

激情时刻

第57届美国总统竞选演讲和辩论实录

杜梦臻 / 袁 婧 / 编译



世界知识出版社

激情时刻

第57届美国总统竞选演讲和辩论实录

杜梦臻 / 袁 婧 / 编译



世界知识出版社

.....

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

激情时刻：第57届美国总统竞选演讲和辩论实录：汉英对照 /
杜梦臻，袁婧编译. —北京：世界知识出版社，2012.12
ISBN 978-7-5012-4414-0

I. ①激… II. ①杜… ②袁… III. ①英语—汉语—对照读物
②演讲—美国—选集 IV. ①H319.4: I
中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字（2013）第003258号

.....

责任编辑
责任出版
责任校对
封面设计

王晓娟
赵 玥
张 琨
龚 磊

书 名

激情时刻：第57届美国总统竞选演讲和辩论实录

Jiqing Shike: Di 57 Jie Meiguo Zongtong Jingxuan Yanjiang He Bianlun Shilu

主 编

杜梦臻 袁 婧

出版发行

世界知识出版社

地址邮编

北京市东城区干面胡同51号（100010）

网 址

www.wap1934.com

电子信箱

xjw_88@sohu.com

经 销

新华书店

电 话

010-85118128（编辑部） 010-65265923（发行）

印 刷

南阳印刷有限公司

开本印张

787×1092毫米 1/16 32¼印张

字 数

430千字

版次印次

2013年3月第一版 2013年3月第一次印刷

标准书号

ISBN 978-7-5012-4414-0

定 价

42.00元

版权所有 侵权必究



目 录

Remarks by President Obama at Barnard College Commencement Ceremony.....	2
奥巴马在巴纳德学院毕业典礼上的演讲.....	3
Remarks by President Obama at the University of Denver.....	24
奥巴马在丹佛大学的演讲.....	25
Remarks by President Obama at Iowa State University.....	28
奥巴马在衣阿华州立大学的演讲.....	29
Obama's Speech to the Democratic National Convention 2012	48
奥巴马接受2012年民主党总统候选人提名的演讲.....	49
Obama's Speech on the Anniversary of 9/11.....	74
奥巴马纪念“9·11”袭击讲话.....	75
Remarks by Obama to the 67th UN General Assembly	78
奥巴马在第67届联合国大会上发表的演讲	79
Remarks by Obama at the 2012 Alfred E. Smith Dinner	102
奥巴马在2012年艾尔弗雷德·史密斯慈善晚宴上的讲话.....	103
Obama's Victory Speech in 2012	110
奥巴马2012年竞选连任获胜演讲.....	111
Romney: Republican Party Presidential Nomination Acceptance.....	122
罗姆尼接受共和党总统候选人提名的演讲.....	123



目 录

Romney's Concession Speech	146
罗姆尼告别竞选演讲.....	147
Remarks of Michelle to the Democratic National Convention 2012.....	152
米歇尔在2012年民主党全国代表大会上的演讲.....	153
Remarks of Clinton to the Democratic National Convention 2012.....	170
克林顿在2012年民主党全国代表大会上提名奥巴马的演讲.....	171
The First Obama–Romney Presidential Debate	202
奥巴马—罗姆尼第一场电视辩论.....	203
The Second Obama – Romney Presidential Debate	302
奥巴马—罗姆尼第二场电视辩论.....	303
The Third Obama – Romney Presidential Debate	402
奥巴马—罗姆尼第三场电视辩论.....	403
The Second Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama	500
奥巴马总统连任就职演讲.....	501
Acknowledgements.....	512
鸣 谢.....	512





Remarks by President Obama at Barnard College Commencement Ceremony

Thank you so much. Thank you. Please, please have a seat. Thank you.

Thank you, President Spar, trustees, President Bollinger. Hello, Class of 2012! Congratulations on reaching this day. Thank you for the honor of being able to be a part of it.

There are so many people who are proud of you – your parents, family, faculty, friends – all who share in this achievement. So please give them a big round of applause. To all the moms who are here today, you could not ask for a better Mother's Day gift than to see all of these folks graduate.

I have to say, though, whenever I come to these things, I start thinking about Malia and Sasha graduating, and I start tearing up and – it's terrible. I don't know how you guys are holding it together.

I will begin by telling a hard truth: I'm a Columbia college graduate. I know there can be a little bit of a sibling rivalry here. But I'm honored nevertheless to be your commencement speaker today – although I've got to say, you set a pretty high bar given the past three years. Hillary Clinton – Meryl Streep – Sheryl Sandberg – these are not easy acts to follow.

But I will point out Hillary is doing an extraordinary job as one of the finest Secretaries of State America has ever had. We gave Meryl the Presidential Medal of Arts and Humanities. Sheryl is not just a good friend; she's also one of our economic advisers. So it's like the old saying goes – keep your friends close, and your Barnard commencement speakers even closer. There's wisdom in that.



奥巴马在巴纳德学院毕业典礼上的演讲^①

非常感谢大家。谢谢大家，请入座。谢谢大家。

谢谢你们，斯巴院长〔译者注：中文名石德葆〕、各位校董、伯林格校长。2012届毕业生，你们好！终于，你们迎来了这一天，祝贺你们！感谢你们让我有幸来参加这个活动。

有很多人为你们感到骄傲——你们的父母、家人、师长和朋友——都为取得这一成就作出贡献。因此，请为他们热烈鼓掌。今天在座的各位母亲们，见证所有孩子们毕业是最好的母亲节礼物。

但是我得说，每当我来到这种场合，就会想到玛莉娅和萨夏将来毕业的情景，我就会热泪盈眶——真不好意思。我不知道你们大家是怎么把持得住的。

首先，我要说明一个确凿的事实：我是一名哥伦比亚大学的毕业生。我知道可能会有一点同门弟子相争的劲儿。但我还是为能够在你们今天的毕业典礼上讲话而倍感荣幸——不过我得说，你们在过去的三年里树立了相当高的标准。希拉里·克林顿——梅丽尔·斯特里普——谢里尔·桑德伯格——在她们之后出场可不容易。

但我要指出，希拉里的不同凡响，她是美国有史以来最杰出的国务卿之一。我们已授予梅丽尔艺术与人文总统奖章。谢里尔不仅是一位好朋友；她还是我们的经济顾问之一。正如那句老话所说——亲近你的朋

^① 巴纳德学院（Barnard College）是美国的一所私立女子高等学校，1889年于纽约市创办，以原哥伦比亚学院院长弗雷德里克·巴纳德的名字命名。1900年并入哥伦比亚大学，但仍保留独立的学校董事会和财政机构，有自己的教师、图书馆和与哥伦比亚大学共同享有的设施，但学士学位由哥伦比亚大学授予。课程涉及人文学、社会科学和自然科学，亦提供音乐、戏剧等方面的专门课程。学生可参加哥伦比亚大学的许多活动，亦可到哥伦比亚大学听课。



Now, the year I graduated – this area looks familiar – the year I graduated was 1983, the first year women were admitted to Columbia. Sally Ride was the first American woman in space. Music was all about Michael and the Moonwalk.

No Moonwalking. No Moonwalking today.

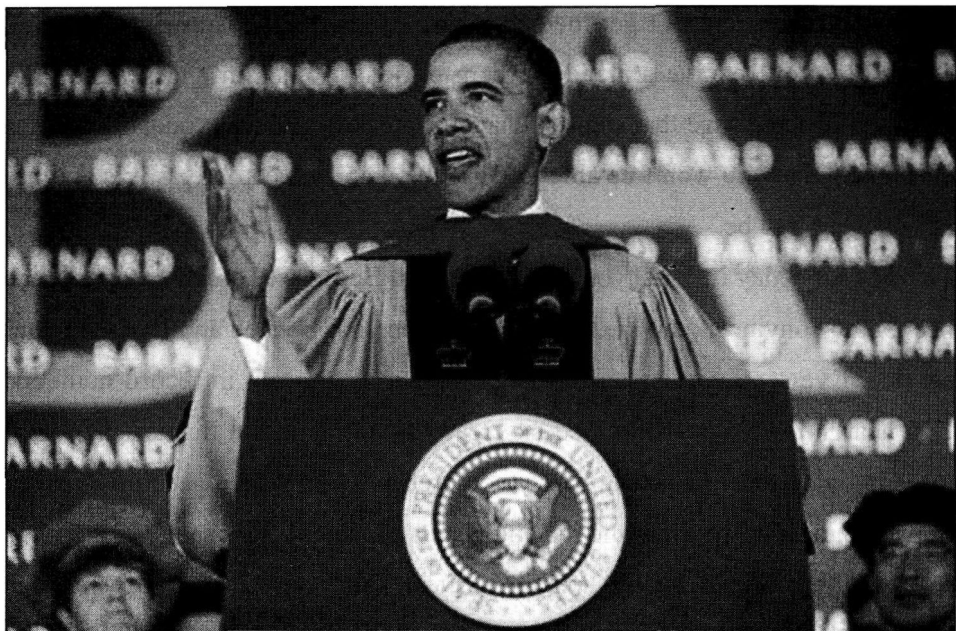
We had the Walkman, not iPods. Some of the streets around here were not quite so inviting. Times Square was not a family destination. So I know this is all ancient history. Nothing worse than commencement speakers droning on about bygone days. But for all the differences, the Class of 1983 actually had a lot in common with all of you. For we, too, were heading out into a world at a moment when our country was still recovering from a particularly severe economic recession. It was a time of change. It was a time of uncertainty. It was a time of passionate political debates.

You can relate to this because just as you were starting out finding your way around this campus, an economic crisis struck that would claim more than 5 million jobs before the end of your freshman year. Since then, some of you have probably seen parents put off retirement, friends struggle to find work. And you may be looking toward the future with that same sense of concern that my generation did when we were sitting where you are now.

Of course, as young women, you're also going to grapple with some unique challenges, like whether you'll be able to earn equal pay for equal work; whether you'll be able to balance the demands of your job and your family; whether you'll be able to fully control decisions about your own health.

And while opportunities for women have grown exponentially over the last 30 years, as young people, in many ways you have it even tougher than we did. This recession has been more brutal, the job losses steeper. Politics seems nastier. Congress more gridlocked than ever. Some folks in the financial world have not exactly been model corporate citizens.

No wonder that faith in our institutions has never been lower, particularly



友，但更要亲近在你们巴纳德学院毕业典礼上讲话的人。这话寓意深长。

我毕业那年——这个地方看着眼熟——我毕业于1983年，那一年哥伦比亚大学首次开始录取女生。当时萨莉·莱德成为第一位进入太空的美国女性。那时的音乐全是迈克尔和太空步。

不走太空步。今天不走太空步。

我们当时有“随身听”，没有 iPods。这四周的一些街区没有现在这样诱人。时报广场不是适合全家人去的地方。我知道这一切都属陈年旧迹。毕业典礼演讲人絮叨旧事是再糟糕不过的。但是，尽管有种种差别，八三届毕业生其实与你们各位有许多共同之处。这是因为，当时我们踏入社会的时候，也正值国家从一场特别严重的经济衰退中恢复。那是一个变革的时期，一个充满未知的时期，一个政治辩论激情高涨的时期。

因为在你们刚开始熟悉这所校园的时候，经济危机降临，不等你们第一学年结束，它已经导致500多万人失业。所以，你们最能够体会到这一点。自那时起，你们或许目睹了一些父母将退休计划无奈延迟，一些朋友在求职之路上苦苦挣扎。面对未来，你们也许像当年坐在这个座位上的我们一样，忧心忡忡。



when good news doesn't get the same kind of ratings as bad news anymore. Every day you receive a steady stream of sensationalism and scandal and stories with a message that suggest change isn't possible; that you can't make a difference; that you won't be able to close that gap between life as it is and life as you want it to be.

My job today is to tell you don't believe it. Because as tough as things have been, I am convinced you are tougher. I've seen your passion and I've seen your service. I've seen you engage and I've seen you turn out in record numbers. I've heard your voices amplified by creativity and a digital fluency that those of us in older generations can barely comprehend. I've seen a generation eager, impatient even, to step into the rushing waters of history and change its course.

And that defiant, can-do spirit is what runs through the veins of American history. It's the lifeblood of all our progress. And it is that spirit which we need your generation to embrace and rekindle right now.

See, the question is not whether things will get better – they always do. The question is not whether we've got the solutions to our challenges – we've had them within our grasp for quite some time. We know, for example, that this country would be better off if more Americans were able to get the kind of education that you've received here at Barnard – if more people could get the specific skills and training that employers are looking for today.

We know that we'd all be better off if we invest in science and technology that sparks new businesses and medical breakthroughs; if we developed more clean energy so we could use less foreign oil and reduce the carbon pollution that's threatening our planet.

We know that we're better off when there are rules that stop big banks from making bad bets with other people's money and – when insurance companies aren't allowed to drop your coverage when you need it most or charge women differently from men. Indeed, we know we are better off when women are treated fairly and equally in every aspect of American life – whether it's the



当然，作为年轻女性，你们还将应对某些特殊的挑战，比如是否能够享有同工同酬的待遇；是否能够平衡工作和家庭的需要；是否能够对自身的健康享有完全的决定权。

虽然过去30年来女性的机会有了突飞猛进的增加，但作为年轻人，你们在很多方面面临着比我们当时更为严峻的挑战：经济衰退愈演愈烈，就业形势日趋严峻，政治争斗难以调和，国会决议僵持不下，一些金融界人士行为举止很难被称为模范企业公民。

因此，公众对我们体制的信任下滑也不足为奇，尤其是当好消息不如坏消息引人注意的时候。人们每天接到一连串耸人听闻的消息或者丑闻，其中传递的信息是：变革是竹篮子打水；努力亦无济于事；现实生活与理想生活之间的鸿沟，难以逾越。

我今天的任务就是要告诉你们，不要相信这些说法。因为尽管困难重重，但我坚信你们精明能干。我见证过你们的激情，我见证过你们的奉献。我见证过你们的投入，我看到过你们挺身而出，人数空前。我听到了你们的声音，创意和对数码技术的精通使得这种声音格外响亮，而我们这些年长的人几乎不得其解。我看到心情迫切、跃跃欲试的一代人正准备跻身于历史的激流中，扭转其方向。

这种蔑视困难、积极进取的精神贯穿于整个美国历史的进程，是我们一切进步的源泉。此时此刻，我们需要你们这一代继承和发扬光大的正是这种精神。

可以看出，问题并不在于事情是否会好转——情况总是会变好的。问题也不在于我们是否已经有了应对我们所面临的挑战的解决办法——我们一直掌握着这些解决办法，已有相当一段时间了。比如说，我们知道，如果有更多的美国人能得到你们在巴纳德接受的这样的教育——如果有更多的人能够获得今天的雇主所需要的那些特定的技能和训练，美国的情况会更好。

我们明白，如果我们投资于能够造就新的企业并带动医学突破的科学与技术，如果我们开发出更多的清洁能源以减少外国石油的进口并减少对我们的地球构成威胁的碳污染，我们大家的日子会过得更好。

我们明白，如果能出台一些规则，阻止大银行拿别人的钱去恶赌——



salary you earn or the health decisions you make.

We know these things to be true. We know that our challenges are eminently solvable. The question is whether together, we can muster the will – in our own lives, in our common institutions, in our politics – to bring about the changes we need. And I’m convinced your generation possesses that will. And I believe that the women of this generation – that all of you will help lead the way.

Now, I recognize that’s a cheap applause line when you’re giving a commencement at Barnard. It’s the easy thing to say. But it’s true. It is – in part, it is simple math. Today, women are not just half this country; you’re half its workforce. More and more women are out-earning their husbands. You’re more than half of our college graduates, and master’s graduates, and PhDs. So you’ve got us outnumbered.

After decades of slow, steady, extraordinary progress, you are now poised to make this the century where women shape not only their own destiny but the destiny of this nation and of this world.

But how far your leadership takes this country, how far it takes this world – well, that will be up to you. You’ve got to want it. It will not be handed to you. And as someone who wants that future – that better future – for you, and for Malia and Sasha, as somebody who’s had the good fortune of being the husband and the father and the son of some strong, remarkable women, allow me to offer just a few pieces of advice. That’s obligatory. Bear with me.

My first piece of advice is this: Don’t just get involved. Fight for your seat at the table. Better yet, fight for a seat at the head of the table.

It’s been said that the most important role in our democracy is the role of citizen. And indeed, it was 225 years ago today that the Constitutional Convention opened in Philadelphia, and our founders, citizens all, began crafting an extraordinary document. Yes, it had its flaws – flaws that this nation has strived to perfect over time. Questions of race and gender were unresolved. No woman’s signature graced the original document – although we can assume



如果你最需要的时刻，不允许（禁止）保险公司取消你的保险资格，男女收费标准不一，我们的日子会过得更好。确实，我们都知道，如果妇女在国家生活的方方面面，——无论是薪酬所得还是健康决定权，都能得到公平与平等的对待，我们的日子会过得更好。

我们明白这些都是实实在在的道理。我们知道，很显然，我们所面临的挑战都会迎刃而解。问题是，我们是否能够拧成一股绳，拿出意志力——在我们自己的生活中，在我们共有的体制中，在我们的政治事务中——实现我们所需要的变革。我坚信，你们这一代具有这种意志力。我相信，新一代女性——在座的各位，都将会在这条道路上带头前行。

我承认，这句话，可以不费吹灰之力在巴纳德学院的毕业典礼上赢得掌声和喝彩。说这样的话很容易。但事实确实如此。在某种程度上，这是简单的数学题。今天，妇女不仅占这个国家总人口的一半，还是这个国家劳动力的半壁江山。越来越多的女性的收入超过了她们的丈夫。你们在我们的大学毕业生中，在拥有硕士学位和博士学位的毕业生中占了一半以上。所以，你们在人数上超过了我们。

妇女不仅能改变自己的命运，还能改变这个国家乃至这个世界的命运。在几十年来的缓慢、持续、不凡的进展之后，这样的发展目标即将在本世纪成为现实。

然而，你们能领导这个国家走多远、能使这个世界走多远，还要取决于你们自己。你们必须有这种愿望。进步不可能由别人拱手奉上。作为一个希望你们、希望（我的女儿）玛莉娅和萨夏拥有这一前途及更美好前途的人，作为一个有幸成为几位坚强杰出的女性的丈夫、父亲和儿子的人，请允许我贡献几条建议。这是义不容辞的。请容我慢慢道来。

我的第一条建议是，仅仅参与还不够，要为在决策中赢得一席之地而奋斗。能为坐上首席而奋斗就更好了。

有人说，我们民主中最重要的角色是公民角色。的确如此，225年前的今天，在费城召开了制宪大会，我们的开国元勋，我们所有的公民，着手起草了一项伟大的纲领。是的，该文件存在缺陷，后来国家为了完善它作出了努力。种族和性别问题当时还悬而未决，因此最初的文件上没有妇女的签名来为之增添光彩，但是我们可以想象，一些开国之母在开国之父



that there were founding mothers whispering smarter things in the ears of the founding fathers. I mean, that's almost certain.

What made this document special was that it provided the space – the possibility – for those who had been left out of our charter to fight their way in. It provided people the language to appeal to principles and ideals that broadened democracy's reach. It allowed for protest, and movements, and the dissemination of new ideas that would repeatedly, decade after decade, change the world – a constant forward movement that continues to this day.

Our founders understood that America does not stand still; we are dynamic, not static. We look forward, not back. And now that new doors have been opened for you, you've got an obligation to seize those opportunities.

You need to do this not just for yourself but for those who don't yet enjoy the choices that you've had, the choices you will have. And one reason many workplaces still have outdated policies is because women only account for 3 percent of the CEOs at Fortune 500 companies. One reason we're actually refighting long-settled battles over women's rights is because women occupy fewer than one in five seats in Congress.

Now, I'm not saying that the only way to achieve success is by climbing to the top of the corporate ladder or running for office – although, let's face it, Congress would get a lot more done if you did. That I think we're sure about. But if you decide not to sit yourself at the table, at the very least you've got to make sure you have a say in who does. It matters.

Before women like Barbara Mikulski and Olympia Snowe and others got to Congress, just to take one example, much of federally-funded research on diseases focused solely on their effects on men. It wasn't until women like Patsy Mink and Edith Green got to Congress and passed Title IX, 40 years ago this year, that we declared women, too, should be allowed to compete and win on America's playing fields. Until a woman named Lilly Ledbetter showed up at her office and had the courage to step up and say, you know what, this isn't



的耳旁轻声细语地指点过一些高招。我是说，几乎肯定如此。

这份文件的特别之处，在于它为那些没有被纳入我们宪法的人们提供了争取权利的空间和可能性。它为人民提供了借助于一些原则和理想拓展民主范围的语言。它允许发起抗议和运动，允许传播新思想，一代又一代地改变着世界，形成了一股永不休止的潮流，延续至今。

我们的开国元勋认识到，美国并非一成不变；我们充满活力，不会停滞不前。我们向前看，不回头。既然新的大门已经为你们敞开，你们就有义务去把握这些机会。

你们需要这么做，不仅是为了你们自己，也是为了那些没能得到你们已经拥有以及还将拥有的种种选择的人。许多工作场所仍在实行过时的政策，原因之一就是妇女只占财富500强公司首席执行官的百分之三。我们仍在为争取妇女权利而再次进行早已完成的抗争，原因之一就是妇女在国会中所占的席位还不到五分之一。

我不是说取得成功的唯一途径是晋升到公司的最高层，或是竞选公职，不过，请让我们面对这个事实：如果你们竞选公职，国会将能大有作为。我想大家对此是深信无疑的。但如果你们决定不亲自参政，至少也应





right, women weren't being treated fairly – we lacked some of the tools we needed to uphold the basic principle of equal pay for equal work.

So don't accept somebody else's construction of the way things ought to be. It's up to you to right wrongs. It's up to you to point out injustice. It's up to you to hold the system accountable and sometimes upend it entirely. It's up to you to stand up and to be heard, to write and to lobby, to march, to organize, to vote. Don't be content to just sit back and watch.

Those who oppose change, those who benefit from an unjust status quo, have always bet on the public's cynicism or the public's complacency. Throughout American history, though, they have lost that bet, and I believe they will this time as well. But ultimately, Class of 2012, that will depend on you. Don't wait for the person next to you to be the first to speak up for what's right. Because maybe, just maybe, they're waiting on you.

Which brings me to my second piece of advice: Never underestimate the power of your example. The very fact that you are graduating, let alone that more women now graduate from college than men, is only possible because earlier generations of women – your mothers, your grandmothers, your aunts – shattered the myth that you couldn't or shouldn't be where you are.

I think of a friend of mine who's the daughter of immigrants. When she was in high school, her guidance counselor told her, you know what, you're just not college material. You should think about becoming a secretary. Well, she was stubborn, so she went to college anyway. She got her master's. She ran for local office, won. She ran for state office, she won. She ran for Congress, she won. And lo and behold, Hilda Solis did end up becoming a secretary – she is America's Secretary of Labor.

So think about what that means to a young Latina girl when she sees a Cabinet secretary that looks like her. Think about what it means to a young girl in Iowa when she sees a presidential candidate who looks like her. Think about what it means to a young girl walking in Harlem right down the street when she