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WHAT WERE Pyongyang's puzzling decision to launch a rocket over Japan vital financial assistance and serves as a striking reminder

By DONALD MACINTYRE TOKYO

SAY THIS MUCH FOR NORTH KOREA'S quirky leader Kim Jong Il: he knows how to get the world's attention. Early last week, a powerful new rocket lifted off from a secret base on North Korea's eastern coast and streaked high over northern Japan, and splashed down in the Pacific Ocean. It's not clear yet if it carried any kind of payload. But it packed a political wallop for the message: North Korea to the world and short of food, but it has potentially dangerous toys.

sales totaled up to \$700 million in recent years that level has fallen or less, as Pyongyang has lost other suppliers. The country's new source are doing

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英美报刊选读

杜伟 编著

中国农业出版社



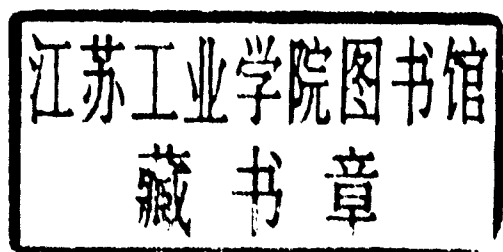
BRAND NEW TOY
TAEPO DONG-I:
Two-stage medium-range missile

Range: up to 930 mi. (1,500 km)
Payload: 500 lbs. (230 kg)
Height: 82 ft. (25 m)

MONGOLIA RUSSIA

英美报刊选读

杜 伟 编著



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前 言

当代中国的发展一日千里，科技日新月异，特别是加入世界贸易组织以后，与国际间科技、文化、商业交流日益频繁，对国民的英语水平也提出一个更高的要求。因而全国范围内掀起学习英语的又一个热潮。高等院校如何在新的形势下，应对这个挑战，开设合适的英语课程，提高外语教学水平，更好的促进学生英语实际能力的提高，成为迫在眉睫的问题。

报刊选读课具备语言文化教学的诸多优点。根据语言学家 Krashen 的理论，足够的可理解性输入是语言学习成功的关键。报刊选读课，选材真实，内容丰富，词汇量大，可给学习者以良好的英语浸入式学习环境。就单词而言，在今天的信息时代，新的词汇不断涌现，其中有些十分有用而又不是过于专业化的词汇，往往最早出现在包括报刊在内的新闻传播媒介上，并由此进入千家万户。报刊选读教材的内容时事性强，适应性广，因而，学生在增长语言知识和能力的同时，能够跟上时代的步伐，了解最新的国际发展动态，获得最新信息和国际知识。多年的教学实践证明报刊选读课程是较快提高英语阅读能力的有效途径。

这门课的特点决定了它使用的教材必须及时更新。但是目前国内现有的“英语报刊”教材内容趋于老化，亟待更新，国外的同类教材并不适合我国英语报刊教学的特点。在这种情况下，这本《英美报刊选读》应运而生。该教材为授课教师编写，适合于英语专业高年级学生，非英语专业硕士生、博士生，及其他英语高级学习者。取材于英美各大报刊，具有独特的风格。课文内容按国际重大热点话题分类，荟萃了国际政治、国际关系、军事、科技、文化、经济的最新动态。为加深学生对各专题的了解，各

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Unit One Middle East Conflict

Text A Get to peace by putting politics first

Observer Comment Extra

Gareth Evans

Sunday April 14, 2002

Current levels of Middle East hatred makes the usual international approach doomed to failure. It is time to reverse the conventional wisdom about where to start, and for the world to agree a detailed blueprint for the settlement which the two sides are unwilling to negotiate for themselves.

目前中东地区积怨之深使国际上惯常采用的解决途径注定是失败。所以国际社会现在必须逆转对解决问题的出发点的常规的判断，对争端双方不愿自己协商解决的此争端达成一致的详细的计划。

The massive Israeli military assault on the West Bank may crush the intifada for now, but will never deliver the security and peace the Israeli people so desperately want.¹ The horrifying campaign of suicide bombings by young Palestinians has enraged² and frightened Israel, but will never give the Palestinians the security and dignity of their own state. The United States, trying to secure a ceasefire, is not focusing on how to translate this into political re-engagement.³ Those Europeans calling for sanctions against Israel are falling into the trap of knee jerk responses.⁴ All these are short-

term responses that will do little for long-term peace.

If the international community continues to think and act incrementally-somehow get a ceasefire, then build trust, then come to the hard political issues last-failure will be inevitable.⁵ With all-out war now the backdrop,⁶ and mutual hatred so intense, that approach can't work. Initiatives that once might have been capable of stabilizing the situation-including the recommendations of the Mitchell Report-have become increasingly detached from the realities on the ground.⁷

The current approach must be turned on its head.⁸ Of course every possible diplomatic effort has to continue to be made to stop the current violence, but an immediate effort must also be made to give weight and substance to the political track.⁹ While it was encouraging this week to see the Madrid Quartet¹⁰ (US, EU, Russia, UN) saying that there was "no military solution to the conflict", and calling on all sides to "move towards a political resolution of the conflict", a good deal more than rhetoric is going to have to be delivered by the international community if that movement is to occur.¹¹

What is necessary to achieve a real and lasting ceasefire, and to build upon it a real and lasting peace, is for the parties to see now laid out on the table by the international community the terms of a political settlement fair to each of them¹², and to know that there is massive international backing for that plan¹³. The key international players, led by the US, have to cut directly to the main issues, identify in detail what terms would constitute a just and comprehensive final settlement, put maximum pressure on both sides to accept the principles and negotiate the final terms of that settlement, and put in place machinery that will make it all stick.¹⁴

The US, EU, Russia and UN Secretary General-supported by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan-should be the group through whom

that settlement plan is developed, and delivered to the parties. This “Contact Group”, not unlike the one established to end the war in Bosnia, would also put in place at the appropriate stage further machinery, including an Implementation and Verification Group-an on-the-ground international monitoring presence-to consolidate and advance the process.¹⁵

The outlines of the kind of single negotiating text that is required are clear. Such a document would be a composite of the Abdullah initiative principles endorsed by the Arab League in Beirut in March 2002 and an extension of the positions-extraordinarily close-that were actually reached by the negotiating parties at Taba in January 2001.¹⁶ The main substantive provisions would be along the following lines:

prince Abdullah floated an Arab peace plan that was discussed and modified at an Arab League summit conference in Beirut in March of 2002. The plan calls for Israeli

- Two states, Israel and Palestine, would live side-by-side, in accordance with pre-1967 borders, with Palestinian sovereignty over Gaza and most of the West Bank, and land-swaps of equal size enabling Israel to incorporate most of its West Bank settlers;¹⁶

- Palestine’s capital would be the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, with Israel’s capital in West Jerusalem and the Jewish neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem;

- Palestine would govern the Haram al-Sharif¹⁷ (Temple Mount) and Israel would govern the Kotel (Wailing Wall)¹⁸; there would be firm internationally-backed guarantees regarding excavation, building, security and preservation of antiquities at these holy sites;

- Palestine would be non-militarized, and a U.S. -led international force would provide security to both states;

- The refugee issue would be resolved in a way that addresses

the Palestinians' deep sense of injustice without upsetting Israel's demographic balance through the mass return of refugees.¹⁹ The solution here might include not only financial compensation, and the choice of resettlement in Palestine or third countries, but an option to return to that part of the present Israel which would be swapped for territory on the West Bank.²⁰

Of course in the present environment it is simply impossible to think that the present Israeli and Palestinian leaderships, left to themselves, could negotiate any such deal. But the dynamics²¹ would be completely different if it's basic terms were agreed by the US and EU, supported by Russia and the key Arab states (Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia) and the UN Secretary General. That kind of backing for a specific plan-particularly if the key Arab states were prepared to be vocal²² and public-would put huge pressure on, and at the same time provide cover for, the Palestinian leadership. US commitment to a specific plan-not just support for a process to produce one-would also place huge pressure on the Israeli political leadership: while the present Government could be expected to be hostile, there is every prospect of a new internal political dynamic being created by an international initiative of the kind proposed.²³

With the political plan on the table, the immediate next step would be for Israel and the Palestinians to be pressured to implement a real and lasting ceasefire, on which both sides can confidently rely. This will be extremely difficult to achieve, but not as difficult as the task in the absence of any such blueprint. Knowing that the international community will press for a fair and comprehensive deal, Palestinian militants will have an incentive to end the violence and the Palestinian leadership will have added leverage and legitimacy to compel them to do so.²⁴ And genuine efforts by the Palestinians to restore security will make it much more likely that the Israeli public will in turn accept the difficult compromises entailed by any

fair final deal.²⁵

The third step would be for an *on-the-ground*, Implementation and Verification Group to be dispatched to help sustain the ceasefire, verify its implementation, register complaints and resolve local disputes.²⁶ To be effective, it would need to have direct ties to the Contact Group (which would be simultaneously pushing to conclude the detailed end-of-conflict settlement negotiations), and be empowered²⁷, with the support of both sides, with more than enough specific authority to carry out its responsibilities. The mandate, role and size of the Group would need to evolve as the whole settlement process moved forward. This is all a hugely ambitious agenda, but the new report issued last week by the International Crisis Group.

What is needed above all else is, as always, the necessary injection of political will²⁸, particularly by the United States. The European states are extremely important element in the equation, and should-starting with this week's ministerial council in Luxembourg-take the initiative to get the political process moving if Washington won't.²⁹

Internationalisation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is no longer an option; it is a fact. Regional players are fueling the conflict by providing support for radical groups, and the conflict is exacerbating instability well beyond its borders.³⁰ Playing the incremental game-focusing on a cease-fire, rebuilding trust, and reaching partial agreements-will not end the violence. The vicious cycle of terror³¹ and military attacks can only be broken by a fair and comprehensive end-of-conflict political agreement returning to center stage. And it can only get back to center stage if the international community puts it there.

Gareth Evans, former Foreign Minister of Australia, is President of the International Crisis Group.

Notes:

1. The massive Israeli military assault on the West Bank may crush the intifada for now, but will never deliver the security and peace the Israeli people so desperately want. 以色列军队对约旦河西岸的大规模进攻也许暂时能粉碎巴勒斯坦人的起义, 但永远也不会给以色列人民带来他们急切渴望的和平和安全。Intifada: 阿拉伯语表示起义。
2. enraged: 激怒。
3. The United States, trying to secure a ceasefire, is not focusing on how to translate this into political re-engagement. 一直做出努力试图使双方停火的美国并没有把重点放在通过政治途径来实现停火。
4. Those Europeans calling for sanctions against Israel are falling into the trap of knee jerk responses. 那些呼吁对以色列进行制裁的欧洲国家也局限于作出一成不变的老一套的反应。knee jerk: 膝反射, 一成不变的。
5. If the international community continues to think and act incrementally-somehow get a ceasefire, then build trust, then come to the hard political issues last-failure will be inevitable. 如果国际社会继续这样的思维并进一步采取类似的举动——即以某种方式实现停火, 然后建立信任, 最后再讨论棘手的政治问题, 那样的话失败是难以避免的。
6. With all-out war now the backdrop: 以全面的战争为背景, backdrop: 背景。
7. Initiatives that once might have been capable of stabilizing the situation-including the recommendations of the Mitchell Report-have become increasingly detached from the realities on the ground. Mitchell Report. 曾经一度能够稳定局势的那些方案——包括米切尔报告中的建议实际上已经变得越来越偏离实际。Mitchell report: 2001 年 5 月 21 日, 由美国前参议员米切尔领导的以巴冲突国际调查委员会正式公布了酝酿六个

多月的调查报告。报告建议，以巴双方立即无条件终止冲突，以方冻结修建犹太人定居点，巴方加大打击恐怖主义的力度，双方采取步骤重建相互信任。该报告一出台，就受到了国际社会高度评价和有关各方的积极响应。以巴双方也表示接受该报告，但由于双方在停建定居点等关键问题上分歧犹存，米切尔报告能否遏制中东局势进一步恶化的势头尚不可知。

8. turn on its head: 必须要有大的转变。
9. give weight and substance to the political track: 重视和实现通过政治渠道解决问题。
10. the Madrid Quartet: 马德里四重奏（美国、欧盟、俄罗斯和联合国参加的会议）。
11. A good deal more than rhetoric is going to have to be delivered by the international community if that movement is to occur. 要想实现那个目标，只用浮夸的言辞是不够的，国际社会必须付诸实际行动。
12. the parties to see now laid out on the table by the international community the terms of a political settlement fair to each of them. 双方重返谈判桌，商讨国际社会为他们提出的对双方都公平合理的通过外交途径解决问题的条件。
13. backing for that plan: 支持那个计划。
14. The key international players, led by the US, have to cut directly to the main issues, identify in detail what terms would constitute a just and comprehensive final settlement, put maximum pressure on both sides to accept the principles and negotiate the final terms of that settlement, and put in place machinery that will make it all stick. 以美国为首的国际事务的主要参加者，必须直对本主题，确定详细的最终能够促成争端解决的全面公正的条件，施加压力使双方接受该原则并共同协商最后的解决条件，设立适当机构以保证他们能坚持该原则。
15. This “Contact Group”, not unlike the one established to end

the war in Bosnia, would also put in place at the appropriate stage further machinery, including an Implementation and Verification Group—an on-the-ground international monitoring presence—to consolidate and advance the process. 同为了结束波斯尼亚战争而建立的组织一样，这个“契约团体”将在恰当的时间恰当的场合建立更深一层的机构，包括负责实施和核实的团体—现场进行国际监控，以巩固和推进该进程。

16. Such a document would be a composite of the Abdullah initiative principles endorsed by the Arab League in Beirut in March 2002 and an extension of the positions—extraordinarily close—that were actually reached by the negotiating parties at Taba in January 2001. 这样一个文件将结合计划，也是其立场的延续，该计划于 2002 年在贝鲁特签署并得到阿拉伯联盟支持，该建议可谓是对这个问题的一个不寻常的解决方案——实际上已在 2001 年 Taba 会议上，谈判各方已对此达到共识。Abdullah initiative: Saudi Crown prince Abdullah floated an Arab peace plan that was discussed and modified at an Arab League summit conference in Beirut in March of 2002. The plan calls for Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967 and return of the Palestine refugees to Israel in return for recognition of Israel and normal relations. The King of Jordan and President of Egypt did not attend. Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat was prevented from attending by the Israeli government. 就在巴以冲突难解，和平进程停滞之际，沙特王储阿卜杜拉在 2002 年 3 月举行的阿拉伯联盟首脑会议上，提出了一项促进阿拉伯世界和平建议。该建议要求以色列从 1967 年以来占领的所有巴勒斯坦领土撤军，巴勒斯坦难民返回原领土，而整个阿拉伯世界将实现与以色列的关系正常化。Taba: 2001, The Palestine and Israel Proposals at Taba regarding the refugee problem: The Palestine refugee problem remains perhaps the most difficult obstacle facing Israeli and

Palestinian negotiators. In January 2001, the sides met at Taba in a last-minute effort to salvage a peace agreement. At the conclusion of negotiations, they issued an optimistic joint communique. Their positions regarding the refugee problem were published in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, and indicate fundamental differences of opinion. 塔巴会议：巴以谈判代表 21 日到 27 日在埃及的塔巴举行了新一轮会谈，发表《塔巴会谈共同声明》。

17. Haram al-Sharif: At the heart of Jerusalem is the Noble Sanctuary, Al-Haram al-Sharif, enclosing over 35 acres of fountains, gardens, buildings and domes. At its southernmost end is Al-Aqsa Mosque and at its centre the celebrated Dome of the Rock. The entire area is regarded as a mosque and comprises nearly one sixth of the walled city of Jerusalem. The Noble Sanctuary is one of the three most important sites in Islam, and a showcase for Islamic architecture and design from Umayyad to Ottoman times that continues as an important religious and educational centre for Muslims to the present day.
18. Kotel (Wailing Wall); (Kotel) The Western Wall (Wailing Wall): This is the holiest shrine of the Jewish world. The Western Wall is part of the retaining wall supporting the temple mount built by Herod in 20 B.C. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D., Jews were not allowed to come to Jerusalem until the Byzantine period, when they could visit once a year on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple and weep over the ruins of the Holy Temple. Because of this, the wall became known as the "Wailing Wall." Jews were again not allowed to visit the wall from 1948—1967 when it was in the Jordanian section of the city. After the Six Day War, the Western Wall became a place for national rejoicing and prayer, as the last accessible relic of the temple.