

Failed Americans

● 奉勉 牛苴韵 编译

失败的美国人



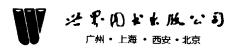


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秦勉朱其韵编译



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前 言

本书是网络原文快读系列丛书中最后脱稿的一本,虽然很薄,但两位作者却选编得非常认真,丝毫不敢轻易对待。

美国人的失败,或失败的美国人,从何说起呢?

本书中收录的 18 篇文章, 从经济、政治、外交、教育等方面揭示了美国的失败, 读来发人深省。人们不禁要问: 强大的、傲慢的美国到底怎么了? 每年数以亿计的反恐费用最终还是没能阻止恐怖主义者的袭击; 财大气粗的微软公司居然也遭到了政府的"嫉妒", 说要分割; 实力雄厚的美国公司说裁员就裁员,可谓裁你没商量; 在美国, 白人吸毒和贩毒的可能性比黑人大得多, 但由于毒品而被起诉的却以黑人居多, 这不能不说是对毒品的文化偏见; 曾风靡一时的双语教育, 正在美国逐渐被淘汰……如此种种, 令人困惑。相信读完本书, 读者会从中得到启发, 受到启迪, 从而对美国有一个全面的, 深层次的了解。

本书采用英汉对照的方式,方便中级和高级英语学习者阅读。

在文稿成书之际,作者们特此向世界图书出版公司及梁卫 先生表示感谢,感谢他们给予我们的大力支持。

> 编译者 于广东外语外贸大学

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1. The Failed U.S. Intelligence Network



To thwart terrorism, the United States spends more than \$9 billion a year, stations 112 FBI agents in 56 foreign countries and fans defense and CIA agents

across the globe.

But even after a decade of increased spending on manpower, satellites and surveillance, terrorists were able to rain destruction on the United States on Tuesday.

The question Wednesday: Why did the country's intelligence network fail? And more pertinent: Can similar attacks be prevented in the future?

Some members of Congress are demanding a change in the way America protects itself. They question how money has been spent and whether the country's anti-terrorism apparatus is too loosely assembled.

Some lawmakers said the attacks represented a meltdown of the intelligence system.

"If we had a warning and missed it, that is a failure





of intelligence, big time," said Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama, ranking Republican on the Senate Intelligence Committee. "If we didn't have any inkling of this event, as well-planned and well-executed as it became, that's a failure, too."

For years the United States has had its eye on Saudi fugitive multimillionaire Osama bin Laden, who is among those suspected of masterminding the attacks. Agents have tried to keep track of his movements and those of his associates, with satellites and by tapping cell-phone calls and radio transmissions, authorities said.

The focus on bin Laden is a part of a growing effort to prevent terrorism, one that has produced a fivefold increase in intelligence staffing at the FBI since 1992. Last May, outgoing FBI Director Louis Freeh said that "our highest national priority is the investigation of foreign intelligence."

Bin Laden has been linked to numerous other terrorism strikes, including attacks on the USS Cole last October and on American embassies in Africa in 1998. Bin Laden is one of the FBI's most wanted international criminals, and he has often publicly stated his intentions to mount attacks on American targets, but there have been no known missions to capture him



in a raid.

"It's a very difficult job," said Noel Matchett, a former official with the National Security Agency. "They are very small cells and few people at the top, and the cells don't know who the other people are. You get fragments. It's not like all of a sudden an army is massing at the border to invade."

It also may be a fight that the United States is poorly equipped to wage. Charles Hill, a chief of staff at the State Department during the Ronald Reagan administration, said that counterterrorism demands understanding your enemy's moral code and adjusting accordingly.

Using more spies is an unpleasant but necessary step to stifle terrorism, said Rep. Ike Skelton of Missouri, who is the ranking Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee.

"It's hard to say when, but the electronic systems became more important than human intelligence," Skelton said. "It is easier. You are dealing (in the case of spies) with some very nasty people, unreliable people. In many respects, they are traitors to their own cause."

Washington spends \$9.3 billion on counterterrorism, said John Parachini, a terrorism expert and director of the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Much





of the work is carried out by the FBI, the CIA and the National Security Agency, which is part of the Defense Department.

"We don't really know whether we're spending too much or too little," he said. "We need to figure how to spend smart."

Parachini said that in recent years the emphasis has been on guarding against chemical and biological threats and weapons of mass destruction. This week suggests that more conventional methods may be more worrisome and should be addressed in a more balanced terrorism strategy.

Roberts, who also sits on the Senate's Emerging Threats subcommittee, said that, among other changes, the agencies need to better coordinate their counter terrorism activities and develop a single national strategy.

While Skelton and others call for more use of spies, others said the United States might have to use more eavesdropping techniques. Critics have seen some FBI surveillance, such as an e-mail reading effort called Carnivore, as an invasion of privacy.

"If a mistake is made and you end up gathering intelligence on some legitimate American groups and it comes out in the press, you are pilloried," said Michele



Flournoy, senior adviser on international security for the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

But just as the country may now guard against a similar hijacking plot, another mode of terrorism, such as a truck or boat loaded with chemicals, could be next, she said. "It could be any number of forms of transportation," Flournoy said. "This is like toothpaste in the tube. You squeeze one place and it comes out the other end."

But perhaps more eavesdropping would have prevented the massive surprise attacks, one observer said.

"Clearly, it's not just the government to blame, it's the American people who did not give the political support for invasion of their rights like this," said Michael Gunter, a political science professor at Tennessee Tech University who has written books on terrorism. "We gambled on this, and we lost."





失败的美国情报系统



("9·11"恐怖主义袭击事件动摇了美国人的信心,他们开始怀疑:每年数以亿计的反恐怖主义费用是否花在刀刃上了? 本·拉丹是美国人的噩梦吗?)

为了对付恐怖主义,美国每年花费90多亿美元,在56个国家派驻了112名联邦调查局(FBI)特工,并在全球展开了扇形的防御系统及派遣中央情报局探员。

但是即使经过了十年来不断在人力、卫星侦察及监视系统 方面增加投入,星期二,恐怖主义分子仍成功地对美国进行了 雨点般密集的袭击。

星期三,人们不禁问:为什么国家情报系统未能阻止恐怖分子的行动?一个更中肯的问题是:未来我们能否阻止类似的袭击?

一些国会成员要求改变美国的自我防卫方式。他们提出这样的疑问:那些钱是怎么花的,国家反恐怖主义装置是否太松 弛了?

部分议员认为本次袭击代表美国情报系统的瓦解。

"如果我们事前得到警报却未能躲过,那就是情报机构的失败,这可了不得。"亚拉巴马州参议员兼参议员情报委员会的高级共和党员理查德·雪比说:"哪怕这次袭击事件策划得多好,执行得多好,我们如果对此事一无所知,也是失败。"

多年来,美国一直在监视着沙特流亡千万富翁奥沙玛·本·



拉丹,他被怀疑是本次袭击事件的幕后操纵者之一。有关当局透露,通过卫星、窃听移动电话及无线电发射等方式,特工们企图追查本·拉丹及其同伙的行踪。

集中追踪本·拉丹只是日益增强的反恐怖主义工作的一部分,但单是这一项工作就使FBI的情报人员自1992年来增加了5倍。在过去的5月份中,即将卸任的FBI局长路易斯·弗利说:"我们的最高国家优先权就是侦察外国情报。"

本·拉丹被指与其他数不清的恐怖主义袭击有关,其中包括在过去的10月对参议员科尔的袭击以及1998年对美国几个驻非大使馆的偷袭。本·拉丹是FBI极力缉拿的国际罪犯之一,他曾多次公开发表言论要对美国发动攻击,但迄今仍未在任何突袭任务中被擒获。

国家安全局前官员诺亚·马查特说:"这是一项艰巨的工作。他们是非常小的基层组织,处于最高层的仅是极少数人,基层成员之间也互不认识。你得到的只是些片段。这不像突然之间大军压境,准备入侵。"

对美国来说,这也许还是一场准备不足的战争。曾任职于 罗纳德·里根政府国务院官员查尔斯·希尔说:"反恐怖主义要 求你了解对手的道德准则,并依此做出调整。"

众议院武装力量委员会民主党的高层官员,来自密苏里州的艾克·斯克尔顿认为,使用更多的间谍尽管不讨人喜欢,但却是打击恐怖主义的一项必要措施。

他说:"(袭击发生的)时间很难判断,但电子系统确曾比 人工情报更重要。而现在情报工作则容易多了。(就间谍这个问 题来说)你是在和一些非常卑鄙、非常不可靠的人打交道。从



失败的美国人



很多方面来看,他们会背叛自己的事业。"

反恐怖主义专家兼蒙特里国际研究所所长约翰·巴拉切尼 表示,美国在反恐怖主义上花费了93亿美元。大部分工作由联 邦调查局、中央情报局和国防部的国家安全局来执行。

他说:"我们并不清楚我们花的钱是太多了还是太少了,但 我们得估量一下怎样更有效地使用这笔钱。"

巴拉切尼说,多年来(反恐怖主义)重点一直放在防范生 化威胁和大规模杀伤性武器上。而本周的袭击表明更常规的手 段可能更令人担心,须用更均衡的反恐怖主义战略来应对。

参议院应急小组委员会成员罗伯茨说,除了其他的变革外,安全机构须进一步协调他们之间的反恐怖主义行动,形成单一的全国战略。

尽管斯格顿们呼吁使用更多的间谍,一些人却认为美国应 尽可能广泛地使用窃听技术。批评者则指责FBI的监视工作,比 如一项名为"食肉兽"的电子信件阅览工作,侵犯了个人隐私。

策略及国际问题研究中心资深国际安全顾问米歇尔·弗洛娜说:"当出现问题时,你从合法美国团体那里收集情报,如果这被公布于众,必会受到公众的声讨。"

弗洛娜还称,尽管美国现在也许能防范类似的劫机阴谋,但下回恐怖主义形式可能变了,譬如变成满载化学武器的卡车或船只。她说:"可能是任何一种运输方式,这就像挤牙膏,你从这端挤,他就从另一端出来了。"

但一名观察家则表示,广泛应用窃听技术也许能阻止那次 惊人的大规模袭击。

田纳西理工大学的政治教授迈克·甘特写了一些关于恐怖





主义方面的书,他说:"很清楚,我们不能仅指责政府,那些对诸如此类的所谓侵犯权利的行动不给予政治支持的美国人也应对此负责。我们冒了这个险,我们输了。"





2. Whose Failure, Microsoft's or the Government's?



April 28, 2000, Microsoft Corp. today said the government's unprecedented regulatory scheme is unjustifiably punitive and would be a major setback for the American economy and consumers. The company said the government's proposal

threatens a core principle in the American economy: that businesses are encouraged to compete by creating innovative products that respond to the marketplace and consumers.

Microsoft will file its response to the government's proposal on May 10. The company said it believes the courts ultimately will rule in favor of Microsoft.

"Breaking up Microsoft into separate companies is not in the interest of consumers and is not supported by anything in the lawsuit," said Bill Gates, Microsoft chairman and chief software architect. "Microsoft never could have created Windows? And Office if they were in separate companies. Innovations that began within





Office have quickly been incorporated into Windows so they are available to every applications developer. Dismantling Microsoft would hurt the company's ability to continue to innovate, and that would hurt consumers. It's anti-consumer to tear apart the development teams that created two of the most innovative technology products and that have helped to revolutionize productivity. Microsoft has a proven track record of delivering consumer value as a single company."

"People can disagree about some of the issues in this case, but the government's proposals are clearly unreasonable and punitive beyond reason. These regulations are out of touch with consumers and are completely out of proportion to the issues in the case. The net effect of these remedies is that they run against what consumers want: products that are easy to use, work well together, are innovative and affordable," Gates said.

"Microsoft has worked hard for years to develop Windows and Office, and these products have provided great benefits to millions of consumers. The message of today is that if you invent two great products, the government may someday take one of them away. We are proud of the work we did to add Internet features to Windows. Should the courts decide to rule against us,

