

爱 · 阅读 · 双语译丛 珍藏版

王瑞泽 编译

「铁娘子」的风采 撒切尔夫人 演讲访谈录

中英对照
原声音频&视频

Margaret Thatcher

法国前总统密特朗说：
她有一双暴君的眼睛，一张梦露的嘴。

机械工业出版社
CHINA MACHINE PRESS



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「铁娘子」的风采
撒切尔夫人
演讲访谈录

Margaret Thatcher

她是一介平民，她是一个女子，她学的是化学，但是她却爱上了政治并逐渐攀上了英国权力的巅峰，成为英国历史上第一位女首相，也是迄今为止唯一一位女首相。也被喻为英国政坛上除丘吉尔外最擅长演讲的首相。

她是如何做到的？她凭什么样的口才和魅力征服了英国民众？她是如何想的？她是如何说的？她是如何做的？本书将通过撒切尔夫人的声音和影像向你展示一个真实的“铁娘子”。

图书在版编目（CIP）数据

撒切尔夫人演讲访谈录：英汉对照/王瑞泽编译.

—北京：机械工业出版社，2013.3

（爱·阅读·双语译丛：珍藏版）

ISBN 978-7-111-41457-5

I. ①撒… II. ①王… III. ①英语-汉语-对照读物

②撒切尔，M. H. -演讲-汇编 ③撒切尔，M. H. -访问记

IV. ①H319.4

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字（2013）第 027261 号

机械工业出版社（北京市百万庄大街 22 号 邮政编码 100037）

策划编辑：杨 娟

责任编辑：张若男

责任印制：杨 曦

保定市中国画美凯印刷有限公司印刷

2013 年 6 月第 1 版·第 1 次印刷

169mm×239mm·14.75 印张·313 千字

标准书号：ISBN 978-7-111-41457-5

ISBN 978-7-89433-901-0（光盘）

定价：29.80 元（含 1CD）

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读者购书热线：(010) 88379203

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为美国前总统里根致悼词（2004年6月11日）

We have lost a great president, a great American, and a great man, and I have lost a dear friend.

In his lifetime, Ronald Reagan was such a cheerful and invigorating presence that it was easy to forget what daunting historic tasks he set himself. He sought to mend America's wounded spirit, to restore the strength of the free world. These were causes hard to accomplish and heavy with risk, yet they were pursued with almost a lightness of spirit, for Ronald Reagan also embodied another great cause, what Arnold Bennett once called "the great cause of cheering us all up". His policies had a freshness and optimism that won converts from every class and every nation, and ultimately, from the very heart of the "evil empire".

Yet his humour often had a purpose beyond humour. In the terrible hours after the attempt on his life, his easy jokes gave reassurance to an anxious world. They were evidence that in the aftermath of terror and in the midst of hysteria one great heart at least remained sane and jocular. They were truly grace under pressure. And perhaps they signified grace of a deeper kind. Ronnie himself certainly believed that he had been given back his life for a purpose. As he told a priest after his recovery, "Whatever time I've got left now belongs to the Big Fella upstairs¹." And surely, it is hard to deny that Ronald Reagan's life was providential when we look at what he achieved in the eight years that followed.

Others prophesied the decline of the West. He inspired America and its allies with renewed faith in their mission of freedom.

Others saw only limits to growth. He transformed a stagnant economy into an engine of opportunity.

演讲背景

2002年3月，曾经轻度中风的撒切尔夫人宣布将退出一切社交活动并不再进行任何公开演讲。2003年6月26日撒切尔夫人的终生伴侣丹尼斯·撒切尔去世，享年88岁，使得撒切尔夫人孤独的晚年生活更加寂寞。2004年6月5日，美国前总统里根溘然辞世，享年93岁，这个消息对已进风烛残年的撒切尔夫人来说无疑是雪上加霜。要知道，撒切尔夫人和里根总统当年是同声相应同气相求的政治盟友，其私人友谊也非一般政治人物所能比。所以当里根总统去世的消息传来的时候，撒切尔夫人的内心是何等凄凉和失落。2004年6月11日，里根总统的葬礼在华盛顿教堂举行，接近80岁高龄的撒切尔夫人有心亲自参加，但最终还是由于身体原因遵从了医生的建议，在家里录了一段颂扬和怀念里根总统的视频传到葬礼现场，算是送给最亲密的政治盟友的最后一份礼物。

我们失去了一位伟大的总统，一位伟大的美国人和一位伟人。我失去了一位亲爱的朋友。

罗纳德·里根一生都那么快乐和充满活力，以至于让人很容易就忘了他让自己承担的是令人望而生畏的历史使命。他致力于医治美国人受伤的心灵，恢复自由世界的勇气。这些都是难以完成且又充满危险的事业，然而他几乎用一种轻松自如的态度展开对这些事业的追求，因为在里根身上还体现着另一项伟大的事业，阿诺德·班尼特曾称其为“让我们所有人精神振奋的伟大事业”。他的政策别具一格并且充满乐观精神，赢得了各个阶层和各个国家的认同，并最终从“邪恶帝国”的内心深处赢得了认同。

但是，他的幽默常常还有幽默之外的目的。在有人企图谋杀他的可怕的几小时里，他的轻松玩笑给焦急的世界吃了颗定心丸。这些笑话证明在恐怖威胁之后以及在歇斯底里的情绪中，一颗博大的心至少保持着冷静和诙谐。它们真正让人在压力之下变得高雅。也许它们象征的是一类更深层次的高雅。罗尼自己当然坚信上帝把生命还给他是有目的的。正如康复之后他对一位牧师所说的那样：“我的全部余生都属于上帝。”毫无疑问，我们纵观他在此后8年里所取得的成就，就很难否认里根命有天助。

有人预言西方将会衰落，而他却激励美国及其盟友要恢复对其自由使命的信仰。

有人只看见增长的局限，而他却把滞胀的经济变成机会的引擎。



Others hoped, at best, for an uneasy cohabitation with the Soviet Union. He won the Cold War, not only without firing a shot, but also by inviting enemies out of their fortress and turning them into friends.

I cannot imagine how any diplomat or any dramatist could improve on² his words to Mikhail Gorbachev at the Geneva summit. "Let me tell you why it is we distrust you." Those words are candid and tough, and they cannot have been easy to hear. But they are also a clear invitation to a new beginning and a new relationship that would be rooted in trust.

We live today in the world that Ronald Reagan began to reshape with those words. It is a very different world, with different challenges and new dangers. All in all, however, it is one of greater freedom and prosperity, one more hopeful than the world he inherited on becoming president.

As Prime Minister, I worked closely with Ronald Reagan for eight of the most important years of all our lives. We talked regularly, both before and after his presidency, and I've had time and cause to reflect on what made him a great president.

Ronald Reagan knew his own mind³. He had firm principles and, I believe, right ones. He expounded them clearly. He acted upon them decisively. When the world threw problems at the White House, he was not baffled or disorientated or overwhelmed.

He knew almost instinctively what to do.

When his aides were preparing option papers for his decision, they were able to cut out entire rafts of proposals that they knew the old man would never wear. When his allies came under Soviet or domestic pressure, they could look confidently to Washington for firm leadership, and when his enemies tested American resolve, they soon discovered that his resolve was firm and unyielding.

Yet his ideas, so clear, were never simplistic. He saw the many sides of truth. Yes, he warned that the Soviet Union had an insatiable drive for military power and territorial expansion, but he also sensed that it was being eaten away by systemic failures impossible to reform. Yes, he did not shrink from⁴ denouncing Moscow's evil empire, but he realized that a man of good will might nonetheless emerge from within its dark corridors.

So the president resisted Soviet expansion and pressed down on⁵ Soviet weakness at every point. And when a man of good will did emerge from the ruins, President Reagan stepped forward to shake his hand and to offer sincere cooperation.

Nothing was more typical of⁶ Ronald Reagan than that large-hearted magnanimity, and nothing was more American.

Therein lies perhaps the final explanation of his achievements. Ronald Reagan carried

有人抱着和苏联最多只能勉强维持共处的希望，而他却赢得了冷战，不仅没费一枪一弹，而且还把敌人请出堡垒，把他们变成朋友。

我无法想象有哪位外交家或剧作家能把他在日内瓦峰会上对米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫说的话改得更好，他说：“让我告诉你为什么我们不相信你们吧。”这句话坦诚而强硬，听上去不那么舒服。但它也明确标志着一个新的开始和一种将会植根于互信的新关系。

我们今天生活的世界就是里根用那句话重新塑造的世界。这是一个完全不同的世界，充满不同的挑战和新的危险。但总而言之，这是一个比他成为总统时继承下来的世界拥有更多自由、更多繁荣和更多希望的世界。

当年作为首相的我和他一起紧密工作，度过了我们一生中最重要的8年时光。在他就任总统之前和卸任总统之后，我们一直定期交谈，我有时间也有理由总结一下是什么使他成为一位伟大的总统。

罗纳德·里根很有主见。他坚持原则，我相信，他坚持的原则都是正确的。他把这些原则阐述得清清楚楚。他果断地按照这些原则行事。当世界把各种问题推到白宫时，他没有晕头转向或不知所措或魂飞魄散。

他几乎是本能地知道做什么。

当他的助手们为他准备各种决策方案时，他们能够删掉整个建议中的急救方案，因为他们知道这位老人永远不会用上。当他的盟友受到来自苏联或国内的压力时，他们可以满怀信心地仰望白宫等待坚强的领导，而当他的敌人考验美国人的决心时，他们不久就会发现他的决心是坚定且不动摇的。

不过他的思想尽管是如此明晰，但并不简单。他能看到真理的多个方面。是的，他曾警告说苏联贪得无厌地谋求军事强权和领土扩张，但他同时也洞察到苏联正被改变不了的系统性失败所侵蚀。是的，他从来不惧于指责莫斯科是“邪恶帝国”，但他意识到一个心怀善意的人还是可以出现在它黑暗的走廊上。

因此总统抵制苏联的扩张并抓住苏联的每一个弱点。当一个怀有善意的人从废墟中站出来的时候，里根总统迈步向前握住他的手并为他提供真诚的合作机会。

没有什么比这种宽广的胸怀更能说明里根的典型特征，也没有什么比这个更能说明美国人的典型特征。

也许这其中存在着对他成就的最终诠释。罗纳德·里根尽最大的努力带领美国人民前行，因

2 improve on 改进；对……加以改良

3 know one's own mind 知道自己的想法

4 shrink from 退避；在……前面畏缩

5 press down on 紧压在……上；紧逼着（某人）

6 typical of 是……的典型特征



the American people with him in his great endeavours because there was perfect sympathy between them. He and they loved America and what it stands for: freedom and opportunity for ordinary people.

As an actor in Hollywood's golden age, he helped to make the American dream live for millions all over the globe. His own life was a fulfilment of that dream. He never succumbed to⁷ the embarrassment some people feel about an honest expression of love of country. He was able to say "God bless America" with equal fervour in public and in private. And so he was able to call confidently upon his fellow countrymen to make sacrifices for America and to make sacrifices for those who look to America for hope and rescue.

With the lever of American patriotism, he lifted up the world. And so today, the world—in Prague, in Budapest, in Warsaw and Sofia, in Bucharest, in Kiev, and in Moscow itself, the world mourns the passing of the great liberator and echoes his prayer: God bless America.

Ronald Reagan's life was rich not only in⁸ public achievement, but also in private happiness. Indeed, his public achievements were rooted in⁹ his private happiness.

The great turning point of his life was his meeting and marriage with Nancy. On that, we have the plain testimony of a loving and grateful husband. "Nancy came along and saved my soul."

We share her grief today, but we also share her pride and the grief and pride of Ronnie's children. For the final years of his life, Ronnie's mind was clouded by illness. That cloud has now lifted. He is himself again, more himself than at any time on this Earth, for we may be sure that the Big Fellow upstairs never forgets those who remember him. And as the last journey of this faithful pilgrim took him beyond the sunset, and as heaven's morning broke, I like to think, in the words of Bunyan¹⁰, that "all the trumpets sounded on the other side".

We here still move in twilight, but we have one beacon to guide us that Ronald Reagan never had. We have his example. Let us give thanks today for a life that achieved so much for all of God's children.

为他们之间有着完美的心灵感应。他和他们深爱着美国及其代表的一切：自由和为普通人提供的机会。

作为好莱坞黄金时代的一名演员，他帮助世界各地数以百万计的大众实现了美国梦。他自己的一生就是这个梦想的一个翻版。他从来不像有些人那样，觉得坦诚地表达对祖国的热爱很尴尬。无论在公众面前还是私下，他都能同样热忱地说“上帝保佑美国”。所以他可以自信地号召他的同胞为美国作出牺牲并且为那些对美国充满希望并期待美国进行救助的人民作出牺牲。

他用美国人的爱国主义杠杆撬动了世界。所以今天，世界各地——在布拉格，在华沙和索非亚、布加勒斯特，在基辅和莫斯科——全世界都在哀悼这位伟大的解放者的逝世，并且唱和着他的祷词：上帝保佑美国。

罗纳德·里根的一生在公众成就上和个人幸福上取得了双丰收。事实上，他的公众成就建立在他的个人幸福之上。

他的人生重要转折点就是他遇见并娶了南希。关于这一点，我们有深爱着她并感激着她的丈夫的平实话语为证：“南希来到我身边，她拯救了我的灵魂。”

我们今天分担她的悲伤，同时我们还分享她的骄傲，我们也分担罗尼的孩子们的悲伤，分享他们的骄傲。在他生命中的最后几年，罗尼的心智被疾病所遮蔽。现在乌云散去。他又成为了他自己，比他在这个世界上的任何时候都更像他自己，因为我们也许相信上帝永远不会忘记那些记住他的人们。随着这位忠实朝圣者的最后旅程把他带到夕阳之外的地方，随着天堂破晓，我宁可相信，用班扬的话来讲，“天堂里鼓乐齐鸣”。

我们仍在暮色中前行，但我们有一盏明灯指引着我们，而里根却从来没有过这样的一盏明灯。我们以他为榜样。让我们今天感谢一个为上帝的子民取得如此多成就的生命吧！

7 succumb to 屈服于

8 be rich in 富有……的

9 be rooted in 深植于

10 Bunyan 英国的一位传教士

The World Remains a Very Dangerous Place

世界依然是个非常危险的地方



在美国威斯敏斯特学院的演讲（1996年3月9日）

Mr Chairman, Mr President, Governor, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sensible of¹ the honor you do me in inviting me to give this memorial lecture. May I thank you, Governor, your kind and generous welcome.

When my distinguished predecessor delivered his Fulton speech, exactly fifty years ago, he journeyed hither by train in the company of the President of the United States. On the way, they played poker to pass the time². And the President won 75 dollars — quite a sum in those non-inflationary times for an unemployed former Prime Minister. (*Laughter*) But in view of³ the historic impact of his speech on American opinion and subsequently on United States foreign policy, Sir Winston Churchill later recorded that his loss was one of the best investments he had ever made. (*Laughter*)

I did not travel here by train; nor in the company of the President of the United States; nor did I play poker. I don't have the right kind of face for it. (*Laughter, applause*) But there is some similarity in the circumstances of fifty years ago and today.

Mr Churchill spoke not long after the Second World War. Towards the end of⁴ that great conflict, the wartime allies had forged new international institutions for post-war co-operation. There was in those days great optimism, not least⁵ in the United States, about a world without conflict presided over benevolently by bodies like the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, and the GATT. But the high hopes reposed in them were increasingly disappointed as Stalin lowered the Iron Curtain over Eastern Europe, made no secret of⁶ his global ambitions and became antagonist rather than ally. Churchill's speech here was the first serious warning of what was afoot, and it helped to wake up the entire West.

In due course⁷, that speech bore rich fruit⁸ in the new institutions forged to strengthen

演讲背景

撒切尔夫人是著名的演讲家，有人说她是英国政坛上除丘吉尔外最擅长演讲的首相。她离开唐宁街 10 号之后的一项重大活动就是到世界各地发表演讲。1996 年 3 月 9 日，时年 71 岁的撒切尔夫人受邀参加在美国威斯敏斯特学院（Westminster College）举办的纪念英国前首相丘吉尔发表“铁幕”演说（“Iron Curtain” Speech）50 周年典礼并发表了该演讲。从演讲中我们发现 71 岁的撒切尔夫人依然才思敏捷、语言犀利、言辞幽默，不愧为 20 世纪最伟大的演讲家之一。

主席先生，校长先生，州长，女士们先生们：

对你们邀请我在本次纪念大会上发表演讲，我感到很荣幸。请允许我说声谢谢你，州长，感谢你对我友好而又慷慨的欢迎。

就在 50 年前，当我杰出的前任在富尔顿发表演讲的时候，他是在美国总统的陪同下乘火车来到这里的。在路上，他们通过玩扑克打发时间。总统赢了 75 美元——在当时没有通货膨胀的情况下对已经失业的首相来说这是一笔数目不小的钱。但鉴于他的演讲对美国人的观点以及随后对美国外交政策所产生的历史性影响，温斯顿·丘吉尔爵士后来回忆说，他的那次损失是他所做过的最划算的投资之一。

我不是乘火车来到这里的，我也没有美国总统的陪同，我更不会玩扑克。我长着一张不适合打扑克的脸。但是 50 年前的情况和今天的情况有着某些相似之处。

丘吉尔先生是在第二次世界大战结束后不久发表的那个演讲。在那次巨大的冲突即将结束之际，战时盟友们创建了一些针对战后合作的新的国际机构。那时候人们对一个没有冲突、由诸如联合国、IMF、世界银行以及 GATT 这样的和善机构把持的世界抱着极大的乐观态度，美国人尤其乐观。但是随着斯大林在东欧降下了铁幕，其全球野心已经不再是秘密，他成了敌人而非盟友，人们对这些机构寄予的厚望逐渐地变成了失望。丘吉尔在这里发表的演讲成了警告人们留意事态发展的第一枪，它帮助整个西方从睡梦中清醒过来。

那篇演讲来得非常及时，它在建立新机构以加强对抗斯大林的进攻方面结出了累累硕果。马

1 sensible of 察觉；了解

3 in view of 鉴于；考虑到

5 not least 尤其；相当重要地

6 make no secret of 公开某事，对……不保守秘密

7 in due course 在适当的时候；及时地

8 bear fruit 结出果实；奏效

2 pass the time 打发时间；消磨时光

4 towards the end of 在……即将结束之际



the West against Stalin's assault. The Marshall Plan laid the foundations for Europe's postwar economic recovery. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization mobilized America's allies for mutual defense against the Soviet steamroller. And the European Coal and Steel Community, devised to help reconcile the former European enemies, evolved over time into the European Community.

Stalin had overplayed his hand⁹. By attempting to destroy international cooperation, he succeeded in stimulating it along more realistic lines — and not just through Western “Cold War” institutions like NATO. As the West recovered and united, growing in prosperity and confidence, so it also breathed new life into¹⁰ some of the first set of post-war institutions like the GATT and the IMF. Without the Russians to obstruct them, these bodies helped to usher in¹¹ what the Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, has ruefully christened the “Golden Age of Capitalism”. The standard of living of ordinary people rose to levels that would have astonished our grandparents; there were regional wars, but no direct clash between the superpowers.

None of this, however, was pre-ordained. It happened in large part because of what Churchill said here fifty years ago. He spoke at a watershed: one set of international institutions had shown themselves to be wanting; another had yet to be born.

Today we are at what could be a similar watershed. The long twilight struggle of the Cold War ended five years ago with complete victory for the West. It ended amid high hopes of a New World Order. But those hopes have been grievously disappointed. Bosnia, Somalia, and the rise of Islamic militancy all point to instability and conflict rather than co-operation and harmony.

The international bodies, in which our hopes were reposed anew after 1989 and 1991, have given us neither prosperity nor security. There is a pervasive anxiety about the drift of events. It remains to be seen whether this generation will respond to these threats with imagination and courage of Sir Winston, President Truman, and the wise men of those years.

But, first, how did we get to our present straits? Like the break-up of all empires, the break-up of the Soviet empire wrought enormous changes way beyond its borders. Many of these were indisputably for the good:

- a more co-operative superpower relationship between the United States and Russia;
- the spread of democracy and civil society in Eastern Europe and the Baltics;
- better prospects for resolving regional conflicts like those in South Africa and the Middle East, once Soviet mischief-making¹² had been removed;

歇尔计划为战后欧洲经济复苏打下了基础。北大西洋公约组织动员美国盟友共同抵制苏联的高压政策。旨在帮助欧洲以前的敌人讲和的欧洲煤炭和钢铁共同体随着时间的流逝而发展成了欧洲共同体。

斯大林的手伸得过长。虽然企图摧毁国际合作，但他实际上成功地刺激国际合作走上更加实际的路线——不仅仅通过像北约（NATO）这样的西方冷战机构。随着西方的复苏和团结，其实力和信心都有所增强，这也给第一批战后成立的一些机构如 GATT 和 IMF 带来了生机。没有俄国人的阻挡，这些机构帮助我们迎来了被马克思主义历史学家埃里克·霍布斯鲍姆悲伤地命名的“资本主义黄金时代”。普通人的生活提高到了一个会让我们的祖辈感到吃惊的水平；尽管有局部战争，但超级大国之间没有发生直接冲突。

但其中没有一件事是预先注定要发生的。它之所以发生大部分原因是由于 50 年前丘吉尔在这里所说的那些话。他在历史的转折点上说：一批国际化的机构已经显示出了自身的匮乏；而另外一批还有待于形成。

今天我们可能处在类似的历史转折点上。漫长而又暗无天日的冷战于 5 年前以西方的完胜而结束。它在人们对建立一个新世界秩序的殷切期望中结束了。但希望变成了痛苦的失望。波斯尼亚、索马里以及伊斯兰好斗分子的崛起都指向动荡和冲突，而非合作和融洽。

我们在 1989 年和 1991 年之后曾对国际机构寄予新的希望，但它们既没给我们带来繁荣，也没给我们带来安全。到处弥漫着人们对时局的发展方向所表现出来的焦虑不安。这一代人是否用温斯顿爵士、杜鲁门总统以及那个时代智者们的想象力和勇气来应对这些威胁还得拭目以待。

但首先我们是如何处于我们今天的困境的呢？像所有帝国的崩溃一样，苏联帝国的崩溃带来的巨大变化远远超越了它的边界。毫无疑问，这些变化中有不少是有利的：

——美俄两个超级大国之间出现更加合作的关系；

——民主和文明社会在东欧和波罗的海地区的传播；

——一旦苏联不再搬弄是非，解决诸如南非和中东的地区冲突问题就会出现更为广阔的前景；

9 *overplay one's hand* 试图得到不应得到的优势；做超出自己能力的事情

10 *breathe new life into* 给予生气，赋予生机（或活力），相当于 *give new life to*

11 *usher in* 领进，引进

12 *mischief-making n.* 搬弄是非