

英美报刊选读

(上册)

李洋池 主编

SELECTED READINGS FROM BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRESS

复旦大学出版社

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前 言

1978年“改革”开放以来，随着我国国际交往大幅度的增加，我国各大院校的英语专业课程教材常常跟不上形势发展的需要，外语院校纷纷增开或加强“英语报刊”课以弥补不足。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。《英语报刊选读》为授课教师编写，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，各单元均附有详尽的注释以及用英语编写的相关阅读材料、背景参考和讨论题。

英语报刊课具备语言文化教学多种优点。就单词而言，在今天的信息时代，新的词汇随着信息爆炸而不断出现，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。多年教学实践证明，“英语报刊”课不但能使学生获得最新信息和增加国际知识，而且也是提高英语水平，尽快掌握英语最新词汇最见效的途径之一。

《英美报刊选读》是按照教育部颁布的两个英语教学大纲的要求结合中国英语教学的特点编写的，与国内现有的英语报刊教程相比有以下特点。

1. 符合教育部《高等院校英语专业高年级英语教学大纲》六级和八级的要求。

2. 突破了同类教材在题材和体裁方面的狭隘性。课文的编写重点以阅读和讨论为主要目的，旨在拓宽大学生知识的覆盖面，提高学生分析问题和判断是非的能力，扩大信息的交流。全书突出国际热点话题。内容涉及：“联合国”、“中东问题”、“伊斯兰革命”、“巴尔干战争风云”、“世界经济”、“股票市场”、“巴林银行倒闭”、“海湾战争”、“高科技武器”、“信息革命”、“核走私与核扩散”、“俄罗斯问题”、“美国新闻媒体”、“欧洲一体化”、“麦当劳与环保问题”、“全球黑社会”、“非致命电子武器”、“克隆技术”、“洛杉矶暴乱”、“辛普森案”、“美中央情报局与克格勃”“二战犹太人集中营”等系列当代大学生应了解的热点话题。

3. 附有英文报刊阅读常识介绍。

4. 新词数量大，有些词汇不易查到，其他英语课本中很少出现。

5. 用英文编写的背景材料简明扼要，尽量反映各专题的历史、文化背景。入选文章截止在2000年2月。

6. 采用中、英文，注释详细，难句子附有相应的译文。

7. 课后备有讨论题，有助于学生理解课文了解重点话题极其动向。

8. 各单元附有相关内容的文章 (Research Reading) 可作为学生讨论课前或课后了解热点话题的辅助读物。附加课文不加注释, 旨在培养学生独立阅读的能力。教员可有计划安排学生阅读相关的文章, 组织课堂讨论或要求学生写摘要。

9. 保持原文风貌的基础上, 删除对中国不友好的词句或在注释中作必要的说明。

10. 该书适合于大学英语专业三年级以上、英语涉外专业高年级以及英语研究生使用, 也适合有一定英语基础的国际问题研究者、外事工作者、翻译以及英语爱好者阅读。

国际关系学院国际新闻系蒋云教授担任这套书的顾问。并提出诸多宝贵的建议。蒋云教授多年担任“英美报刊课”教学工作, 执教前曾在我国驻外使馆工作多年。1982 年以来他独立编写了四套全学年基础教材, 深受学生的欢迎。1996 年由他和李泮池副教授主编的《英美报刊选读》由中国矿业大学出版社出版。这门课程荣获北京市优秀教学成果奖。

这套书分上下两册, 共计十六个单元。李泮池副教授担任全套教材的主编并负责第一册各单元课文、阅读材料和背景的编注修改工作以及第二册一至六单元中八篇课文、阅读材料和背景的编注修改工作。杨岸清副教授负责第二册第三单元 (课文 A)、第四单元 (课文 B)、第六单元 (课文 A)、第八单元 (课文 A) 共四篇课文和背景的编注工作。艾久红负责第二册第一单元 (课文 B)、第七单元 (课文 A、课文 B) 以及第八单元 (课文 B) 共四篇课文和背景的编注工作。张秀美负责世界主要英文报刊简介、世界主要国际通讯社简介以及世界其他通讯社译名的修改和编写。李桂英负责英语报刊阅读常识的编写。

在编写过程中我们得到了美国朋友辛博斯基夫妇、英国约克郡电视台爱萨艾克·戴伯拉女士、国际关系学院副院长郭惠民教授、学术交流部李树刚主任的热情帮助, 我们在此谨表诚挚的谢意。

本书编者水平有限, 疏漏难免, 望读者赐教。

编者

2001 年 2 月于北京国际关系学院

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Unit One The United Nations

Text A

Midlife Crisis¹

**The United Nations is broke and demoralized;²
but the world still needs it.**

By Carrol Bogert

No one loves the United Nations. Not its stern but neglectful parent, the United States, which gave birth to the U. N. 50 years ago but has fallen about 10 years behind in child-support payments.³ Not the other member-states, which have their own motley complaints (the U.S. controls the U. N. too much; the U. S. doesn't control the U. N. enough; the U. N. should spend more money on our pet projects⁴ and less on yours...). Not U. N. staffers; despite their generous, tax-free salaries, morale is awful.⁵ Certainly not journalists, who are subjected to an Orwellian flow of "public information".⁶ Even the U. N. boosters⁷ are skeptical these days.

With friends like that, who wants to throw a birthday party? The U. N. decided to call it a "commemoration" instead. The 200 world leaders converging on New York this week are visiting the U.N. at an unprecedentedly awkward time. The peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, which began in 1992 and is just winding up, can only be described as a horrendous failure.⁸ The budget for peacekeeping has ballooned from \$230 million in 1988 to \$3.1 billion today, draining U.N. coffers.⁹ And while budget crunches come and go, this time the U.N. is nearly \$3 billion in the hole and appears truly on the verge of bankruptcy.¹⁰ Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, unpopular both inside and outside the U.N., has instituted bans on travel and overtime pay. The U. S. seems only moderately embarrassed at being "the biggest piker¹¹ in the U.N. " (Bill Clinton's words), because it hopes that withholding \$1.2 billion in dues will force the U.N. to overhaul itself at last. America's allies find that idea dangerous, even stupid. British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind has chastised the U.S. for wanting "representation without taxation," a sound bite the British waited 200 years to use.¹² Even Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the U. N. admitted to *NEWSWEEK* that "the problem of the money has lowered the effectiveness of our message".

No one is too sure what the message is. For months, the Clinton administration has been reluctant to get specific about a “grand bargain” that would trade reform for dollars. Albright says the U.S. would eliminate funding for several U.N. agencies—the U.N. Industrial Development Organization, for example, which the U.S. hopes to sink—while trimming the whole U. N. budget by a healthy margin.¹³ The U.S. also wants to reduce its own share of that budget to less than 25 percent. Last year Congress unilaterally cut that share down from 30 percent over the howls of countries that consider the percentages to be tantamount to a sacred treaty obligation.¹⁴ Clearly, the policy of withholding dues in order to force reform has drained credibility from the U.S. at a crucial moment.

President Clinton is under heavy pressure from Republican members of Congress. They see the U.N. as a replica of the bloated U.S. budget on a global scale, and they’re determined to slash.¹⁵ The would-be revolutionaries who entered Congress last November are in no mood to listen to Republican Party elders, the sober proponents of strong global leadership.¹⁶ To the extent they care about the U. N. at all, they’re making a hero out of Michael New, a U.S. Army medical officer facing court-martial¹⁷ for refusing to serve with U.N. peacekeeping forces in Macedonia¹⁸ because he thinks it’s unconstitutional. New “is fast becoming an American hero for standing up for what he believes,” says Matt Salmon, freshman Republican from Arizona.¹⁹

Congressman Salmon gives the impression that he hasn’t examined the U.N. very closely. He refers to the “five-member Security Council” (it has 15 members, five of them permanent) and complains that it includes China, which he says has the worst human-rights record in the world, except for maybe India. But he can be forgiven for finding the U.N. downright impenetrable.²⁰ It has absorbed the bureaucratism of the Third World with none of the informality that makes those bureaucracies bearable.²¹ Hierarchy and procedure count for a lot.²² “Bosses don’t type,” says one staffer. “Bosses give orders. Bosses squirrel away information because information is power.” At the same time, First World proprieties have the U.N. in a stranglehold;²³ “We are overadministered,” under Secretary-General Kofi Annan told *NEWSWEEK*.

Many U.N. functionaries joined out of idealism, initially. “It was a civil service you knew you’d never have to quit because of something like the Vietnam War,” says an American staffer. Being sure that you’re always on the side of the Good can breed a terrible sanctimony, however.²⁴ And idealists get dispirited. Maybe that’s why so many U.N. staffers—hundreds or even thousands, supposedly—subscribe²⁵ to the philosophy of spiritual leader Sri Chinmoy. The 64-year-old guru, a former clerk at the Indian Mission, offers twice-weekly meditations for ambassadors and staffers, where he preaches a message of world peace.²⁶ There’s nothing sinister or cultlike about Sri Chinmoy, mind you.²⁷ but his popularity demonstrates how quirky²⁸ the U.N. has grown in middle age.

The very idea of reform has fallen into a gridlock that makes the streets of Manhattan, clogged with motorcades this week, look like an empty bowling alley.²⁹ A welter of distinguished panels around the world has proposed reforms that envision a very different future for the U.N.³⁰ The Commission on Global Governance, for example, which is chock-a-block with ex-ministers, would like to see a 10,000—member volunteer U.N. army and a special World Conference on Governance in 1998.³¹ The Ford Foundation sponsored an international commission that wants to create two bureaucracies out of the Economic and Social Council.³² Many Northern Europeans, who actually tend to pay their bills on time, want the U.N. to focus more on development in the Third World, and compel the Security Council to stop thinking about security in terms of bombs. There are practically as many different proposals for reform as there are proposers.

How to update Security Council is a case in point.³³ Most people agree that the five permanent members—the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain—reflect the geopolitics of 1945, not 1995. The idea of enlarging the council to include Germany and Japan as permanent members once seemed straightforward, even obvious. But it has opened a terrible can of worms.³⁴ Big Third World nations such as India and Nigeria think they deserve a seat at the rich man's table, too. Smaller countries clamor for the number of nonpermanent members to be increased. The Big Five are horrified at the prospect of turning the relatively businesslike Security Council into another version of the hopelessly inefficient General Assembly.³⁵ The matter has been quietly shelved until a consensus can be found, which doesn't seem likely soon. "It was central to ideas about U.N. reform," says ambassador Albright. "Now it's one of the ideas about U. N. reform."

Reform is in deadlock for the simple reason that no one can agree on what they want the U. N. to be. Is it the global emergency number, the one you call when famine or flood or civil war besets you?³⁶ Then forget the policy-research groups and beef up³⁷ peacekeeping. Is it a development agency, which prevents disaster in the first place by raising income and education levels around the world? Then the Security Council needs a big rethink. Is it a "floating cloakroom,"³⁸ where nongovernmental organizations can meet, as they did at the Beijing women's conference, and even begin to take on some functions from overburdened governments? In that case, in the long run, the U.N. may be just a midwife at the birth of a new transnational society.

The huge new presence of NGOs³⁹ is already transforming the way the U.N. works. Once mere sideshows to the serious tasks of international conferences, NGO forums are taking over the spotlight.⁴⁰ Many women in Beijing insisted that more got accomplished at their noisy NGO confab, in terms of exchanging information and building useful coalitions, than at the staid delegates' meeting, where a lifeless document was hammered out.⁴¹ And

there's no denying that NGOs are peering over the shoulders of their governments in a way that was never allowed before. In Beijing, they actually sat in the conference rooms, as official delegates tussled over the wording of documents—and often made suggestions or intervened in debate. The functions of governments and nongovernments got blurred a little—and could blur more.⁴²

The precise role of governments is the real conundrum ahead for the U.N.. On the one hand, fighting terrorism, narcotics, nuclear proliferation and disease lie beyond the reach of any one country to solve. That makes it essential for countries to cooperate with each other and even compromise their sovereignty sometimes. It also implies that international bodies like the U.N. will have more to do in the future. Who else will take care of 27 million refugees—the new international homeless? Many of them would probably be dead if it weren't for U.N. sponsored camps. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is one of the few agencies that win general applause.⁴³

But a civil society without borders, with its freer flow of goods and information and people, is part of the future, too. Scientists opposed to French nuclear tests in the Pacific have been organizing via e-mail.⁴⁴ A whole class of people is starting to have more in common with others in the international airport lounge than they do with their own countrymen. If you're reading this magazine, in fact, you're quite likely one of them.

This global-village stuff sounds very appealing to a lot of people, but it has a dark side, too.⁴⁵ The U. N. hampered by its own peculiar culture and by the slow reflexes of its members, doesn't appear to be up to the job of regulating this new transnational culture, or even keeping up with it. Smaller nations may have a harder time still. American political scientist Benjamin Barber points out that Domino's Pizza, a privately owned corporation, had revenues in 1991 that would cover the entire government budgets of Senegal, Bolivia, Uganda and Iceland.⁴⁶ Transnational commerce—"McWorld", as Barber calls it—can simply dwarf a weak country.⁴⁷ At the same time, some states are fracturing under the pressure of ethnic conflict, and something less than a state—Bosnia, say, or Palestine—is taking their place.⁴⁸ In short, nation-states are besieged all round. For the U.N., whose entire logic is predicated⁴⁹ on the idea of members that are nation-states, that presents problems. "Some people are writing off⁵⁰ the state" with few regrets, says Adele Simmons, president of the MacArthur Foundation. "But we're going to need functioning and effective states for quite a while."

McWorld takes time to wreak its transformations,⁵¹ and it's hard to imagine the U.N. collapsing any time soon. If the U.S. didn't pay its dues for two years, it would lose its voting rights (as Iraq has, for example), and that would surely spell the organization's demise. The U.S. almost certainly won't let that happen, despite what Congress is

muttering. But there's another scenario,⁵² in which Washington steadily diminishes its responsibilities and its leadership at the U.N.. Other countries lose heart and lose interest (already, about 135 others are also in arrears), and the colossus simply disintegrates.⁵³

Most U.N. watchers think that if the U.S. is serious about reform, it needs to get some nonaligned countries⁵⁴ on its side. "Reform doesn't work unless you get some multilateralism going,"⁵⁵ says Ed Luck. As the gulf war coalition made obvious, cooperative endeavors have a special authority precisely because they are cooperative. North Korea would never have agreed to allow international inspections of its nuclear facilities, for example, if the American negotiators had not had the backing of a Security Council resolution. That stems partly from old North-South rivalries, some members just don't trust the U.S. imperialists when they act on their own.⁵⁶ But it also has roots in the wide-eyed rhetoric⁵⁷ about collective security that attended the U.N.'s birth. Many countries are still persuaded that togetherness matters.

Americans may be among them. They never see, with their own eyes, what concrete things the world community⁵⁸ can do. If a U.N. truck were to rattle down the streets of their town (and it never does), few Americans would associate it with a collective effort to promote social welfare—by building new sewers, for example. In the current U.S. political climate, with its absurd rhetoric about black helicopters preparing to attack America and establish world government, the sight of U.N. vehicles would more likely scare the wits out of them.⁵⁹ Such has always been the irony of America's Global pre-eminence: so big it has to lead the world, but too big to care much what happens beyond its borders. "Because we're so important and so able to act unilaterally in the world, we just don't realize the moral force of the U.N. elsewhere," says Ruth Wedgwood, a professor at Yale Law School. For people living under repressive regimes, the very fact that the U.N. exists is a sort of moral lifeline.⁶⁰ To most people in the world, that invocation⁶¹ still means quite a lot. They don't question whether they love the United Nations or not—they just need it.

Newsweek

October 30, 1995

BACKGROUND:

1. The United Nations came into being on October 24, 1945 after the U.N. Charter, signed at the San Francisco Conference held from April 25 to June 26, 1945, had been ratified by China, France, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other signatory

states. It was founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states. Its important agencies are (1) the General Assembly composed of representatives of all the member states, 188 in all in 1999; (2) the Security Council composed of 15 member states; (3) the Secretariat consisting of a secretary general and a staff of subordinates; (4) the Economic and Social Council composed of eighteen members chosen by the General Assembly; (5) the Trusteeship Council, and (6) the International Court of Justice.

The U.N. General Assembly holds regular sessions every year beginning on the third Tuesday in September and lasting until Christmas. The assembly elects its own president to hold office for twelve months. In addition, there are seventeen vice-presidents and seven chairmen of the assembly's seven standing committees. These officials unite under the president to form the General Committee for each session.

Headquartered in New York City, the U.N. Secretariat is an administrative organ of the United Nations. It is the duty of the secretary general, head of the secretariat, to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, threatens international peace. The United Nations also keeps a large European office in Geneva, where the old League of Nations was located until its dissolution in April 1946. In addition, there are smaller U.N. offices, mainly handling information, in all the major capitals. The current secretary general is Kofi Annan, a former Ghanaian under Secretary General of the U.N. and taking office at the age of 59 in 1997. He is assisted by a number of under-secretaries general representing the major powers and regions of the world and charged with supervision of the principal activities of the United Nations.

The U.N. Security Council is responsible for maintaining world peace and security. China, France, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union (replaced by Russia in 1991) are permanent members with veto power. The General Assembly elects ten other members of the United Nations to be nonpermanent members of the Security Council for a term of two years. The council has the authority to investigate any dispute between nations, to recommend methods for settlements, and if necessary, to employ diplomatic or economic measures against an aggressor. It also may take military actions, as required, to maintain peace and international order. Under such circumstances, member states are usually called upon to make their armed forces available.

The functions of the Economic and Social Council are the most varied of all. Composed of 18 members elected by the General Assembly, it has authority to initiate studies and make recommendations with respect to international social, economic, health, educational, cultural and related matters, and may perform services within such fields at the request of U.N. members.

As a planning and managing organ, the United Nations Development Programmes

(UNDP) was set up in 1966, with its headquarters in New York City. The UNDP gives free financial and technical aid to developing countries. Other equally well-known agencies are the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), with its headquarters in New York City; the International Labour Organization (ILO), with its headquarters in Geneva; the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), with its headquarters in Rome; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with its headquarters in Paris; and the World Health Organization (WHO), with its headquarters in Geneva.

2. People's Republic regains UN seat.

At the 26th United Nations General Assembly on October 25, 1971, the People's Republic of China (PRC) regained its legitimate seat in the UN by an overwhelming majority.

A joint motion raised by 23 countries, including Albania and Algeria to resume PRC's legitimate rights in the UN, was carried by 76 affirmatives, 35 negatives and 17 abstentions.

China was a founding member of the United Nations. The Chinese Government sent a telegram to the UN in December 1949 after the founding of the PRC, declaring the PRC government as the only legitimate government of China and claiming its legal rights to be a part of the UN.

However, with the United States' support, Taiwan occupied the seat that rightfully belonged to the PRC.

Since the 16th United Nations General Assembly in 1961, many countries have made efforts to restore the PRC's seat in the UN.

3. On October 24, 1995 Chinese President Jiang Zemin made an important speech at the United Nations special commemorative meeting. The following is the excerpts:

In a few years time, mankind will bid farewell to the 20th century, a century full of vicissitudes, and enter the 21st century, a century full of promises. At this turn of centuries, it is of great significance that we are gathered here from all corners of the world to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations—the widely representative and authoritative inter-governmental organization of our age. We can use this opportunity to take a look at the past and the future from a higher plane and share our views on how to turn the lofty missions of the United Nations into reality.

People of all countries who achieved an unprecedented awakening through the baptism of war demanded control of their own destiny. The struggle for national liberation and social progress raged like a prairie fire. Billions of people have thrown off the shackles of colonialism and over 100 countries have won their national independence. The developing countries in their large numbers have come to the fore as a new force on the

stage of international politics and played in world affairs an important role that must be reckoned with.

By relying on the concerted efforts of its members the United Nations has done much useful work in and contributed positively to mitigating regional conflicts, eradicating colonialism, expediting arms reduction and promoting world peace, cooperation and development. Given its role and influence on the world today, the United Nations cannot be substituted by any other international organization or country bloc.

However, the United Nations also has its failings and setbacks. Certain big powers have tended to use the organization to advance their own political interests, and the will of the large number of developing countries and their rights and interests have not been fully respected for a long time.

Any country, if it worships force and seeks hegemony and expansion by dint of its power, is doomed to failure. Those who make excuses to infringe upon other countries' sovereignty and interfere in their internal affairs will in the end eat their own bitter fruit.

Our experience and lessons over half a century, the purposes and principles of the Charter and the epochal theme of peace and development, have all raised solemn and urgent demands on us.

We must create a secure and reliable international environment of lasting peace and stability. Peace is the primary necessity of the world's people. Without peace, there can be no development to speak of. Disputes between states should be resolved through peaceful negotiations and consultations instead of resorting to the use or threat of force. The peacekeeping operations of the U.N. should be carried out in strict compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and must not be turned into intervention in a disguised form in the internal affairs of member states, still less should peacekeepers be drawn into conflict as another warring party.

The principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence should serve as the norms for all nations to observe in their mutual relations.

We must establish a new type of international economic relations, featuring mutual benefit, mutual support and common development. As countries become increasingly closer in their relations, their economic interdependence and mutual support of relative advantages have grown all the obvious. The developed countries should help the developing countries by providing capital, reducing or waiving debts, transferring technology and conducting trade on equal terms. This also serves the long-term interests of the developed countries.

We must join hands in meeting the challenges to human survival and development. We all share one and the same planet. Such problems as ecological degradation, overpopulation, outbreaks of epidemic diseases, rampant drug abuse and transnational crime and lack of protection of the rights and interests of women and children are all issues of global proportion affecting the very survival and development of mankind. The gradual solution of these global issues requires not only efforts at the national level but also close co-ordination and co-operation at the international level.

China wishes to see a greater play of the positive and effective role of the United Nations in international affairs. We believe that the United Nations should adopt necessary and appropriate reforms on the basis of earnest deliberations and discussions in the spirit of fairness, reasonableness and full consultation.

NOTES:

1. Midlife Crisis 中年危机(指联合国50周年时面临的危机)
2. The United Nations is broke and demoralized. 联合国已是财库亏空，士气低落。
3. Not its stern but neglectful parent, the United States, which gave birth to the U. N. 50 years ago but has fallen about 10 years behind in child-support payments. 美国50年前创建了联合国。然而，这位严厉但又责任心不强的创始国也不喜欢联合国。迄今美国已拖欠了将近10年的会费。
(parent 原意是“单亲”，转意为“创始国”。关于联合国的创建，可参见背景参考材料1。)
4. pet project 小项目
5. morale is awful 士气不振
6. Certainly not journalists, who are subjected to an Orwellian flow of “public information”. 记者们当然也不喜欢联合国，因为他们必须服从严格控制“公众信息”的规定。
(Orwellian的词源是英国小说家George Orwell。该小说家著名作品有*Animal Farm*和*1984*等，都是影射前苏联的政治讽刺小说。Orwellian一词可以释义为“受严格统治而失去人性之社会的”，转意为“严格控制的”。)
7. booster 热情支持者
8. The peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, which began in 1992 and is just winding up, can only be described as a horrendous failure. 1992年开始和即将结束的波斯尼亚维和任务只能被评述为可怕的失败。
9. The budget for peacekeeping has ballooned from \$230 million in 1988 to \$3.1 billion