

导读:5月19日,美国总统奥巴马在美国国务院发表了其两年内第二次针对阿拉伯世界的政策及其两年内第二次针对阿拉伯世界的政策及及特点国家局势的表态。中东北非地区的大变化被视为美国的"历史机遇",交上的地区政治改革和民主转型"的实际支持发出。作为对"民主转型"的实际支持、奥巴马承诺,美将向年在美国自身经济投票的情况下,既要推行美式民主价值,又要不局和安全架构。奥巴马做得到吗?

## For U.S., Matching Moral And Financial Support For Revolts Proves Difficult

## 对于美国来说, 既在道义上又在资金上支持起义并非易事

By David E. Sanger

After six months of struggle inside the White House to reconcile American interests in the Arab uprisings with American values, President Obama on Thursday sought to portray the region's revolt in the historical tradition of the \*American Revolution¹ and the civil rights movement.

But even as Mr. Obama appealed for the people of the region to embrace self-determination<sup>2</sup> as the route to peace and prosperity, he left open how far the United States could go in matching its enthusiasm with concrete financial support for a sustained transformation, in a region where repression<sup>3</sup> has often been the handmaiden<sup>4</sup> of poverty and seething<sup>5</sup> frustration.

The model, the president suggested at one point, was the integration of Eastern Europe into the West after the fall of Communism, urging Congress to create "enterprise funds" to invest in Tunisia and Egypt, and presumably in other places where dictators have yet to fall. "Successful democratic transitions depend upon an expansion of growth and broadbased prosperity," he said.

But this is not 1989. In global politics, as in life, timing is everything. The Middle Eastern and North African states now in various stages of upheaval have come to democracy in an era of painfully tight budgets in the United States and economic crisis in Europe.

继白宫6个月来努力使阿拉伯国家起义中的美国利益与美国价值观相一致后, 奥巴马总统周四(5月19日)试图以美 国独立战争和民权运动的历史传统来描绘 该地区的起义。

但就在奥巴马呼吁该地区人民把独立自主作为通往和平与繁荣的途径之际,他却没有明确表示美国会在多大程度上像它投入此事的巨大热情那样,提供实实在在的资金支持,以使这个镇压往往助长贫困与极度沮丧的地区实现持续的转变。

奥巴马总统曾表示, 共产主义倒台 后东欧融人西欧是成功的样板, 他还敦 促美国国会设立"公益事业基金", 向突 尼斯和埃及、可能还有独裁者尚未下台 的其他一些地区投入资金。他说:"成功 的民主转型取决于普遍的增长和广泛的 繁荣。"

但这不是 1989 年。和人生一样,在全球政坛,时机比什么都重要。目前处于剧变不同阶段的中东和北非国家是在美国预算严重吃紧、欧洲爆发经济危机的时代走向民主的。▶

What Egypt was offered in the president's speech—\$1 billion in debt relief over several years and another \$1 billion in loans to finance infrastructure improvements— is hardly a \*Marshall Plan<sup>6</sup>, as the Egyptians have made clear in private discussions with Washington. "The reality is that there just isn't much money around for this project," one of Mr. Obama's top officials acknowledged after his speech.

"This is obviously a very small amount," Steven A. Cook, a senior fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, said after Mr. Obama's speech. Egypt, he noted, has external debt in excess<sup>7</sup> of \$30 billion, and an economy in \*free fall<sup>8</sup>. "But it's what the political

freight<sup>9</sup> these days will bear," he said.

The problem becomes more complex because there are no institutions in the Arab world akin<sup>10</sup> to the European Union. The prospect of joining the European bloc became the beacon that drove many of the former Soviet states to adopt the institutions of democratic capitalism. For many, even success stories like Poland, it

Voices ground the Middle East and North Africa cave wired

Voices around the Middle East and North Africa gave mixed grades to Barack Obama's address on the region Thursday, with Libyan rebels calling it "good enough" and a Palestinian official calling it a "half-full glass."

took years. But usually the goal of becoming integrated<sup>11</sup> with the West ended all political debates about how to proceed.

So Mr. Obama and other Western leaders, when they meet in France next week, will be racing to invent something.

The drive 12 now is to persuade the Saudis and other oilrich states to underwrite 13 the transitions to democracy. It is not an easy sell in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, where King Abdullah was outraged by Mr. Obama's abandonment of President Hosni Mubarak. (He told Mr. Obama that he needed to support the Egyptian leader even if the protesters in Tahrir Square were fired upon.) Saudi Arabia's drive now is to stop the threat to established governments — even as Mr. Obama seeks partners in helping integrate a new Egypt into the world economy.

奥巴马总统在讲话中承诺给予埃及的帮助——几年内减免 10 亿美元债务,另外提供 10 亿美元贷款来资助埃及改善基础设施——可不是埃及人私下与华盛顿磋商时表明希望看到的马歇尔计划。奥巴马手下一名高级官员在奥巴马讲话后承认:"事实上,根本就没有多少钱来资助这一计划。"

外交关系委员会中东问题研究所的资深研究员史蒂文·A·库克在奥巴马讲话后说:"这显然太少了。"他说,埃及的外债超过300亿美元,而且经济一落千丈。他说:"但这是政界如今要承受的负担。"

通常,融入西方的目标结束了围绕如何继续 下去展开的一切政治辩论。

所以奥巴马和其他西方领导人下周在法 国会面时,会竞相创造点什么。

现在的压力是说服沙特和其他石油储量丰富的国家同意向民主转变。这不太容易得到沙特首都利雅得的认可,因为沙特国王阿卜杜拉对于奥巴马抛弃埃及总统胡斯尼·穆巴拉克的做法感到愤怒。(他对奥巴马说,即便埃及政府对解放广场上的抗议民众开火,他也要支持这位埃及领导人。)就在奥巴马寻找合作伙伴从而帮助一个新的埃及融入全球经济之际,沙特阿拉伯目前面临的紧迫问题是制止危及现有政府的行为。▶

- 1. American Revolution 美国独立战争 (1775-1783)
- self-determination ['selfdı,tɜ:mı'neı∫n] n. 民族自决,独立宣言
- 3. repression [rɪˈpreʃn] n. 压制;镇压
- 4. handmaiden ['hændmeidn] n. 起服务 (或辅助) 作用的事物
- 5. seething ['si:ðɪn] a. 沸腾的,内心极度恼怒 (或激动) 的
- 6. Marshall Plan 马歇尔计划 (第二次世界大战后美国所宣布的援助欧洲复兴的计划,1947年6月5日美国国务卿G.C.Marshall在哈佛大学演讲中提出;又称"欧洲复兴计
- 划" [European Recovery Program])
- 7. excess [ik'ses] n. ~ (of sth) 超过;过度;过分
- 8. free fall n. (价值) 突降不止
- 9. freight [freit] n. 负担,重担
- 10. akin [əˈkɪn] a. ~ to sth 相似的;类似的
- 11. integrate ['ıntıgreɪt] vt. ~(sb) (in to/with sth) (使) 加入, 融入集体
- 12. drive [draɪv] n. 紧迫;逼迫;压力
- 13. underwrite [ˌʌndəˈraɪt] v. 支持,加强;同意;支持 (政党等)



The Group of Eight leaders agreed on Friday that the global economy recovery was becoming more "self-sustained," although higher commodity prices were hampering further growth. 周五 (5月27日), 八国集团领导人一致同意世界 经济复苏正变得更加"自我维持",尽管较高的商品价格阻碍了经济的进一 步增长。( Reuters May 27, 2011)

Racing to curb the spread of a killer food bug, Germany set up a task force on Friday to hunt down the source of a highly toxic strain of E.coli that has killed 19 people and sounded alarms around the world. 急于控制致命的食物病菌的扩散, 周五(6月3日)德国建立了专项小组来寻找强毒性大肠杆菌菌株的源头。 该病毒已致 19 人死亡并在世界范围内敲响了警钟。(Reuters Jun. 3, 2011)





Former IMF chief Dominique Strauss-Kahn pleaded not guilty on Monday to charges he sexually assaulted a New York hotel maid in a case that cost him his job and a chance at the French presidency. 周一(6月6日), 国际货币基金 组织前总裁多米尼克·施特劳斯 - 卡恩对他性侵一名纽约酒店女服务员的 案件指控做无罪申辩。此案使他丢掉了总裁的职位和竞选法国总统的机会。 (Reuters Jun. 6, 2011)

(吴景超 摘译)

Mr. Obama's economic team, however, believes there is no need for a Marshall Plan for Egypt. "It's a misdeveloped economy, not a destroyed one the way Europe was after World War II," said one of the president's top economic aides. "They need to privatize, to open the economy to trade, to create jobs."

The relief<sup>14</sup> Mr. Obama described is largely symbolic, he conceded<sup>15</sup>, an effort to show that the United States was willing to contribute to economic change just as it was willing in the past to help support Mr. Mubarak.

Mr. Obama worded his speech carefully to make it clear that economic support was dependent on letting democracy flourish — \*code words<sup>16</sup> for a warning that if the \*Muslim Brotherhood<sup>17</sup> became the dominant force in the country, economic cooperation could halt. But this is more than just the usual economic sticks and carrots.

Six months after a Tunisian street peddler<sup>18</sup> named Mohamed Bouazizi immolated<sup>19</sup> himself in protest, starting the cycle of uprisings and revolution, the president was understandably eager to fill any vacuum forming in the region.

With the fate of Libya, Syria and Yemen still \*in play<sup>20</sup>, his aides knew he had to align<sup>21</sup> himself more forcefully with the voices for change, and to equate their revolution with America's, 235 years ago.

He did, declaring: "The United States of America was▶

不过, 奥巴马的经济班子认为没有必要 为埃及制定一部马歇尔计划。总统的一名高 级经济事务助手说:"埃及经济处于欠发展 阶段,它不是像二战后的欧洲那样经济遭到 破坏。他们需要私有化,需要开放经济搞活 贸易,需要创造就业。"

他承认,奥巴马谈到的援助主要是象征 性的, 是要表明美国愿意为埃及经济变革出 一份力,就像它过去愿意支持穆巴拉克一样。

奥巴马在讲话中措辞谨慎,意在表明经 济支持取决于让民主实现大发展——这等于 警告说,如果穆斯林兄弟会成为埃及的主导 力量,那么经济合作将会终止。但是这不仅 仅是通常的经济上的大棒加胡萝卜。

突尼斯街头小贩穆罕默徳・布瓦齐齐以 自焚方式表达抗议从而开启了起义与革命全 过程的事件已经过去了6个月,可想而知奥 巴马总统渴望填补该地区形成的一切真空。

利比亚、叙利亚和也门的命运依然处于 变幻之中, 奥巴马的助手知道他必须更加有 力地支持主张变革的声音, 并将他们的革命 与美国 235 年前的革命画等号。

他的确这样做了,宣称"美利坚合众 国是在人民应该自治这一信仰的基础上成立 的。如今,我们会毫不迟疑地坚决站在正追 求自身权利的人们一边, 因为我们知道他▶

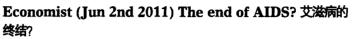
The end of AIDS?



## Popular Science( June 2011)The 5th Annual Invention Awards 第 5 届年度 发明奖

In this issue, we spotlight the year's most incredible inventions, from a cheaper prosthetic hand to a jet-propelled body board.

本期《大众科学》着重报道了从廉价假手到由喷气推进式的俯伏冲浪板等本年度最难以置信的发明。



Thirty years on, it looks as though the plague can now be beaten, if the world has the will to do so.

30年过去了,现在似乎只要全球有意愿抗击艾滋病,病魔就可以被击败。



Market share dwindling, stock cratering, persistent takeover talk. How the CEO is trying to lead Nokia past its epic fail.

市场份额萎缩,股票探底,持续不断的接管谈判。首席执行官斯蒂芬·埃洛普正如何奋力引领诺基亚度过其艰难的衰退期。 (闻英 摘译)



founded on the belief that people should govern themselves. Now, we cannot hesitate to stand squarely<sup>22</sup> on the side of those who are reaching for their rights, knowing that their success will bring about a world that is more peaceful, more stable and more just."

Such an embrace of traditional American values carried deliberate echoes of Mr. Obama's 2009 speech in Cairo, his plaintive<sup>23</sup> call for a restart between the Muslim world and the United States. But back then, it was a theoretical issue.

Now, Mr. Obama has hard choices to make. He must find a way to support the protesters in Bahrain without overthrowing the government that houses the Navy's Fifth Fleet. He must find a way to keep Saudi Arabia in the American camp, while urging reforms that some in the Saudi royal family view as assisted suicide. And mostly, he must create beacons for democratizing states — hard enough in normal times, and far harder in an age of austerity<sup>24</sup>.

们的成功会带来一个更加和平、更加稳定、更加公正的世界。"

这种信奉美国传统价值观的态度有意让 人回想起奥巴马 2009 年在开罗发表的讲话, 想起他为重启伊斯兰世界与美国的关系发出 的伤感呼吁。不过那时,还只是停留在理论上。

如今,奥巴马要做出艰难的抉择。他必须找到一个办法,在支持巴林抗议者的同时又不会推翻容留美国海军第五舰队的政府。他必须找到一个办法,让沙特阿拉伯留在美国阵营,同时又敦促沙特推行在王室的某些人看来相当于协助自杀的改革。而且最重要的是,他必须为正走向民主化的国家树立指引方向的灯塔——通常情况下这已属不易,在一个财政紧缩的时代更要难得多。

(李凤芹 译自 The New York Times May 19, 2011)

- 14. relief [rɪ'li:f] n. <美> 救济金
- 15. concede [kənˈsiːd] vi. 承认 (某事屬实、合乎逻辑等)
- 16. code word (起委婉作用的) 代名词,代称
- 17. Muslim Brotherhood 穆斯林兄弟会 (1928年在埃及成立的一个伊斯兰宗教和政治组织,致力于建立一个基于伊斯兰原则的国家)
- 18. peddler ['pedlə(r)] n. =(NAmE) pedlar (旧时的) 流动小贩
- 19. immolate ['iməleit] vt. 烧死
- 20. in play 活动中,忙碌中
- 21, align [ə'laɪn] vt. ~ sth (with/to sth) 使一致
- 22. squarely ['skweəli] ad. 坚定地,坚实不动地,毫不含糊地
- 23. plaintive ['pleintiv] a. 表示痛苦的,伤心的;表示悲伤的;悲哀的
- 24. austerity [p'sterəti] n. (经济的) 紧缩;严格节制消费

