斯林为主体的国家中的同行结成伙伴。我将在今年主持一次创业峰会(Summit on Entrepreneurship)，以确定我们如何能够深化美国与全世界穆斯林社区中的工商领导人、基金会及社会企业家之间的关系。

On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in



Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create jobs. We will open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new Science Envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, and grow new crops. And today I am announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

在科学技术领域，我们将发起一项新的基金以支持穆斯林为主体的国家中的技术发展，帮助将创意投入市场，以创造更多就业机会。我们将在非洲、中东及东南亚地区开设促进科学事业中心，并任命新的科学事务特使，就有关计划进行合作，以开发新型能源、创造有利环保的工作机会、使档案数字化、使水资源洁净化，并种植新型作物。今天我宣布与伊斯兰会议组织(Organization of the Islamic Conference)的一项新合作，旨在根除小儿麻痹症。我们还将谋求扩大与穆斯林社区的合作关系，以促进儿童和妇女健康。

All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

所有这一切必须通过合作关系来实现。美国人已准备与各国政府及公民、社区组织、宗教领袖及穆斯林社区的公司企业携手努力，帮助人们追求更好的生活。

The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world we seek - a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

我所谈到的这些问题并不能轻易解决。然而，我们有责任携手努力建设一个我们所追求的世界——一个极端主义分子不再威胁我们的人民、美国军队返回家园的世界；一个巴勒斯坦人和以色列人在各自国家中和平安全、核能仅用于和平目的世界；一个政府服务于人民、上天所有子民的权利都得到尊重的世界。这些是共同的利益。这是我们所追求的世界，但我们只有携手共进才能如愿以偿。

I know there are many - Muslim and non-Muslim - who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort - that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There is so much fear, so much mistrust. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country - you, more than anyone, have the ability to remake this world.

我知道有很多人——穆斯林和非穆斯林——怀疑我们是否能创造这个新的开端。有些人急于煽风点火制造隔阂，成为前进路上的绊脚石。有些人认为不值得付出这样的努力——他们说我们注定要有分歧，文明的冲突在劫难逃。还有很多人只是对变化是否真能发生疑虑重重。有太多的恐惧感，太多的不信任。但我们若甘于被过去束缚，就永远无法前进。我特别要对各国各个信仰的年轻人说——你们，比任何人都有能力重建这个世界。



All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort - a sustained effort - to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.

我们所有人都不过是这个世界的匆匆过客。问题在于，我们是把这段时间花在导致我们分裂的东西上，还是全心致力于一种努力——一种持久努力——以寻求共同之处，以我们争取为子孙后代创造的未来为重，并尊重全人类的尊严。

It is easier to start wars than to end them. It is easier to blame others than to look inward; to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path. There is also one rule that lies at the heart of every religion - that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. This truth transcends nations and peoples - a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian, or Muslim or Jew. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the heart of billions. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.

结束战争比发动战争要难。看到与别人的共同之处比看到不同之处要难。我们应该选择正确的道路，而不只是容易的道路。而这正是信仰给我们指明的方向。所有宗教都有同一个核心原则——己所不欲，勿施于人。这条真理超越国家与民族——这一信念不是新出现的；不是黑色的、白色的或棕色的；也不代表基督教、伊斯兰教或犹太教。这种信仰孕育于文明的摇篮，至今跳动在亿万民众的心间。它是对他人的信任，它是促使我今天来到这的原因。

We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

我们有能力把世界变成我们所希望的那样，但前提是我们必须勇于开创新的开端，同时谨记经文的训导。

The Holy Koran tells us, "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

《古兰经》告诉我们：“人类！我们创造了你男人和一个女人；我们让你们成为国家和部落以便彼此相识。”

The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."

《塔木德经》(Talmud)告诉我们：“全部《托拉》(Torah)都是为倡导和平。”

The Holy Bible tells us, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."

《圣经》(Holy Bible)告诉我们：“使人和睦的人有福了，因为他们必称为神的儿子。”

The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now, that must be our work here on Earth. Thank you. And may God's peace be upon you.

世界人民能够和平共处。我们知道这是主的旨意。现在，这必须是我们在地球上的使命。

谢谢你们，愿主赐予各位平安。非常感谢你们。谢谢你们。 全文完

