



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

在美国名校听名人原声演讲

没有失败这回事

在哈佛大学听名人原声演讲

王瑞泽 编

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Freedom and Tolerance

Michael Bloomberg

自由与宽容

纽约前市长、彭博社社长迈克尔·布隆伯格



迈克尔·布隆伯格 小 传

迈克尔·布隆伯格 (Michael Bloomberg, 1942年2月14日—), 美国政治家、企业家、美国纽约市前市长, 彭博新闻社的创始人和拥有者。

布隆伯格出生于波士顿的一个中产阶级家庭, 爷爷是移民美国的俄国犹太人, 父亲是房地产经纪人。他17岁就进入著名的约翰·霍普金斯大学读书, 1964年毕业, 获电气工程学士学位。两年后, 布隆伯格获哈佛大学工商管理硕士学位, 毕业后进入所罗门兄弟公司任股票交易员。他从最为基础的手工核账做起, 每周工作6天, 每天工作12小时。布隆伯格以勤奋和执着的工作态度, 以敏锐和富有远见的商业头脑, 在第6年成为了所罗门兄弟公司的合伙人。很快他又接过公司的股票、贸易、销售业务, 稍后又接手信息系统。1981年所罗门兄弟公司被菲布罗公司收购, 由于布隆伯格性格率直、容易得罪人, 他被突然解雇, 并得到了1000万美元的遣散费。布隆伯格用这笔补偿金开始了他的第二次创业。他把新公司命名为创新市场系统公司, 即后来彭博新闻社的前身。1982年, 美林证券用3000万美元购买了创新市场系统公司30%的股份。此后10年, 公司以40%的年增长率高速增长。

2001年11月布隆伯格当选为纽约市第108任市长, 2002年1月1日就职, 2005年11月再次当选纽约市市长。在2008年美国总统大选中, 尽管布隆伯格曾经是共和党人, 但他决定“自费”10亿美元参加总统大选, 并让各方将其视为劲敌。2009年11月, 他第3次当选纽约市市长, 任期到2014年1月。在一次采访中, 他笑称在自己去世后, 《纽约时报》肯定会以大篇幅来刊登他的讣告。

2014年5月29日, 布隆伯格应邀参加哈佛大学的毕业典礼并在典礼上发表演讲。布隆伯格在演讲中猛烈批评了社会中(尤其是在常春藤高校联盟里)存在的用自己的言论自由压制别人言论自由的现象, 呼吁人们要宽容。

英文原文

Thank you, Katie—and thank you to President Faust, and the Fellows of Harvard College, the Board of Overseers, and all of the faculty, **alumni**¹, and students who have welcomed me back to campus.

I'm excited to be here, not only to address the distinguished graduates and alumni at Harvard University's 363rd commencement but most importantly to stand in the exact spot where **Oprah**² stood last year. **OMG**³.

Let me begin with the first order of business: Let's have a big round of applause for the Class of 2014! They've earned it!

Now as excited as these graduates are, they are probably even more exhausted after the past few weeks. And parents: I'm not referring to their final exams. I'm talking about the Senior Olympics, the Last Chance Dance, and the Booze Cruise—I mean, the midnight cruise.

Anyways, this year has been exciting on campus: Harvard beat Yale for the seventh straight time in football. The men's basketball team went to the second round of the **NCAA**⁴ **tournament**⁵ for the second straight year. And the Men's Squash team won the national championship.

Who'd a thunk it⁶: Harvard, an athletic powerhouse! Pretty soon Drew is gonna be asking whether you have academics to go along with your **academic programs**⁷.

1 alumni: /ə'laɪmnaɪ/ n. 校友 (统称)

2 Oprah: 即奥普拉·温弗里 (Oprah Winfrey), 美国著名女脱口秀主持人、企业家。

3 OMG: *abbr.* 我的天啊 (oh my god)

4 NCAA: *abbr.* (美国) 全国大学体育协会 (National Collegiate Athletic Association)

5 tournament: /'tuənəmənt/ n. 锦标赛

6 Who'd a thunk it: 谁会想得到。相当于“Who would have thought it/so?”或“I can't believe it”, 类似的表达还有Who da thunk it。

7 academic programs: 学业。这里可能是布隆伯格发生了口误, 因为无论逻辑上还是在初始演讲稿上, 这里的academic programs 都是 athletic programs。演讲属于口头表达, 演讲者难免会出现口误或表达不规范之处, 还请读者注意甄别。

Now, my personal connection to Harvard began back in 1964, when I graduated from Johns Hopkins in Baltimore and **matriculated**¹ here at the B-School.

You're probably asking yourself or maybe whispering to the person next to you: How did he ever get into Harvard Business School, particularly since his **stellar**² academic record, where he always made the top half of the class possible? I have no idea. The only people more surprised than me were my professors.

Anyways, here I am back in **Cambridge**³. And I have noticed that a few things have changed since I was a student here. Elsie's—a sandwich spot I used to love near the Square—is now a **burrito**⁴ shop. The Wursthaus—which had great beer and sausage—is now an **artisanal**⁵ **gastropub**⁶, whatever the heck that is. And the old Holyoke Center is now named the Smith Campus Center.

Don't you just hate it when alumni put their names all over everything? I was thinking about that this morning as I walked into the Bloomberg Center on the Harvard Business School campus across the river.

But the good news is, Harvard remains what it was when I first arrived on campus 50 years ago: America's most prestigious university. And like other great universities, it lies at the heart of the American experiment in democracy.

Their purpose is not only to advance knowledge, but to advance the ideals of our nation. Great universities are places where people of all backgrounds, holding all beliefs, pursuing all questions, can come to study and debate their ideas—freely and openly.

And today, I'd like to talk to you about how important it is for that freedom to exist for everyone, no matter how strongly we may disagree with another's viewpoint.

1 matriculate: /mə'trɪkjʊleɪt/ *v.* 注册入学

2 stellar: /'steɪlə/ *adj.* 优秀的

3 Cambridge: *n.* 剑桥 (美国马萨诸塞州城市)

4 burrito: /bə'rɪtəʊ/ *n.* 墨西哥玉米面卷饼

5 artisanal: /'ɑ:tɪzənəl/ *adj.* (尤指酿酒)手(工)艺性的

6 gastropub: /'gæstrəʊpʌb/ *n.* 酒吧餐厅

Tolerance¹ for other people's ideas, and the freedom to express your own, are inseparable values at great universities. Joined together, they form a **sacred**² trust that holds the basis of our democratic society.

But let me tell you that trust is **perpetually**³ **vulnerable to**⁴ the **tyrannical**⁵ tendencies of **monarchs**⁶, mobs, and majorities. And lately, we have seen those tendencies **manifest themselves**⁷ too often, both on college campuses and in our society.

That's the bad news—and unfortunately, I think both Harvard, and my own city of New York, have been witnesses to this trend.

First, for New York City. Several years ago, as you may remember, some people tried to stop the development of a **mosque**⁸ a few blocks from the World Trade Center site.

It was an emotional issue, and polls showed that two-thirds of Americans were against a mosque being built there. Even the Anti-Defamation League—widely regarded as the country's most **ardent**⁹ defender of religious freedom—declared its opposition to the project.

The opponents held rallies and demonstrations. They denounced the developers. And they demanded that city government stop its construction. That was their right—and we protected their right to protest. But they could not have been more wrong. And we refused to **cave in**¹⁰ to those demands.

The idea that government would **single out**¹¹ a particular religion, and block its believers—and only its believers—from building a house of worship in a particular area is

1 tolerance: /'tɒlərəns/ *n.* 宽容; 容忍

2 sacred: /'seɪkrəd/ *adj.* 神圣的; 很重要的

3 perpetually: /pə'petʃuəli/ *adv.* 永恒地; 永久地

4 vulnerable to: 易受……攻击的; 易受……侵害的

5 tyrannical: /tɪ'rænikəl/ *adj.* 残暴的; 专横的

6 monarch: /'mɒnək/ *n.* 君主; 帝王

7 manifest itself: 表明; 显露

8 mosque: /mɒsk/ *n.* 清真寺

9 ardent: /'ɑːdənt/ *adj.* 热切的; 热心的

10 cave in: 屈服; 让步

11 single out: 挑出; 挑选

diametrically¹ opposed to the moral principles that **gave rise to**² our great nation and the constitutional protections that have sustained it.

Our union of 50 states rests on the union of two values: freedom and tolerance. And it is that union of values that the terrorists who attacked us on September 11th, 2001—and on April 15th, 2013—found most threatening.

To them, we were a godless country.

But in fact, there is no country that protects the core of every faith and philosophy known to humankind—free will—more than the United States of America. And that protection, however, rests upon our constant **vigilance**³.

We like to think that the principle of separation of church and state is settled. It is not. And it never will be. It is up to us to guard it fiercely—and to ensure that equality under the law means equality under the law for everyone.

If you want the freedom to worship as you wish, to speak as you wish, and to marry whom you wish, you must tolerate my freedom to do so—or not to do so—as well.

Now what I do may offend you. You may find my actions immoral or unjust. But attempting to restrict my freedoms—in ways that you would not restrict your own—leads only to injustice.

We cannot deny others the rights and privileges that we demand for ourselves. And that is true in cities—and it is no less true at universities, where the forces of repression appear to be stronger now I think than they have been at any time since the 1950s.

When I was growing up, U.S. Senator—yes, you can applaud—when I was growing up, U.S. Senator **Joe McCarthy**⁴ was asking: “Are you now or have you ever been?”

1 diametrically: /ˌdaɪəˈmetrɪkli/ *adv.* 完全地

2 give rise to: 使发生; 引起

3 vigilance: /ˈvɪdʒɪləns/ *n.* 警戒; 警觉

4 Joe McCarthy: 乔·麦卡锡, 美国参议员, 共和党人, 美国国内反共反民主的典型代表, 他肆意诽谤、肆意迫害共产党人和民主进步人士, 只要持不同意见者都不放过。从1950年初麦卡锡主义开始泛滥到1954年底彻底破产的前后五年里, 它的影响波及美国政治外交和社会生活的方方面面。麦卡锡主义作为一个专有名词, 也成为政治迫害的同义词。

McCarthy's Red Scare destroyed thousands of lives, but what was he so afraid of? An idea—in this case, communism—that he and others deemed dangerous.

But he was right about one thing: Ideas can be dangerous. They can change society. They can **upend**¹ traditions. They can start revolutions. And that's why throughout history, those in authority have tried to **repress**² the ideas that threaten their power, their religion, their ideology, or their reelection chances.

Repressing free expression is a natural human weakness, and it is up to us to fight it **at every turn**³. Intolerance of ideas—whether liberal or conservative—is **antithetical**⁴ to individual rights and free societies, and it is no less antithetical to great universities and first-rate scholarship.

There is an idea **floating around**⁵ college campuses—including here at Harvard I think—that scholars should be funded only if their work conforms to a particular view of justice. There's a word for that idea: **censorship**⁶. And it is just a modern form of McCarthyism.

Think about the **irony**⁷: In the 1950s, the right wing was attempting to repress left wing ideas. Today, on many college campuses, it is liberals trying to repress conservative ideas, even as conservative faculty members are at risk of becoming an endangered species. And that is probably nowhere more true than it is here in the **Ivy League**⁸.

In the 2012 presidential race, according to Federal Election Commission data, 96 percent of all campaign contributions from Ivy League faculty and employees went to Barack Obama.

1 upend: /ʌp'end/ *n.* 使颠倒

2 repress: /rɪ'pres/ *v.* 压制; 镇压

3 at every turn: 事事; 处处

4 antithetical: /ˌæntɪ'thetɪkəl/ *adj.* 对立的; 正相反的

5 float around: 传播; 流传

6 censorship: /'sensəʃɪp/ *n.* 审查制度

7 irony: /'aɪərəni/ *n.* 具有讽刺意味的事

8 Ivy League: 常春藤联盟; 常春藤盟校。包括美国东北部历史悠久的八所名校, 因校舍墙上常春藤盘蔓而得名。这八所名校包括布朗大学、哥伦比亚大学、康奈尔大学、达特茅斯学院、哈佛大学、宾夕法尼亚大学、普林斯顿大学和耶鲁大学。

Ninety-six percent. There was more disagreement among the old Soviet **Politburo**¹ than there is among Ivy League donors.

That statistic should give us some pause—and I say that as someone who **endorsed**² President Obama for reelection—because let me tell you something, neither party has a **monopoly**³ on truth or God on its side.

When 96 percent of Ivy League donors prefer one candidate to another, you really have to wonder whether students are being exposed to the diversity of views that a great university should offer.

Diversity of gender, **ethnicity**⁴, and **orientation**⁵ is important. But a university cannot be great if its faculty is politically homogenous. In fact, the whole purpose of granting **tenure**⁶ to professors is to ensure that they feel free to conduct research on ideas that **run afoul of**⁷ university politics and societal norms.

When tenure was created, it mostly protected liberals whose ideas **ran up against**⁸ conservative norms.

Today, if tenure is going to continue, it must also protect conservatives whose ideas run up against liberal norms. Otherwise, university research—and the professors who conduct it—will lose **credibility**⁹.

Great universities must not become predictably **partisan**¹⁰. And a liberal arts education must not be an education in the art of liberalism.

1 politburo: /'pɒlɪtbjʊərəʊ/ *n.* (共产党中央委员会的) 政治局

2 endorse: /ɪn'dɔːs/ *v.* 公开赞同 (或支持)

3 monopoly: /mə'nɒpəli/ *n.* 垄断; 独占

4 ethnicity: /eθ'nɪsɪti/ *n.* 种族特点

5 orientation: /ˌɔːrɪən'teɪʃən/ *n.* (政治、宗教方面的) 观点, 倾向

6 tenure: /'tenjə/ (大学教学的) 终身职位

7 run afoul of: 与……发生冲突; 与……相抵触

8 run up against: 遭遇

9 credibility: /ˌkredɪ'bɪlɪti/ *n.* 可信性; 确实性

10 partisan: /ˌpɑːtɪ'zæn/ *adj.* 偏袒的; 盲目支持的

The role of universities is not to promote an **ideology**¹. It is to provide scholars and students with a neutral forum for researching and debating issues—without **tipping the scales**² in one direction, or repressing unpopular views.

Requiring scholars—and commencement speakers, for that matter—to conform to certain political standards **undermines**³ the whole purpose of a university.

This spring, it has been disturbing to see a number of college commencement speakers withdraw—or have their invitations **rescinded**⁴—after protests from students and—to me, shockingly—from senior faculty and administrators who should **know better**⁵.

It happened at Brandeis, Haverford, Rutgers, and Smith. Last year, it happened at Swarthmore and Johns Hopkins, I'm sorry to say.

In each of these cases, liberals silenced a voice and they denied an honorary degree to individuals they deemed politically **objectionable**⁶. This is an outrage and we must not let it continue.

If a university thinks twice before inviting a commencement speaker because of his or her politics censorship and conformity, the mortal enemies of freedom **win out**⁷.

And sadly, it is not just commencement season when speakers are censored.

Last fall, when I was still in City Hall, our Police Commissioner was invited to deliver a lecture at another Ivy League institution—but he was unable to do so because students shouted him down.

Isn't the purpose of a university to stir discussion, not silence it? What were the

1 ideology: /ˌaɪdɪˈblɒdʒi/ *n.* 意识形态; 思想意识

2 tip the scales: 使天平倾斜

3 undermine: /ˌʌndəˈmaɪn/ *v.* 破坏; 逐渐削弱

4 rescind: /rɪˈsɪnd/ *v.* 解除; 撤回

5 know better: 懂得 (不应该做某事); 不至于蠢到 (做某事)

6 objectionable: /əbɪˈdʒekʃənəbəl/ *adj.* 讨厌的; 令人不快的

7 win out: 最后获得成功

students afraid of hearing? And why did administrators not **step in**¹ to prevent the mob from silencing speech? And did anyone consider that it is morally and **pedagogically**² wrong to deprive other students the chance to hear the speech?

I'm sure all of today's graduates have read **John Stuart Mill's**³ *On Liberty*. But just let me read a short passage from it: "The particular evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race, **posterity**⁴ as well as the existing generation—those who **dissent**⁵ from the opinion, still more than those who hold it."

He continued: "If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth produced by its collision with error."

Now, Mill would have been horrified to learn of university students silencing the opinions of others. He would have been even more horrified that faculty members were often part of the commencement censorship campaigns.

For tenured professors to silence speakers whose views they disagree with is really the height of **hypocrisy**⁶, especially when those protests happen in the northeast—a **bastion**⁷ of self-professed liberal tolerance.

Now, I'm glad to say that Harvard has not caved in to these commencement censorship challenges. If it had, Colorado State Senator Michael Johnston would not have had the chance to address the Education School yesterday.

Some students called on the administration to rescind the invitation to Johnston because they opposed some of his education policies. But to their great credit, President Faust and Dean Ryan stood firm.

1 step in: 介入; 插手干预

2 pedagogically: /ˌpedəˈɡɒdʒɪkli/ *adv.* 教学上

3 John Stuart Mill: 约翰·斯图亚特·穆勒, 英国功利主义和自由派哲学家及经济学家。

4 posterity: /pəˈsterɪti/ *n.* 子孙; 后代

5 dissent: /dɪˈsent/ *v.* 不同意

6 hypocrisy: /hɪˈpɒkrəsi/ *n.* 虚伪; 伪善

7 bastion: /ˈbæstjən/ *n.* 堡垒