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主宰自己人生的秘诀在于求知与冒险，前者让你预见未来，后者让你掌控你所预见的未来。

鸣 谢

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——组员专访

说实话，暑假之前我压根不知道经济学人是什么，更不知道它还有个论坛还有个人人小组。一切都是因为考研，最初刘总发帖说招人的时候，我满心欢喜，想想自己大学这些年就靠美剧维持英语水平，还是硬着头皮加了爽姐，申请加入。

说来挺变态的，每次翻译完发完帖看见别人拍我砖，我就超级激动满足。虽然只有 1 个月时间，但还是可以感受到自己身上的成长。希望我们伟大的翻译 D 组能在爽姐的带领下，一步步走向完善，希望组里的战友们越战越勇，一同进步。

D 组-王同同 2011.9.17

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Politics this week 本周时政



With Greek bond yields off the chart, the lack of investor confidence in the ability of Greece to avoid a default on its debt and remain in the **euro zone** weighed on market sentiment. In a public show of support for Greece, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy, the German and French leaders, reaffirmed their commitment to previous bail-out arrangements, and said Greece was an “integral” part of the currency block.

随着希腊债券在大盘上的下跌，从市场角度来看希腊投资者投资对希腊避免其债务违约以及保持在欧元零度线上权重的能力缺乏信心。在一个声援对希腊支持的公众声明中，德法领导人默克尔和萨科齐重申先前紧急财政支援安排的承诺不会改变，并且表示希腊仍是货币体系中不可或缺的一部分。 [详见下文](#)

Amid scuffles between police and protesters, **Italy’ s** parliament passed a much-amended austerity budget worth €54 billion (\$74 billion). It earlier emerged that Silvio Berlusconi’ s government is peddling its debt to Chinese sovereign-wealth funds. Italy’ s huge debt pile is a cause of grave concern, adding to the euro-zone crisis.

在警方与抗议者的冲突的情况下，意大利国会通过了一个大幅度修正后价值 540 亿欧元（折合 740 亿美元）的经济紧缩预案。早期时候曾显示，西尔维奥政府曾有将其债务转向中国独立主权财富基金的意向。据悉，意大利巨大堆积的债务是由民众的过分担心以及欧元零度线危机引起的。

Dominique de Villepin, a former **French** prime minister, was acquitted on appeal in the Clearstream trial, in which he had been accused of allowing false rumours about Nicolas Sarkozy to be circulated ahead of the 2007 presidential election. But separate allegations emerged that Mr de Villepin and Jacques Chirac, Mr Sarkozy’ s predecessor, had received illegal donations from Africa, which both men deny.

法国前总理弗朗索瓦·菲永，先前因在 2007 年大选前期放任关于萨科齐的虚假流言传播而被指控，但最终被无罪释放。而关于他和萨科齐的前任希拉克总统因接受了来自非洲的非法捐赠而被指控，但此均遭当事人否认。 [详见下文](#)

Hours after Belgium’ s caretaker prime minister said he was resigning to take up a job in Paris, the country’ s fractious parties said they had made a breakthrough in negotiations to form a government. Belgium has been without a proper government for well over a year.

在比利时临时代管首相宣布其将辞职，去巴黎供职的几小时之后，这个国家不安分的政党们表示他们在构造一个新政府的谈判中取得了突破性进展。比利时没有一个正规化政府的状况几经持续一年多了。

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, **Turkey’ s** prime minister, received a hero’ s welcome on a visit to Cairo. Mr Erdogan told Arab foreign ministers that recognition of Palestinian independence was an “obligation” ; his speech followed a further deterioration in Turkey’ s once-warm relationship with Israel.

土耳其总理埃尔多安，在到开罗进行访问的时候，受到了英雄般的热烈欢迎。埃尔多安在与阿拉伯外交部长的交谈中表示对巴勒斯坦独立的认知是一种中法律道义上的责任，在土以关系进一步恶化以后，他发表了这番言论。

Trying to keep the peace

全力维护世界和平

A mob of **Egyptians** smashed through security barriers, broke into the building that houses the **Israeli** embassy in Cairo and trashed the interior. Some 80 diplomats and their families left in Israeli aircraft as

Egyptian commandos dispersed the assailants. Barack Obama had to call Egypt's interim leader, Field-Marshal Muhammad Tantawi, to urge him to intervene.

一群埃及暴民冲破了安全屏障，冲入了开罗以色列大使馆，并在其内部肆意破坏。在埃及部队突击人员驱散行凶者的同时，大约 80 名外交人员还在以色列飞机上。奥巴马已致电埃及过渡政府总理谢拉夫，并呼吁其出面处理此事。

To fend off calls for more freedom, **Algeria's** president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, announced plans to allow independent radio and television stations for the first time since independence in 1962.

为了避免出现民众呼吁要求更多民主自由的情况，阿尔及利亚总理乌叶海亚在其在 1962 年宣告独立后宣布了对独立私人广播电台和电视频道的解禁令。

A UN panel warned that **Yemen** was close to civil war. Its president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, still recuperating in Saudi Arabia after being hurt in an attack on his presidential palace three months ago, told his vice-president to arrange for power to be handed over to a new government.

一个联合国的专家调查组发出警告，指出也门离爆发内战不远了。在三个月前，其总统萨利赫在总统府遭受袭击负伤后仍在沙特阿拉伯休养，并已告知其副总统着手安排新政府的权力移交工作了。

The **Kenyan** government, a state oil company and residents of a Nairobi slum blamed each other for an oil pipeline explosion that killed more than 80 people.

肯尼亚政坛：其国家石油集团和内罗毕贫民窟居民因一条石油管道爆炸而导致超过 80 人遇难的故事而互相指责。

Not quite there

不仅如此

Otto Pérez Molina, a former general who promises to crack down on crime, won the first round of **Guatemala's** presidential election. But with 36% of the vote, he fell well short of the absolute majority needed to avoid a run-off. He will face Manuel Baldizón, a populist businessman, in the second round in November.

奥托·佩雷斯，一个承诺要制裁镇压犯罪的退役将军赢得了危地马拉首轮总统大选。不过他若想以 36% 的持票率避免次轮决定性选举的话还有一定距离。他将在 11 月的第二轮选举中迎战自由民主党的商人曼努埃尔·巴尔迪松。

A court in **Colombia** sentenced a former head of the intelligence services, Jorge Noguera, to 25 years in jail for collaborating with right-wing paramilitaries. Álvaro Uribe, a former president who appointed Mr Noguera, maintains that he never gave an order to commit an illegal action.

哥伦比亚的一个法庭对豪尔赫诺格拉因与涉嫌右翼非法军事集团合作判处 25 年监禁，其之前曾是提供情报服务的领导人之一的人。委任豪尔赫诺格拉的前总统坚称他从未给过其执行非法行动的指令。

Taking it on the road

发生进行时

Barack Obama went out to stump for his new \$447 billion **jobs plan**. The package calls for payroll-tax cuts for employers and workers, an extension of unemployment-insurance benefits and spending on infrastructure projects. Mr Obama insisted that his plan would be deficit-neutral.

奥巴马总统开始了关于其提出的 4470 亿美元就业预案的巡回演说。整套预案措施包括对在职雇员及工人工资上缴税收的削减、对失业保险利率上调以及对基础设施建设工程开销加大投入。奥巴马坚信其预案将会缩小赤字。[详见文章](#)

The **Republicans** won a stunning victory in an election for a seat in New York, left vacant by the resignation of Anthony Weiner over some saucy photographs. The district, covering parts of Queens and Brooklyn, had been solidly Democratic for decades. The Republicans said their win underscored the unpopularity of Mr Obama, but the Democrats pointed to local issues.

共和党赢得了一次出乎意料的胜利，即在纽约选举中赢得了一个席位。此席位是由因部分不雅色情照片曝光而辞职卸任的韦纳空出的。而纽约，以及部分昆斯和布鲁克林地区，数十年来都一直在民主主义的控制下。共和党说他们的胜利显示出民众对奥巴马政府逐渐失去信心，但民主党认为这只是部分地区的问题。[详见文章](#)

America's **poverty rate** jumped to 15.1% in 2010; 46.2m people were below the poverty line, the largest number in the 52 years since poverty estimates were first published.

2010 年美国的贫困率已涨至 15.1%，4620 万人口在贫困线以下。该年是自 52 年前估算贫困线提出后数量最高的一年。

America commemorated the tenth anniversary of the September 11th attacks. Mr Obama was joined at the site of the **World Trade Centre** in New York by George Bush junior, the first time the two men have attended a remembrance service together. A national memorial was opened to the public. Mr Obama also attended a memorial service at the Pentagon, and at the field in Pennsylvania where one of the hijacked planes crashed.

在美国 9-11 恐怖袭击 10 周年纪念日之际，奥巴马总统在前任总统布什的陪同下，出席了纽约世贸中心遗址的纪念活动。这是两人首次共同出席纪念活动。此全国性纪念哀悼活动对普通民众开放。奥巴马还参加了在五角大楼和宾夕法尼亚地区其中另一肇事飞机撞毁地点的追悼纪念活动。

Getting bolder and bolder

愈演愈烈的头条

The Taliban launched an audacious attack in the centre of **Kabul**, the Afghan capital, which security forces took 20 hours to quell. Gunmen fired on the American embassy, the headquarters of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force and other buildings used by diplomats; at least 27 people were confirmed dead, including 11 insurgents.

塔利班恐怖组织在阿富汗首都喀布尔制造了一次胆大妄为的恐怖袭击。当地安保人员花了 20 小时才将其镇压。持枪歹徒对美国大使馆、北约国际外援总部和其它外交人员用楼进行了开枪射击，袭击总共造成 27 人死亡，其中包括 11 名叛乱者。详见文章

Hundreds of people were killed and 300,000 left homeless by monsoon flooding in **Pakistan**, which reached Karachi, the commercial capital. More rains are expected.

成百上千人在巴基斯坦的雨季洪水罹难，30 万民众无家可归，已撤移至商业中心卡拉奇。据预计更多的降雨会接踵而至。

In **Taiwan** a military court cleared an airman of raping and murdering a young girl— 14 years after he was executed. The court concluded that his confession had been forced. Taiwan resumed executions last year, after a four-year moratorium.

在台湾，某军事法庭为一名涉嫌奸杀 14 岁少女而被判处死刑的飞行员洗脱了罪名。法庭表示其遭到了强行逼供。而台湾警方已在 4 年缓刑之后于去年对其执行了死刑。

Yoshihiko Noda, **Japan's** new prime minister, promised to restart the country's nuclear plants, after they have passed safety checks. Before the tsunami in March nuclear reactors provided 30% of Japan's power. Two-thirds are now idle. But Mr Noda said Japan should cut its reliance on nuclear energy over the long run. 日本的新任首相野田佳彦，宣布将重启国家核电站。在三月份地震海啸之前，核电站核反应堆提供了日本 30% 的供电供能，而现在有 2/3 都被闲置。不过野田佳彦表示，从长远来看，在能源供给方面，日本应减少其对核能的依赖。

Mr Noda's new government got off to an unfortunate start when the **industry minister** resigned, after making a joke about radiation.

野田佳彦的新内阁遭遇了不顺的开端，其工业部部长前段时间因调侃核辐射问题而离任辞职。

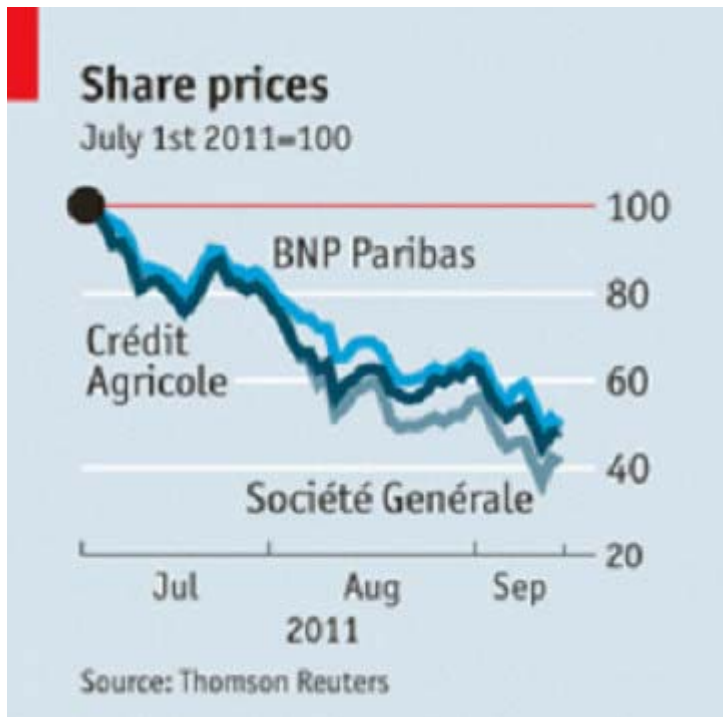
In **China** 32 people were arrested for selling cooking oil that had been processed from sewage and restaurant refuse. Up to 3m tonnes of illegal cooking oil is consumed in China each year.

在中国，32 人因收购地沟油而被捕。在中国每年要消费 300 万吨的“地沟油”。

翻译者：钮成拓 校对者：尹茜 xi

Business this week

本周商务



Amid the deepening euro-zone crisis, Moody's downgraded the credit rating of both Société Générale and Crédit Agricole, two of France's largest banks, over concerns that they hold insufficient capital to withstand a Greek default. BNP Paribas, France's biggest bank, denied reports that it was having trouble raising funds in the markets. French officials insisted that the country's financial sector was sound and did not need a further injection of capital from the government. 在日渐加深的欧元区危机中，穆迪降低了法国两个最大的银行——兴业银行和农业信贷银行的信用等级，原因是担心他们没有足够的资本来经受希腊的债务拖欠。法国最大的银行，法国巴黎银行，否认其在市场融资方面有困难。法国官员坚持认为他们的金融体系是健全的并不需要政府进一步注入资本。

A strong response

强力的回应

Germany nominated Jörg Asmussen, the deputy finance minister, to be its highest-ranking official at the European Central Bank, after the sudden resignation of Jürgen Stark as the ECB's chief economist. Mr Stark stepped down in apparent protest at the central bank's increasingly interventionist role in shoring up weaker countries in the euro zone. 在欧洲中央银行首席经济学家 Jürgen Stark 突然辞职后，德国任命财政部副部长 Jörg Asmussen 为欧洲中央银行的最高行政长官。Stark 先生因为强烈反对中央银行在保护欧元区稍弱小的国家上扮演着越来越明显的干预者角色而辞职。

In an unprecedented move, the British government sought to sue the ECB over a new rule that requires clearing houses to be located in the euro zone if they handle more than 5% of the market in a euro-denominated product. The government thinks the rule hampers the free flow of capital. It could also eventually threaten the City's predominant role in European financial markets.

在一项前所未有的行动中，英国政府力图起诉欧洲中央银行，因为其一条新法令要求如果票据交换所能够在以欧元计价的产品中占有大于5%的市场，那么其就应当在欧元区落户。政府认为这一法令阻碍了资本的自由流通。这也会最终威胁到英国在欧洲金融市场上的重要地位。

The Federal Reserve came under more political pressure just ahead of a crucial meeting that will decide whether to launch a new round of bond buying. At their latest debate the Republican presidential candidates tore into the Fed for being too interventionist. But from the other side of the aisle, Barney Frank, a senior Democrat, criticised the Fed's regional presidents for not doing enough to create jobs.

在一个决定是否开展新一轮债券买入的重要会议进行之前，美国联邦储备承受了更多的政治压力。在他们最近的争论中，共和党总统候选人责备联邦储备有太强的干预主义。但是另一方面，资深民主党人 Barney Frank 批评联邦储备的区域主席在创造就业方面并没有尽心尽力。

Bank of America continued its restructuring effort, and is to shed almost 10% of the workforce in its consumer-banking business, or 30,000 jobs, to save \$5 billion from the \$83 billion it spends each year. See article
美国银行继续其重建工作，并会流出大约10%的劳动力即30000个工作岗位到客户业务上，这将为从每年830亿美元的花销中节约50亿美元。详见文章

The final report of the Vickers commission on British banking was given a cautious welcome by the City. The commission called for retail banking to be ring-fenced and to operate under a separate board of directors from a bank's

investment-banking division, and proposed that ring-fenced operations hold equity capital equal to at least 10% of risk-weighted assets. George Osborne, the chancellor, said that "a great deal of detailed work" would be needed before the proposals became law. See article

维氏委员会关于英国银行业的最终报告受到了谨慎的对待。委员会要求零售银行业务被圈定，并应该在银行投资业务部门分离出的董事会下操作，委员会还建议到被圈定的操作应持有至少等同于风险加权资产10%的股权资本。总理 George Osborne 说在建议变成法律之前还有“大量的细节工作”要进行。详见文章

McGraw-Hill became the latest big company to announce that it is splitting in two, separating its markets business, which includes the Standard & Poor's

credit-ratings agency, from its education-services division to trade as two independent companies. The move was not entirely unexpected, given the pressure McGraw-Hill has come under from activist investors.

麦格劳·希尔公司最近宣布要将公司一分为二，拟把包括标普信用评级机构的市场公司从教育部门中分离出来，将旗下市场和业务分拆成两家独立的上市公司。考虑到麦格劳·希尔公司面临着活跃投资者带来的巨大压力，这一举措并不那么出乎意料。

UBS said it had uncovered unauthorised dealings by a rogue trader in its investment-banking division, which could cost the Swiss bank \$2 billion and may cause it to post a loss for the quarter.

瑞银声称在其投资银行部门发现了一笔非认可的交易，来自于某非法交易者。这会导致瑞士银行直接损失20亿美元并且有可能在此季度中宣告亏损。

Management decisions

管理决策

Warren Buffett recruited a second hedge-fund manager to help run Berkshire Hathaway's

investment portfolio, as he prepares a new generation of leaders to take the reins. Ted Weschler manages a hedge fund based in Virginia; he joins Berkshire's

senior ranks alongside Todd Combs, whom Mr Buffett appointed last year.

沃伦·巴菲特提任对冲基金经理泰德·温切尔特加入伯克希尔，来帮助管理伯克希尔哈撒韦投资公司的投资组合。沃伦·巴菲特一直在为新一代的接班人做准备，这是他任命的第二个对冲基金经理。而第一个是去年巴菲特亲自任命的托德柯布斯。泰德·温切尔特经营着弗吉尼亚州的一支对冲基金，他和托德柯布斯共同负责管理伯克希尔。

News Corporation came under renewed pressure for decisions taken at some of its subsidiaries. A parliamentary committee recalled James Murdoch, who is in charge of News Corp's

British newspaper business, to question him about the veracity of testimony he gave in July relating to a phone-hacking scandal. And a group of American investors broadened the scope of a lawsuit against another subsidiary, in which it accuses News Corp's board of ignoring "improper practices".

在新闻集团对其某些子公司做出决定之后，不断面临着来自其子公司的压力。议院委员会召回了负责新闻集团英国经济报的詹姆斯默多克，质问他关于他在6月给出的电话窃听丑闻的证词的真实性。一个美国调查小组深入调查了另一起诉讼，新闻集团一子公司控告新闻集团容忍“不恰当的操作”。

Government loans to renewable-energy companies came under the spotlight when a congressional committee held a hearing on the fate of Solyndra, which made solar panels. Based in Silicon Valley, Solyndra received \$528m from the public purse, only to file for bankruptcy. Some other solar-energy firms that have gone bust have blamed the subsidies China hands out to its solar industry, but Solyndra's

detractors claim it was never viable and should not have received government help.

政府给可持续能源公司的贷款补助最近成为了焦点。国会委员会举行了一场可以决定美太阳能电池板制造公司命运的听证会。位于硅谷地带的美太阳能公司从公众收获了5亿28百万的资金，却仅仅用来申请破产。其他一些破产的太阳能公司责怪中国政府给其太阳能产业的补助，但是美太阳能的诋毁者声称这是行不通的，太阳能产业不应该接受政府的帮助。

Rock on

摇滚

As expected, the European Union extended the copyright on musical recordings from 50 to 70 years. Many of the earlier songs recorded by bands such as the Rolling Stones and the Beatles were due to go out of copyright over the next few years, which some said was unfair as performers should have their rights preserved for life. Musical artists are protected for 95 years in America.

跟预期一样，欧盟延长其音乐出版物的版权寿命从50年到70年。很多早期的乐队歌曲马上就要在接下来的几年里面面临着版权到期的问题，例如摇滚乐队和甲壳虫乐队。有些人说这是不公平的，因为表演者理应拥有永久的版权。在美国，音乐家拥有95年的版权寿命。

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Europe's currency crisis

欧洲货币危机

How to save the euro

如何拯救欧元

It requires urgent action on a huge scale. Unless Germany rises to the challenge, disaster looms

需要立即采取大规模行动。除非德国能够应付挑战，否则灾难将降临



SO GRAVE, so menacing, so unstoppable has the euro crisis become that even rescue talk only fuels ever-rising panic. Investors have sniffed out that Europe's leaders seem unwilling ever to do enough. Yet unless politicians act fast to persuade the world that their desire to preserve the euro is greater than the markets' ability to bet against it, the single currency faces ruin. As credit lines gum up and outsiders plead for action, it is not just the euro that is at risk, but the future of the European Union and the health of the world economy. 欧元危机变得如此严重，如此危险，如此势不可挡，即使救援会谈也只会助长恐慌。投资者已经察觉欧洲的领导人们不愿做得足够到位。除非政客们的快速行动能够说服全世界，表明他们持有欧元的意愿比市场抛售的意愿强，否则单一货币面临崩溃。当信用额度出现问题，外部要求有所行动，不只有欧元存在危险，欧盟的未来和世界的健康发展也存在着危险。

It is a sobering thought that so much depends on the leadership of squabbling European politicians who still consistently underestimate what confronts them (see [article](#)). But the only way to stop the downward spiral now is an act of supreme collective will by euro-zone governments to erect a barrage of financial measures to stave off the crisis and put the governance of the euro on a sounder footing.

这是个冷静的思考依赖于争吵不休的欧洲政客们，他们一向低估所面临的现状。唯一可以停止现在的螺旋下跌的是一个欧元区政府共同的意愿，去建立一个金融措施的屏障以延缓危机，并在一个健全的基础之上治理欧元。

The costs will be large. Few people, least of all this newspaper, want either vast intervention in financial markets or a big shift of national sovereignty to Europe. Nor do many welcome a bigger divide between the 17 countries of the euro zone and the EU's remaining ten. It is just that the alternatives are far worse. That is the blunt truth that Germany's Angela Merkel, in particular, urgently needs to explain to her people.

代价将是巨大的。对于某些人，尤其是本刊的人，希望要么有金融市场的大规模干预，要么是欧洲国家主权的转移。没有多少人希望欧元区17国和欧盟的剩余10国有更大分歧。这只是因为其它可行措施更差劲。这个不争的事实需要尤其是德国总理默克尔，赶紧对她的人民做个解释。

The failure of austerity and pretence

紧缩和借口的失败

A rescue must do four things fast. First, it must make clear which of Europe's governments are deemed illiquid and which are insolvent, giving unlimited backing to the solvent governments but restructuring the debt of those that can never repay it. Second, it has to shore up Europe's banks to ensure they can withstand a sovereign default. Third, it needs to shift the euro zone's macroeconomic policy from its obsession with budget-cutting towards an agenda for growth. And finally, it must start the process of designing a new system to stop such a mess ever being created again.

一个拯救计划必须迅速作出四件事。首先，必须搞清哪个欧洲政府被视为流动性障碍，哪个是无法清偿债务。要给予可以清偿的政府以无限制的支持，但要重组他们的无法偿还的债务。第二，要支持欧洲银行，以确保他们能够承受主权债务违约。第三，必须改变欧元区宏观经济政策，使之从对削减预算的迷恋转到增长的日程上来。第四，必须设计一个新的机制，以确保现在的糟糕状况不再发生。

The fourth part will take a long time to complete: it will involve new treaties and approval by parliaments and voters. The others need to be decided on speedily (say over a weekend, when the markets are shut) with the clear aim that European governments and the European Central Bank (ECB) act together to end today's vicious circle of panic, in which the weakness of government finances, the fragility of banks and worries about low growth all feed on each other.

第四步的完成将会花费较长时间——它将涉及新的协约及得到议会和选民的同意。其它三步需要尽快决定（比如说经过一个闭市的周末后），并且有明确的目标，欧洲政府和央行共同行动，去终止这个恐慌的恶性循环。在此恶性循环中，欧洲财政的薄弱、银行的脆弱、对低增长的忧虑三者互相助长。

So far the euro zone's response has relied too much on two things: austerity and pretence. Sharply cutting budget deficits has been the priority—hence the tax rises and spending cuts. But this collectively huge fiscal contraction is self-defeating. By driving enfeebled economies into recession it only increases worries about both government debts and European banks (see [article](#)). And mere budget-cutting does not deal with the real cause of the mess, which is a loss of credibility.

至今为止，欧元区的反应主要依赖于两件事：紧缩和借口。大量削减预算赤字一直是头等大事，接着是提高税收和减少开支。但是这个共同的巨大财政紧缩是无法成立的。把衰弱的经济赶向衰退，只会增加对于政府债务和欧洲银行业的担忧。仅仅通过削减预算，并不能解决信用丧失这个问题的真正根源。

Italy and Spain are under attack not because their finances have suddenly deteriorated, but because investors fret that they may be forced to default. For this loss of confidence, blame the pretence. Europe's leaders have repeatedly denied that Greece is insolvent (when everyone knows it is), failing to draw a line between it and the likes of Spain and Italy, which are solvent but short of liquidity. The excuse is that a Greek restructuring may cause contagion. In fact denying the inevitable has undermined pledges about solvent governments.

意大利和西班牙受到攻击并非因财政的突然恶化，而是由于投资者担心其被迫违约。对于这个信心的丧失，谴责那些借口吧。欧洲的领导人屡次否认希腊债务无法清偿（当每个人都知道这一点的时候），没能把它和西班牙和意大利一类的国家划清界限，这两个国家可以清偿，但只是缺乏流动资金。其借口是希腊重组可能会导致传染。事实上，否认无法避免事实是，这样会破坏对有清偿力政府的承诺。

Instead of austerity and pretence, a credible rescue should start with growth and, where it is unavoidable, a serious restructuring of debt. Europe must make an honest judgment about which side of the line countries are on. Greece, which is unambiguously insolvent, ought to have a hard but orderly write-down. The latest, inadequate plan for a second Greek bail-out, agreed at a summit in July, should be thrown away and rewritten. But all the other euro members (and on present numbers Portugal is just about in the solvent camp) should be defended with overwhelming financial firepower. All the troubled economies, solvent or insolvent, need a renewed programme of structural reform and liberalisation. Freeing up services and professions, privatising companies, cutting bureaucracy and delaying retirement will create conditions for renewed growth—and that

is the best way to reduce debts.

除了紧缩和借口，一个可信的拯救行动应该从增长开始，这里有一个无法避免的严重的债务重组问题。欧洲必须做出关于哪个国家在界限的哪一边的诚实的判断。希腊，毫无疑问是无法清偿，应该作出一个艰难但是有序的账面减记。最新的在七月峰会上达成的第二轮救济计划不够分量，应该抛弃并且重新拟定。但是所有其它欧元区成员（现在，葡萄牙正处于可以清偿的阵营中），应该以压倒性的金融火力防御。所有陷入麻烦的经济体，不管能否清偿，都应该有一个新的结构改革和自由化的计划。放松服务业和其它行业，将公司私有化，减少官僚作风并延缓退休年龄，可以创造新的增长的新环境，这也是减少债务的最好方式。

How to prevent contagion? A Greek default would threaten many banks, not just in Greece: this week the markets took aim at French banks that hold southern European debt. Moreover, solvent countries need a breathing-space to push through reforms. That points to agreeing to two measures at the same time: a scheme to shore up the banks, which may take months to put into practice, and a rock-solid promise to support solvent governments, which has to be immediate.

如何避免传染呢？希腊的违约会威胁到许多银行，不仅是希腊的——这周市场瞄准了持有南欧债务的法国银行。此外，可以清偿的国家需要一个呼吸空间来推行改革。这就需要同时同意两项措施：一是加固自己的堤坝（支持银行），这需要数月来付诸行动；另外就是需要一个坚实的承诺来支持可以清偿的政府，这需要马上完成。

The recapitalisation of Europe's banks must be based on proper stress tests (which should this time include possible default on Greek sovereign debts). Some banks may be able to raise money in the equity markets, but the most vulnerable will need government help. Core countries like Germany and the Netherlands have enough cash to look after their own banks, but peripheral governments may need euro-zone money. Ideally that would come from the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), whose overhaul was the most useful thing to emerge from the July summit. But it also makes sense to set up a euro-zone bank fund, together with a euro-zone bank-resolution authority. That is part of the longer-term institution building. However, the ECB could help the banks by giving a commitment to provide unlimited liquidity for as long as it is required, rather than a rolling six months, as now.

欧洲银行资本重整必须基于适当的压力测试（这次应该包括可能的希腊主权债务违约）。一些银行可能会在证券市场进行融资，但是那些最虚弱的则需要政府的帮助。诸如德国、荷兰这样的核心国家，有足够的现金照顾好他们自己的银行，但是周边国家可能需要欧元区的金钱支持。在人们的观念上，这应该来自欧洲金融稳定机构(EFSF)，它的大调整是七月峰会上产生的最有用的成果。但是建立一个欧元区银行基金及银行清算主权也是合理的。这是长期制度建设的一部分。然而，欧洲央行可以通过承诺只要它们需要，就提供无限制的流动资金，来帮助银行业，而非像现在一样动荡的六个月。

The great firewall of Europe

大欧洲防火墙

None of this will work unless the Europeans create a firewall around the solvent governments. That means shoring up euro-zone sovereign debt. Spain and Italy owe €2.5 trillion. What if the markets suddenly took fright over Belgium or France? Some have argued for a system of Eurobonds in which every country's debt is backed by all. But the political oversight to ensure that high-spending countries do not fritter away other people's money would take years to sort out—and one thing the euro zone does not have is time. The answer is to turn to the only institution that can credibly counter a collective loss of confidence on such a scale.

除非欧洲人在可清偿政府之外建立一个防火墙，否则这些都不会起作用。这意味着挺住欧元区主权债务。西班牙和意大利就欠下了2.5万亿欧元。如果市场突然为比利时或法国所惊吓又会怎样呢？有人建议建立一个欧洲债券系统，每个国家的债务为所有成员支持。但是，以确保高花费国家不会浪费其它国家人民的钱的政治监管，可能要花几年才能建立，而时间也是欧元区所不具备的。解决办法就是寻求唯一——一个能够可信地反击如此规模共同信用损失的机构的帮助。

The ECB must declare that it stands behind all solvent countries' sovereign debts and that it is ready to use unlimited resources to ward off market panic. That is consistent with the ECB's goal to ensure price and financial stability for the euro zone as a whole. So long as governments are solvent and the bank sells the bonds back to the market after the crisis, this does not amount to monetising government debt. In today's

recessionary world, the ECB could buy several trillion euros-worth of bonds without unleashing inflation.

欧洲央行必须表明他支持所有可清偿国家的主权债务，并准备好了用无限制的资源去抗击市场恐慌。这与它确保整个欧元区价格和金融稳定的目标是一致的。只要政府是可清偿的，并且银行在危机之后会把债券回笼市场，这就并不相当于将政府债务货币化。在今天这样一个衰退的世界里，欧洲央行可以买进数万亿欧元价值的债券而不引起通货膨胀。

Even so, this is a huge step. The ECB's German officials have taken to resigning in protest at the limited bond-buying undertaken so far. They fear not only that so young an institution is vulnerable to a loss of credibility, but also that the ECB, which is independent but unelected, could become embroiled in political decisions—especially by declaring a state insolvent and cutting it off. Both these longer-term risks are real, but they are far outweighed by the need to stop the rot. It would be a nonsense if the ECB's dogged defence of monetary rigour led, say, to an Italian default and a global depression.

即使这样，也是一个巨大的步伐。欧洲央德国部分的官员已经辞职，以抗议现在实行的有限制的债权购买。他们担心的不仅是这样一个年轻的机构易损失信誉，也在于欧洲央行是独立但非选举出的，可能会卷入政治决策，特别是通过宣布一个国家不能偿还并与之断绝。这些长期的危险都是真实的，但是对于停止这个恶化来说，远不那么重要。如果欧央行对货币苛刻性的顽强防御导致，比如说，意大利的违约和全球衰退，这将无从谈起。

A bad deal, or a much worse one?

坏交易或是更糟？

Put our plan to many Europeans—creditor Germans, debtor Greeks or Eurosceptic Britons—and they may moan that this is not what they were promised when the euro was set up. Completely true, and sadly irrelevant. The issue now is not whether the euro was mis-sold or whether it was a terrible idea in the first place; it is whether it is worth saving. Would it be cheaper to break it up now? And are the longer-term political costs of redesigning Europe to save the euro too great?

把我们的计划推向更多的欧洲人，如存款德国、负债希腊或欧洲怀疑主义英国。他们可能抱怨这并不是当欧元建立起来的时候他们所得到的许诺。完全正确，但是不幸的是这毫不相关。现在的问题并非当初错误推行欧元，或是它从头本身就是一个坏主意，而是是否值得保持下去。如果现在破产是否会代价小一些？是否重构欧洲以挽救欧元的长期政治代价太过巨大？

The sobering truth about the single currency is that getting in is a lot easier than getting out again. Legally, the euro has no exit clause. If Greece stormed out, and damn the law, as it might yet have to do, it would suffer a run on its banks, as depositors withdrew euros before they were forcibly converted into devalued new drachma. It would have to impose capital controls. Greek companies with international bills would risk bankruptcy, as they would suddenly be without the cash to cover them; and the pressure on other wobbly countries would increase. That is why we favour restructuring Greece, but letting it stay in the euro.

令人深省的事实是单一货币进来容易出去难。法律上，欧元并没有退出条款。如果希腊被清除出去，可能会谴责法律条文。当存款者在他们被迫转向一个贬值的希腊德拉克马时，银行会遭到挤兑。这需要施加资本管控。当突然没有资金去对付时，持有国际票据的希腊公司会面临破产的危险；其它摇摆中的国家的压力也会增加。这就是为什么我们赞成重组希腊，而非让它留在欧元区。

If, on the other hand, a strong country like Germany walked out of the euro, probably taking other strong countries with it, the result would be just as terrible. The new hard currency would soar, hitting German exporters. Turmoil in the rump of the euro zone would batter export markets just as the north's firms became less competitive. German banks and companies, in a mirror image of what would happen in Greece, would suffer from the sudden devaluation of euro assets outside the new hard-currency zone. And the rump might still break apart, as Italy or Spain would not want anything to do with Greece. Amid the debris of broken treaties, wild currency swings and bitter recriminations, Europe's single market could collapse and the EU itself—the rock of the continent's post-war stability—could start to crumble.

在另一方面，如果如德国这样的一个强国退出欧元区，可能会带动其它强国一起出去，此结果将是可怕的。这个新的硬通货会飞涨，打击德国的出口业。当北部的公司会变得不那么有竞争力时，欧洲弃捐国家的动乱会打击出口市场。德国

银行和公司，像希腊可能发生的事情的那样，会遭受在新的硬通货区外欧元资产的突然贬值。遭弃国家可能仍旧会破裂，意大利和西班牙也不想有和希腊相似的任何事情。在破裂的条约残骸、猛烈的通货波动和痛苦的互相指责中，欧洲单一市场将会崩溃，作为战后欧洲稳定性支柱的欧盟自身，也会开始动摇。

Attaching hard numbers to any of this is difficult. Analysts at UBS, a bank, reckon that euro break-up could cost a peripheral country 40-50% of GDP in the first year, and a core country 20-25% (see [article](#)). Yes, that is a guess (as are the various estimates for the ongoing costs of break-up and those of a bail-out in future years). But the immediate bill for a break-up of the single currency would surely be in the trillions of euros. By contrast, a successful rescue would seem a bargain. Add together the money already spent on rescues, to what is needed to recapitalise European banks and any potential losses to the ECB, and the total will still only be in the hundreds of billions of euros. If the ECB's intervention is bold and credible it might not even have to buy that much debt, because investors would step in. In short, the euro zone would be reckless to flirt with collapse when an affordable rescue is possible.

对这些任何一个提供确切数据都是困难的。UBS银行的分析师，估测欧元破裂会导致周边国家40-50% GDP的损失，而核心国家也要损失20-25%的GDP。是的，这只是猜测（就像各种对于进行代价、破裂和将来的紧急救助的估计一样）。但是，单一货币崩溃的直接代价无疑会是上万亿欧元的。相比之下，一个成功的救援看起来会相当便宜。把已经花在救援上的钱，和欧洲银行注资及可能的任何欧洲央行损失加起来，总数仍只是几千亿欧元。如果欧洲央行的干预是大胆和可信的，可能并不用买入那么多的债务，因为投资者会涉足进来。总之，当一个可以承受的救援可能时，欧元区会轻忽地不把破产当回事。

German taxpayers might accept that the immediate costs of our rescue plan are smaller than break-up. But what they detest is the idea that it might let feckless Italians and Portuguese off the hook. Safe in the knowledge that the ECB stands behind their bonds, they may shy away from reform and rectitude.

德国纳税人可能会接受我们所说的，救援计划的直接代价比破产小这样一个事实。但是，他们所厌恶的是，让鲁莽的意大利人和葡萄牙人与此脱了干系。放心地知道欧洲央行会挺他们的债券，他们可能会回避改革和整肃。

Two risks flow from this. The immediate (and real) one is that furious Germans will demand that Greece is thrown out (or bullied out) of the euro to frighten the others. Such a horrific event would indeed scare Portugal and Ireland, but a threat to expel Italy or Spain is empty: they are too big and too tightly tied into the EU. Simply chucking out Greece because it was convenient would permanently undermine the security of small members of the EU. Besides, once Greece defaults and restructures, its economy stands a good chance of making a credible start on its long journey to economic health.

由此可能产生两个危险。直接而且真实的是，愤怒的德国人会要求抛弃或恐吓希腊退出欧元区以警示其它国家。这样一个可怕的事件，可能会真的吓到葡萄牙和爱尔兰，但是威吓驱逐意大利或西班牙则会落空：他们太过巨大也与欧盟联系太过紧密了。仅仅抛弃希腊是因为，永久地削弱欧盟中小国的安全感是很容易的。另外，一旦希腊违约并重组，它的经济会有一个好机会，去令人信服地开始经济健康的长途。

The longer-term risk has to do with "more Europe". Fans of political integration say that the only way to enforce discipline is to create a United States of Europe (see Charlemagne). Perhaps a fiscal union that would supervise the issuance of common Eurobonds? Or a new supervisory role for euro-zone governments, or, heaven forbid, the useless European Parliament? Somewhere behind this also looms the idea that the ins will now be able to boss around the outs. The ten countries, including Sweden, Poland and Britain, that kept their own currencies may face a choice: to join the euro or be excluded from a new "core Europe", which in effect starts setting policies. And, this being Europe, there is every chance that the politicians will try to avoid discussing a lot of this with their electorates.

长期危险与“更欧洲”有关。政治一体化的支持者表示唯一能加强制度的办法是建立一个欧罗巴合众国（就如查理帝国一样）。也许一个财政联盟能监督欧洲共同债券的发行？或者给欧元区政府提供一个新的监督性角色。可能是无用的欧洲议会？但愿不会如此。这之后可能隐现这样一个情况：内部成员现在就能指使外部成员了。包括瑞典、波兰和英国在内的保持他们自己货币的十国，面临这样一个选择：加入欧元区或者被一个新的“核心欧洲”排除在外——这事实上已

经开始决定政策走向。现在的欧洲，政客们很有可能会避免向选民们谈论太多。

The Economist concedes that our rescue plan begins with a democratic deficit that needs to be fixed if steps towards closer fiscal union are to work. But there must be ways for good governments to force bad ones to keep in line that do not require the building of a huge new federal superstate. The Dutch have suggested a commissioner in Brussels with power to veto countries' fiscal excesses, and to impose his judgments by law. Mrs Merkel has talked of giving the European Court of Justice the right to impose good behaviour. These are big steps—make no mistake—and because they involve treaty changes they would have to be sold to voters. But they are a long way short of a United States of Europe.

《经济学人》承认，如果针对财政联盟的措施要起效的话，我们的救援计划需要从国内赤字开始。但是一定有办法令表现好的政府敦促差的跟上队，而不需要建立一个巨大的新的联邦超级国家。荷兰人建议对布鲁塞尔（欧洲委员会和欧洲议会）派出一名有权否决国家财政超支权利的特派员，并通过法律施加他的裁决。默克尔女士已谈过给予欧洲法院以施加良好行为权利的想法。别搞错，这是一个大步伐，因为协议变化，这必须得到选民同意。但离欧罗巴合众国还有一段长路要走。

Mrs Merkel, it's time to explain the choices

默克尔女士，是该解释你的选择的时候了

The outs, in particular, may still be nervous about all this. So frankly is this newspaper. But the alternative may be the collapse of not just the single currency but the single market and the whole European project. The euro has reached the point where nobody is going to get what they want—something that needs to be spelled out to the Germans more than anybody. Over the past 18 months they have grudgingly supported half-rescue after half-rescue—and the bill has gone up. In the end confidence and credibility are all. For the ECB to stand behind less prudent countries may be unwelcome to Germans; but letting the euro fall to bits is much, much worse. Spell that out clearly to your voters, Mrs Merkel.

特别是区外国家，可能仍对此焦虑不已。本刊说的是如此的直率。但是其它可选择的，可能不仅是单一货币，而且是单一市场和整个欧洲计划的崩溃。欧元已经到了无人能从中得到所需的地步了，这一点特别需要对德国人讲清楚。在过去18个月中，他们勉强地支持一个接一个半救援计划，帐单高筑。在最后，信心和信誉就是一切。对于欧洲央行，站在不谨慎的国家背后可能不受德国欢迎，但是令欧元摔成碎片（沦为辅币？）则更糟糕。对你的选民说清楚吧，默克尔女士。

翻译者：谢乙德 校对者：李方裔

American health care in limbo**美国医保陷入困境**

Justice delayed

迟来的正义

The Supreme Court should act with dispatch to untangle Barack Obama's most notable reform

美国最高法院应迅速为奥巴马最显著的改革扫清障碍



WHAT a lot of trouble seven words can cause. In 1787 America's constitution, a model of clarity in so many other ways, gave to Congress the power "to regulate commerce...among the several states", and lawyers and politicians have been arguing about what that means ever since. Now they threaten a deadly blow to Barack Obama's proudest achievement (the saving of the economy not having gone quite according to plan).

出现这么多麻烦都是由七个词所造成。在1787年美国宪法中，一个清晰的例子从各方面，赋予了国会“在几个州管理商业贸易...”的权利，律师和政客们则一直以来都在对这句话产生争议。现在他们威胁要对奥巴马引以为傲的成果进行致命打击。（对经济衰退的拯救并未按原计划进行）

The "commerce clause" provides the legal justification for the core part of Mr Obama's health reforms, passed with great celebration on the left in 2010 but now the subject of dozens of lawsuits. Central to Mr Obama's plan is that insurance companies must offer low-cost and government-subsidised cover to anyone deemed to need it, and that insurers should not be able to discriminate against anyone for being unhealthy. Even with the subsidies, that is onerous: hence the offsetting requirement that everyone be obliged to take out health insurance, which should give the insurers tens of millions of new customers, many of them young and healthy and for that reason not currently bothering to insure themselves.

奥巴马医疗改革方案2010年在拥护者的欢呼下通过，虽然“商业条款”为法案核心部分提供了法律辩护，而现今它却面临着数十项诉讼。奥巴马计划的核心在于保险公司必须为任何所需要的人提供廉价的服务和政府补贴，这项措施确保了保险公司不允许歧视任何病人。然而即使有政府补贴，保险公司压力也很大：因此为了补偿这一需求，每个人都有义务缴纳医保费用，这相当于给保险公司带来成千上万个年轻健康的客户，并且出于这个理由目前还没有人为自己投保而操心。

But can the federal government force people to buy insurance? Mr Obama's people insist that it can—and that like a lot of other federal laws on taxation and the environment it is permitted by the commerce clause.

But no fewer than 28 states, not to mention various other organisations such as the National Federation of Independent Business, have launched legal attacks on the bill, claiming the mandate is unconstitutional. One of the guiding principles of America's constitution is that powers not explicitly given to the federal government are reserved to the states. For some on the right, who object even to the idea of a federal income tax, the mandate is an old fight reborn. But insurance is more open to doubt than other areas. Car insurance, for example, is a state, not a federal, requirement; in New Hampshire you don't have to have it.

然而联邦政府能强迫人们去买保险吗？站在奥巴马这边的人坚持认为这是行得通的---然后像其他联邦税法和联邦环境法一样，也获得商业条款的批准。但是不少于28个州已经开始对这一法案进行法律抨击，更不必说诸如独立企业联盟这样的各类其他团体和组织，他们声称这一指令是违宪的。美国宪法中一条指导原则就是，不明确归属于政府的权利，其所有权归各州所有。对于一些甚至反对联邦收入税的右派人士来说，这一指令只是要让他们再激起斗争。然而保险业比其他行业更加公开的质疑。比如说车保，就是各州要求的，而非整个联邦国家；比如在新罕布什尔你可以不买车险。

This week yet another district court (in Pennsylvania) declared the mandate to be unconstitutional; but the real action has already moved to higher judicial levels. So far two federal appeals courts have given inconveniently opposing verdicts. In the meantime, the (mainly Republican) states that oppose Obamacare have been able to use the legal impasse as a perfect excuse for foot-dragging: they have not started work on setting up the subsidy regimes and health-insurance exchanges that will be needed in 2014, when the bill is supposed to come fully into force. American businesses, which will end up footing a large part of the bill, often cite the uncertainty as one reason not to invest at the moment.

本周又有一个地方法庭（在宾夕法尼亚州）公开宣布这一指令违宪；但是实际的情况却已经上升至更高的司法水平。到目前为止，已有两个联邦上诉法庭给出了“反对”结果的一审判决。与此同时反对奥巴马医改的州(大多是由共和党掌控)可以将法律僵局作为是他们拖延的借口：他们还未开始设立在医疗和保险的补贴制度，这些都是2014年时所必需的，到那时这一法案将生效。为这一法案出了大量资金的美国商界，常常将不确定性作为不在此刻投资这一法案的理由。

Supremes can't hurry love; they could hurry health

最高法院不能让人们大发善心，却可以让完善的医保制度来的快些

In principle, a federal mandate on health policy does not seem an absurd extension of Leviathan: done simply, it might even mean less government. But this debate will be decided by the American constitution, and, from that perspective, the main issue is speed. The sooner the Supreme Court agrees to hear the case, and delivers its verdict, the better. That will not end the uncertainty altogether, of course; implementation of the 2,400-page bill is fraught, and more lawsuits are sure to follow. But until the largest issue, the mandate, is resolved, the reforms are paralysed.

原则上，这一项关于医疗政策的联邦法律看起来并不像是荒谬的利维坦主义的延伸：做的简单的话，这甚至意味着更少的政治因素。但这一争论将由美国宪法来决定，而且从这一观点来看，整个事件进程很快。最高法院越快审理这一案件并下判决则越好。当然这一举动并不能终止它的不确定性。当然；实施这份2400页的法案令人很担忧，同时更多的诉讼将接踵而至。但在最大的问题得以解决之前，改革都会处于瘫痪之中。

The Supreme Court showed, in the Bush-Gore stand-off of 2000, that it is capable of acting expeditiously in matters of great national importance. It is time it did so again.

2000年，最高法院在布什与戈尔僵持不下的竞选中显示它有能力迅速处理国家重大事件。是时候再这么做一次了

翻译者：管浩波 校对者：李方裔

Good fences

良好防护

Britain's experiment with a new sort of bank regulation is sensible—and useful for the wider world

英国实验新银行规章(英国的新银行规章实验行之有效)——更大范围内同样适用

LIKE them or not, many of the most influential financial innovations of the past few decades have come from Britain: the euro-dollar market, the Private Finance Initiative and “light touch” regulation of financial firms. London cannot claim credit for having produced all of the whipping-boys of the financial crisis. Credit-default swaps and collateralised-debt obligations, to name but two, were proudly made in America. Yet London was the place where the world came to trade many of these instruments, making it the biggest hub for international banking and the pre-eminent laboratory of finance.

不管你愿不愿意承认,过去几十年间很多影响巨大的财政创新来自于英国:欧元-美元市场,私人主动融资和公司“低干涉”政策。这些金融危机的替罪羔羊不能全部归罪于伦敦。随举两例,信用违约交换和担保债务责任,就是由美国开始的。但正是伦敦采取这些措施进行贸易,从而成为了国际银行系统的最大中心和世界尖端的金融实验室。

Now, with the release this week of a report by the Independent Commission on Banking, whose recommendations the government says it will implement, Britain is conducting an experiment every bit as bold as its previous ones. The aim is to withdraw the long-standing public guarantees that buttress many of the world's biggest banks without blowing up either the economy or the financial system.

这周,银行独立委员会发布了一份报告,而政府称它们将实行报告所建议的内容,现在的英国正如以前一样,勇敢激进地进行试验。旨在撤销那些长期存在的、扶持着世界最大的几个银行却没有改良经济状况或财政系统的公共担保。

The commission, chaired by Sir John Vickers, suggests splitting the country's banks into two parts, dividing their retail- and commercial-banking bits from the racier investment and wholesale sorts. The retail bank will hold thick buffers of equity and loss-bearing debt that far exceed those agreed to internationally. The result will look more like the 1930s Glass-Steagall act in America than many British bankers had hoped.

由 John Vicker 担任主席的该委员会建议把国家银行分成两个部分,把零售和商业银行部门从房贷投资和批发部门里分离出来。零售银行将持有大量股票和损失承担债务,远超过国际统一水平。其结果将更像是美国 20 世纪 30 年代的格拉斯-斯蒂格尔法案一样,与许多英国银行家们的希望相左。

That these bankers have not squealed louder partly reflects relief that regulatory uncertainty should now diminish. But it is also down to the commission's success in drawing the sting of three potential objections. The first is that tougher rules risk making British banks less competitive. So the commission recommends higher standards only for the bits of the banking system that are rooted in the domestic market. Britain's investment banks (principally Barclays Capital) will be held to the same equity capital standards as international peers.

这些银行家们并没有惊声尖叫,让人松一口气的是监管的不确定性现在减小了。但剔除三个潜在缺陷仍然关乎委员会的成功。首先,对风险的更多限制减小了英国银行竞争力。所以委员会建议只给深植于国内市场的银行系统设定更高标准。英国投资银行(以巴克莱资本为主)将会与他们国外同仁一般,使用同样的股票资本标准。

The second objection is that there are diversification benefits to the universal-banking model. Stand-alone retail banks, such as Britain's Northern Rock and America's Wachovia, failed during the financial crisis, after all, when an investment-banking arm might have pulled them through. So the commission rules out a complete separation of the retail and wholesale businesses. The final critique is that adopting ring-fences and piling on more capital will drive up banks' costs and may make credit more expensive in the wider British

economy. But the transition periods are generous: banks have until 2019 to put the new structures in place, and lenders seem confident that they can get there without having to raise extra capital. And raising funding costs is partly the point of the exercise. By making it easier to dismantle a bank in trouble, the commission wants bank creditors to price in the potential for losses.

第二个缺陷在于，银行模型全球一致，所得收益却千差万别。很多独立银行，如英国北岸银行和美国美联银行，在危机时期衰落，而运用投行的技巧本可以让它们度过难关。所以委员会放弃了零售和批发的完全分离。而财经批评却认为，应用围栏计划和添加资本将增加银行成本，也会在全英经济体更大范围内提升信用价格。但过度时期总没那么一板一眼的计较：要到 2019 年银行才会重整新结构而领导人们似乎对于在不添加额外资本的状况下达成这一目标信心十足。提高供资成本正是这一行径的部分目的所在。通过解散那些“问题银行”来使状况变得更加轻松，委员会想让银行债权人作为潜在的损失定价

It is on the issue of failure, however, that the thornier questions still lie. The ring-fence structure makes a distinction between the bits of banking that need saving (deposit-taking banks, payment systems and the like) and the bits that do not (bonus-gorging investment bankers). But in a crisis it may not be possible simply to cut investment banks loose. The destruction wrought by the Lehman bankruptcy is exhibit A. Ask yourself, too, whether euro-zone politicians would want any big bank to go under right now. The Vickers answer is to get banks also to hold thick layers of “bail-in” debt that will impose losses on private creditors of a failing institution before taxpayers are called into action. A fine idea, but these instruments are in their infancy and have yet to be tested.

然而，在破产问题方面，棘手问题仍然存在。围栏结构区分开了银行界那些需要救助的部分（能存能体现的银行，支付系统等等）和无须救助的部分（红利吞收的投资银行家门）。但在危机当中的投资银行业没那么容易摆脱。雷曼破产引起的破坏效应是头号证据。扪心自问，欧元区的政客们是否想让那些大型银行现在就破产。Vickers 的回答是银行应该坚定持有大量“金融保释”债务，在纳税人行动之前，把损失转移到失败机构的债权人身上。这是一个很好的想法，但这一行径尚在萌芽，从未测试过。

The petri-dish of finance

财政试金石

If the Vickers proposals do not guarantee an end to the crises that periodically plague finance, they still represent a worthwhile attempt to disentangle the hold that banks exercise over the public purse. Other countries are under less pressure to experiment: Britain has an outsize banking system that verges on being too big to save, let alone too big to fail. But the financial world should once again be keeping its eyes on London. 如果 Vickers 的提议未能给周期性瘟疫一般的财政危机画上句号的话，这些提议仍然是很好的尝试，想像银行对大众钱包所作一样解开银行的持有。而其他一些国家进行试验的压力较小：英国有个特大号的银行系统，几乎大到难以救助，也大到难以失败。金融世界终将还有机会把目光转向伦敦。

翻译者：赵一蓉 校对者：穆雪

Energy in Japan

日本能源问题

Out with the old

除旧布新

The new government should break up Japan's electricity monopolies

日本新政府应打破电力垄断的僵局



JAPAN can change. When its people recognise a challenge and agree on a solution, they often act quickly and in unison. After the earthquake and tsunami of March 11th, doubts about the safety of Japan's nuclear industry were rife. Most reactors were shut down and have not been restarted. Since the country depends on nuclear power for 29% of its electricity, the nuclear freeze threatened to cast Japan into darkness.

日本是一个自强求变的民族。当日本民众发觉面临着某个挑战并达成一致的解决方案时，他们经常会快速反应而且联合起来行动。3月11日发生地震和海啸后，人们普遍对日本核工业安全问题担忧。大多数反应堆已被关闭，至今仍未重新启动。鉴于日本29%的电力供应来自核能，关闭核电站意味着日本有可能陷入黑暗。

The nation responded as one, dimming lights and cranking down the air-conditioning despite the humidity. Salarymen shed their jackets and ties; some even worked from home to save fuel. Factories moved shifts to nights and weekends, when demand for power is slacker. News broadcasts gave warning when the grid was nearing overload and urged people to turn off their gizmos. Peak electricity usage fell by nearly a fifth in the Tokyo region, compared with last year. Amazingly, Japan made it through the summer without blackouts.

日本举国上下众志成城。人们使用低功率的照明设备，不顾潮湿的天气降低空调标准；白领工人们脱掉上装和领带，有些人甚至选择在家工作来节省燃料；工厂把工作班次调到电力供应负担较轻的夜晚和周末；当输电网络接近超负荷运转时，新闻广播将发出警报，督促民众关掉电器。与去年相比，东京地区的峰耗电下降了将近百分之二十。令人惊叹的是，日本夏天并未断电，安然入秋。

Alas, when a crisis is not imminent, Japan is still slow to change. Yoshihiko Noda, the new prime minister, faces several vast but slow-burning problems, from an ageing population to massive public debts. Solving them will require a creative shake-up of the old way of doing things. One of the most glaring examples is energy policy (see article).

但是，如果问题并非迫在眉睫，日本民众也会迟迟不肯改变。新首相野田佳彦眼下就面临着几个逐步恶化的大问题，如人口老龄化和巨额国债。解决这些问题需要摆脱陈旧套路、开辟新思维，包括最引人注目的能源政策问题（点击查看文章）。

Japanese people have shown they can conserve energy when they have to, but they cannot be expected to work night shifts for ever. Japan needs a smarter grid, with electricity prices that vary according to demand. Power should cost more when demand is high and less when it is low, giving people an incentive to run the washing machine in the middle of the night. It should also be simple for new producers of electricity—from clever start-ups to big industrial firms—to sell power back to the grid. Unfortunately, power generation and transmission in Japan is carved up into ten regional quasi-monopolies, which stifle such innovations.

日本民众用行动展示在必要时他们可以减少能源使用，但是人们也不可能永远上夜班。日本需要一个优化的输电网络，电费应按需求定价：当需求旺盛时，采取较高电价；需求较弱时，采取较低电价，从而鼓励人们将使用洗衣机的时间调到半夜。此外，应简化新的电力生产商（从精炼的新兴企业到大型工业公司）向输电网络出售电力的程序。不幸的是，在日本，电力生产和输送早已形成十大区域类垄断的局面，以上创新举措恐难实现。

Monopoly's dead hand

垄断的死亡之手

These monopolies also prevent Japan from seriously pursuing alternative sources of electricity. Despite the nation's technical prowess, wind power is underdeveloped and little effort has been made to exploit Japan's vast geothermal potential. The monopolies' habit of hushing up safety problems erodes public trust in nuclear power, which for all its troubles must surely be part of the future energy mix.

行业垄断也阻碍了日本对其他电力来源的认真探索。尽管日本科技领先，但风能的开发利用仍处于较低水平，巨大的地热潜能也尚未开发。垄断企业一贯掩盖安全隐患的伎俩侵蚀着公众对核能的信任。当然，尽管问题层出不穷，核能必将存在于未来的混合能源结构中。

Japan should end the regional monopolies, separate the generation and transmission of electricity and establish a tough regulator to oversee the terms under which incumbents allow newcomers to connect to the grid. Such reforms have reduced prices and stimulated fresh thinking elsewhere. Opponents of deregulation in Japan make two arguments. First, that giant monopolies guarantee a stable supply of power. Second, that TEPCO, the power supplier for Tokyo and the north-east, needs a steady stream of profits to compensate those whose lives were affected by the nuclear accident at Fukushima.

日本应打破区域垄断，实现电力生产和输送分离，建立起严格的监管体系，制定允许新兴企业接入输电网络的规章制度。此类改革已在其他国家或地区实施，达到了降低了电价和激发新思维的效果。反对放松电力行业管制的人认为，首先，垄断巨头保证了稳定的电力供应；其次，东京及日本东北部地区的电力供应商 TEPCO（东京电力公司）需要稳定的收益，从而补偿福岛核事故中的灾民。

Neither argument is persuading. Multiple suppliers should create a more reliable supply. And there are plenty of ways to compensate the afflicted without blocking competition. In truth, the survival of dinosaurs like TEPCO owes more to their political clout than the quality of service they deliver. Mr Noda should end the privileges of the power monopolies. It would be just the jolt that Japan needs, and a sign that its new leader is not content merely to preside over slow decline.

然而，以上两种论点都不具说服力。多个供应商会使供给更加可靠。TEPCO 也可以找到众多不影响竞争的赔偿方案。实际上，对于像 TEPCO 这样的老牌企业而言，与其说靠服务质量取胜，倒不如说政治影响力使其立于不败之地。野田佳彦应结束电力垄断的特权。这一举措将如久旱后的一声春雷，给日本带来喜悦与希望；也将展示出这位新首相在日本经济衰退趋势前并非等闲之辈。

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The horse before the cart

回归正统

Some experiments have failed. Others are now entering the mainstream

一些尝试失败了，而另一些渐入佳境。

IN 1899 John Dewey, an American education theorist, published "The School and Society". He argued that schooling should reflect the lives of children, as well as what they had to be taught. His theories spawned a vogue for "child-centred learning", accelerating in the 1960s into a challenge to school hierarchies and a carelessness about exams.

1899 年，美国教育理论家约翰·迪维出版了《校园与社会》一书。他提出了学校教育除了要教授孩子们本应学习的知识外，还应该反映孩子们的生活。他的理论引导了一波“以孩子为核心的学习”的潮流，并在上世纪 60 年代进一步扩大了影响，动摇了学校里的阶级制度，使大家不再惟考试是从。

That kind of laissez-faire approach to learning has receded in many places. Nowadays, everyone wants to measure outcomes. The most prominent American charter schools, strongly focused on getting poor children into college (see main story), insist that children do regular mental arithmetic between lessons. Germany has also tightened up its examination system in the past decade, to help standardise results.

这种学习上的自由放任主义如今已在很多地方偃旗息鼓了。现今社会，所有人都看重结果。当今顶级的一些美国特许学校，专门帮助穷人子弟打开通往大学的大门，它们主张让孩子们在课间定期地做一些心算练习。德国在过去 10 年间也把考试系统变得更加严格，以便于使学生成绩的标准化。

In Britain Michael Gove, the education secretary, has emphasised a return to core subjects such as maths, English and sciences in secondary schools. He also wants to persuade former army officers into teaching to improve discipline in rowdy schools—boot camp, if you will.

英国教育部长迈克尔·格夫曾强调，中学生应当回归核心课程，比如数学，英语和自然科学。他还希望说服退役军官来拿起教鞭，执掌新兵营一类的不安定学校，以规范那里的秩序。当然，如果他们愿意的话。

Pam Sammons, a researcher at Oxford University who has conducted a review of successful teaching practices, says that elements of child-centred education are fine, as long as schools teach the basics first. In other words, put the horse before the cart. Problems start, she thinks, when more laissez-faire learning activities get in the way of proper teaching.

曾潜心研究成功教学方法的牛津大学研究员帕姆·萨蒙斯指出，只要学校保证基础课程的教学，以孩子为中心的策略无可厚非。换句话说，不可本末倒置。她认为，当放任式的教学活动喧宾夺主，挤掉了常规教学时，问题将由此产生。

Growing diversity in schooling in the West, however, including the rise of free schools, allows more space for those who want to try different education methods. In Britain, Montessori and Steiner Schools, which concentrate on nurturing the whole child rather than on a rigid academic curriculum, can also become state-funded free schools, and are wondering whether they should.

然而，西方国家学校教育的多元化，包括免费学校的诞生，都为人们尝试多种教学模式创造了环境。英国的蒙特梭利和斯泰纳学校一向致力于从整体上规划孩子们的发展，而不是制定刻板严格的学业课程。他们也可以成为政府注资的免费学校，而事实上他们也在犹豫是不是要这么做。

Most of Britain's new state-funded academies favour a more orthodox approach. At the Mossbourne Academy, in the heart of London's recently riot-torn borough of Hackney, Sir Michael Wilshire heads a school which was closed for poor discipline in 1995, but is now one of the most widely-praised academies in the country. His classrooms are basically boot-camps, with strict rules about everything from uniform onwards.

"Schools that are imprecise about discipline end up with a huge amount of confusion, with staff taking different views about what's acceptable," he says. "That's when children are taught badly."

大部分英国政府注资的新立学府都青睐正统教学模式。在伦敦暴乱中心区的海克尼，迈克尔·威尔逊爵士统领着如今享誉全国的莫斯本学院，而它曾在 1995 年因为秩序混乱而关闭。他的教室俨然充斥了一股新兵营的气氛，从校服到其他，一切都有严明的规定。他指出，如果学校纪律不严明，最终结果就是一团糟。如果教工们各执己见没有统一标准，无法界定是与非，那么对孩子们的教育就无从谈起。

One British researcher, comparing Western reforms with Eastern practice, noted that the main difference was that in Hong Kong "the effective teacher is seen as a figure of authority, morality and benevolence". Some Western parents might like a touch of such Confucianism in their own children's classrooms.

一位英国研究人员在比较西方教育改革和东方教育模式后指出，两者的主要区别在于，在香港，有影响力的老师们都被大家当做权威，德行和慈善的化身。也许西方的家长们也会希望在他们子女的校园生活中注入这种儒家理念吧。

翻译者:贺鹏 校对者:穆雪

After the fall

暴跌之后

The aftermath of disaster is all the more frightening for being incalculable

灾难的后果因难以预料而愈加令人惶恐



Matt Murphy

THE costs of efforts to save the euro are justified by the claim that the alternative would be too dreadful to contemplate. But economic history is littered with examples of fixed exchange rates that came unfixed; the disuniting of currency unions, though rarer, happens from time to time. So how do the costs of sustaining the euro compare with the costs of its falling apart?

人们为拯救欧元区付出了巨大努力，但另一种选择是如此恐怖，其代价之大都显得合理了。然而，经济史不乏这样的先例：固定汇率不再固定，货币联盟解体，虽然越来越少见，但时不时就会发生。那么，维持欧元区的代价和就让欧元区解体的代价，谁更大呢？

The question does not have a simple answer. For a start, there are lots of different ways to fall apart: a wholesale dissolution into the original currencies; a fissioning into northern hard-currency and southern soft-currency blocks; or the exit of a trickle of countries, or just one. Further complexities come from the panoply of choices the departing and remaining states would make after the fall. And all this turns as much or more on law and politics as on economics.

这个问题的答案并不简单。首先，解体的方式就多种多样：欧元大规模的分解成原来的货币；分解为北方硬通货区和南方软货币区；要么是一部分或是某一个国家的离开。在这之后，更加复杂的是离开的和留下的国家在欧元暴跌后所作的种种选择。这一切都将在经济上表现得与其在法律和政治上的表现程度相当或是更明显。

Take two specific scenarios. Germany could leave, either on its own or with a select group of small economies—Austria, Finland and the Netherlands—as recently suggested by Hans-Olaf Henkel, a former head of the

Federation of German Industries. Second, and more likely, Greece might secede or be forced out.

让我们来看两个特定的情境。德国可能离开欧元区，或是独自离开或是和一组挑选出的小经济体一起——奥地利、芬兰、荷兰——就像德国工业联盟的名前任领导Hans-Olaf Henkel最近暗示的那样。再就是希腊，它有更可能离开或被迫出局。

In each instance, the economic consequences could be devastating, argue many analysts. If Germany were to leave, its Neue Deutschmark would soar as international funk money piled into a bigger, better Switzerland, and German manufacturing firms would suffer. German banks could cope with the switch of domestic deposits and loans into the new currency, but they would have to be recapitalised because their foreign assets in euros would now be worth less in domestic terms.

许多分析人士争论说，任何一种情况引发的经济后果都会是灾难性的。一旦德国离开，随着国际流动资金涌入更大更好的瑞士，德国马克将会飞涨，德国制造业将受到打击。德国的银行可以应付将国内存款和贷款转入新货币，但由于欧元形式的境外资产将在国内货币形式上贬值，德国银行将不得不进行资本重组。

If Greece were to leave, its reborn drachma would plummet—which might be good for its exporters but which would trigger what Barry Eichengreen, a monetary historian at the University of California, Berkeley, has called “the mother of all financial crises”. The devaluation of the drachma against the euro would turn any debts that remained in euros into a crippling burden. At the same time depositors, who are already edging towards the exit, would break into a headlong rush, bringing down Greece’s banking system.

一旦希腊离开，它的德拉克马将会急跌——对希腊的出口商而言，这或许是好消息，但也可能触发来自加州大学伯克利分校的货币史学家Barry Eichengreen口中所说的“一切金融危机之母”。德拉克马对欧元的贬值将把任何以欧元形式存在的债务变成无穷的后患。与此同时，早已向出口慢慢走去的存款人将头也不回地冲出银行，这将拉垮希腊的银行系统。

A recent study by economists at UBS, a Swiss bank, suggested that the costs in each of these eventualities would be forbiddingly high. If Germany were to leave, it would incur costs worth 20-25% of GDP in the first year and then roughly half that amount in each subsequent year. If Greece were to quit, the first-year cost would be 40-50% of GDP, and subsequent annual costs would be around 15%.

最近一项由瑞士银行UBS的经济学家们所进行的研究表明，任何一种可能性的代价都高得令人生畏。如果德国离开，它的GDP将在第一年蒙受20—25%的损失，之后每年则将大约为这个数目的一半。如果希腊离开，第一年的损失将为GDP的40—50%，之后的年损失约为15%。

Such costs dwarf the one-off expense to Germany of bailing out Greece, Ireland and Portugal were they to default. But the report is based on the extreme assumption that countries leaving the euro would have to leave the EU. There is a legal argument for this position, but politics would almost surely trump it. It would not be in the broader interest of Europe to have an embittered neighbour in the eastern Mediterranean, or to cut Germany adrift. European policymakers would be hellbent to conserve the single market rather than immolate it in the bonfire of the euros. This suggests that the economic impact of a break-up would be less catastrophic than envisaged by the UBS economists.

这样的损失让德国在希腊、爱尔兰、葡萄牙不参与欧元区的前提下对它们进行财政援助的代价显得小巫见大巫。但是这份报告是建立在极端假设的基础上的，那就是离开欧元区的国家必须离开欧盟。人们对这种立场有关于其合法性的争论，但政治势必将胜过它。在东地中海有个愤恨的邻居，或是任德国漂泊无依，这都不在欧洲的广泛利益内。欧洲的政策制定者们铁了心要维持单一市场而不是把它牺牲给火烧眉毛的欧元。这意味着欧元区解体带来的经济冲击不会像UBS的经济学家们设想的那样有灾难性。

Don't cry for me, Athena

雅典娜，别为我哭泣

What of the lessons of history? Currency unions tend to collapse as part of a broader political break-up. The rouble area did not long outlive the Soviet Union; the monetary union of the Czech Republic and Slovakia lasted only a matter of weeks. Such situations do not offer obvious parallels. But there may be an instructive precedent for Greece in Argentina's severing of the peso's link with the dollar during the debt and currency crisis of late 2001 and early 2002. Argentina had established something close to a monetary union with the United States in

1991 when it fixed its currency to the dollar, backing the link through the foreign-exchange reserves of a currency board. Its experience in the ensuing decade was disconcertingly similar to Greece's after it joined the euro in 2001. Both countries initially thrived but suffered a deterioration in competitiveness and in their public finances. The recent plunge in the Greek economy echoes the one in Argentina before it defaulted on its debt and devalued.

历史上的经验教训又是怎样的呢？货币联盟总是趋向于作为更广泛的政治分裂的一部分而瓦解。卢布区没能比苏联寿命更长，捷克共和国与斯洛文尼亚的货币联盟只维持了几个星期。这些状况并没有提供明显的可比性。但阿根廷在 2001 年末和 2002 年初发生债务和货币危机时终止索比与美元挂钩的做法对希腊可能是一个具有指导意义的先例。当阿根廷在 1991 年把自己的货币与美元挂钩时，它通过以货币委员会持有的外汇储备支持这种联系与美国结成货币联邦。它在随后十年里的变化与 2001 年后加入欧元区的希腊有着惊人的相似。两国最初都兴盛一时，但在竞争力和公共财政上都遭遇退化。最近希腊经济的猛跌与阿根廷债务违约和贬值前的那次猛跌极其相似。



That crisis was bloody, including limits on bank withdrawals—the *corralito*—and big losses for depositors and banks as their assets and liabilities were redenominated, each at a different exchange rate, but it proved to be a turning-point (see chart). After a further slide in output Argentina grew by 9% in 2003, and carried on at around that rate until checked by the financial crisis of 2008 and global recession of 2009 (it is currently growing at close to 10%). The resurgence in national prosperity, helped by booming global demand for agricultural commodities, has occurred despite the fact that rancorous disputes over the default have kept the country shut out of international capital markets.

那是一场血腥的危机，包括了银行取款限制，因资产与负债分别以不同汇率重新赋值而对存款者和银行造成的巨大损失，但是这被证明是个转折点（见图表）。产量进一步滑坡之后，阿根廷于 2003 年实现了 9% 的增长，而且以此速度持续增长，直到遭遇 2008 年的金融危机和 2009 年的全球萧条（目前，它正以接近 10% 的速度增长）。虽然对其违约的恶意争端将这个国家拒于国际资本市场之外，但借国际市场对农产品需求旺盛的东风，它依然实现了国内经济的繁荣复苏。

That may appear an encouraging portent for Greece, if it were forced to leave the euro. Rather than the protracted process of forcing down wages to regain competitiveness, the devaluation would be a prompt remedy. Moreover, the vast bulk of Greece's bonds are written under local law, which gives it a more-or-less-free hand to impose a much bigger haircut than the trim being planned. That will no longer be the case if the currently proposed debt exchanges go through; the new contracts, written under English law, protect investors a lot more.

如果希腊被迫离开欧元区，阿根廷看上去像是个鼓舞人心的先例。与其绵绵无期地靠压低工资来重获竞争力，货币贬值反而可能是一剂速效药。此外，希腊的绝大部分债券受地方法律管辖，这让希腊多多少少更加自由，来进行相对小额削减而言大刀阔斧的削减。然而，一旦目前提议的债务兑换条例获得通过，情况将大不一样；新法案遵守英国法律，对投资人的保护加强了许多。

But the Argentine precedent shows just how savage the crisis can be; massive social unrest, a sequence of toppled presidencies, and so on. And Greece's crisis would be worse. For one thing, the distortions, such as a burgeoning current-account deficit, that Greece allowed to build up in the good times far exceeded Argentina's. And on top of blocking bank withdrawals and imposing capital controls Greece would also face the massive problems of introducing a new currency in the form of new coins and notes and procedures. Everything from computers to parking meters would need to be recalibrated; a thousand new hassles would make an already dire situation worse.

然而，阿根廷的先例正说明了这样的危机可以多么残酷：大规模的社会动荡，接二连三的总统被推翻下台，诸如此类。而希腊的危机可能会更糟糕。首先，其不良的财政状况。例如希腊在经济尚好时累积的增长迅速的往来账户赤字远高于阿根廷的。紧接着封锁银行取款和施加资本控制，希腊也要面对以全新的硬币，支票，程序形式来引进新货币的无穷问题。从电脑到停车收费器，一切都要重新校准，无数新的麻烦对早已紧迫的局面无异于火上浇油。

But the real worry, for investors and European leaders alike, is that a Greek departure could trigger panic elsewhere, with runs on banks in Portugal and Ireland and maybe Italy and Spain. Greece is far more fully integrated into the rest of Europe's finances than Argentina was into anyone's. Though the euro area may have proved a disappointment in economic integration, financial integration has gone apace—which now proves the opposite of a consolation. The euro zone offers scope for contagion, and confusion, on an epic scale. That is what makes its crisis so troubling—and so hard to treat.

但投资者和欧洲领导人们共有的真正忧虑是，希腊的离开可能在其它地区引发恐慌，人们将在葡萄牙和爱尔兰可能还会有意大利和西班牙的银行挤提存款。希腊整合进欧洲其它资产的程度远高于阿根廷融入任何资产的程度。虽然欧元区可能被证明是经济一体化的失败，但财政的整合一直飞速发展——现在这被证明恰恰与安慰相反。欧元区为经济危机蔓延和人们的困惑留下了前所未有的空间。这正是危机如此令人忧心和难以应对的原因。

翻译者: 杨畅 校对者: 李方裔

The euro-zone crisis

欧元区主权债务危机

Fighting for its life

拯救欧元

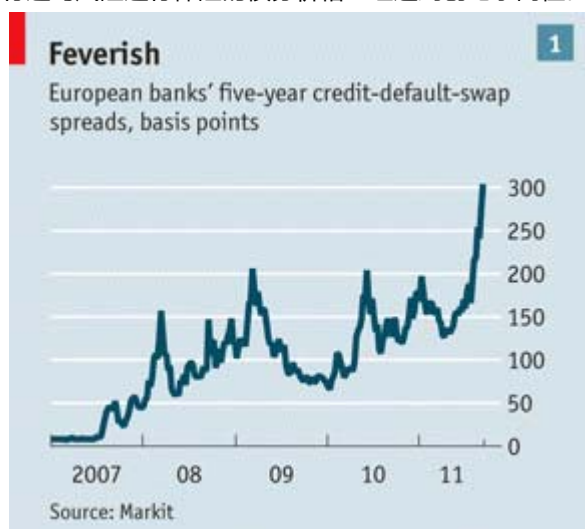
The euro zone is in intensive care

全世界聚焦欧元区



WHAT'S the French for "this sucker could go down"? Echoes of 2008, when the global financial system wobbled and George Bush gave his pithy view of the American economy, now resound on the other side of the Atlantic. Credit-default-swap spreads for European banks, a measure of how costly it is to buy insurance against their default, are at record highs (see chart 1).

什么是法国的“傻瓜才相信坠落”？2008年，全球金融系统剧烈动荡，乔治·布什讲话中简短地提及他对美国经济前景的展望。此时，经济危机的境况重现在大西洋彼岸。欧洲银行的信用违约交换开始蔓延。下图可以清晰地表明：给欧洲银行违约风险进行保险的债券价格已经达到创纪录高位。



The rates that banks charge each other for loans in the interbank market are rising, too, as they did then. Rumours swirl and panic flares: shares in BNP Paribas, a well-run French bank, dropped by 12% on the morning of September 13th following reports that no one would lend it dollars. BNP's denials saw the shares bounce back later in the day. Shares in Société Générale, another French bank, whipsawed too. The French banks'

reliance on short-term dollar funding, which American money-market funds are increasingly leery of providing, is one reason why Moody's, a ratings agency, downgraded Société Générale on September 14th, though exposure to sovereign default is also a key factor.

银行间拆借市场的利率也大幅攀升。伴随着谣言的催化和恐慌的蔓延：原本运营良好的法国巴黎银行，在 9 月 13 日早晨股价暴跌 12%。因为一份银行投资报告指出，没有其他银行愿意在借给法国巴黎银行美元。法国巴黎银行次日对报告上的内容明确否认，股价也随之反弹。法国兴业银行的股票也经历了类似的境况。法国银行过于依赖美元的短期拆借，而且美国的货币市场基金对法国银行的实际经营状况普遍担忧。这就是信用评级机构穆迪在 9 月 14 日调降法国兴业银行信用评级的主要原因。尽管主权债务违约的潜在风险也同样重要。

Meanwhile large banks in Germany, Switzerland and Britain have more cash than they can put to good use as corporate customers shift their deposits from weaker countries or smaller banks. The beneficiaries are loth to tie the cash up in long-term loans because they fear that the flows could reverse at any moment. "It's hot money," says one bank chairman.

与此同时，德国、瑞士和英国的大型银行境况会好得多，他们留存了更多的现金储备。这主要是因为储户们将自己的资产从小型银行和经济状况堪忧的国家中转移到这些大型银行。因为这些大型银行担心某一天这些流入的存款会大规模流出，所有他们并不愿意将这些新增存款作为长期贷款发放出去。其中某家银行的主席说：“这些都属于热钱。”

Thus the role of the Frankfurt-based European Central Bank (ECB) grows larger. The northern banks deposit their excess cash there rather than lend in the interbank market. The banks on the periphery increasingly depend on the ECB for liquidity. More than a fifth of Greek bank funding is now provided through Frankfurt; Italian lenders have upped their ECB borrowing sharply over the summer.

因此，总部位于法兰克福的欧洲央行资产规模越来越大。主要原因是，北部这些境况良好的银行宁肯将这些储户存款作为准备金寄存至欧洲央行，也不愿将他们投入到银行间拆借市场。欧洲境内的银行对于欧洲央行的依赖日趋严重，因为他们或多或少都面临一定的流动性问题。现今大约有五分之一的希腊银行接受欧洲央行的救助；意大利银行向欧洲央行的借款规模在今年夏天也是大幅攀升。

Banks are finding it hard to issue longer-term debt, too. The market for unsecured bonds has been closed for weeks, leaving banks with no option but to sell covered bonds at usurious interest rates that will challenge their profitability.

欧洲银行发现长期债权融资也变得十分困难。那些没有担保的债券已经被停止交易数周。导致银行不能通过高利率售卖复杂的债券产品来维持自己的盈利水平。

One way of bolstering the banking system would be to inject more capital into it. Goldman Sachs, an investment bank, reckons that Europe's 38 biggest banks might need between €30 billion and €92 billion (\$41 billion-\$126 billion) in extra capital to cope with haircuts to Greek, Irish and Portuguese government bonds and losses on Italian and Spanish government debt. An analysis by the IMF suggests that banks would see a hit of close to €200 billion if the default probabilities implicit in today's market prices were realised, although European governments and banks dispute the fund's calculations.

一种支撑银行系统稳定的方式是注资。投资银行高盛认为：欧洲最大的 38 家银行大约需要 300 亿欧元-920 亿欧元（约合 410 亿美元-1260 亿美元）的注资来应对在希腊、爱尔兰、葡萄牙、意大利、西班牙等国国债的潜在损失。IMF 的一份研究表明：如果今天所担心的主权债务违约变为现实，这些银行大约需要 2000 亿欧元的救助。但是，IMF 的研究报告数据不能得到欧洲各国政府的认可。

Raising capital in current markets will not be easy. Bank valuations are low; several banks might need to raise several times more than their current market value. Those shareholders that do not participate will have their holdings deeply diluted. That suggests governments might have to underwrite some of the rights issues.

就最近的市场环境来看，想要融资变得非常困难。银行自身估值水平处于历史低位，一些银行要想借助股权融资，至少应该将现今的市场价值提高几倍。那些不愿意参与银行再融资的股东，将不得不忍受自身股权被大幅稀释的境况。这种境况表明：政府可能会出手给银行的再融资行为提供担保。

Here the parallels with the credit crisis three years ago become ominously inexact. In 2008 governments did what was needed to protect their banks: guarantees were issued, equity injected. In the euro-zone crisis the threat of sovereign default renders some governments impotent, while those which could act have chosen not to do so decisively.

对于三年前的经济危机而言，现在的境况变得更加扑朔迷离，令人担忧。2008 年，政府对银行业进行施救：注资及再保险。今天，许多欧元区政府面临自身主权信用危机，他们相较于两年前政府实力已经大幅下降。与此同时，那些实力尚存的政府也不敢像两年前一样对银行业果敢救援。

The government at the heart of concerns again this week is that of Greece. Panicked officials are racing to plug a gaping hole in the budget and accelerate reforms in the face of speculation that international lenders will withhold the next €8 billion tranche of the country's bail-out. If the funds are not released within two weeks, the government risks being unable to pay wages and pensions. A hastily announced property tax should raise about €2 billion, which may just keep the budget deficit below 9% of GDP this year.

市场最担心发生违约的国家是希腊。背负巨大压力的希腊当政者正在急速削减政府开支，并且推行政府改革。国际上计划对希腊进行援助的国家甚至有可能拒绝给希腊进一步提供原定支付的 80 亿欧元紧急贷款。如果这笔资金在未来两周内不能到位，政府将面临无法支付公务员工资和养老金的风险。新出台的财产税将可以征收 20 亿欧元左右的资金，这大约可以保证希腊政府今年新增的债务大约在 GDP9% 的规模。

The troika monitoring the Greek plan (the European Commission, the ECB and the IMF) also wants to see a realistic budget draft for 2012. That means making drastic spending cuts as revenues are being squeezed by the deepening recession. The Greek economy is likely to contract by at least 5.3% this year. The government has already decided to increase the number of public-sector workers parked on 60% of their salaries pending dismissal or retirement. About 40,000 workers are now likely to be made redundant by year-end. Greece's debt managers are also finalising a €135 billion package of debt swaps and rollovers for private-sector investors which would allow the country to delay the repayment of about one-third of its bills for up to 30 years.

欧洲三驾马车（欧盟委员会、欧洲央行和国际货币基金组织）严格审查希腊的减持计划。他们更希望看到希腊为 2012 年做出更加现实的预算草案。那将意味着大幅削减公共开支。与此同时，国民收入也会随着危机深化而遭受剧烈冲击。希腊的经济规模今年大约会萎缩 5.3%。希腊政府已经决定延迟发放政府部门职工 60% 的工资，直到他们被解约，或者面临退休的时候。大约有 40000 工人很有可能在今年底就被解雇。希腊政府债务部门负责人也最终将 1350 亿欧元的债务进行打包、投保和展期。借助一些私人投资者，希腊政府可以延迟其大约三分之一规模债务的支付日期最长至 30 年。

The scrambling might be enough to allow Greece to escape immediate default; but it will also make a more brutal restructuring in the future much harder. And such a future restructuring seems inevitable. On September 12th Philipp Rösler, the leader of Germany's Free Democratic Party, the junior partner to Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union, said it was time to address the taboo subject of a possible Greek bankruptcy. Some go further still: the prospect of a Greek departure from the euro is now widely discussed.

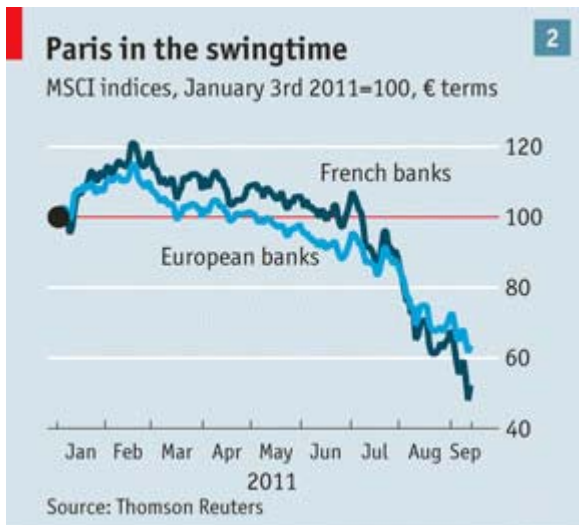
这些政府自救的手段可能可以使希腊避免立刻主权违约；但是，此举将会使未来的经济重建变得更为艰辛。并且，未来经济的重塑似乎是不可避免的阶段。在 9 月 12 日，德国自由民主党主席 Philipp Rösler，同时也是默克尔执政联盟中的一员，发言称：现在应该是不计一切代价避免希腊破产。一些人甚至更进一步：希腊被迫脱离欧元区的假设正在蔓延。

Stark choices

严峻的抉择时刻

Mrs Merkel is having none of it. On September 14th, after a conference call with George Papandreou, the Greek prime minister, she and Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president, reaffirmed Greece's place in the euro zone. For now euro-zone leaders seem determined to plough ahead, shepherding the second Greek bail-out package through national parliaments along with measures to increase the scope and firepower of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), Europe's bail-out fund.

默克尔正在全力阻止事态进一步恶化。9月14日，默克尔和萨科齐与希腊总理帕潘德里欧通了电话，再次强调希腊是欧元区的成员国。至今为止，欧元区领导人似乎决意排除万难，勇往直前。他们执意要取得国会的准许，通过给欧洲金融市场稳定基金注资，来引领希腊走出泥潭。



The problem is that although a beefed-up EFSF will be able to cope with the smaller peripherals, it is unable to support the refinancing needs of an economy as big as Italy. At an auction of Italian five-year bonds on September 13th its borrowing costs jumped to 5.6%, up from 4.9% at a similar auction in July.

问题在于：欧洲金融市场稳定基金有足够的实力对希腊这种小型经济体实施救助，但是，如果意大利这种规模的经济体出了问题，稳定基金将无能为力。9月13日，意大利公开拍卖的国债招标利率已经攀升到5.6%。今年7月，招标利率还仅仅是4.9%。

The pressure on European banks will keep increasing unless something else is done. Rumours that China will ride to the rescue of struggling countries are fanciful. Again, the real last resort is the ECB, which could relieve the pressures on the system by being prepared to buy without limit the bonds of solvent euro-zone countries. But the ECB is itself riven by disagreement.

除非政府能够显著改善经济状况，否则欧洲银行将一直面临压力。关于中国将会参与施救“欧猪五国”的传言并不可靠。回过头来，最终能够解决问题的还是欧洲央行。如果欧洲央行被授权可以购买无限额欧元区政府债务。但是，现实是欧洲央行内部对于施救计划尚未达成一致。

On September 9th Jürgen Stark, the central bank's chief economist and a former Bundesbanker, announced his resignation "for personal reasons". Mr Stark opposed the ECB's buying of Greek government bonds last year. When the bank began supporting Italian and Spanish government bonds, too, it was apparently more than he could take. Axel Weber, the head of the Bundesbank until May 1st, ruled himself out of the running to replace Jean-Claude Trichet, the ECB president, earlier this year because of similar qualms.

9月9日，欧洲央行首席经济学家斯塔克宣布其因个人原因辞职。斯塔克在去年力主劝阻欧洲央行购买希腊政府债务。但是，当欧洲央行更进一步，开始购买意大利和西班牙的国债时，显然斯塔克在欧洲央行已经被边缘化了。德意志联邦银行总裁 Axel Weber 在今年5月1日宣称，因为不支持欧元区国债的购买计划，自己不会考虑接替欧洲央行主席特里谢的班。

The German government moved swiftly to fill the hole left by Mr Stark. Jörg Asmussen, chief secretary at the finance ministry, will move to the ECB, assuming the formalities go without a hitch. Both Mr Asmussen and Jens Weidmann, Mr Weber's successor at the Bundesbank, appear more flexible personalities than their predecessors. But persuading them, and the German public, to sign up to what amounts to a policy of massive quantitative easing (creating money to buy bonds) will be extremely difficult. In 2008 free-market Americans swallowed their misgivings to rescue Wall Street. Inflation-phobic Germans now face a similar choice.

德国政府迅速提供人选接替斯塔克的首席经济学家职位。假设一些顺利的话，前财政部司长 Jörg Asmussen 将会调任欧洲央行。无论 Asmussen 还是 Weidmann，他们作为 Weber 在德意志联邦银行的继任者，似乎都比自己的前任更加灵活。但是，要想说服他们以及德国民众，认可大规模的量化宽松计划，其实非常困难。2008 年，支持自由市场美国搁置了自身对于通胀的恐惧，而施救华尔街。现在，同样面临通胀威胁的德国也走到了相似的十字路口。

翻译者:闵昂 校对者:任昊

The proper diagnosis

正确诊断

Profligacy is not the problem

挥金如土并非症结所在

Solving the euro-zone mess means understanding the nature of its ills. And by insisting it is just about budget deficits, too many Europeans show they don't

如果说欧元区混乱问题的解决之道是了解问题的本质为何，那么当下众多欧洲国家一味强调问题症结只是预算赤字，则说明他们完全搞不清状况



MISDIAGNOSIS is not, in itself, malpractice. Everyone, be they doctors or central bankers or politicians, makes mistakes. But when the misdiagnosis involves ignoring some symptoms and persisting in treatments that are n't working, it is not so easily excused. And that is what is going on with the euro, where a stress on demanding austerity has eclipsed the need to boost confidence.

误诊本身既非玩忽职守也无触犯法律。每个人都难免犯错，就算医生、政客、中央银行家也不例外，但是当误诊涉及无视病人某些症状、偏执于无效的治疗方法时，就没那么容易得到谅解了。欧元问题就是如此，现在，来自经济紧缩的压力已经侵蚀了人们对提振信心的迫切需要。

Germany, the European Central Bank (ECB) and many others diagnose today's mess as stemming primarily from profligacy on the periphery. "It is an indisputable fact", Wolfgang Schäuble, Germany's finance minister, recently wrote in the Financial Times, that "excessive state spending has led to unsustainable levels of debt and deficits that now threaten our economic welfare."

德国政府、欧洲中央银行 (ECB) 等众多方面认为解决当下乱局的首要动作是阻止进一步的铺张浪费。德国财长沃尔夫冈·朔伊布勒 (Wolfgang Schäuble) 近日在《金融时报》的文章中表示 "这一事实无可争议，国家的过度开支已经导致了债务和赤字达到不可可持续发展的程度，威胁到经济福利。"

If profligacy is the problem, the argument goes, austerity is the solution, with public thrift serving to rebuild investor confidence. The leaders of the euro's core countries have demanded draconian budget cuts as the price of rescue loans to troubled economies. They have pressed the Italian and Spanish governments to tighten more and faster. And they plan more deficit reduction themselves. The ECB has cheered this on and pushed it further. In August it demanded a toughening of Italy's austerity budget before it would step in to buy Italian bonds.

舆论称，假设挥霍浪费是问题所在，紧缩即是解决方法，应通过公众节省来重建投资者的信心。欧元区核心国家的领导人曾呼吁严苛的预算削减，将其作为向受困国家发放救助贷款的条件。他们向意大利和西班牙政府施压，要求以更大范围更快速度推行紧缩，并且自身也计划以更大幅度消减赤字。ECB 对此大加赞许、全力推行。八月时，在参与购买意大利债券之前，ECB 就呼吁意大利采取更强硬的紧缩预算政策。

This medicine is harsh. Output has plunged more than expected in “rescued” countries such as Greece and Portugal, with growth prospects weakening, which drives the costs of debt up further. And it is not solving the problem. Confidence in the Italian and Spanish economies is evaporating even as their governments accelerate the cuts. The rot is spreading. Fears have risen about Belgium, even France. The crisis is clearly getting worse rather than better.

这剂药未免用力过猛。“受助国家”的产出跌幅比人们预期的还要大，拿希腊和葡萄牙来说，日益暗淡的经济增长预期进一步推高了贷款的成本。这并没有解决问题。即使意大利和西班牙的政府正在加速削减开支，人们对其经济的信心还是不断蒸发消失。腐坏不断蔓延，恐惧已波及到比利时、甚至法国。显然，危机非但有所好转，反而愈演愈烈。

This is because the profligacy diagnosis is incomplete, and thus misleading. The symptoms of the crisis were first seen in Greece, and Greece’s mess is indeed largely thanks to its spendthrift government and its citizens’ refusal to pay their taxes. But Spain and Ireland had low government debt and in 2006 and 2007 were running small surpluses: their finances were flattered by the boom and wrecked by the banking and property bust. Italy has long had a big public debt, but a reasonably stable one; its budget deficit is among the euro zone’s smallest. These countries have weaker public finances than countries in the core, but not simply because their governments spent more. Nor, particularly in the cases of Spain and Italy, is their weakness so great as to justify the markets’ sudden reassessment of their risk.

这是因为把挥霍浪费作为诊断结果是不全面的、误导性的。本次危机的症状初现于希腊，毋庸置疑，希腊的乱摊子很大程度上来源于政府节约开支和国民拒绝纳税；西班牙和爱尔兰的政府负债不高，甚至在 2006 年至 2007 年小额顺差，但是其金融状况因经济繁荣而过誉，因银行业和房地产的破产而倾覆；意大利的政府借贷一向数字庞大，但是其预算赤字是欧元区国家中最小的，还算较为稳定。与核心国家相比，这些国家的公共财政较为脆弱，原因既不是前者政府开销较大，也不是后者自身过于无力无法重新正确评估市场的风险——对西班牙和意大利尤其如此。

An alternative diagnosis explains the continuing chaos by pointing out that an implicit assumption behind Europe’s financial integration—that sovereign debt was risk-free—has been overturned, and no one knows what to assume instead.

针对持续混乱的另一诊断是：以往支撑欧洲金融一体化的潜在假设——国债零风险——已经改变，现在人们不知道该重新以哪个假设作为支撑。

The euro project was founded on a rule that there would be “no bail-outs” of governments’ debt. But, as an analysis by Peter Boone and Simon Johnson of the Peterson Institute points out, its financial plumbing developed in a way that suggested the opposite. Initially the ECB treated all sovereign bonds equally. Even when it decided to take credit ratings into account, the ECB’s practices discouraged banks from clear distinctions between sovereign bonds.

欧元计划建立在一个信条之上，那就是国债不享受“救济金”。但是根据彼得森国际经济研究所(Peterson Institute)的彼得·布恩(Peter Boone)和西蒙·约翰逊(Simon Johnson)的分析显示：金融系统的发展方向与这一信条南辕北辙。最初 ECB 对所有国债一视同仁，即使是决定引入信用评级，业务操作中也不鼓励银行对国债明确区别对待。

Iatrogenesis to revelation

诊断创世纪到原病启示录

The fact that banks could turn government bonds from across the euro zone into cash at the ECB encouraged governments to borrow, and banks to rely on short-term funding to an extent now proving parlous. The central bankers cheered this process on. In 2005 Jean-Claude Trichet, the ECB’s president, boasted that yields

on euro-area sovereign bonds were driven overwhelmingly by “euro-area-wide shocks”. There was only a small effect, he said approvingly, from “local risk factors”.

在整个欧元区内，银行可以在 ECB 将国债兑换为现金，这鼓励了政府借贷行为，银行对短期资金的依赖程度目前已达到危险的境地。中央银行家也推动了这一进程发展。2005 年，ECB 行长让-克洛德·特里谢 (Jean-Claude Trichet) 吹嘘道欧元区国债的收益被“欧元区范围的数次震荡”推得极高。他乐观的表示“从现在的风险因素”考虑，这还只是一个很小的影响。

Over the past 18 months the possibility of national defaults has shattered the idea that all euro-area debt is equally risk-free in a particularly damaging way. Even as policymakers refused to accept that Greece was bust, the “Deauville” deal between Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy in October 2010 set up ways to deal with national defaults. But no one knew how far the landscape had changed: which euro-zone countries would be allowed to go bust? Which debt remained risk-free?

在过去的 18 个月里，国家债务违约的可能性狠狠的击碎了欧元区所有国债同等零风险的观点。就在政策制定者均拒绝承认希腊已经破产时，德国总理默克尔与法国总统萨科齐于 2010 年 10 月在多维尔会谈时提出了数种应对国家债务违约的方法。但是没人意料到时局能发生多大的改变，没人知道欧元区内有哪个国家能被公认为破产，又有哪个国家的债务能永远零风险。

Europe’s financial structure thus became suddenly and alarmingly fragile. The excessive “convergence” of bond yields over the decade reversed as investors have factored in the risk of sovereign default. Europe’s banks, which need to raise some €1.7 trillion (\$2.3 trillion) of funds in the next three years, are weighed down by their huge exposure to the region’s governments. The result has been a classic panic.

恍然间，欧洲金融体系警铃大作、脆弱不堪。过去十年来债券收益的过度“收敛”随着投资者受到国债违约的威胁而转变。欧洲诸银行需要在未来三年内集资近 1.7 万亿欧元（约合 2.3 万亿美元），因为对欧元区政府的大举放债而头痛不堪。最终引起典型恐慌。

The ECB has responded as a lender of last resort to the banking system, expanding and extending its liquidity lines for banks. But there has been no similarly comprehensive fallback for sovereign debt. The programme through which the ECB buys sovereign bonds on the secondary markets has not been idle: total purchases of Greek, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian debt now amount to around €150 billion. But the backstop has been grudging, intermittent, unpredictable and ineffective at stemming the surge in the bond yields of big economies like Italy and Spain that has pushed them back close to their August peak.

ECB 作为银行系统最后的诉借方，正在不断对银行贷款放宽限制、增大金额。但是国债并没有这样的退路。ECB 在二级市场购买的国债项目并不是徒劳的：对希腊、爱尔兰、葡萄牙、西班牙和意大利债务的总购买额现在已接近 1500 亿欧元。然而作为顶梁柱，ECB 在阻止大型经济体债券收益激增的行动上颇为勉强、飘忽不定、难以预测且效率低下，将其重新推近八月的险境，意大利和西班牙的情况就是佐证。

The ECB’s unwillingness to act with force has brought to the fore a fragility in the system previously overlooked: countries not only lose their monetary independence, they lose a central bank to back their sovereign bonds. This, as Paul de Grauwe of the University of Leuven has pointed out, makes the euro zone’s governments uniquely vulnerable to self-fulfilling panic over default.

ECB 不愿意使用强制手段，造成脆弱性成为这一被过分高估的体系的最大缺点：成员国不仅失去了货币的自主权，也失去了能够支撑其国债的央行。比利时鲁汶大学经济学教授保罗·德·格劳威(Paul De Grauwe)指出，这一切让欧元区各国政府在面对自己债务违约的恐慌时，极其脆弱。

The dynamic is similar to the “sudden stop” of foreign capital that lies behind many emerging-market financial crises. When emerging economies issue bonds denominated in a foreign currency, an interruption to the inflow of foreign capital can push a seemingly solvent country into default. To mitigate that risk, these countries eschew short-term debt and keep debt ratios low; some build up huge war chests of foreign currency. The IMF has in recent years set up “precautionary” credit lines which victims can tap in a crisis.

由此带来的众多影响和很多新兴市场金融危机外资“急刹车”时有相似之处。当新兴经济体发行外币标价的债券时，外资的合力涌入会将表面上看起来有偿还力的国家推向债务违约的边缘。为了中和这一风险，这些国家避开短期债务并保持低负债率，其中有些国家筹备巨额的外币款项。近年来，世界货币基金组织提出“预防性信用额度”，供受害国选择。

The euro area's weaker sovereigns currently have none of these defences. The beefing up of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), which will allow it to provide IMF-style precautionary credit lines, will help. But the EFSF has too little firepower to support Italy. One possibility is to allow it to borrow funds from the ECB. A quicker, more powerful alternative would be for the ECB to stand behind solvent sovereigns with unconditional and unlimited liquidity. If the commitment was credible and panic abated, the ECB might not have to buy many bonds and would make a profit on those that it did.

境况更糟糕的欧元区国家现在却全无这些保障。不断成长的欧洲金融稳定机构（EFSF）也提供类似 IMF 的预防性信用额度，这会有所帮助，但是 EFSF 要支持意大利，火力明显不足。一种可能的解决办法是允许 EFSF 从 ECB 处贷款，另一个更高效更有力的办法是 ECB 无条件无限额的提供资金来支持有偿还力的国家。如果贷方值得信赖、慌乱终得缓解，ECB 也许不但需要再大量购买债券，而且可以从已持有的债券中获利。

The trouble is that the ECB and Germany, among others, are aghast at such a prospect. Purchasing government bonds, they argue, is tantamount to monetising government deficits. It would do nothing to stem profligacy; indeed it would encourage it, leading either to high inflation or to a big loss to the central bank when a spendthrift government eventually defaulted. To the extent that any euro-zone governments need support, argue these hardliners, it should be a fiscal decision by finance ministers, and come with appropriate conditions attached.

现在问题在于 ECB 和德国政府，他们被这一预期吓得目瞪口呆，声称购买国债就相当于把政府赤字货币化，这样不但对阻止铺张浪费毫无用处，反而会起到鼓励作用，当节约的政府最终无力偿还贷款时，会导致经济的高通胀率和央行的重大损失。这些强硬分子还说，欧元区所有国家都需要不同程度的支持，这应当是由财长们做出的财政决定，并且应有合适的约束条件。

This is where the two diagnoses collide. One emphasises conditions as the only way to confidence. The other emphasises a confidence achievable only with unconditional support. The second diagnosis has the advantage of explaining why the first course of treatment has failed. It has the disadvantage of making that failure the doctors' fault.

这正是两个诊断相冲突的地方：一个强调约束条件是唯一提振信心的方法；另一个强调只有无条件的支持才能重振信心。后者的优势在于成功解释第一轮对策失效的原因，劣势在于把错误归结在医生的身上。

翻译者：董董 校对者：毕硕

The great schools revolution

学校大革命

Education remains the trickiest part of attempts to reform the public sector. But as ever more countries embark on it, some vital lessons are beginning to be learned

教育仍然是改良社会的尝试中最重要的途径。当越来越多的国家着手于此时，他们开始开设了很多重要的课程。

FROM Toronto to Wroclaw, London to Rome, pupils and teachers have been returning to the classroom after their summer break. But this September schools themselves are caught up in a global battle of ideas. In many countries education is at the forefront of political debate, and reformers desperate to improve their national performance are drawing examples of good practice from all over the world.

从多伦多到弗洛茨瓦夫，从伦敦到罗马，在结束他们的暑假后，学生和老师们开始返回课堂。但是今年的学校们被卷入了一场世界的创意风暴。在很多国家，教育是政治辩论中的前沿地带，改革家奋不顾身的完善自己的工作，为全世界都做出了实践的良好榜样。

Why now? One answer is the sheer amount of data available on performance, not just within countries but between them. In 2000 the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) at the OECD, a rich-country club, began tracking academic attainment by the age of 15 in 32 countries. Many were shocked by where they came in the rankings. (PISA's latest figures appear in table 1.) Other outfits, too, have been measuring how good or bad schools are. McKinsey, a consultancy, has monitored which education systems have improved most in recent years.

为什么是现在呢？其中一个回答便是关于教育质量的绝对数据，不是国家内部比较，而是国家间的比较。在 2000 年，全球学生评估计划（PISA）在 OECD——一个富有的俱乐部，开始在 32 个国家对 15 岁的学生进行学术评估。当排名出来后，很多人都吓了一跳。（PISA 的最近数据见于表格 1）其他的教学设备也是评价学校好坏的标准。咨询公司麦肯锡跟踪调查哪个教育体系在近年发展最好。

Technology has also made a difference. After a number of false starts, many people now believe that the internet can make a real difference to educating children. Hence the success of institutions like America's Kahn Academy (see [article](#)). Experimentation is also infectious; the more governments try things, the more others examine, and copy, the results.

科技也是一个评判标准。在开始的错误观点之后，人们现在相信网络可以让教育孩子变得有所不同，因此像美国的卡恩学院这样机构的成功。实验也是有传播性的，越多的国家试验新东西，越多的检验，模仿和结果。

Above all, though, there has been a change in the quality of the debate. In particular, what might be called "the three great excuses" for bad schools have receded in importance. Teachers' unions have long maintained that failures in Western education could be blamed on skimpy government spending, social class and cultures that did not value education. All these make a difference, but they do not determine outcomes by themselves.

最重要的是在讨论的内容上有改变。尤其是，被称作差学校的“三大理由”逐渐降低了其重要性。教室联盟一直宣称西方教育的失败应该归责于政府投入不够，社会课程和文化不重视教育。这些会产生不好的影响，但是他们没有考虑问题是不是在他们自己身上。

The idea that good schooling is about spending money is the one that has been beaten back hardest. Many of the 20 leading economic performers in the OECD doubled or tripled their education spending in real terms between 1970 and 1994, yet outcomes in many countries stagnated—or went backwards. Educational

performance varies widely even among countries that spend similar amounts per pupil. Such spending is highest in the United States—yet America lags behind other developed countries on overall outcomes in secondary education. Andreas Schleicher, head of analysis at PISA, thinks that only about 10% of the variation in pupil performance has anything to do with money.

好学校就是花钱的想法已经被彻底的推翻了。很多在 OECD 前 20 位的经济大国在 1970 到 1994 年间，将教育投入增加两倍甚至三倍，但是结果是很多国家仍然没有进步，甚至是退步。即使国家花相同的钱在每个学生身上，教育成果仍然千差万别。美国花在教育上的钱是最多的，但是美国在中等教育上却落后于其他发达国家。PISA 的首席分析师安德烈亚斯-施来谢尔认为学生教育成果只有 10%和钱有关。

Many still insist, though, that social class makes a difference. Martin Johnson, an education trade unionist, points to Britain's "inequality between classes, which is among the largest in the wealthiest nations" as the main reason why its pupils underperform. A review of reforms over the past decade by researchers at Oxford University supports him. "Despite rising attainment levels," it concludes, "there has been little narrowing of longstanding and sizeable attainment gaps. Those from disadvantaged backgrounds remain at higher risks of poor outcomes." American studies confirm the point; Dan Goldhaber of the University of Washington claims that "non-school factors", such as family income, account for as much as 60% of a child's performance in school.

很多人已然坚持，社会课程会带来负面影响。一个教育工会成员，马丁-詹姆森，指出英国的“课程之间的不平等是所有富有国家中最大的”，这是它的学生表现不好的主要原因。牛津的研究人员关于过去十年教育的报告支持了他这一观点。报告说道“尽管提高成就的水平，但是长期和相当大的程度差距只缩小了一点。来自贫穷背景的结果仍然有相当大风险会是失败”。美国的研究证实了这一点；华盛顿大学的丹-Goldhaber 认为“非学校因素”，比如说家庭收入，影响了学生在校成就的 60%。

Yet the link is much more variable than education egalitarians suggest. Australia, for instance, has wide discrepancies of income, but came a creditable ninth in the most recent PISA study. China, rapidly developing into one of the world's least equal societies, finished first.

然而其中联系却比教育平等主义者宣称的要更加多变。比如说澳大利亚，收入广泛不等，但是在最近的 PISA 研究却在第九位。中国，正在快速发展为全球贫富差距最大的国家，却是第一。

Culture is certainly a factor. Many Asian parents pay much more attention to their children's test results than Western ones do, and push their schools to succeed. Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea sit comfortably at the top of McKinsey's rankings (see table 2). But not only do some Western countries do fairly well; there are also huge differences within them. Even if you put to one side the unusual Asians, as this briefing will now do, many Western systems could jump forward merely by bringing their worst schools up to the standard of their best.

文化显然是一个因素。很多亚洲父母比西方父母要更加关心孩子的成绩，这促使他们学业的成功。新加坡，香港和韩国就位于 M 的排行榜前三（见表 2）。但是有些西方国家在这方面也做的很好，但是他们之间却仍然有很大差距。即使你把那些不正常的亚洲人放到一边去，这个情况已然存在，很多西方体制只不过是将其最差的学校提高成他们最好的标准。

So what are the secrets of success? Though there is no one template, four important themes emerge: decentralisation (handing power back to schools); a focus on underachieving pupils; a choice of different sorts of schools; and high standards for teachers. These themes can all be traced in three places that did well in McKinsey's league: Ontario, Poland and Saxony.

那么成功的秘密到底是什么呢？尽管没有模版可言，但有四大主题：权力下放（学校将权力回收）；对于学习成绩不好学生的关注；对于不同的学校的选择；高素质教师。这些全都可以在麦肯锡的表格中做的很好的地方——安大略湖，波兰，萨克森州——找到踪迹。

Reform without rancour

改革没有怨恨

"Ontario really is impressive," enthuses Sir Michael Barber, former head of global education practice at McKinsey (now at Pearson). The Canadian province has a high proportion of immigrants, many without English as a first language, yet it now has one of the world's best-performing schools systems, after bringing in what one of its architects calls "reform without rancour".

"安大略真的很让人印象深刻", 迈克尔-巴伯先生激动的说。他曾是 M 的全球教育实践的首领(现在供职于皮尔森)。这个加拿大省份有高的移民比例, 很多人的母语并不是英语, 在引入被它的某个建筑师成为 "没有宿仇的改革" 之后, 现在它已经是世界上教学质量最好的体系之一。

When Dalton McGuinty was elected Ontario's premier in 2003, he embraced "whole-system reform". Instead of directing reforms from the centre, the government encouraged schools to set their own targets and sent experienced teams to help them get there. Schools with large numbers of immigrant children could apply for special help, and could choose whether to extend the school day to do this, or work longer with the slower pupils.

当多尔顿-麦克基尔希于 2003 年被选为安大略省长时, 他接受了 "全盘改革"。政府鼓励学校 设置自己的目标并且提供专业的团队帮助他们完成目标, 而不是让中央来负责改革。拥有大量移民学生的学校可以申请特殊的帮助, 可以选择是延长上课时间或者是 对差生进行额外辅导来完成目标。

The Ontario reformers made a special point of gaining full public support. Every school—even in the remotest "fly-in" places—had to be improved by the reforms, and had to show in regular inspections that it was making progress. These efforts were not cheap—since 2004, total funding for education has gone up by 30%. And their success is debated. As Mr McGuinty faces a tight election next month, some critics claim that inner-city schools in the capital, Toronto, are "coasting", because improvements tend to come early and the intractable problems show themselves later. But Ontario has become a byword for decentralised, popular reform.

安大略的改革者特别注重获得全社会 的支持。任何学校——甚至在最偏远的 "鸟才能到" 的地方——都通过改革得到了发展, 并且在常规检查中展现了它的进步。这些措施并不便宜——自从 2004 起, 教育的总投资增加了 30%。而且他们的成功饱受争议。当麦克基尔希先生面临下个月紧凑的选举时, 有些批评家认为那些首都多伦多的中心学校情况在下滑, 因为发展出现的很早, 但是棘手的问题却很晚出现。但是安大略已经成为了普遍改革法——"权力下放" 的典型。

Lessons from Poland are equally impressive. The fourth-largest city, Wroclaw, cannot rival Warsaw for business buzz or Krakow for beauty; but its secondary schools have moved it into the "significantly above average" category in the PISA rankings, well above Britain and Sweden, as well as former eastern-block rivals.

从波兰获得的经验也让人耳目一新。其第四大城市, 弗洛茨瓦夫, 不能和沙比商业或者和克拉科夫比美丽; 但是它的中学已经上升至 PISA 排名 "显著高于平均水平" 的目录中, 而且高于英国和瑞典, 以及之前东方的对手。

Poland, like Ontario, illustrates the virtues of decentralisation. It used its new freedom to dismantle a centralised system which had channelled roughly half its pupils into an academic education and the rest, as factory-fodder, into less well-appointed vocational schools. Funding and administration are still controlled by state bureaucrats, but heads have freedom to hire teachers and can choose which curriculum to use from a list of private providers. National exams at 12-13, 15-16 and 18-19, and supplementary tests each year, allow local authorities to monitor carefully how the schools are doing.

像安大略一样, 波兰也证明了 权利下放的优点。它使用其新的自由废除了一个中央集权的体系, 该体系规划了大约一半的学生走向学术型教育, 剩下的作为牺牲者, 成了不怎么好的职业学校。资金和管理仍然被州官僚主义所控制, 但是校长可以自由的雇用老师, 并且可以从私人机构的名单上选择课程。国家考试设在 12-13, 15-16 以及 18-19 岁时, 并且每年的补充考试, 可以让当地政府仔细的跟踪学校到底做的怎样。

At secondary School Number 12 Danuta Daszkiewicz-Ordylowska, the head teacher, is celebrating another bumper year. The school excels in sciences and languages—English is still popular, but Russian is making a comeback. “Now they don’t have to learn it like their parents, they find it’s useful,” she says. She admits that pupils feel pressure (“Too much,” grumbles a former parent. “We’re ending up with a lot more children having to see psychologists about stress.”) But Jaroslaw Obremski, the deputy mayor, exults at how well his town’s pupils are doing.

在第 12 中学，主管教师 Danuta Daszkiewicz-Ordylowska 正在庆祝另外一个丰收年。这个学校擅长于科学和语言——英语也很流行，但是俄罗斯人正在做一个回归。“现在他们不用像他们父母一样学习，他们发现这很有用”，她说，她承认学校感觉到压力（“很大，”曾经有家长抱怨到。“以越来越多的孩子需要就压力去看心理医生而告终。”）但是市长助理 Jaroslaw Obremski 对于他管辖城市的学生做的有多好而感到狂喜。

Mr Obremski illustrates the power of local civic pride to improve schools. “We can do better,” he says. “I’m worried we don’t encourage our elites enough. How will we get an Oxford or a Polish Harvard? We’re still squeamish about really pushing the best.” He is sceptical of the role of national government: it has, for instance, signed agreements with the teachers’ unions which, he thinks, give them too much power. He is fiercely competitive. “Look just behind us in the league tables,” he says. “The regions doing best are among the poorest in the east of the country. They’re snapping at our heels.”

Obremski 先生解释了当地市政 自豪于发展学校的作用，“我们能做的更好，”他说，“我担心我们对于我们的精英不够重视。那我们怎么得到来自牛津或者哈佛的波兰人呢？我们仍然很紧张于我们是否做到了最好。”他怀疑国家政府的角色：比如，它和教师联盟签订了条约，并认为给与了他们足够的权利。他求胜心太重了。“看看坐在联盟跳跃后面的我们，”他说，“做的最好的地区是那些在国家东部最平穷的地区，他们正在紧跟我们的步伐。”

German lessons

德语课程

The first PISA study, in 2000, placed German pupils well below the OECD average for reading and literacy. This was “a real shock to the system”, says Ulrike Greiner, a teacher in Reutlingen, in south-west Germany. The research showed a higher correlation between economic status and achievement than in any other OECD country. For this, people blamed a system which allotted pupils to schools on the basis of perceived ability at the age of ten. A race to reform among the states followed, and the victor—to widespread surprise—was Saxony, from the old east, which reached fifth place in the McKinsey table.

2000 年 PISA 最早的研究，将德国学生排在 OECD 平均读写能力之下。这是“对于该体系的一个巨大打击”，德国西南部罗伊特林根地老师乌尔里克格纳瑞说。研究表明德国在经济情况和教学成果之间的联系要超过任何一个 OECD 中的国家。因此，人们责怪这个教学体系，它让学生在十岁——已经具有感知能力——时才去学校。接下来，这个国家展开了一场改革竞赛，出乎意料的是，胜者是来自古老东部的萨克森州，它在麦肯锡表格中排到了第十五位。

Since unification Saxony has restored historic cities like Leipzig and Dresden, yet they remain blighted by the uniform social housing of communist days. The old regime still influences education, too. Wolfgang Nowak, a west German Social Democrat who led the school reforms, explains: “We wanted to lose the ideology, but keep the best of the old eastern system—the selective *gymnasium* for the academically minded, but also a bigger focus on the ‘middle schools’ for other pupils.” Crucially, he cut out the third-tier *Hauptschulen* schools for weak academic performers. “It’s terrible for integration, it’s terrible for results.” (The best Chinese schools, adds Sir Michael Barber, have also modified their obsession with high-fliers to ensure that they address the “long tail” of underachievement—something that hampers Britain’s performance, too.)

自从联合萨克森州重建了历史古城像莱比锡以及 德累斯顿，他们仍然被共产主义时期统一的社会住房所毒害。曾经的政体也在影响着教育。诺尔夫岗诺瓦克，一个领导学校改革的德国西部社会民主人士，解释到：“我们希望失去这种意识形态，但是保留古老东方体系的精华——为精英学者提供最好的条件，并且同时为其他学生而更关注中学教育。”至关重要，他排除了为那些学术不强的人准备的三流学校。“一体化很糟糕，结果也很糟糕。”（迈克尔-巴伯先生补充道，最好的中国学校也根据 high-fliers 调整他们的关注方向，来确保他们放长线钓大鱼——这也是阻碍英国发展的因素。）

Many parents still look back on communist East Germany as a provider of first-rate secondary education in its many good grammar schools, though few regret the ideological brainwashing that went with it. Saxony kept the selective element, but sent pupils to secondary school at 13 rather than 11. That has made a big difference to the performance of boys, in particular. "Eleven is just too early to assess what they are capable of," says Mr Nowak.

很多家长仍然认为共产主义东部德国，在其众多优秀的语法学校中，提供了最好的中学教育，尽管少数人惋惜该思想形态也随着它而消逝。S 继续保留着精选的要素，尽管他们让学生在 13 岁去上中学，而不是 11 岁。尤其是这让男孩的成就有了很大的区别。"11 岁就让他们去接触超过他们能力的事物太早了，" 诺瓦克先生说。

Exams in Saxony, previously organised by the schools themselves or with loose oversight, were opened up to external regulators. At the Gottlieb Bienert middle school in Plauen, a suburb of Dresden, head teacher Gert Gorski explains that the higher up the school pupils proceed, the more they follow different paths, though they mingle for non-academic subjects. The lower performers leave school at 15 with a basic qualification, usually in practical skills. "We don't mind being a middle school with some pupils from lower academic groups," says Mr Gorski, "as long as this middle is a standard we can be proud of." This year Berlin and Hamburg have followed Saxony in abolishing the low-performing *Hauptschulen*.

萨克森州地的考试，之前是由学校自己组织的并且疏于管理，对外部管理者开放。在德累斯顿的郊区，普劳恩地的 Gottlieb Bienert 中学，教学领导 Gert Gorski 解释说学校学生行进的越高，他们选择的不同途径就越多，尽管他们混入了非学术科目。表现不佳者在 15 岁离校时，通常在实践技巧上达到了基本的要求。"我们不介意成为一所拥有来自低层次学生的学校，" Gorski 先生说，"只要这个中等是一个我们可以自豪的标准。" 今年柏林和汉堡开始跟着萨克森州，废除低层学生不招收的规定。

In Britain, which has slipped down the PISA rankings in the past few years, examples like these are being studied closely. Michael Gove, the Conservative education secretary, pinpoints the lessons of PISA 2009 as "greater autonomy for schools; sharper accountability; raising the prestige of the profession and having greater control over discipline." In pursuit of a more diverse supply of schools, the government is expanding the number of independent academies (Tony Blair's innovation) to replace local authority-run comprehensives, and has allowed Free Schools, which are run by parents, charities and local groups.

在过去五年中 PISA 排名下滑的英国，人们在仔细研究这样的例子。保守党的教育部长麦克·佳夫将 2009 年的 PISA 的课程"能够给学校更高的自治权、更艰巨的责任、提高同行中的声誉和对学科有更大的控制力"。为了追求学校的多样性，政府在用更多的独立学院（托尼·布莱尔的革新）来取代地方政府经营的综合学校，并允许学生家长、慈善机构以及地方性组织创办的免费学校。

Introducing new types of schools, however, is no guarantee of better outcomes. Sweden, admired by Mr Gove for its independent, non-selective, state-funded Free Schools, has had a sticky period in international rankings. Its drive to open new kinds of schools is not yet matched by rigorous inspections to help weaker schools target their failings. Sceptics of America's fairly new experiment of this kind, privately funded charter schools, think that politicians are "too invested" in them to close them if they fail. Authorisation and renewal processes for innovative schools need to be robust, so that bad experiments are not prolonged and failures are not ignored.

然而，引入新型的学校并不一定能带来更好的效果。以拥有具有独立性、非选拔性以及公费性的自由学校而受到佳夫先生赏识的瑞典在国际排名上经历了一段艰难的时期。其创办新型学校的做法目前比通过严格的检查给教育水平较低得学校制定分数线的做法更受欢迎。对美国这种实验性做法持怀疑态度的人选择投资特许公立学校，他们认为政府在这些学校投入了太多，所以即使失败也不会关闭这些学校。人们应该更大胆地批准新型学校的创立和革新，以使那些失败的经验不会持续或者被忽略。

On the whole, though, the rise of charter schools in American cities has brought dynamism to one of the tougher areas of reform. These are schools aimed at the poorest parts of society, where aspirations are often

low. Letting new providers in also attracts people who are interested in education and have a talent for organisation, but no taste for bureaucracy.

然而，总的来说美国各城市的特许公立学校给更具挑战性的改革领域带来了活力。这些学校是针对贫困地区的，那些地方的期望值往往比较低。让更多的供应商加入进来也会吸引更多对教育业感兴趣、有组织才能却不喜欢官僚主义的人。

A mass of data shows that both profit and not-for-profit innovations can work. Diversity of supply in schools concentrates minds on what kind of teaching is best, particularly in challenging places. It also offers the freedom to set working conditions outside the restraints of local authorities and the teachers' unions, giving heads more capacity to tailor schools to the needs of their particular pupils. In America's Aspire charter schools, which have done best in the rankings, teachers follow strict guidelines to chart each pupil's progress. Aspire's motto is "College for Certain"; higher education is made the ambition of teachers and pupils alike.

大量的数据表明，无论改革是否以盈利为目的，都会有所成效。学校的多样性使人们更加专心地思考什么样的教育才是最理想的，尤其是在一些具有挑战性的地方。同时它也使学校能摆脱当地政府和教师工会的束缚自由地设立教学条件，给校长更大的发挥空间，因材施教。在排名最靠前的美国 Aspire 公立学校，教师们按照严格的指导规定给每一个学生制定进度计划。Aspire 的校训就是“每个人的大学”，接受高等教育已成为教师和学生们的共同目标。

The key to success

成功的关键

Of the four chief elements of schools reform, diversity of supply is by far the most striking. From New York to Shanghai to Denmark, schools free of government control and run by non-state providers are adding quality to the mix. To date, they seem most successful where the state has been unwilling or unable to make a difference. It is still not clear whether creating archipelagoes of Free Schools and charter schools will consistently drive improvement in other institutions, or whether that is wishful thinking.

在学校改革的四大要素中，学校的多样性是最为关键的。从纽约到上海，再到丹麦，脱离政府约束、私营的自由学校增加了这种多样性。迄今为止，这种学校在那些不愿意或者没有能力改变的国家起的成效最为明显。然而建设众多的自由学校和特许公立学校是否会在其它制度下保持持续的增长、这种想法是否只是不能实现的空想还尚无定论。

What is clear, however, is that the shiniest new academy will struggle without decent teachers. An emphasis on better teacher quality is a common feature of all reforms. Countries like Finland and South Korea make life easier for themselves by recruiting only elite graduates, and paying them accordingly. Mr Gove has said that he wants to raise the degree threshold for teachers and offer "golden hellos" in areas of shortage, like science and language teaching. America has experimented at state level with merit pay and payment by results, but often in the teeth of opposition from the teachers' unions.

然而可以确定的是，闪亮登场的新学校将在没有正派教师的情况下努力挣扎。所有的教育改革都强调更高的教学质量。像芬兰、韩国等国家通过只招收精英毕业生，并给他们相应的奖学金的方式使自己好过些。佳夫先生称他打算给像科学和语言等紧缺领域的教师提高聘任门槛，并给他们高额的聘用金。美国已在国立学校实行过绩效工资和按成果付酬的方式，但往往忽略了教师工会的不满。

In schools reform, structural progress—new sorts of schools, reorganised old ones, new exams—can happen very fast. Better teachers take much longer to form. They should be made the priority.

在教育改革中，组织结构上的进步会非常迅速，包括新的学校类型、学校的革新和新的考试形式等。更好的师资力量需要更长的时间，而且这一点应是重中之重。

翻译者：杨婕&金婧华 校对者：尹茜

Bank reform

银行改革

To rip asunder

一分为二

The industry that has come to define Britain faces a radical overhaul

英国银行业正面临的一个彻底的检修



THE paths crossing the hills and valleys of Derbyshire were worn deep by the passage of millions of feet, as villagers tramped to and from the mills that once dotted the countryside. The equivalent route today is from the cavernous platforms of Canary Wharf Tube station — where, during rush hour, crowded trains disgorge throngs of bankers every few minutes — to the trading rooms above.

伦敦金融区地铁站在高峰期每隔几分钟就涌出一群奔向交易所的银行家。就像横贯英国德比郡山地和丘陵的道路一样，每天都有无数的村民行走其上，穿梭于遍布村庄的工厂之间。现如今伦敦金融区这里的道路也是这番景象。

London's financial sector may contribute only a few percentage points of Britain's total economic output, but it defines the country, and its sense of prosperity, in much the same way that cotton mills and trading ships once did. The financial crisis, when Britain experienced its first bank run in more than a century, and two of its four biggest banks had to be partly nationalised, was humbling. Both the public and politicians demanded radical change.

伦敦的财政部门也许对整个英国的经济产出贡献很少的百分点。但是它和之前的纺织业以及贸易运输同样定义了整个国家的繁荣。英国有一百多年的银行运作经验，其中四大银行有两所已经不得不收归国有。这样的一场金融危机实在是让其蒙羞。民众和政客都要求彻底地改变现状。

This week the shape of that change became clearer with the release of a report by the Independent Commission on Banking (ICB), which urged the government to impose a "ring-fence": a strict separation between the retail and investment-banking operations of Britain's banks. The commission, chaired by Sir John Vickers, an independent-minded economist, also called for a big increase in the amount of capital held within these ring-fenced banks as a buffer against losses.

本周，银行独立委员会发布的关于敦促政府推行限制资金用途的报道后，改革的雏形更加的清晰：严格地将正在运营的各大英国银行的零售业务和投资业务分离开。该委员会主席约翰·

【注解1】维克斯爵士，一个独立的经济学家，也呼吁这些限制资金用途的银行大幅增加资本注入来缓冲损失。

The commission was set up by the coalition government last year. Pleasing both of its constituent parties looked a tough task: before the general election, some Liberal Democrats had called for a complete break-up of Britain's biggest banks; the Conservatives, the dominant party in the coalition, were less confrontational. Sir John has cleverly pulled it off. George Osborne, the Tory chancellor of the exchequer, this week pledged to implement the ICB's recommendations in full. Vince Cable, the Lib Dem business secretary—and hitherto the government's principal banker-basher—welcomed them too, as did the opposition Labour Party, which was in government when the crisis struck.

银行独立委员会是由联合政府去年设立的。令人满意的是各党派都已经意识到这个艰难的任务：在常规的大选之前，一些自由民主党人呼吁对英国的大银行进行彻底的分离。然而占统治地位的保守党就没有这样激进。约翰爵士很机智地圆满完成任务。保守党的财政大臣乔治奥斯本保证在这周完成执行银行独立委员会的建议。自由党商务大臣文斯凯布尔（迄今为止作为政府的首席银行专家）以及在经济危机来袭时劳工党的所作所为都很赞同这个建议。

The case for firm measures is difficult to dispute. The bail-out of Royal Bank of Scotland alone required a capital injection of £46 billion (\$85 billion) from the public purse in 2008. The assets of Britain's biggest banks are about 4.5 times bigger than its GDP; in the depths of the crisis, the country found itself in a similar position to Switzerland (the assets of whose two biggest banks were six times as large as the national economy), and Ireland (3.5 times). All faced not only the collapse of banks that were too big to be allowed to fail, but also the frightening prospect of trying to prop up banks that might have proved (and in Ireland's case were) too big to save.

实施决策的论据难以得到支持。单就2008年苏格兰皇家银行的以优先股发给股东的跳伞行为就需要从国库注入460亿英镑（850亿美元）的资本。英国最大银行的资产约为国民生产总值的5.5倍，处于在经济危机深渊的英国，发现和瑞士以及爱尔兰有着同样的处境：瑞士的两大银行的资产是整个国家国民经济的6倍，在爱尔兰的大银行的资产也是国民经济的3.5倍。他们面临的难题是这些大银行太庞大根本不允许其崩溃，同样令人堪忧的是爱尔兰案例或许已经证明银行太庞大了拯救无从下手。

Yet the commission's ring-fence proposal remains controversial, not least because it puts Britain at odds with much of the rest of the world. In Europe, universal banking, which combines retail and commercial banking with racier wholesale and investment sorts, is commonplace and likely to persist. In America, which banned universal banking after the Great Depression under the Glass-Steagall act, the division between the two kinds was incrementally weakened for decades, before it was finally scrapped in 1999. During the crisis the Federal Reserve and Treasury forced most of America's big independent investment banks into arranged marriages with commercial firms. Britain's exceptionalism in trying to reinvent Glass-Steagall reflects its twin desires to tame banking and allow British banks to compete in global markets.

然而银行独立委员会关于限制资金用途的提议任然存在争议。重要的是它将英国的情况与其他国家的情况独立开来。在欧洲，常见的综合银行普遍将零售业务与整合批发和投资业务的商业银行相结合，这种状况也将延续。在美国，自大萧条后斯蒂格尔法案施行禁止综合性银行，因而零售与投资业务在之后的十年迅速分离，直至1999年被废弃。在危机期间美联储和财政部迫使美国的大多数大型独立的投资银行和商业企业联姻。英国例外主义论者正在试图重新修改使用斯蒂格尔法案，这表达出英国既想理顺银行业同时又希望英国银行能够的全球市场上进行竞争的双重愿望。

翻译者：张亚玲 校对者：李方裔

Public-sector strikes

公共部门大罢工

War of attrition

消耗战

A lengthy campaign of industrial action could be imminent

冗长的工业生产运动迫在眉睫



“THE fight of our lives” is how Dave Prentis describes the wave of industrial action that public-sector trade unions—of which Unison, the outfit he leads, is the largest—are threatening to launch this winter. Brian Strutt on, a senior figure in the GMB, another union, promises a “long and hard and dirty” campaign. Along with Unite, Britain’s biggest union overall, they announced on September 14th that they would ballot their members on co-ordinated strikes to be held on November 30th. More may well follow.

戴夫·普伦蒂斯把这次工业运动的浪潮形容为“我们的生活而战”。他所领导的 Unison，作为公共部门工会中的一个庞大组织，将会在冬天启动。作为另一个名为 GMB 联盟的资深领导人，Brian Strutt 表示这将会是一场“漫长艰难令人诟病的”战役。随着联盟的建立，英国最大的工会团体在 9 月 14 日宣布，他们将会召集联盟成员参与到 11 月 30 日举行的联合罢工中，紧随其后的将是一系列的生产运动。

The casus belli is the government’s bid to reform public-sector pensions, which will see workers pay more in contributions and retire later. The plan is based on a report published in March by Lord Hutton, a cabinet minister in the previous, Labour government. Talks between ministers and unions over the precise contours of the final policy are ongoing but, at a time of austerity and lengthening lifespans, change is both necessary and likely.

casus belli 是政府提出的一项改革公共部门养老金制度的举措，旨在希望工人们创造更多的生产价值并延期退休。该计划基于一份在 3 月公布的政府报告，此报告由工党政府内阁前部长 Hutton 勋爵提出。关于政策的最终详细条例，部长和工会之间的谈判依旧在进行中。由于时间有限，在漫长的谈判过程中，改变是有必要并极有可能发生的。

The angry unions could nevertheless inflict enormous disruption at a vulnerable time for the economy, ranging from mass walkouts to “smart” strikes aimed at specific services at particular times. Next summer’s Olympic games could be targeted. Besides those who have already signalled their intent to make trouble, other unions could join in. The Fire Brigades Union has said it will ballot, too.

然而，愤怒的工会的一系列活动，从大规模游行示威到在特定时间、行业的有计划性罢工，很可能对已然不景气的经济造成重创。明年夏天的奥运会也有可能成为靶子。除了那些已经明确表态参与行动的联盟以外，其他工会也有可能参与

进来。消防联盟已经表示也将参与到运动中来。

Ministers are confident that the public will side with them in any showdown. Most voters work in the private sector, where employer-sponsored, defined-benefit pensions are becoming a luxury. Retiring at 60, as many state workers currently do, is also unusual outside the state sector (the government wants to raise the age to 66). Perhaps sensing the public mood, Ed Miliband, the Labour Party's leader, told the annual Trades Union Congress on September 13th that he disagreed with the strikes held against the pension reforms over the summer. He was heckled for his remarks—hardly a catastrophe for someone striving to display independence from the union movement that largely funds his party.

部长们相信，无论如何，民众都会站在他们这边。大多数选民在私营部门工作，由雇主提供的金额确定的养老金已越来越少。目前许多国有企业职工在 60 岁退休，但是在国有部门以外事实并非如此（政府想要把指标提高到 66 岁）。也许是考虑到公众情绪，工党领导人 Ed Miliband 在 9 月 13 日举行的贸易联盟代表大会年会上表示，他并不赞同在今年夏天因为反对的养老金改革制度而举行的罢工运动。他因此被众人炮轰，而这对于一个以工会运动为基础的政党来说，并不稀奇。

The likes of Mr Prentis must count on public opinion being dynamic: if their lives are disrupted enough, voters may want the government to sue for peace. The unions might also sense weakness in David Cameron, who has developed a reputation for policy U-turns. But the prime minister tends to back down only when the issue is not important enough to spend political capital on (such as the planned privatisation of forests) or where there is a high risk of offending public opinion (such as changes to the NHS). Neither condition applies to public-sector pension reform.

普伦蒂斯先生之流必须依靠公众舆论的支持：如果他们的生活被肆意破坏的话，选民们势必会要求政府承诺。工会极有可能嗅到了卡梅伦的弱点，其正是因为与以往的政府行事风格背道而驰而赢得声誉的。但是首相对于改革的态度并不激进，也许问题并不严重到需要投入政治资本（比如森林私有化计划）或者有得罪舆论的严重趋势（比如英国免费国民医疗保健体制的改革）。无论哪种情况都不会加速公共部门的养老金制度的改革步伐。

翻译：郭爽 校对：汪楚航

Electricity pylons

高压电塔

The art of power

电力的艺术

The hard task of reconciling green energy with green pastures

绿色能源与绿色牧场和谐共存任务艰巨



You'll barely notice it

你几乎注意不到它。

THE skeletal, lattice design of Britain's electricity pylons has changed little since the first one was raised in 1928. Many countries have copied these "striding steel sentries", as the poet Stephen Spender called them; more than 88,000 now march across the country's intermittently green and pleasant land.

从1928年第一座晶格框架结构的高压电塔建成以来，英国的高压电塔在设计上几乎没做过改动。许多国家都模仿着这个设计，并像诗人 Stephen Spender 一样，称之为“大步行走的钢铁卫兵”。在英国一片片绿色怡人的田野上，已有88,000多座电塔矗立其间。

Now six new models are vying to replace these familiar steel towers. The finalists in a government-sponsored competition to design a new pylon include a single shard spiking into the sky and an arced, open bow (pictured above). After a winner is picked in October, National Grid, which runs the electricity-transmission network, will decide whether to construct it.

现在六种新的电塔模型正在争夺地取代这些常见的钢质电塔。这是一场由政府赞助的新型电塔设计大赛，进入决赛的选手需要设计的电塔由一只直插天空的鞘翅和一架开口的弧形弓构成（如上图所示）。十月份赢家出炉之后，电力传输网络的经营商国家电网将决定是否将这一设计付诸实施。

The contest has been held in anticipation of a new era of pylon building. By 2020, a quarter of the country's current generating capacity will need replacing; the government hopes the new supply will come from renewable sources such as onshore and offshore wind farms. Today's offshore capacity is just 7% of ministers' targets for the end of the decade—and all of the new generation out to sea will need to land transmission cables ashore. The existing electricity grid is in the wrong place for many of these new sources of power. That creates a paradox: trying to save the world by cutting carbon emissions means scarring particular bits of it by dragging new power lines through scenic countryside.

人们期待这场比赛能够开辟电塔建造的新纪元。预计到2020年，英国需要更换全国四分之一的发电量。政府希望新的能量供给能够从可再生能源中获得，例如陆地和海上的风场。现在海上风场的发电量仅仅达到了2020年底官员们期望达到发电量的7%，并且所有新入海的发电设施都需要将输电电缆架设在陆地上。现有的电网并不是这些新电力源理想的接入点。于是悖论出现了：减少碳排放拯救地球环境就意味着输电电缆将穿过田野破坏地球上一小块美丽风光。

This is an old problem. The launch of Britain's national electricity grid in 1933 was decried for desecrating the landscape. More recently, the location of wind farms has prompted similar debates. The difficulty with pylons is that they go everywhere. Scotland has had nearly five years of disputes over the planned 600-pylon upgrade of a transmission line running from Beaulieu in the Highlands to the central belt where more electricity is used. 这个问题很早就有了。1933年英国国家电网就因“污染”了美景遭到谴责。再近一点，风场的选址也引发了相似的争论。建设电站的难点在于它们无处不在。苏格兰曾针对一条从高原地区的比尤利到用电量更大的中部地带的输电电缆制定了600座电站规模升级的计划，而该项计划引起的争论长达五年之久。

The same clashes will now play out in England and Wales. A new planning commission was set up in 2009 to speed up the glacial pace of infrastructure decision-making. But weighing economic demands against beauty remains a thorny and potentially time-consuming job. 现在同样的冲突也出现在了英格兰和威尔士。2009年英国成立了新的计划委员会以加速基础设施相关决策制定的艰难脚步。然而在经济需求与自然风光之间权衡得失仍然是一项棘手而旷日持久的工作。

Opponents of towering pylons say the answer is to bury power lines: at present only 950km of Britain's 13,000km of high-voltage cable runs underground, most of it in urban areas. But sinking wires, which means clearing a corridor 17m to 40m wide and cannot be done in all terrains, carries an environmental toll too. "You are effectively sterilising land use in the area," says Richard Smith of National Grid; no planting, digging or building is allowed. That makes installing subsurface cables 12 to 17 times as pricey as overhead lines, according to National Grid (they also need replacing sooner). Since consumers pay for this through their electricity bills, everyone would have to fork out to protect the views and house prices of a few people. 塔型电站的反对者认为应该把电线埋在地下：现在英国13,000km的高压电缆中只有950km从地下通过，这其中的大部分都在城区。但是埋地电缆也有相应的环境代价，意味着清理出一条17m到40m宽的通道，而这并非在所有地形条件下都能做到。“你实际上在禁止该区域的土地利用。”国家电网的Richard Smith说。种地，挖掘或者建筑都不可以。据国家电网说（他们也需要尽快更新），这使得安装地下电缆的成本是安装高空电缆的12到17倍。而消费者通过支付电费账单承担着这一笔费用，于是每个人都不得不掏腰包保护一部分人眼中的景色和房价。

But the price of despoiling pretty scenery is hard to calculate. The risk is that the cost of damaging the landscape is ignored because it is not ascribed a monetary value, says Steve Albon, co-author of a government-commissioned report on how much the natural environment contributes to Britain's economy. As yet, though, no one has found an easy or accepted measure of this worth to help make decisions. 但是破坏美景的代价很难精确衡量。我们冒的风险是，由于没能用金钱来衡量它的价值，破坏景色的代价就被忽略了，Steve Albon这样说。他参与编写了一份政府委托的有关衡量自然环境对英国经济发展贡献报告。然而到现在为止还没有人找到一种简单而为人接受的方式衡量它的价值，从而帮助人们做决策。

So finding a new shape for pylons may be only one aspect of the coming power rows. But it will be a tricky one. Typically the best designs combine elegance with utility. Yet rather than being a feature in itself, the optimal pylon blends in with nature. That's a tough task for 20 tonnes of steel, however impressively shaped. 所以给电塔换个形状可能只是未来有关输电的争论的一个方面。但是它的确很巧妙，特别是最佳设计能够将优雅与实用相结合。最理想的电塔应该融入自然，而不是自成一体。不管它的形状多漂亮，对一个20吨重的钢铁来说是个艰巨的任务。

翻译：郭心睿 校对：刘拓

Anglo-Russian relations

英俄关系

Cold comforts

无用的安慰

A tricky diplomatic assignment for the prime minister

首相棘手的外交任务



Grin and bear it

逆来顺受

TO UNDERSTAND David Cameron's approach to foreign policy, suggests a close ally, bear in mind his belief in openness. Since becoming prime minister last year, he has sketched out a consistent worldview. He thinks the future belongs to countries that are open to trade and ideas, but also politically, with rulers who are responsive to their people. His diplomatic method blends that optimism with pragmatism. A keen salesman, he takes plane-loads of business bosses with him to emerging economies (an idea he copied from the French and Germans). On arrival, he likes to give speeches (politely) explaining why a little more openness would be in his hosts' interests. But only a little: he is not an evangelist for imposing Western democracy from afar.

一个与卡梅伦关系密切的盟友说，要理解卡梅伦的外交政策，就得时刻考虑到他对开放的信仰。自从去年当选首相，他已拟定了始终如一的世界观。他认为，未来是属于这些国家的统治者——不仅开放贸易和思想，并且在政治上，顺应本国人民。他的外交方法融合乐观主义及实用主义。一个热心的销售人员，他经常带着众多商业老板去一些新起的经济地区（这是他从法国和德国模仿而来的主意）。到达目的地后，他喜欢演讲时礼貌地解释为什么多一点开放是对本地人有利的。但只是点到为止并不强求，他不是远道而来的西方民主的布道者。

This week his optimistic pragmatism was tested in a chilly, autumnal Moscow. Much of his short visit was dominated by disputes old and new, ranging from espionage to the woes of British investors and disagreements about international flashpoints from Georgia to Syria.

本周，他乐观实用主义在秋寒料峭的莫斯科接受检验。他多数简短的访问都被新旧争论所控制。这些争论从间谍活动到英国投资者的悲痛，再到从佐治亚州到叙利亚问题等国际焦点问题分歧。

Mr Cameron tried to pitch his case that Russia would benefit from becoming a less confrontational and more reliable partner. He told students at Moscow State University that companies can choose where they invest and tend to favour places with a “predictable” rule of law. He raised concerns over human rights and Russia’s failure to keep to the terms of its ceasefire with Georgia, albeit (pragmatically) only in private. Though careful to say that Britain has its problems, too, he advised Russia about how it might thrive, rather than simply sticking to the side of the relationship that he controls, such as the basis on which Britain is open for business for Russian firms.

卡梅伦试图推销他的方案——俄罗斯将从中获益，成为对抗性更小，可靠性更多的合作伙伴。他告诉莫斯科国立大学的学生，公司可以选择他们投资地点以及他对人权以及俄罗斯违背了其与格鲁吉亚的停火协议条款，尽管实在讲仅限私下。尽管谨慎的讲，英国自身也同样存在问题，卡梅伦建议俄罗斯怎样繁荣发展而不是单单维系着它所掌控的单边关系。例如英国对俄国公司的业务开放。

That was a risk, since the visit’s main purpose was to begin to repair this relationship, which has been especially rancorous since 2006, when Alexander Litvinenko, a former Russian security officer, was murdered by radioactive poisoning in London. Russia refused to extradite the main suspect, another former spook. Until a “businesslike” meeting with Mr Cameron on September 12th, the Russian prime minister, Vladimir Putin, had not spoken to any member of the British government since 2007. According to William Hague, Britain’s foreign secretary, Mr Putin “set out to be and was reassuring” about his country’s attitude to British companies, including BP, the oil giant which has endured a torrid few years in Russia. “Time will tell” what that actually means, Mr Hague said.

这是一种冒险，鉴于访问的主要目的在于开始改善双边关系。尤其是自 2006，前俄罗斯安全人员，亚历山大·利特维年科在伦敦被放射性毒药谋杀后，引起的特别的仇怨。俄罗斯拒绝引渡主要嫌疑人——另一位苏联前特工。直到 12 月 12 日和卡梅伦类似商业谈判似的会议，俄罗斯总理，弗拉基米尔·普京自 2007 年后就从未和英国政府的任何一名官员讲过话。根据英国外交部长，威廉·黑格所指出，普京将要并且正在回暖他的国家和英国公司之间的关系，包括英国石油公司。这个石油巨头这几年已经在俄罗斯背受煎熬。“时间会告诉”我们这到底是何意义，黑格先生说。

Beyond the fact that it happened, and some smallish business deals, there was little concrete to show for the summit. With the two governments deadlocked over the Litvinenko case, British officials say there is no prospect of reversing a ban on co-operation between their security services, or of easing visa restrictions for Russian officials (a big source of annoyance in Moscow). Reporting back on foreign-policy talks, Mr Hague conceded that there was “no meeting of minds” on Syria; Russia opposes calls for UN sanctions against the Assad regime.

除了些小生意，这次会议并无什么实质上的成果。随着两方政府在利特维尼夫事件上陷入的僵局，英国官员称两国冲破关于安全服务及放松俄国官员护照限制事物上的合作禁令，前景渺茫。回到外交政策的访谈，黑格先生承认在叙利亚问题上意见一致是不可能的；俄国反对联合国对阿萨德政权进行制裁。

Even Dmitry Medvedev, Russia’s president and usually a friendlier host than Mr Putin, grew tetchy at a joint Kremlin press conference with Mr Cameron. He told reporters to “respect” Russia’s constitution, which forbids the extradition of Russian citizens. Corruption is a problem in Britain too, he argued, but Russians were still happy to invest here. Mr Cameron was reduced to talking up Russia’s willingness to review a ban on British beef dating back to the 1990s; Mr Medvedev hailed the unveiling of a statue of the cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin in London. (By contrast, under the Obama administration America’s relations with Russia have been much more focused on tangible results.)

甚至德米特里·梅德韦杰夫，通常与普京相比友好很多的俄罗斯总统，在联合克林姆林宫的新闻发布会上对卡梅伦很不和悦。他告诉记者去尊重俄罗斯宪法，其中就包括禁止引渡俄罗斯公民。贪污在英国也是一大问题，他强调但俄罗斯仍然喜欢在那里投资。卡梅伦最后只好谈起俄罗斯愿意重审 1990 年对英国牛肉的禁令。梅德韦杰夫总统对伦敦的尤里加加林雕塑揭幕仪式表示祝贺。（比较来说，在奥巴马执政期间，美国同俄罗斯的关系更多的关注于实际结果方面。）

Yet relief, rather than gloom, suffused Mr Cameron's advisers as his flying visit ended. This was a more important trip for them than it was for their counterparts: it barely featured on the Russian television news. At least Mr Putin had deigned to see the prime minister, and British officials think Mr Putin will resume his old post of president next year. Even Mr Cameron must find it hard to be optimistic about that prospect: Mr Putin is not famed for his openness. Still, Mr Cameron's sunny worldview has always been offset by that dose of pragmatism. Judging by his visit to Moscow, quite a big dose.

然而当其访问结束，两国关系缓和而非恶化的说法充斥在卡梅伦的顾问间。和俄国的顾问相比，这次路程对他们更为重要：俄国电视新闻上对此会议几乎没有关注。至少，普金屈尊接见了卡梅伦首相。而且英国官员认为普京将在明年重新竞选他以前的职位——总统。就连卡梅伦首相也发现前景不容乐观：普金因其保守而出名。但卡梅伦阳光积极的世界观一直被实用主义作用所抵偿。通过莫斯科之行判断，的确是大大的抵偿。

翻译者:柳杨 校对者:刘洋Steven

The Metropolitan Police**伦敦警察队**

Hogan, how?

霍根，好？

Tough job, but someone's going to do it**局长一职 任重道远**

LIKE being the leader of a regicidal tribe or a fractious Caucasian fief, to be chosen as commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police has become an ominous accolade. The two previous incumbents, Sir Ian (now Lord) Blair and Sir Paul Stephenson, were in effect forced out by Boris Johnson, the mayor of London, before their five-year terms were up. This week Mr Johnson and Theresa May, the home secretary, picked Sir Paul's replacement: Bernard Hogan-Howe, a former Merseyside chief constable (right, with Mr Johnson).

都说叛军的头头，高加索人的首领没有好果子吃，伦敦警察队的长官同样不好当。前两位长官伊恩（现改名为罗德）·布莱尔先生和保罗·斯蒂芬森先生都在五年任期未满之时被伦敦市长鲍里斯·约翰逊摘去了顶戴花翎。这周，市长约翰逊和内政大臣特里萨·梅选出了 Paul 的接班人：马其赛特郡的前警察局局长伯纳德·霍根·豪（上图左 右为约翰逊市长）。

Crime fell by a third during Mr Hogan-Howe's stewardship of Merseyside police from 2004 to 2009, more than the overall 17% decline in England and Wales. He is credited with invigorating the force's approach to both guns and gangs, notably in the case of the fatal shooting of 11-year-old Rhys Jones in 2007. Mr Hogan-Howe subsequently served as one of Her Majesty's chief inspectors of constabulary, an elite group of overseers. He is widely respected, if not universally loved, combining brains with a plain-speaking style and, say his fans, an openness to reform. Those qualities are about to be severely tested.

2004 年至 2009 年，在霍根·豪的任职期间，马其赛特郡的犯罪率下降了三分之一，超过了英格兰和威尔士 17% 的总体水平。他以控制枪支和打击黑帮的手段而著称，更因 07 年发生的 11 岁的里斯·琼斯枪杀案而闻名于世。随后其又成为了女王警察总督--警察精英联盟--中的一员。虽不能说是举世推崇，但也可称为是广为爱戴，他聪明而坦率，用其粉丝的话说就是，他该圆滑一点了，接受改革。而这些品质将会被严峻考验。

As well as the operational challenges of his new role, Mr Hogan-Howe takes it on knowing that he was by no means everyone's first choice. David Cameron mooted the idea of appointing Bill Bratton, a former police chief in New

York and Los Angeles, but dropped it because of opposition from the Home Office. Official advisers reportedly preferred Sir Hugh Orde, president of the Association of Chief Police Officers, to Mr Hogan-Howe. Mrs May and Mr Johnson disagreed.

先不管这职位本身的操作难度，霍根·豪起初甚至并未被任何人看好。大卫·卡梅伦本想指派纽约和洛杉矶的前警察局局长比尔·布拉顿担此重任，却因内政部的反对而作罢。另有报道说，官方顾问更青睐于警察局局长协会会长休·奥德而非霍根·豪，但并未得到特里萨·梅和约翰逊市长的认可。

The job itself is immense. Next year's Olympic games will be an unprecedented security challenge for the Met. Ordinary crime may rise in the economic doldrums. The force is assimilating the lessons of the recent riots, disorder sparked by officers shooting dead an armed man and encouraged, say some, by the laxity of the Met's initial response. (Some suspect that Sir Hugh's part in a spat between police and the government about who deserved credit for the riots' suppression—only the latest time he has publicly contradicted ministers—helps to explain why he lost out to Mr Hogan-Howe. Insiders strongly deny this.)

这项工作任重而道远。明年的奥运会对于伦敦的安全保卫来说将是一次空前的挑战。在经济萧条时期，普通犯罪率许有上升。警方也正在从最近的这次暴乱中汲取教训。该次暴乱起因于警方射杀一名持枪游客，而据有些人说，伦敦起初对此事不负责的态度也难辞其咎。（有人怀疑休·奥德在警方与政府关于谁才是平定此次暴乱之功臣的争论中所扮演的角色——他以前从未公开反驳过部长大臣——解释了其输给霍根·豪的原因。然而知情人士却坚决否定了这一说法。）

As Peter Neyroud, a former senior police officer now at the University of Cambridge, points out, the big, underlying issue is the Met's split accountability and responsibilities. In the home secretary and the mayor, the commissioner serves two masters, who don't always agree. That is the corollary of the force's double workload: its eponymous main function is to police the capital, but it is also the default provider for national tasks such as combating terrorism and investigating political corruption—though some of these may eventually be transferred to the new National Crime Agency.

现任职于剑桥大学，前高级警官彼得·内鲁德指出，目前伦敦警方潜在的问题在于责任制的分家。警察局长同时要为内政大臣和市长大人负责，而其二者的意见又时常相悖。双重的 workload 必然会导致这一问题：如其称号所示，伦敦警方以维护首都治安为主要目标，但同时还要执行一些全国性的任务，如反恐反腐——尽管其中一些案子最后可能会交由新的国家犯罪局负责。

This week Mr Hogan-Howe vowed to make criminals "fear the police". But, in the wake of the phone-hacking debacle, his immediate challenge is to make the public respect them. That scandal led to Sir Paul's resignation in July, amid allegations of unhealthy closeness between senior officers and News International executives (Sir Paul himself has been cleared of wrongdoing by the Independent Police Complaints Commission). Some junior officers are said to have taken bribes from reporters. In a daunting brief, Mr Hogan-Howe's simple first rule might be: take care about talking to journalists.

霍根·豪先生于本周发誓要让罪犯“惧怕警察”。但鉴于随之而来的如洪水猛兽般的窃听丑闻，目前其主要目标恐怕应为在公众中重建威信。该事件揭露出高级警官与世界新闻报高管之间不正常的密切关系，并导致了保罗·斯蒂芬森的辞职（保罗已被投诉警方独立监察委员会证实与此事件无关）。据称一些高级警官收受了记者的贿赂。残酷的事实告诉霍根·豪，最重要的一条原则就是：和记者说话一定要小心为是。

翻译者:王征 校对:胡心云

Scottish politics

苏格兰政治家

Bluffer's guidance

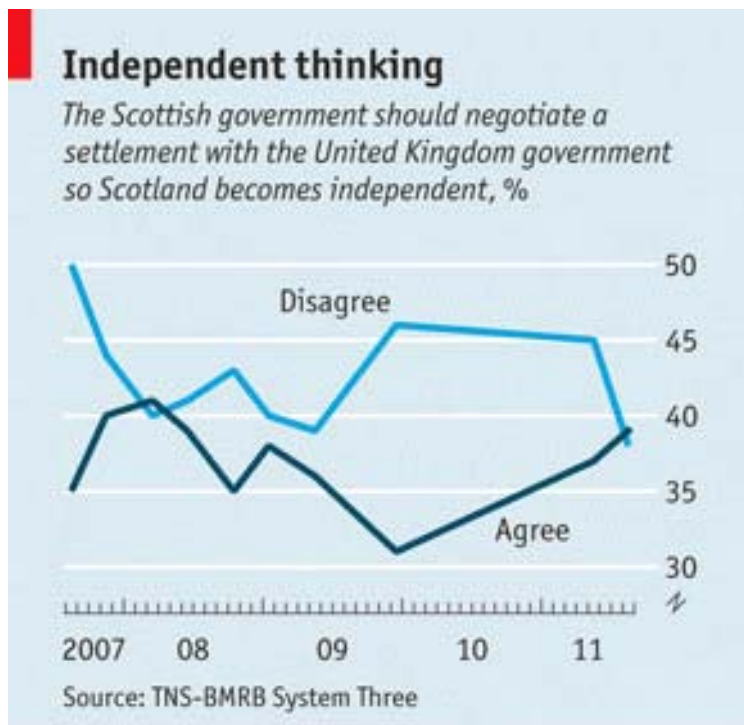
唬人的指导

Opinion is shifting. But no one wants an independence referendum just yet

观点正在改变，但是目前没有人想要独立的公投。

SMALL wonder that Alex Salmond, Scotland's nationalist first minister, looks even more pleased with himself than usual. His Scottish National Party's (SNP's) devolved government currently enjoys record opinion-poll ratings. Just as gratifyingly, support for Scottish independence, which usually lags behind that for the SNP, seems to be going his way too.

难怪，苏格兰民族主义的第一任部长 Alex Salmond 看起来比平常更为得意。他的苏格兰民族党 (SNP) 政府目前正享受着有史以来民意测验最高的认可。同样让人欣慰的是，对苏格兰独立的支持也似乎有所进展（通常对苏格兰独立的支持要弱于对 SNP 的支持）。



For the first time in several years, a recent poll put backing for independence among Scots narrowly ahead of opposition to it (see chart). That might be because Mr Salmond's administration looks competent and purposeful, while the Westminster government is implementing big spending cuts and presiding over a struggling economy. Some in Westminster—such as Lord Forsyth, a former Conservative Scottish secretary—have suggested that David Cameron should call Mr Salmond's bluff and hold an independence referendum now, on the assumption that the nationalists would lose it. That no longer looks such a clever ploy.

最近的民意调查显示在苏格兰人中支持独立的稍多于反对的，这种情况还近几年来第一次出现（如图所示）。这可能是因为 Salmond 先生的政府看起来很有能力且目标明确，反观威斯敏斯特政府却忙于削减花销和经济恢复。一些在威斯敏斯特地区的人，如一个名叫 Lord Forsyth 的苏格兰前保守党秘书，假定民族主义者会输掉公投活动，曾经建议 David Cameron 应该回应 Salmond 先生的恫吓同时主持独立公决活动。而如今，这已经不是一个明智的政策了。

Another reason for unionists to shy away from an independence showdown is that the SNP's main opponents, Labour and the Tories, are in no fit state to campaign on anything. Elections to find new Scottish leaders to replace those humiliated by Mr Salmond's victory at the Scottish elections in May have exposed deep divisions in both parties.

反分裂阵营另一个回避独立摊牌的原因是SNP的主要对手英国工党和保守党目前没有能力做任何竞选。为找到新的苏格兰领袖以代替那些在五月苏格兰选举中被Salmond先生的胜利所羞辱的人而进行的选举已经在两党中暴露出极深的分歧。

Jim Murphy, a Scottish Labour MP and the shadow defence secretary, wants the central party to devolve more power to the Scottish party, just as executive power was transferred when Tony Blair's government set up the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Ed Miliband, Labour's overall leader, is said to be relaxed about that, but backbench Labour MPs from Scotland, who regard their Edinburgh colleagues as clueless, are not. One of them, Tom Harris, a Glasgow MP and a former junior minister, is standing against two MSPs in Labour's Scottish leadership election, due in December. The contest is likely to be brutal.

作为苏格兰工党议员和内阁国防部长，Jim Murphy想要党中央移交更多权力给苏格兰政党，正如Tony Blair在1999年建立苏格兰议会时的政权转移。工党领袖Ed Miliband据说对此并不在意，但是来自苏格兰的且直斥爱丁堡同事愚蠢的后座工党议员并不如此。其中一个格拉斯哥议员和前副部长Tom Harris在11月反对工党苏格兰领导层选举的两个MSP。竞争好像很残酷啊！

The Tory leadership race is even more fractious. Murdo Fraser, one of the three candidates and currently the party's deputy leader in Scotland, thinks the Conservative brand is so toxic north of the border that the Scottish party should abolish itself and come back in another guise, only loosely allied to Mr Cameron's outfit. His two rivals are appalled (refreshingly for the Tories, one of them, Ruth Davidson, is a lesbian kick-boxer); various big donors are threatening to cut their contributions if Mr Fraser gets his way.

保守党领导层竞争更为激烈。Murdo Fraser，三个候选人之一同时也是该党在苏格兰的代理领导人，认为在边界以北的保守派害处太大，苏格兰党派应该解体重组，从而削弱对Cameron一伙的同盟关系。他的两个对手（其中一个保守党的Ruth Davidson，一个女同性恋和自由搏击运动员）大为震惊。如果Fraser先生得逞的话，各种大捐助者会威胁减少捐助资金。

From Mr Salmond's point of view, this chaos is ideal. But he, too, is cautious about putting the independence question to the public soon. He knows the apparently favourable polls may be misleading: those that include the menacing word "separation" are less encouraging, suggesting some public confusion about what independence would mean. Still, with his opponents in disarray and their leadership candidates uninspiring, Mr Salmond can build his case at leisure.

从Salmond先生的角度看，这种混乱很有利。但是他也对将独立之事公之于众表示很谨慎。他知道明显的有利的公民投票可能被误导：那些包括威胁性词语“分离”之类的投票项并不乐观，这表明一些公众对独立意味着什么还是感到迷茫。即便如此，因为他的对手正处于混乱之中而且对方的领导候选人无法鼓舞人心，Salmond先生可以悠闲地构建他的计划。

翻译者:郭伟华 校对者:刘洋Steven

Redrawing parliamentary seats

议席的重新分配

Trouble at the borders

选区边界问题重重

MPs are anxious about changes to their constituencies

国会议员对所属选区变动感到焦虑

In a country where politicians are loathed and public spending must fall, it is hard to imagine a more appropriate policy than cutting the number of MPs. Yet the coalition government's bid to reduce the number of seats in the House of Commons—one of the largest legislatures in the democratic world—from 650 to 600 members is proving tricky.

在一个政客被人厌恶的国家里，削减公共开支一定不难，因为通过减少国会议员来节约开支是再合适不过的政策。然而对于民主世界最大的立法机构之一英国下议院来说，英国联合政府把 650 个席位减少到 600 个的尝试，却显得不那么容易。事实证明这是个技术活。

Integral to any shrinking of the Commons is a redrawing of constituency borders. After all, everyone everywhere must still have an MP. On September 13th the independent Boundary Commission for England published a new parliamentary map; the equivalent body for Northern Ireland produced one for that province, with two fewer seats (Scotland and Wales will be redrawn later, with 17 fewer between them). If the draft plan is approved when it comes before Parliament in 2013, it will take effect in time for the next general election, due in 2015.

下议院的收缩必然要对选区边界进行重新定义和划分。但是毕竟人们随时随地时都需要一个国会议员来代表他们的利益。9 月 13 号这天，英格兰‘独立边界委员会’公布了英格兰地方选区分界修订图。北爱尔兰也因减少的两个选区而做了一份新的选区分界图。（苏格兰和威尔士不久也会因减少了 17 个席位而对地方选区分界做相应的改造），如果这些修订方案在 2013 年经议会通过，该法案就会在 2015 年大选到来之前生效。

As well as reducing England's 533 seats to 502, the redesign narrows the wild differentials in population between them, a discrepancy that Conservatives have long cursed. Their seats tend to be more populous; as a result, the Tories can win as many votes as Labour across the country and still end up with fewer MPs. At the 2005 general election, for example, 35% of the popular vote gave Labour 355 seats; five years later, 36% gave the Tories just 306 seats. The commission now wants almost all constituencies to contain between 72,810 and 80,473 registered voters.

英格兰地区的席位同样由 533 个减少到 502 个，这次下议院改革缩小了选区间不合理的差距。保守党对此问题早就愤恨痛骂已久，由于该党下议院席位的选民过多，因此，保守党相较于工党虽然在全国范围内可获得同样多的民众选票，但保守党席位总的来说还是较少。例如，2005 年换届时，35% 的民众选票给了工党 355 个席位。而 5 年之后，36% 的民众选票却仅仅给了保守党 306 个席位。现在英国选举委员会欲把各选区登记的选民数保持在 72,810 和 80,473 之间。

Some regions will lose more seats than others (see map), but the vast majority of MPs will be affected one way or another. Some now face a tougher fight to retain their constituencies, as wards that tend to back their party are set to be lopped off and more hostile neighbourhoods taken in. Others will have their seats abolished altogether. The most senior of the MPs facing that outcome (such as George Osborne, the chancellor of the exchequer) will probably be eased by their parties into nearby constituencies instead. Where two front-rank MPs neighbour each other, such as Labour's Ed Balls and Hilary Benn, a fierce face-off could ensue for a precious seat.

有些行政区相较其它地方将会失去更多的席位（见图）。绝大多数的国会议员无论如何都会受到影响。一些议员要应对更加严峻的考验以继续留住他们的选民，一部分选区边界会被剪切，并一些相邻对立的选区合并，另有一些选区席位则会被取消。面对这样的情形，下议院一些老牌议员（例如，财政大臣 George Osborne）很可能会被所属党派谨慎派往邻近选区。此外，还有两个知名议员被并入同一选区的情况，比如工党的 Ed Balls 和 Hilary Benn 如今互相已成了‘邻居’，双方只能进行激烈地竞争和对抗才能保住自己议员的头衔。

The mess does not end there. Less prominent MPs might have to be offered sops by their parties—such as a place in the House of

Lords—to make way for bigger names. Some who doubt their chances of surviving beyond 2015 under the new arrangements may quit early, provoking a spate of by-elections. Others, sensing that they have little to lose and even keener than usual to ingratiate themselves with their electorates, could defy their party whip more often in parliamentary votes. David Cameron, the prime minister, is alert to that risk; Downing Street, which is usually bad at cultivating relations with backbenchers, is considering how to contain the problem. Even some MPs who do not stand to suffer complain that the new map does not respect the natural borders of local communities.

混乱的情形还远不止于此。政党也偶尔会照顾一下年轻的本党议员，上议院为他们安排一个位置借此希望在社会上获得赞誉和认同。在 2015 年全新布局之后，缺乏信心感到幸存无望的议员很可能会提早淡出政坛，这样的情形也会引发国会议员补缺选举的激增。胸有成竹的议员此时表现更为亢奋，不遗余力去获得选民，并会一反常态屡次违抗所属党派的监管。英国首相，David Cameron，已经注意到了这一问题的严重性。而一直不善和议员搞好关系的唐宁街正在考虑寻求进一步保全自身的方法。连议员中的一些老好人也开始抱怨起来：选区修订图并没有遵守自然合理的原则来为当地社区划分边界。

Then there is the impact on the various political parties. The Liberal Democrats look likely to lose the most seats, followed by Labour and then the Tories, who are accused of “gerrymandering” by Ed Miliband, Labour’s leader. Some Tories wonder whether the disruption is worth it, for a boost to their party’s relative position that is actually smaller than they had hoped for. In any case, some analysts argue, the electoral system’s apparent bias against the Tories is as much due to differences in turnout as in constituency size. Turnout is higher in safe Tory seats than in safe Labour ones, so the Conservatives rack up huge majorities in, say, Mr Cameron’s redoubt of Witney, while far fewer votes clinch Doncaster North for Mr Miliband. It is hard for any map to do much about this.

此后，各政党党派均受到了强烈的冲击。自民党看来将会失去大部分席位。在保守党和工党的竞争中，工党领袖 Ed Miliband 指责说选区的重新划分并不公正，而一些保守党员对是否值得为时下动荡买单表示出极大的怀疑，虽然保守党的政治地位因此得到了相对提升，但事实上并没有很大起色，起码与他们之前的期望相差甚远。一些分析家指出，选举体系对保守党明显不利，这种情况无外乎由两个类似的原因所导致——各选区实际参选人数之间的差别和选区大小不均。在保守党和工党各自所谓的“安全席位”选区中，保守党在此类选区的实际参选民众就明显更多，例如，保守党 Cameron 先生以过多数量的选民选票【注解 1】稳固了 Witney 选区的议员席位（Witney 选区的周围选区皆为工党势力，该选区被喻为 Cameron 孤立的防御阵线），同时工党 Miliband 先生却以相对较少合理数量的选民选票【注解 2】，轻松确立了 Doncaster North 选区的议员席位。

【注解 1】：选区内 33,973 选票，58.8% 比率，选票过多

【注解 2】：选区内 19,637 选票，47.3% 比率

Critics of the reform hope that the anxiety it is provoking in all three parties will be enough to delay or scupper it. The Lib Dems may revolt, even though the coalition’s original agreement includes the policy. (The party argued for cutting the Commons to 500 MPs in its own election manifesto.) Mr Cameron has backed the commission’s plan but Nick Clegg, the Lib Dem deputy prime minister, who may struggle to retain his redrawn Sheffield constituency, has been circumspect.

议员席位削减计划引起了三党共同的恐慌和忧虑，批评家们希望这种恐慌和忧虑能继续持续下去，这样方案就会无限期推迟或最后无果而终。尽管英国联合政府最初在削减席位上达成了一致，但自由民主党很可能会反悔。（当初各党在竞选声明中均包含有削减下议院席位的内容，并且针对是否削减到最终 500 个席位而进行了一番辩论）Cameron 先生已经表示了对选举委员会计划的支持，但自由民主党领袖，副首相 Nick Clegg 对此却一直持谨慎态度，尽管如此，Nick Clegg 很可能会不遗余力地去继续维护他的被重新划分后的 Sheffield 选区。

Still, the change is likelier to go through than not. One MP plausibly gives the new map a 60% chance of being in place by the next election. Failure to deliver it would look unseemly at a time when politicians are asking voters to scrimp. The sum of money that the cull would save (just £ 12m a year, according to the government) is less important than the gesture. Having seen the prospect of voting reform crushed in May’s referendum—to the delight of the Tories, and the heartbreak of the Lib Dems—the government also needs something to show for all its promises to shake up politics. However twisted the path, a leaner Commons is probably on the way.

当前形势下，席位削减计划可能依然会继续开展不会中止。一名国会议员对新选区的划分会在下次大选前有 60% 的论断

生效，大家觉得这种推测似乎比较可信。若席位削减方案无疾而终，那么政客们所宣扬的缩减选举开支将成为纸上谈兵，也不会获得选民们的信任。政府每年通过削减席位而节省的选举费仅仅为一千两百万英镑，而省钱远远没有维持一种姿态和理念所带来的效果好。看到了选举改革在五月份全民投票上的彻底失败，保守党幸灾乐祸，民主党失败落魄。看来，政府为之前许下的承诺还需要再做些努力，在政治改革上来点大动作。尽管前方道路蜿蜒不平，一个缩减后下议院很可能登上历史舞台。

翻译者：周开文 校对者：尹茜

Bagehot

巴杰特

English for Schadenfreude

英国人的幸灾乐祸

Conservative glee at the crisis in the euro zone is dangerously naive

保守党对欧元区经济危机的幸灾乐祸是一种非常天真的行为。



AMONG millions of Europeans, the euro-zone crisis inspires stomach-turning fear. Among some British Conservatives, it provokes glee. On September 12th more than 100 Tory MPs squeezed into the Thatcher Room of the Palace of Westminster and agreed that the crisis is a “golden opportunity”: a chance to renegotiate Britain’s relationship with the European Union.

对成千上万的欧洲人来说，欧元区经济危机带来的是巨大的恐慌。而对英国保守党人而言，它却让一些人感到欣喜。九月十二日，100多名保守党国会议员挤进威斯敏斯特宫撒切尔室，一致同意这次危机是“黄金机会”——这是英国与欧盟重新谈判二者关系的好时机。

Some were the usual Eurosceptic suspects, meaning the 30 or so hardliners who (in the words of one MP) yearn to “fuck Europe while it’s in trouble”. But the turnout was broader than that, in part thanks to the foreign secretary, William Hague, who announced that attendance would not be “career suicide”. Though David Cameron’s government is wary of revisiting old rows over Europe, ministers know that the “golden opportunity” thesis is mainstream Tory thinking.

（这其中）一部分人是欧元怀疑论者，用一位国会议员的话来说，就是30名左右一直盼望“对欧盟落井下石”的强硬路线者。但是出席会议的人员远远超过了这个范畴，一部分原因是外交部长威廉·黑格公开声称出席本次会议绝不会是“自毁前途”。尽管大卫·卡梅隆这届政府一直小心的避开由来已久的在欧盟问题上的争议，部长们都知道“绝好机会”的说法已经成为保守党的主流观点。

Now, the search is on for wheezes that might transform dislike of Europe into concrete victories. The Thatcher Room gathering heard calls to replace “ever closer union” in EU treaties with “localism”, ie a commitment to decentralise powers. George Eustice, the young MP who chaired the meeting, says national parliaments across Europe are questioning the hoarding of powers in Brussels, and claims: “Now is the moment for British leadership.”

现在，人们在想办法将对欧盟的反感升级为实质性的胜利。撒切尔室的集会上有人说要用“地区化”代替欧盟条

约中的“更紧密联盟”，即承诺解除中央集权。主持会议的年轻议员George Eustice说，全欧洲的国家议会都在质疑布鲁塞尔权力的集中性，他声称：“现在到了英国领头的时候了。”

Wheeze: (Briticism) a clever or amusing scheme or trick

a clever wheeze probably succeeded in neutralizing the German espionage threat

Brussels: 布鲁塞尔是北大西洋公约组织和欧洲联盟的总部所在地。

The large 2010 intake of Tory MPs is especially hostile to Europe. Five ambitious newbies this week published a book, “After the Coalition”, urging the government to repatriate powers covering criminal law, social policy, financial regulation, farming and fisheries. “The Future of Conservatism”, a rival book by 26 right-wingers led by David Davis, a former leadership contender, demands a referendum on Britain’s relations with Europe. On the right, the assumption is that the British public would prefer a loose trading association with the EU, such as Switzerland or Norway enjoy.

2010年新加入国会的一大批保守党员都对欧洲持有莫大的敌意。五名雄心勃勃的新人本周出版了一本书，名为《联盟之后》。该书催促政府返还各国涵盖犯罪法、社会政策、经济规范、种植业和渔业等方面的各项权力。与之相对应的，由前首相竞争对手大卫·戴维斯带领的26名右翼党人也推出了一本名为《保守主义的未来》的书，要求针对英国与欧盟的关系发起一次全民公投。右翼党派认为英国民众更希望与欧洲建立宽松的贸易关系，就像瑞典和挪威（享受的政策）一样。

For boldness, the palm goes to John Redwood, a former cabinet minister. He proposes a grand bargain: swap Britain’s veto over European integration for the right to opt out of any EU policy area. Other governments would agree, predicts Mr Redwood, because Britain is the only large country likely to use its veto when euro-zone rescue efforts require sanctifying by EU treaty changes (which must be ratified by all 27 members).

为了效果显著，这场行动的发言权落在了前内阁部长约翰·雷德伍德身上。他提出一笔大交易：用英国对欧洲一体化的否决权去交换脱离欧盟政策的区域的权利。雷德伍德预言，其他政府也会同意，因为英国是唯一一个可能在欧元区拯救行动中为了要求欧盟条约发生改变而动用其否决权的大国（必须经所有的27个成员国批准）。

The cacophony of ideas can seem overwhelming. In fact, all fit into two broad schools of thought. The first amounts to a hunch that—by holding the euro zone to ransom—Britain can be a free rider on Europe’s single market. This is variously dressed up with talk of the “Swiss model” or of repatriating powers. But the basic idea is to access EU markets without paying EU regulatory costs.

观点之间的不和谐似乎是难以抑制的。事实上，所有观点都可以划分为两大思想流派。第一个流派的思想相当于是是一种猜想——认为支持欧元区赎回，英国便可以在欧洲的单一市场上搭一把便车。这是经过不同的修饰后的“瑞士模型”或遣返的力量的说法。不过它的基本思想是不支付欧盟监管成本而进入欧盟市场。

The second school of thought thinks even low-cost membership of the single market is a bad deal. Britain should leave the club, such ultrasceptics growl: world trade rules would guarantee tariff-free access to EU economies. And if trade rules fail, well, Britain buys more from the rest of the EU than vice versa, so it is in Europe’s interests not to raise barriers to trade. Anyway, Europe is in sclerotic decline, they scoff: the future lies in emerging markets.

第二个学派认为，即便是低成本的加入这种单一市场仍旧是一笔糟糕的交易。英国应该离开这个组织，极端怀疑论叫嚣：国际贸易法规会保证零关税进入欧盟经济。如果贸易规则不能解决，那么，英国将会向其他的欧盟国家提供更大的购买力，反之亦然，所以它其实是在维护欧洲的利益而不是提高贸易壁垒。不管怎么说，欧洲经济是在僵硬的衰退，他们自嘲道：未来在于新兴市场。

The two camps have common features. They share a single, unifying suspicion: that their coalition partners, the pro-EU Liberal Democrats, may yet block moves to bind the wounded Euro-Leviathan. And both sets of plans are based on wishful thinking.

这两个流派的阵营有共同特征。他们分享一个单一且统一的怀疑：他们的联盟伙伴，亲欧盟的自由民主党，仍有可能阻止转向受伤的欧洲海怪的步伐。说到底，两个流派的计划，都是基于一厢情愿的想法。

There is no golden opportunity

没有绝好的机会

Europe is not crying out for British leadership. Britain, perched on the sidelines as the euro-zone house blazes, has made itself mostly irrelevant. If Britain overbids on its demands, it would move from irrelevance to isolation (and face calls to start paying towards euro-zone bail-outs). Bid as high as Mr Redwood suggests, and the 17 euro-zone countries would simply draw up a non-EU treaty excluding Britain.

欧洲其实并不是迫切需要英国的领导。英国, 栖息在远离欧元区家族大火的边缘地带, 与欧洲大陆撇清关系, 使其在很大程度上脱离干系。如果英国对其自身被欧洲的需求做出过高估计, 将会使其从没多大关系的立场变成被孤立(面对开始支付欧元区的救市)。如果能付出雷德伍德先生建议英国给出的投标价值, 那么17国欧元区国家也能轻易起草一份排除英国的非欧盟条约。

Tories misunderstand the Swiss-EU deal: Switzerland gets to be a free rider because it is small. And because it is small, Switzerland's absence does not affect the nature of the single market. Britain would never be allowed the same deal—and British withdrawal from Europe's core would by itself skew the project away from liberalism towards protectionism.

保守党误解了瑞士-欧盟协议: 瑞士搭便车因为它小。因为它小, 瑞士的缺席并不影响单一市场的性质。英国永远不会允许相同的协议-英国退出欧盟中心本身会倾向于疏离自由主义对保护政策的计划。

Europe's single-market project was, from the outset, a trade-off between liberal and statist forces. The statist (led by countries such as France) would reject the single market if it allowed members to embark on what they would consider a race to the bottom on green or labour-market standards. Euro-zone integration is already straining the status quo. On September 14th it emerged that Britain is to launch an unprecedented legal battle with the European Central Bank over new rules that may force a giant derivatives clearing house to move from London to the euro zone.

欧洲单一市场计划从一开始就是自由主义和集权主义的权衡。如果这个市场允许成员致力于他们所谓的建立在绿色或者劳动力市场标准的拉力赛, 那么集权主义的国家(由象法国这样的国家领导)将会拒绝接受单一市场。欧洲地区的整合已经处于紧张的状态。在9月14号曝出消息称英国将要发起一场空前的法律战, 来抵制欧洲央行制定的可能迫使庞大的衍生品清算中心从伦敦转移到欧洲地区的新规则。

Even Britain's trade deficit with Europe is a red herring. Relative scale matters: Rhode Island runs a trade deficit with the other 49 American states but does not dictate terms to them. As for emerging markets replacing the EU soon: Britain exports more to Ireland than to Brazil, Russia, India and China together.

即使英国与欧洲的贸易赤字是一条红鲱鱼。相对于规模而言: 罗德岛拥有其他49个美洲国家的贸易赤字但并没有规定他们的条款。至于新兴市场很快代替欧洲: 英国对爱尔兰出口多于对巴西、俄罗斯、印度和中国的总和。

Finally, grumbling about the Lib Dems is overblown. It is other EU countries that will stop Britain free riding, not the Lib Dems. And if the euro zone turns into a superstate, most Lib Dems would not want Britain to follow.

最后, 关于民主党的抱怨是被夸大了的。是其他欧洲国家而非民主党阻止英国搭便车。如果欧洲地区想要变成一个超级州, 大多数民主党人不会想英国成为其中一部分。

Still, Eurosceptics are right about one big thing. Europe's tectonic plates are moving, and Britain's vital interests are in play. The government should plan defensively in case a moment for horse-trading arises. But it should seek a narrow, valuable and—if timed right—achievable concession. Try a protocol giving a veto over EU financial regulation to Britain (where the lion's share of European financial business is transacted, after all). Forget blanket opt-outs that will not be granted. Europe is on fire. The moment is not golden; this is no time for glee.

尽管如此, 欧洲怀疑论者现在正关注一件大事。欧洲地质板块正在移动而英国的切身利益也受到波及。政府应该计划防范讨价还价等类似情况出现, 但也要进行有限的、有价值的, 并在时间合适的时候做出有成效的让步。或是尝试推行一项否决法案应对欧洲对英国金融监管政策(毕竟, 英国在欧洲的金融业务份额正在谈判当中)。请忘记选择退出不会被允许的! 欧洲正在怒火当中。革命尚未成功, 同志仍需努力!

翻译者: 郭心睿&郭伟华 校对者: 靳浩然

Bribery abroad

海外行贿

A tale of two laws

反贿赂---重拳与礼帽

America's anti-corruption law deters foreign investment. Britain's is smarter

美国反贿赂法严厉禁止海外贿赂。英国规定则更加灵活温和。



BRIBING foreign officials is wrong, but not everything governments do to prevent it is wise or proportional. Firms are increasingly fed up with the way America's Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) is written (confusingly) and applied (vigorously). The law was passed in 1977, but recent years have seen a spike in enforcement, from five actions in 2004 to 74 in 2010. Five of the ten biggest settlements ever were last year, including a \$400m fine against BAE Systems, a British defence contractor, and a \$365m fine against ENI, an Italian oil firm.

向海外官员行贿显然是错的,但政府禁止此种行为并不完全明智合适。公司越来越反感《反海外贿赂法》(FCPA),这项法律的规定是如此繁复令人混淆,实施力度却非常大。FCPA 于1977年获得通过,前几十年一直被搁置,但近些年来加大了其执法力度,从2004年的5起指控增加到2010年的74起指控。10例惩罚金额最高案件中的5起诉讼发生在去年,其中:英国国防承包商宇航系统公司(BAE)被罚4亿美元;意大利石油公司埃尼集团被罚3.65亿美元。

On August 31st the Wall Street Journal reported that the Department of Justice has been investigating Oracle, a database-software company, for a year. Unusually, Oracle has said nothing about the investigation. Ethisphere, a promoter of corporate responsibility, rated Oracle one of the world's most ethical companies in 2009. Mike Koehler, a law professor at Butler University in Indiana, writes that General Electric, HP, AstraZeneca and others have all been among Ethisphere's "World's Most Ethical" while settling FCPA prosecutions or under investigation.

8月31日《华尔街日报》报道,司法部对甲骨文公司的海外行贿调查已着手进行了一年。蹊跷的是,甲骨文公司对此调查倒是并无怨言。ethisphere 协会,一个致力于推动商业道德构建的国际智库机构,2009年将甲骨文公司评为“全球最具商业道德企业”之一。印第安纳安娜巴特勒大学法学教授迈克·科勒尔写到:通用电气、惠普、阿斯利康以及其他被评为“全球最具商业道德企业”的公司都面临着 FCPA 的指控或调查。

An FCPA action is an ordeal. Few firms dare risk going to court—only two cases against corporations have ever resulted in completed trials. The vast majority of cases are settled, which can take years. Listed companies must satisfy not only the Department of Justice, but also the Securities and Exchange Commission, which enforces the FCPA provisions requiring accurate records of all business dealings (to deter or detect illicit payments). Before the department and the commission will sign off on a settlement, the company must satisfy them that the rest of its operations are squeaky clean. Narrow investigations can mutate into broad ones that cost tens of millions of dollars. FCPA 的指控是极为严厉的。没有公司敢冒险出庭--只有两例案件是以终审告捷。绝大多数案件需花费数年时间达成和解。其中,上市公司的和解协议不仅需得到司法部满意,还必须得到证券交易委员会的肯定,该委员会负责执行《反海外贿赂法》的规定将所有商业往来记录在案(以防止或监测非法支付)。在得到委员会和司

法部的同意之前，寻求和解的公司还必须保证该公司其他的资金运作都是完全合法的。小范围调查有可能演变为耗资数千万的大规模调查。

And bosses can be sent to prison for up to 20 years if their companies fall foul of the FCPA. In theory, they could be jailed because a staff member at a foreign subsidiary bribed an official without their knowledge. In some cases, the law insists that directors ought to know about dodgy goings-on, even if they do not.

并且，一旦触犯《反海外贿赂法》，公司老板将可能被判最高达20年的刑罚。理论上，老板们可能在不知情的情况下，由于海外分公司某位员工对他国政府官员的行贿行为而遭受监禁。某些时候，法律坚持公司高层应当知道手下的职员在干什么，即使他们确实不知道。

This is a hefty deterrent to doing business in poor countries, some studies have found. Andy Spalding, a law professor at the Chicago-Kent College of Law, likens the way the FCPA is enforced to “de facto sanctions” on countries where corruption is rife. A study by KPMG, a consultancy, found that a third of British and a quarter of American companies would simply steer clear of corruption-prone countries to avoid the risk of being prosecuted. Firms from less fussy places, such as China, will happily fill the gap.

一些研究表明，《海外反贿赂法》对于这些在贫困国家开展业务的公司是一个巨大的障碍。芝加哥肯特大学法学院教授安迪·伯丁认为，在那些腐败猖獗的国家 FCPA 就好比是一项“事实上的制裁”。毕马威会计事务所的研究表示，有三分之一的英国公司和四分之一的美国公司会放弃腐败盛行的国家以避免遭受指控的风险。而那些来自监管不严国家的公司，如中国企业，则愉快地填补了这份空白。

The US Chamber of Commerce, a business lobby, says the FCPA also deters foreign mergers and acquisitions. A firm inherits the sins of a company it buys, even if it has done reasonable due diligence, the chamber says. To avoid this risk, it must conduct the equivalent of a “vast internal investigation”, says the chamber. Many firms find it simpler to stay at home.

美国商会，美国的商业交易中心，认为 FCPA 还阻碍了外国并购。并购之后，即使是采取了所有合理措施之后，并购公司仍需继承被收购公司的所有法律责任（包括行贿）。商会说，为避免这种风险，公司就不得不进行“大规模的跨国调查”。许多公司因此而放弃并购。

A new British anti-bribery law, passed in 2010, appears to have been better crafted. The Bribery Act is broad and tough. It covers bribery within Britain as well as abroad. In contrast to the FCPA, it makes no exception for small “facilitation payments” to speed up routine business such as customs checks or visas.

2010年英国新通过一项反贿赂法案，更为妥善的解决了此类问题。“反贿赂法”管辖范围广，力度大。其管辖范围涵盖英国及英国以外的国家。不同于 FCPA 的是，它禁止通过给“好处费”打点例行公事，如海关检查和签证办理。

But it is fair, too. Unlike the FCPA, it has a “compliance defence” that allows a company to avoid the harshest penalties if the wrongdoer is a junior employee and the firm otherwise has a strict anti-bribery policy which is clear to all employees and effectively administered. One rogue employee can't easily cause a crippling probe into an otherwise blameless company.

但“反贿赂法”也很公平。不像 FCPA，“反贿赂法”设置了一个“温和预防”机制，它使得公司避免因为低级员工的违法行为而遭受最严厉的惩罚，当然前提是该公司已制定一套严厉的反贿赂政策、确保将政策落实到每一个员工并且有效地执行了该政策。因此，一个游手好闲的员工很难使得一个无可指责的公司遭受严厉调查。

America's Department of Justice sees no need for such safeguards. And since few cases go to trial, judges have given little guidance as to what the FCPA's bewildering text actually means. So, for now, it means whatever an aggressive prosecutor says it does.

美国司法部则认为没有实施这种保障的需要。因为很少有案件会进入审判程序，而法官也并没有针对 FCPA 模糊的规定作出实质上的阐释。因此，就现在来说，检察官怎么说法律就是怎样规定的。

翻译：陈雅秋 校对：费凡

微软和英特尔 Microsoft and Intel

Wintel swings

Wintel 这对儿“劈腿”

The marriage that dominated personal computing becomes more open

巨头联姻统霸个人电脑——公开化

TOGETHER Microsoft, the maker of the Windows operating system, and Intel, the world's biggest maker of semiconductors, used to rule the world of personal computing. Now that new computers are as likely to sit in people's hands as on their desks or laps, life for the Wintel couple is less comfy. On September 13th, at their annual conferences for software developers, both claimed to have found new zest—not least from dallying with other partners.

生产 Windows 运行系统的微软，和世界最大的半导体生产商英特尔，曾一时联手统霸了个人电脑业界。现今，人们不光可以把电脑放在桌上，靠在膝上，还能拿在手上。Wintel 这一对儿的日子不好过了起来。在9月13日的软件开发年度大会上，两家公司都宣布另觅了新欢——而不只限于和别人眉来眼去了。

Gartner, a research and consulting firm, expects that this year only 3.8% more laptop and desktop PCs will be shipped than in 2010. That is partly because people have tightened their belts, but also because they are snapping up tablets and smartphones. Both Microsoft and Intel have struggled to adjust. The phone version of Windows has had good reviews but was installed in only 1.6% of smartphones sold in the second quarter; Google's mobile operating system, Android, scooped 43%. Windows' share of tablets is minuscule. And in markets where battery life is prized, economical chips designed by ARM, a British company, have made the running. Intel has made virtually no impression in tablets and none at all in smartphones.

高德纳，一家研究与咨询公司，预计较2010年，今年笔记本和台式个人电脑的发货量只能增长3.8%。一方面是因为人们紧缩个人开支，但另一方面，平板电脑和智能手机成为新宠。微软和英特尔都在去适应这一变化。手机版的 Windows 系统叫好不叫座，二季度出售的手机中只有 1.6% 安装了该系统。而谷歌的安卓系统则抢占了 43% 的市场。Windows 对直板电脑的占有率微乎其微。在这个对电池寿命高度崇尚的时代，英国 ARM 公司设计的经济型芯片备受青睐。而英特尔在平板电脑领域几乎毫无影响，更不用说是智能手机。

Both firms boasted this week of liaisons with others. Intel and Google said that future versions of Android would be tuned for Atom, Intel's family of low-power processors. Phones with Intel inside should be on sale in the first half of next year. Microsoft showed off the next version of its operating system, code-named Windows 8, using ARM chips. It wants to reassure the army of developers who write programs to run in Windows that these will be just as reliable as Intel's.

本周，两家公司与其他合作伙伴进行了沟通。英特尔和谷歌畅想未来的安卓将用英特尔家族中的低耗处理器凌动作为支撑后台。带英特尔处理器的电话将于明年上半年发售。微软对新版操作系统也炫耀不已，代号定成 Windows 8，所用为 ARM 芯片。微软所想不过稳定军心，向开发 Windows 系统的人们重申产品会如因特尔公司的那样稳定可靠。

Microsoft also told developers how easy it would be to create applications for Windows 8 and to put them in a “Windows Store”. Happy developers are essential, because the more apps they create, the more users will want to use Windows 8. Better still for both users and developers, the system will run on everything from PCs to smartphones. 微软也极力说服开发人员们给 Windows 8 做程序，说开发创造和放入存储是件多么容易的事情。重要的是让开发人员开心，因为他们越开心，设计出越多应用，就会吸引越多的 Windows 8 用户。从个人电脑到只能手机，这个系统都能运行，那对用户和开发人都是乐事一桩。

Steven Sinofsky, the head of Microsoft's Windows division, says Windows has been “re-imagined”. A user sees chunky “tiles”, as on a Windows smartphone today, rather than small icons; and he can view two apps at once, which

he cannot do on an iPad. The system is designed for touch-screens, common on mobile devices but not yet on PCs—though you can use a keyboard or mouse if you like.

微软 Windows 部门的头儿 Steven Sinofsky 说道，Windows 是被“重新构想”的。用户可以在 Windows 智能手机上看到很厚实的“层叠”而非小小的图标，也能一次浏览两个应用，而在 iPad 上就不能实现。这个系统是为一般在移动设备上的触屏设备设计的，即使用键盘和鼠标也难以在个人电脑上实现。

Writing off either of these giants, even after their slow start, would be daft. Intel is probably closing the power-consumption gap with ARM. Microsoft claims to have 450m users of Windows 7, the operating system's latest incarnation on PCs. Many of these, and people with older versions, may upgrade, especially if they can use the same system on all their devices, at home or at work.

尽管这两家公司起步滞后，但是不可就愚蠢地认为他们注定失败。英特尔可能逐步缩小与 ARM 间的能耗差距。微软宣称现行的个人电脑运行系统 Windows 7 的用户达到了 4.5 亿人。这些人中的多数人和使用更老版本的人们，如果他们在所有工作或私人设施上使用同种系统，那么就可以升级系统。

Even so, the clock is ticking, especially for tablets, where the competition will get fiercer. Apple's iPad2 is selling like, well, an iPad. By the time Windows 8 tablets appear, a third version may well have won Apple even more customers. Amazon, buoyed by the success of its Kindle e-reader, is expected to launch an Android tablet within weeks. Its vast online shop, selling much more than books, may be a draw. Other Android tablets are arriving all the time.

话虽如此，但面对竞争日益激烈的平板电脑市场，时间仍显紧迫。苹果的 iPad2 就和 iPad 卖得一样好。Windows 8 平板上市之日，苹果的第三版本可能已经抢占更多用户了。因为 Kindle 电子阅读器而欢欣鼓舞的亚马逊，也预计在近几周内发布其安卓平板。其巨型的线上商铺不止售书，构成巨大吸引力。其他安卓平板也陆续上线。

Some contenders, such as Research In Motion, the maker of the BlackBerry smartphone, have already stumbled; HP has all but given up. “The longer they [Microsoft] leave it,” says Carolina Milanesi of Gartner, “the more consumers will have found an alternative, and not just for tablets but for PCs too.”

其他竞争者，如黑莓智能手机的产商“动态研究”，已经举步维艰。惠普别无他法只能放弃。顾能的 Carolina Milanesi 说道：“微软拖得越久，消费者们就有更多选择，不只是平板，还有个人电脑。”

翻译：赵一蓉 校对：费凡

The revival of independent film**独立电影的复兴**

Scripts, not effects

剧本，不是问题

Independent films are at last recovering from the slump**独立电影最终走出低谷**

I'm bored with the radio. Let's go to the cinema.

烦透收音机了,我们去电影院吧。

THE Torontofilm festival, which ends this week, marks the start of the serious-film season. Out—at least until Thanksgiving, in late November—go the superhero spectaculars. In come the foreign films and the dining-room dramas. The autumn crop is far more prone to failure than the summer one. But highbrow films now come with higher hopes.

多伦多电影节在本周落下帷幕,这也标志着严肃电影的兴起。超级英雄式的大片告一段落,至少感恩节之前是不会出现了。国外电影以及餐厅戏剧取而代之,登上银屏。与夏季电影节上的累累硕果相比,秋季电影节则暗淡许多。但目前高雅的电影仍被人寄予厚望。

For the past few years the independent film business has resembled a low-budget horror movie. Outside financing was brutally killed in 2008, as banks stopped lending. Three of the six major studios axed subsidiaries that had specialised in buying independent films. Consumers struck another blow by switching from buying DVDs to renting them.

过去几年里,独立电影似乎更像低成本的恐怖电影。08年,由于银行拒绝继续提供贷款,外部融资渠道被无情封死。六大电影公司中有三个关闭了专门买进独立电影的子公司。而消费者从以往购买电影光盘转而租借,使得独立电影境况雪上加霜。

Yet sales at film festivals this year have been brisk. New buyers such as CBS Films and Open Road Films have emerged to replace the departed studios. The larger independent outfits have steadied. The Weinstein Company, which almost collapsed two years ago, is basking in the success of "The King's Speech" (pictured). Lionsgate has shaken off an activist investor, Carl Icahn, who had argued it should get out of film production. Summit Entertainment, maker of the popular "Twilight" films, closed a large financing deal in March.

然而，在今年的电影节上，独立电影销量又一度蹿升。诸如哥伦比亚广播公司及公路影视这些新晋影视公司取代了之前的买家。两年前的维恩斯坦兄弟电影公司濒临倒闭，而一部《国王的演讲》（如图）又让其焕发新生。狮门影业摆脱了激进的投资者卡尔伊坎，他曾力主公司撤出电影生产事务。《暮光之城》的制作公司顶峰娱乐，在三月时叫停了一大笔融资交易。

It helps that films have become cheaper to make. Actors' salaries remain depressed, and indies have become expert at exploiting competition between states and countries, which lavish subsidies on them. Most important, says Morris Ruskin, the head of Shoreline Entertainment, a glut of films commissioned in the era of loose credit has at last worked its way through the pipeline. "We've gone from a market that was saturated with films to a market that is hungry for them," he says.

电影制作的成本越来越低，这又好处。演员们的片酬依旧不高，各州、各国都在竞相大力投资独立电影，而这些独立电影公司则游刃有余地利用此中的竞争。最重要的，海岸线娱乐公司老总莫里斯罗斯金说道，宽松货币的政策导致电影供过于求，但我们最终度过了这段艰难期。“我们已经从电影饱和的时代走向一个对其如饥似渴的新纪元。”

The post-financial-crisis independent film business is both more independent and more focused on film than before. The three major studios that got out of indie films—Disney, Paramount and Warner Bros—have not returned and are concentrating on a few expensive blockbusters. And the collapse of DVD sales means it is more important to drive people to cinemas. Richard Abramowitz, who is distributing the racing film "Senna" in America, says the spread of Blu-ray cinema projectors has cut costs dramatically.

金融危机过后，独立电影更趋独立且较之前更注重电影本身质量。此前舍弃独立电影事业的三大影视公司——迪斯尼，派拉蒙及华纳兄弟公司——仍未“回心转意”，他们正忙于拍摄几部大片。影碟销量锐减意味着吸引观众去电影院变得更加重要了。正在美国筹备上映竞技电影《车神塞纳》的理查德阿布拉莫维茨说，蓝光电影的风行极大地降低了电影成本。

The business is more international, too. Roman Polanski's latest film, "Carnage", was financed by Europeans, with American distribution added almost as an after-thought. Total sales of cinema tickets fell slightly in America last year. But they were up in Europe, and soared in Russia. Talky dramas are harder to export than cartoons or action flicks, which is partly why the major studios now concentrate on such things. But independent horror films sometimes travel well.

这个行业也日趋国际化。罗蒙波兰斯基最近一部电影《杀戮》是由欧洲人投资，事后又考虑由美国人经销。自然，电影票房收入悉数落入美国人的腰包。但电影却是在欧洲首映，俄国走红。比起卡通和动作片，独白式的戏剧片出口较难，一定程度上，这也正是几大电影公司对大片如此热衷的原因。但有时候恐怖类的独立电影却能在海外市场“兴风作浪”。

It is still a harsh business. No fewer than 3,812 full-length movies were submitted to the 2011 Sundance film festival. Yet only 550 films open in American cinemas each year, and most lose money. The business runs on hope. But there is, finally, enough money to keep the projectors running.

然而，电影行业依旧棘手。2011年的圣丹斯电影节上，有多达3812部电影参展。而每年仅有550部电影在美国影院上映，大部分血本无归。前途是光明的，相信，最终会有充足的资金让电影持续不断的放映。。

翻译：蒋丁然 校对：费凡

Pet care in Latin America

拉丁美洲的宠物服务

Man's best amigo

人类最好的朋友

Profits from pooches are more than petty cash

小狗带来了滚滚财源



BLISS spreads across Lalo's face as his glossy black locks are blown dry by cooing stylists. Dogs big and small are beautified for 100 pesos (\$7.70) in the back of a The sharpest dogs sport green, white and red jerseys to mark Independence Day on September 16th. Next month pet boutiques will sell Halloween pumpkin outfits and dainty witches' hats.

看着专业设计师吹干自己黝黑闪亮的项圈，拉罗的脸上满是兴奋。Fluffy Shower 经营着这家移动的宠物沙龙，它去到墨西哥城的一些高档社区，把香波和丝带卖给那些上流社会的宠物。在他那有机玻璃的后车厢里，花上 100 比索（7.70 美金）就能给大大小小的宠物狗做一次美容。最时髦的小狗们会在九月 16 日那天穿上绿白红三色的毛线衫来纪念独立日。下个月，宠物精品店将开始销售万圣节南瓜装和精致的女巫帽。

Pet care is booming in emerging markets, as the growing middle class stops buying dogs for security (or dinner) and starts doting on them. Nowhere has the fashion taken off as quickly as in Latin America. In the past five years spending on pet food and knick-knacks has risen by 44%, to \$11 billion, according to Euromonitor, a market-research firm, which estimates that Chile has more pet dogs per person than any other country. Latin pets may be the world's most fashionable. As Mexico's rainy season tails off, dogs are stepping out of designer shoes to show off painted claws.

随着中产阶级不再是为了安全（或者温饱）而去养狗并开始宠爱它们，宠物服务就在新兴的市场中十分火热。没有任何地方比拉丁美洲更快的发展起这项时尚。依照欧洲商情市场调研公司的说法，拉美过去五年里在宠物粮食和宠物饰品上花掉了高达 110 亿美元，比五年前上涨了 44%。该公司估计，智利平均每人拥有的宠物狗数量为全世界最高的。拉丁美洲的宠物们可能是它们所有世界上同类里最为时尚的。随着墨西哥的雨季不断缩短，狗狗们暂时对名牌失去兴趣而更愿意展示它们的靓爪。

Rising incomes allow Latinos to treat mutts as members of the family. More young people are living alone and putting off marriage, choosing pets for company instead. These “pet parents” indulge their animals as if they were children, says Emily Woon, Euromonitor’s pet-care food outsells cat food by nearly six to one.

收入的上涨让拉美人像对待家人一样对待宠物狗。更多的年轻人单身并把结婚的事抛在脑后，他们常选择宠物作为他们生活的伴侣。欧洲商情市场调研公司宠物服务组负责人 Emily Woon 说，这些“宠物家长”把自己的爱宠视为自己的孩子般对待。据她报道，拉丁美洲近年来成为了明星市场。拉美人尤其喜欢宠物狗，它们比宠物猫的价格要昂贵一些，但是在任何一个方面都要更加讨人喜欢。虽然在欧洲，狗粮和猫粮的销售情况几乎相同，但在拉美，狗粮的销量是猫粮的将近六倍。

There is room for growth. Many Latinos still feed their pets table scraps: three-quarters of Mexican hounds make do with leftover bits of burrito. Billboards around Mexico City’s parks urge owners to switch to Pedigree and other brands of delicious packaged pet food.

但是这个市场仍具有上升的潜力。许多拉美人仍然用残羹剩菜来喂宠物：四分之三的墨西哥猎犬只能靠主人吃剩的玉米煎饼填饱肚子。墨西哥城公园周边的广告牌上都在迫切要求宠物主人把他们宠物们的食物换为 Pedigree 或其它牌子的美味的袋装宠物食品。

Glitzy pet superstores, which account for more than a fifth of pet-product sales in America and Canada, barely exist south of the Rio Grande. The most popular outlets are still small, independent pet shops, which retain customers by offering credit. But the superstores will come. And when Latin animal-lovers can buy a full range of food, toys and veterinary services in one place, life could become even more luxurious for Mexico’s privileged pets.

占据了美国和加拿大超出五分之一宠物用品市场的 Glitzy 宠物连锁超市，只在格兰德河的南部有经营门店。最为流行的销售方式还是那种通过信誉吸引顾客的小型独立的宠物商店。但是，连锁超市终究会席卷市场。当拉丁美洲的宠物爱好者们能够在同一个地方同时获取所有品种的食物、玩具和宠物医疗服务时，墨西哥的特权宠物们将会享受到更加奢华的生活。

翻译：胡小轩 校对：汪楚航

Frankfurt Motor Show

法兰克福车展

Autoficial intelligence

自动化智能技术

Where does the car end and the phone begin?

汽车和电话的发展何去何从？



In the future, cars will not need drivers. Pity
未来汽车将不再需要引擎提供动力。真是遗憾。

SHARON can park herself. At a signal from a smartphone, a system of tiny computers activates her engine, gearbox and steering—and she reverses smoothly into a parking space. Sensors stop her from bumping into other cars or people. Pilotless cars, such as the Volkswagen Sharan (nicknamed Sharon), are no distant dream. Many people at this week's Frankfurt Motor Show were asking not only how the cars of the future will be powered, but who or what will drive them.

SHARON 可以实现无人自动停车：伴着智能手机发 出一个信号，小型电脑系统随即开启发动机，变速器及方向盘，汽车而后平稳驶入泊位。车上的感应器能使避免撞到其它车辆或行人。诸如大众夏朗（小名 Sharon）类的无人驾驶车已经不再是遥远的梦想。本周的法兰克福车展上，许多人不仅问及未来汽车将以何物作为能源，而是由谁来驾驭。

“Where does the car end and the phone begin?” asked Chris Anderson, the editor of *Wired* magazine, at a brain-storming session organised by Audi, a carmaker. A future car will be more like a computer on wheels, networked with the surrounding infrastructure and other vehicles. Even if it comes with a steering wheel, the “driver” will have the Knight-Rider-esque option of being piloted while he video-conferences, answers e-mails or looks on a screen at an annotated view of the world whizzing by.

“传统汽车将在何处终结而 智能手机会在哪里开始？”《连线》杂志主编 Chris Anderson，在汽车制造商奥迪公司举办的头脑风暴会议上如此问到。未来汽车更像是带车轮的电脑，可以与周围基础设施以及其它汽车联网。即便是有方向 盘，“司机”也可以选择像霹雳游侠里智能跑车那样的模式，在视频会议，回复邮件或是若有所思的看着周围世界在眼前掠过的同时实行无人驾驶。

The threat to the taxi drivers parked outside the show is obvious. But Frankfurt's cabbies are a sceptical bunch. Driverless taxis? Not in my lifetime, says one. “It's science fiction,” scoffs another.

正在展览会外泊车的出租车司机所面临的威胁显而易见。可法兰克福的哥们却集体持怀疑态度。一名的哥说，无人驾驶的出租车？我这辈子是不会出现的。“那玩意是科幻片里的吧”，另一名冷笑着说。

In tough times, many carmakers are innovating like fury. Some are recasting themselves as “mobility service providers”. This means hawking car-related software and other add-ons. For example, for those who prefer to hire or share cars—as young city-slickers increasingly do—there is software to make them feel at home in any vehicle, by instantly switching the radio and other settings to their tastes. Some carmakers are also tempting buyers with more mundane services, such as priority parking or cheap deals on fuel (whether petrol, hydrogen or electricity). Or, to help them let off steam, they might offer an annual spin with that gas-guzzling sports-utility vehicle of their dreams. 在经济不景气当下，诸多汽车制造商疯狂创新。有些将自己重新定位为“移动服务提供者”。也就是说，兜售车用软件以及其它附产品。例如，越来越多的年轻小市民们喜欢租车或拼车，有一款软件可以根据个人品味迅速切换电台频道或其它设置，使他们不管在哪里都如同在家般舒适。一切汽车制造商也通过提供朴实的服务来吸引顾客，如优先停车权或是低价燃料（不管是汽油，氢能还是电）。亦或是每年巡回展览人们梦寐以求的大排量高油耗跑车，以此来发泄他们心中的压抑。

Even in changing times, there is still plenty of passion for a flash motor. Hence the covetous sighs that greeted the new Ferrari 458 Spider (pictured), which was unveiled on September 13th. Alongside it was Ferrari's first four-wheel drive four-seater. “Different Ferraris for different Ferraristi!” exclaimed Luca di Montezemolo, Ferrari's boss. Even Volkswagen's new single-seater electric commuter, with its narrow body and wide wheelbase, looks rather like a 1950s racing-car.

纵使时光流逝，人们对飞驰汽车的热情依旧不减。于9月13日首发的新款法拉利458敞篷硬顶跑车让许多“贪心”的人只能报以叹息。它旁边是法拉利首款四座四驱跑车。“不一样的法拉利，献给不一样的你！”法拉利老板 Luca di Montezemol 大声地说道。拥有狭窄车身和宽轴距的大众新款单座电动通勤车，看起来很像20世纪50年代的赛车。

翻译者：王同同 校对者：尹茜

Schumpeter

熊彼特专栏

Green growth

绿色增长

Some emerging-world companies are combining growth with greenery

新兴国家企业正将利润增长与环保事业相结合



THE enrichment of previously poor countries is the most inspiring development of our time. It is also worrying. The environment is already under strain. What will happen when the global population rises from 7 billion today to 9.3 billion in 2050, as demographers expect, and a growing proportion of these people can afford goods that were once reserved for the elite? Can the planet support so much economic activity?

贫困国家的逐渐富裕是我们这个世代最鼓舞人心的发展了。但它也令人焦虑。环境已经不堪重负了。当全球人口如人口统计学家所预计的那样在 2050 年由现在的 70 亿升至 93 亿时,伴随着能够负担那些原本是为了精英阶层准备的的商品的人的比例逐渐升高,将会发生什么?我们的环境能够支撑起这么多的经济行为吗?

Many policymakers adopt a top-down and Western-centric approach to such planetary problems. They discuss ambitious regulations in global forums, or look to giant multinationals and well-heeled NGOs to set an example. But since most people live in the emerging world, it makes sense to look at what successful companies there are doing to make growth more sustainable.

很多政策制定者针对这一全球性问题采取了自上而下、以西方为中心的方​​案。他们在全球论坛上讨论着雄心勃勃的监管计划,或者寄希望于庞大的跨国公司和运作良好的非政府组织能够率先树立榜样。然而,毕竟大多数人生活在新兴世界,因此,来看看那里的成功企业是怎样实现可持续增长便显得很有必要。

A new study by the World Economic Forum (WEF) and the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) identifies 16 emerging-market firms that they say are turning eco-consciousness into a source of competitive advantage. These highly profitable companies (which the study dubs “the new sustainability champions”) are using greenery to reduce costs, motivate workers and forge relationships. Their home-grown ideas will probably be easier for their peers to copy than anything cooked up in the West.

世界经济论坛 (WEF) 和波士顿咨询公司 (BCG) 最近的一项研究列出了 16 家新兴市场中的企业, 他们表示这些企业正将其环保意识转变成竞争优势的一个来源。这些盈利能力超强的企业 (这项研究将它们称为 “可持续化的新领跑者”) 利用绿色手段来降低成本, 同时激励员工, 铸造关系。它们这种土生土长的理念可能远比西方世界所臆想出来的方法更适合它们的同行学习效仿。

The most salient quality of these companies is that they turn limitations (of resources, labour and infrastructure) into opportunities. Thus, India’s Shree Cement, which has long suffered from water shortages, developed the world’s

most water-efficient method for making cement, in part by using air-cooling rather than water-cooling. Manila Water, a utility in the Philippines, reduced the amount of water it was losing, through wastage and illegal tapping, from 63% in 1997 to 12% in 2010 by making water affordable for the poor. Broad Group, a Chinese maker of air conditioners, taps the waste heat from buildings to power its machines. Zhangzidao Fishery Group, a Chinese aquaculture company, recycles uneaten fish feed to fertilise crops.

这些企业最显著的特征在于它们将来自资源、劳动力和基础设施的限制转化为了机遇。例如，曾长期面临水源短缺困难的印度 Shree 水泥公司，发明了世界上用水效率最高的水泥制作法，其中包括采用空气冷却而非水冷法。位于菲律宾的公共事业公司 Manila Water 公司通过向穷人调低水的售价而使由于浪费和安置非法龙头而损失的水从 1997 年的 63% 降至了 2010 年的 12%。中国的空调制造商远大集团则利用来自建筑物的废热发动机器。中国的水产企业獐子岛渔业集团则回收残余的鱼饲料来给庄稼施肥。

Setting green goals is a common practice. Sekem, an Egyptian food producer, set itself the task of reclaiming desert land through organic farming. Florida Ice & Farm, a Costa Rican food and drink company, has adopted exacting standards for the amount of water it can consume in producing drinks.

制定环保目标是非常普遍的。埃及食品生产商 Sekem 为自己设置了通过有机耕种绿化沙漠地带的任务。哥斯达黎加饮食公司 Florida Ice & Farm 则为其生产饮料所能（需）消耗的水量制定了严格的标准。

These firms measure themselves by their greenery, too. Florida Ice & Farm, for example, links 60% of its boss's pay to the triple bottom line of "people, planet and profit". The sustainability champions also encourage their workers to come up with green ideas. Natura, a Brazilian cosmetics company, gives bonuses to staff who find ways to reduce the firm's impact on the environment. Masisa, a Chilean forestry company, invites employees to "imagine unimaginable businesses" aimed at poorer consumers. Woolworths, a South African retailer, claims that many of its best green ideas have come from staff, not bosses.

这些企业也在以自身的环保程度来衡量自己。例如，Florida Ice & Farm 公司将管理者工资的 60% 与“人类、环境、利润”的三基线联系起来。这些“可持续化的领跑企业”同时也鼓励它们的员工提出环保的点子。巴西的化妆品公司 Natura 便为能够提出减少公司对环境影响的方案为员工提供津贴奖励。智力的林业公司 Masisa 则鼓励员工针对更加贫困的消费者“想出意想不到的业务”。南非的零售商 Woolworths 说道，它们最好的环保理念中的很多都来自于员工而非管理者。

In emerging markets it is hard for companies to stick to one specialism, because they have to worry about so many wider problems, from lousy infrastructure to unreliable supply chains. So the sustainability champions seek to shape the business environment in which they operate. They lobby regulators: Grupo Balbo, a Brazilian organic-sugar producer, is working with the Brazilian government to establish a certification system for organic products. They form partnerships with governments and NGOs. Kenya's Equity Bank has formed an alliance with groups such as The International Fund for Agricultural Development to reduce its risks when lending to smallholders. Natura has worked with its suppliers to produce sustainable packaging, including a new "green" plastic derived from sugar cane. 在新兴市场中，企业很难长期进行某一项专门生产，因为它们还需要担忧更多的问题，从糟糕的基础设施到不稳定的供应链。因此，这些“可持续化的领跑企业”便力图创造一种由它们操作的商业环境。它们游说监管者：巴西的有机糖生产商 Grupo Balbo 正与巴西政府合作，建立有机产品的认证系统。它们与政府和非政府组织（NGO）建立合作关系。肯尼亚的 Equity Bank 则与国际农业发展基金等组织结盟以降低向小土地所有者贷款的风险。Natura 则与它的供应商合作生产可持续的包装材料，这包括从甘蔗提取的“绿色”塑料。

The firms also work hard to reach and educate poor consumers, often sacrificing short-term profits to create future markets. Masisa organises local carpenters into networks and connects them to low-income furniture buyers. Broad Group has developed a miniature device for measuring air pollution that can fit into mobile phones. Jain Irrigation, an Indian maker of irrigation systems, uses dance and song to explain the benefits of drip irrigation to farmers who can't read. Suntech, a Chinese solar-power company, has established a low-carbon museum to celebrate ways of reducing carbon-dioxide emissions.

这些企业同时也在努力接触和教育贫困的消费者，这使它们常常牺牲短期利益来开发未来市场。Masisa 公司将当地的木匠组织起来，并将他们与低收入家具购买者联系起来。远大集团发明了一种能够装在手机上的小型设备用于测量空气污染。印度灌溉系统制造商 Jain Irrigation 通过跳舞和唱歌向不识字的农民解释滴灌的好处。中国尚德太阳能公司建立了一家低碳博物馆以宣传降低二氧化碳排放的方法。

Rich because green, or green because rich?

富裕导致环保，还是环保导致富裕？

One could quibble with BCG's analysis. Phil Rosenzweig of Switzerland's IMD business school has argued that management writers are prone to "the halo effect": they treat the temporary success of a company as proof that it has discovered some eternal principle of good management. The fact that some successful companies have embraced greenery does not prove that greenery makes a firm successful. Some firms, having prospered, find they can afford to splurge on greenery. Some successful firms pursue greenery for public-relations purposes. And for every sustainable emerging champion, there are surely 100 firms that have prospered by belching fumes into the air or pumping toxins into rivers, as a visit to China or India will show only too vividly.

人们当然可以驳斥波士顿咨询公司 (BCG) 的分析。瑞士洛桑国际发展管理学院 (IMD) 的罗森维 (Phil Rosenzweig) 教授便指出，管理学方面的作家倾向于“光环效应”：他们将一家企业暂时的成就当成他们已经发现了优秀管理的永恒准则的证据。事实上，一些成功的企业发展环保事业并不能表示是环保事业让这些企业取得了成功。只有那些已经获得成功的企业才能负担起发展环保事业所需“挥霍”的巨额开销。一些成功的企业只是基于公共关系的考虑才追求环保。每一家“可持续化领跑企业”背后都毫无疑问的有 100 家是通过向空气中排放废气或向河流中排放毒素才获得发展的，这去中国或印度看看就清楚了。

Nonetheless, the central message of the WEF-BCG study—that some of the best emerging-world companies are combining profits with greenery—is thought-provoking. Many critics of environmentalism argue that it is a rich-world luxury: that the poor need adequate food before they need super-clean air. Some even see greenery as a rich-world conspiracy: the West grew rich by industrialising (and polluting), but now wants to stop the rest of the world from following suit. The WEF-BCG report demonstrates that such fears are overblown. Emerging-world companies can be just as green as their Western rivals. Many have found that, when natural resources are scarce and consumers are cash-strapped, greenery can be a lucrative business strategy.

即便如此，这项研究的核心思想——新兴世界中最优秀的一些企业正将利润增长与环保事业相结合——也是十分鼓舞人心的。许多环保主义的评论家称这是富裕世界的奢侈品：比起及其洁净的空气，穷人更需要充足的食物。一些人甚至将环保事业看作富裕世界的阴谋：西方国家通过工业化（和污染环境）富裕起来，但现在却想阻止其他国家走这条路。这项研究报告称这种忧虑是被过分鼓吹了。新兴世界的企业能够与西方的竞争者一样清洁环保。很多人已经发现，当自然资源愈发稀少、消费者手头更紧的时候，环保能够成为一项十分赚钱的商业战略。

翻译者：仲夏 校对者：穆雪

Out with the old

破除旧规

The new government should break up Japan's electricity monopolies

新政府将要打破打破电力垄断



JAPAN can change. When its people recognise a challenge and agree on a solution, they often act quickly and in unison. After the earthquake and tsunami of March 11th, doubts about the safety of Japan's nuclear industry were rife. Most reactors were shut down and have not been restarted. Since the country depends on nuclear power for 29% of its electricity, the nuclear freeze threatened to cast Japan into darkness.

日本善于求变。当日本的人民面临一个挑战时并认同了一种解决方式时，大和民族每临挑战，总能达成一致并迅速反应。在三月 11 号的地震和海啸之后，对日本核工业的安全情况质疑声一片。大多数反应器当时就被关掉，到现在也没有重新启动。由于日本有 29% 的电能需求依靠核能供应，核冻结则意味着日本将陷入无尽的黑暗。

The nation responded as one, dimming lights and cranking down the air-conditioning despite the humidity. Salarymen shed their jackets and ties; some even worked from home to save fuel. Factories moved shifts to nights and weekends, when demand for power is slacker. News broadcasts gave warning when the grid was nearing overload and urged people to turn off their gizmos. Peak electricity usage fell by nearly a fifth in the Tokyo region, compared with last year. Amazingly, Japan made it through the summer without blackouts.

这个民族做出了团结一致的回音，他们调暗了灯光，不顾空气的潮湿关掉了空调系统。工薪阶层为此摆脱了他们的外套和领带，有些甚至留在家里工作以节省能源。新闻广播在电网接近超负荷时发出警报，催促大家关掉小型电子产品。东京地区高峰期用电量与去年相比降低了将近五分之一。更令人惊奇的事，这样的情况持续了整个夏天，且政府没有出台任何用电管制措施。

Alas, when a crisis is not imminent, Japan is still slow to change. Yoshihiko Noda, the new prime minister, faces several vast but slow-burning problems, from an ageing population to massive public debts. Solving them will require a creative shake-up of the old way of doing things. One of the most glaring examples is energy policy (see [article](#)).

令人扼腕的是，在危机来临之前，日本还是不能迅速的改变不良的现状。日本新首相野田佳彦面临着几个巨大但重大的隐忧，从人口老龄化到混乱的国债混乱。解决这些问题需要对政府既有的运行方式进行一次创造性的改制。最显著的一个例子就是能源政策的改革。

Japanese people have shown they can conserve energy when they have to, but they cannot be expected to work night shifts for ever. Japan needs a smarter grid, with electricity prices that vary according to demand. Power should cost more when demand is high and less when it is low, giving people an incentive to run the washing machine in the middle of the night. It should also be simple for new producers of electricity—from clever start-ups to big industrial firms—to sell power back to the grid. Unfortunately, power generation and transmission in Japan is carved up into ten regional quasi-monopolies, which stifle such innovations.

日本人的所作所为表明他们能在需要时保存能源，但是你永远都别指望让他们上夜班。所以日本需要一个更加智能的电力网络，一个根据需求来变化电能价格的系统。能源价格应根据市场需求起伏，这会让日本人都躲到半夜去用洗衣机洗衣服。对于电能的供应方——不管是灵活多变的新兴企业，还是各大行业巨头——这样做也能更加简便地将能源反向售回给电网。不幸的是，日本的发电系统和电力传输系统被瓜分为十个垄断性区域，各种改革也就被他们扼杀于摇篮。

Monopoly's dead hand

垄断的魔爪

These monopolies also prevent Japan from seriously pursuing alternative sources of electricity. Despite the nation's technical prowess, wind power is underdeveloped and little effort has been made to exploit Japan's vast geothermal potential. The monopolies' habit of hushing up safety problems erodes public trust in nuclear power, which for all its troubles must surely be part of the future energy mix.

这些垄断部门还阻止了日本在可选择性多样化能源上的大力发展。尽管拥有极其先进的科技水平，日本的风能发电依然并不发达，对于国内有着巨大潜力的地热能量也没有任何开发动作。垄断集团掩盖安全问题的坑爹习惯正一步步侵蚀着民众对于核能源的信任，而不管遇到什么样的问题，核能都会成为未来能源组合的一部分。

Japan should end the regional monopolies, separate the generation and transmission of electricity and establish a tough regulator to oversee the terms under which incumbents allow newcomers to connect to the grid. Such reforms have reduced prices and stimulated fresh thinking elsewhere. Opponents of deregulation in Japan make two arguments. First, that giant monopolies guarantee a stable supply of power. Second, that TEPCO, the power supplier for Tokyo and the north-east, needs a steady stream of profits to compensate those whose lives were affected by the nuclear accident at Fukushima.

日本应结束区域垄断的制度，将发电和输电分隔开来，并建立一个可靠的审查系统来监督当电力部门在职者新成员连入电网时的情况。这样的改革降低了电能的价格并刺激了其他地方新想法的不断创新。放松国内用电管制的反对者罗列出了两个论点。第一，庞大的垄断部门提供了稳定的电力供应。第二，作为东京和日本东北地区电能供应者的日本东京电力公司需要稳定的利益来源来补偿那些在福岛核事件中受到影响的群众。

Neither argument is persuading. Multiple suppliers should create a more reliable supply. And there are plenty of ways to compensate the afflicted without blocking competition. In truth, the survival of dinosaurs like TEPCO owes more to their political clout than the quality of service they deliver. Mr Noda should end the privileges of the power monopolies. It would be just the jolt that Japan needs, and a sign that its new leader is not content merely to preside over slow decline.

这两个论点都不具备强大的说服力。更多的供应商应该参与到这个有公信力的电力供应计划中来。况且，在不阻碍合理竞争的前提下，还是有很多方法能够补偿灾区居民的。然而真正的事实是，像东京电力公司这样的庞然大物们之所以能存活下来，更多的是依靠他们的政治影响力，而不是他们所提供的服务的质量。野田佳彦先生应该设法斩断这些能源大亨手上的特权。这才应当是日本所需要的震荡性的改革，这也将会标志着新任首相不会满足于仅仅掌舵一艘缓慢下沉的巨轮。

翻译者：胡小轩 校对者：程蒙

Corporate governance

公司管理

The doofus factor
愚蠢的董事会

How can you tell a good board of directors from a bad one?

如何分辨一个董事会的优劣？

THE directors of Yahoo! were “so spooked by being cast as the worst board in the country” that they fired Carol Bartz as chief executive “to show that they’re not the doofuses that they are.” That was Ms Bartz’s typically blunt verdict, offered to Fortune after she was dismissed with a phone call by the internet firm’s chairman, Roy Bostock, on September 6th.

此前，雅虎的董事会由于被评为本世纪最烂的董事会而备受惊吓，他们由此解除了卡罗尔·巴茨的首席执行官职务来证明自身并非这么糟糕。卡罗尔·巴茨在 9 月 6 日被解雇之后接受了《财富》杂志的采访，她说她是被互联网部的主管罗伊电话解雇的，而这其实是她以前典型的快刀斩乱麻的做法。

She would say that. Yet Ms Bartz’s criticisms of the board have been sympathetically received. Firing a chief executive by phone smacks of hasty, panicky decision-making. And Yahoo!’s board already had a poor reputation, having turned down an offer from Microsoft that valued the firm at several times what it is worth today.

她当然会发表那样的言论。董事会对她的指责表示接受其实大部分是对其的恻隐之心。但是决定的如此仓促且通过电话解雇高管确实是一个极为令人恐慌的决策。事实上，雅虎的名声确实每况愈下了，他们如今的身价已经比当初微软企图收购他们的时候跌了好几倍。

It is not just Yahoo!’s board that is feeling the heat. The directors of HP, another stumbling Silicon Valley giant, have been accused of serial ineptitude spanning the appointment and dismissal of Carly Fiorina as **chief executive**, the firing of her successor, Mark Hurd, and the selection of his replacement, Léo Apotheker. As the phone-hacking scandal escalates at News Corporation, shareholders accuse its board of **dozing on the job**. BP’s board has been slammed for its oversight of the firm’s handling of last year’s **Gulf of Mexico** oil spill, as well as this year’s failed deal with a Russian oil firm. And so on.

而雅虎不是唯一一个热锅上的蚂蚁。硅谷另一个处境岌岌可危的巨头惠普的决策人，被指控多次不恰当的越级干涉公司事务并且解雇了前任行政长官 Carly Fiorina。他们就是对 Carly 开火的继任者 Mark Hurd，以及他的继任者 Léo Apotheker。随着电话门丑闻被新闻集团大肆报道，股东们纷纷指责董事会玩忽职守。BP 的董事会因去年的墨西哥湾原油泄漏事件被抨击公司疏于管理，惨遭抨击的还有俄国的一家原油企业。等等等等。

All this is a consequence of a series of corporate-governance reforms during the past 20 years intended to empower non-executive directors in their oversight of executives. Before these changes, the only criticism of boards that was taken seriously was that they were hand-picked yes-men (plus a few yes-women), chosen largely for their docility and willingness to pay the boss a fortune. Today boards are often chided by shareholder activists—as Yahoo!’s board was by Dan Loeb, an outspoken hedge-fund manager—creating a temptation to do something decisive.

所有的恶果都源于一系列于 20 年前出现的合作经营制度，在该制度下，公司被托付给了一帮不具管理能力的人管理，于是就导致了各种“疏忽”。在这些变化之前，由一些具有举手表决权，愿意支持老板的决定的男人女人组成的董事会具有举足轻重的地位。而今天的董事会经常被股东们谩骂——就像 Dan Loeb，一个对冲基金经理领导的董事会对决策指手画脚进行诱导性干预。

During the past decade the average tenure of chief executives has fallen to 6.6 years from 8.1 years, according to a recent study by Booz & Co, a consultancy. The average tenure is even shorter for chief executives recruited, like Ms Bartz, from outside the firm. Departing bosses can play a big role in recruiting internal successors. But blame for poor outside appointments falls squarely on independent directors, perhaps encouraging them to change their minds at the first sign of failure.

根据 Booz & Co 咨询公司最近所做的一项研究表明，过去的十年中，一个首席执行官的平均任期已经从 8.1 年下降到了 6.6 年。该平均任期甚至比首席执行官的招募周期更短，比如巴茨这样的由其他公司跳槽来的执行官。卸任的老板们实际在内部招募继任者的决策中起了重要的作用。但是对于独立董事们很少进行外援任命的斥责目前呈现直线下降的趋势的现象，很可能鼓励独立董事们在初次预见到失败时，改变他们原有的看法。

It is hard to tell from the outside whether a board is any good. New guidelines requiring directors to be independent of the chief executive and to have at least some relevant qualifications have largely ended absurdities such as the octogenarian actress (as seen in “Caddyshack 2”) who sat on the board of Lehman Brothers. Today only a handful of big firms have the sort of board that seems hand-picked to be loyal to the boss, chief among them being News Corporation, says Paul Hodgson of GMI, a corporate governance ratings firm. Mr Hodgson describes recent changes to News Corporation’s board as “cosmetic” and points to an unusually large number of directors who are corporate insiders and thus likely to be loyal to the chief executive, Rupert Murdoch.

以一个局外者的身份其实很难界定一个董事会好还是不好。新形势下要求管理者具有独立于老总的判断能力，并且具有相关资格认证以避免发生疯狂高尔夫 2 中那种荒诞至极的场景——一个八九十岁的老妪坐在雷曼兄弟的董事席上。如今只有一小部分公司还保留着那种以举手表决结果来决定是否执行老板决定的董事会，其中的领军人物当属新闻集团，GMI 公司（一个专门从事管理水平评定的公司）的 Paul Hodgson 说。Hodgson 先生形容如今新闻集团的董事会就是个摆设并且指出很大一部分决策者都与他们所表决提案的策划人默多克先生有着千丝万缕的内部联系。

News Corporation is one of ten firms in the S&P 500 that particularly worry GMI. Other media firms with well-paid chief executives also make the list, including Viacom, CBS and Discovery Communications. So do Coca-Cola and Nike.

新闻集团是十家最让 GMI 头疼的上市公司之一。其他传媒集团待遇丰厚的执行长官们同样榜上有名，包括维亚康姆公司、哥伦比亚广播公司、探索频道。可口可乐和耐克也存在同样问题。

【注解 1】：S&P 500：标准普尔指数

The board of Yahoo!, by contrast, raises “no red flags”, says Mr Hodgson. Indeed, it seems something of a model board, with an independent chairman and a good mix of long-serving and new directors. It made most of Ms Bartz’s share options subject to tough performance triggers and negotiated a relatively stingy termination agreement. That reflects well on the Yahoo! board: it made sure that Ms Bartz stood to make a ton of money only if she made a ton of money for shareholders.

而雅虎的董事会恰恰相反，完全符合规定，Hodgson 说。事实上，它看上去就是一个董事会的楷模，一个独立的首席执行官，6 个和平相处长期供职的新董事。它令巴茨女士所拥有的大部分公司股票期权与其工作表现相挂钩，同时迫使她签订了一个相当苛刻的同意解约协议。雅虎的董事会鲜活的反映了一种思想：只有董事会赚了钱 Bartz 才有钱赚。

There is growing demand for boards to undergo a formal evaluation process, to assess both the performance of each individual board member and how they work together as a group. The European Union is considering new regulations that would require an independent evaluation of the board every three years. Kevin Kelly, the boss of Heidrick and Struggles, a firm of headhunters, says that a surprisingly large number of American directors tell him privately that they would welcome something similar. So, no doubt, would many shareholders.

要求董事会经历一个正式的评估过程的呼声越来越高。该过程要同时评价每个董事会成员的个体表现和当他们组成一个团队时的协作状况。欧盟正在考虑出台新规定，要求每三年对公司董事会进行一次评估。Kevin Kelly，Heidrick&Struggles 猎头公司的老总说，曾私下表示对评估董事会规定持欢迎态度的决策者数量多到惊人。这也就意味着，毫无疑问，对于广大股民来说，该项规定的出台是众望所归。

Phrases

chief executive: 行政长官

Gulf of Mexico: 墨西哥湾

翻译者：程娟

校对者：尹茜

Corporate political donations

企业的政治性捐赠

Lighten our darkness

照亮阴暗的世界

There are big differences in what firms reveal about their political donations

每个企业关于各自政治性捐赠的透露大相径庭



IT IS not just the incestuous make-up of News Corporation's board that annoys its shareholders. Activist investors such as the Nathan Cummings Foundation also complain about the firm's lack of transparency about its political donations. Although News Corp opened up a bit this year, it is still more opaque than its peers in the S&P 100, as a new index of corporate political disclosure shows.

惹怒那些股东们的不仅仅是新闻集团董事会的胡乱遮掩。像 Nathan Cummings Foundation 这样的激进投资者也对公司众多缺乏透明度的政治性捐赠有所质疑。尽管新闻集团近年来对此类信息有所公开，但比起其他同类企业，其 S&P 100 指数（一种新的企业政治性公开度指标）仍然显得十分不透明。

The index, launched by the Robert Zicklin Centre for Corporate Integrity at Baruch College on September 15th, does not argue that corporate political donations are good or bad. But its compilers believe that the public and shareholders have a right to know what firms are up to. It looks at 57 measures of transparency, including how many clicks it takes to get from the firm's website to information about political donations and how detailed that information is.

该指标是由巴鲁克学院的 Robert Zicklin 中心于9月15号专为企业廉政性设置的，该指标不用来评价企业政治性捐赠的好坏。其编译器只是认为民众及股东对公司的运营情况具有知情权。这一指标有57个标准去测量透明度，其中包括在公司网页上要经过多少次点击才能获得关于企业政治性捐赠的信息，以及这些信息的详细程度如何。

News Corp is one of 28 companies rated "opaque", along with popular bogeymen such as Halliburton and Walmart—and fashionable firms such as Amazon, Berkshire Hathaway, Google, Nike and Walt Disney. Only a handful of firms were deemed "transparent", including Colgate-Palmolive, IBM, Pfizer and Goldman Sachs (an investment bank once nicknamed "Government Sachs" because of its political connections). Finance is, surprisingly, the third-most-transparent industry, behind drugs and oil. Mining, manufacturing and utilities are the most opaque.

新闻集团是被认定为“不透明”的28家企业之一，其中有诸如哈里伯顿、沃尔玛之类的商业巨头——还有时下较为流行的亚马逊、伯克希尔·哈撒韦、Google、Nike 及迪士尼公司。只有高露洁、IBM、辉瑞制药及高盛投资公司（一家曾经由于其政治关系被称作“政府的高盛”的投资银行）等少数的公司被认定为具有一定透明度。出人意料的是，金融类企业竟然是继制药类与石油类之后的第三大透明度较高的行业。而采矿业、制造业与公共事业则被认为是最不透明的行业。

As firms donate more to politicians, they tend to disclose more. Yet the very biggest donors are not the most transparent, says Donald Schepers, one of the creators of the index, which they aim to expand next year to cover the entire S&P 500. That said, several firms have “made big improvements in their disclosure since we wrote to tell them that we were doing the index,” says Mr Schepers. That alone suggests that measuring transparency is worthwhile.

由于公司会为政客资助巨额支票，他们更应该公开。然而，作为 S&P 100指数的创建者之一的 Donald Schepers 则表示，捐款巨头是往往是最不为人所知的，这是因为捐赠企业欲将该影响力扩大到第二年进而覆盖至整个 S&P 500指数。正如 Schepers 先生所言，“自写信告知我们正在从事的关于指数评价的工作起，一些公司已经就他们的信息公开程度做出较大的改进”。这正说明对于该透明度的指数的衡量确实具有一定价值。

翻译：程娟 校对：刘拓

Emerging-market debt

新兴市场债券

Non-stick securities

不会被套的证券

Emerging-market bonds are suffering, but not as badly as other assets**新兴市场债券正陷入麻烦，但比其他资产要好得多**

LAST year record amounts flowed into emerging-market equities from rich-world investors, pushing the index prepared by MSCI up by 19%. As recently as August 1st, it was still holding on to those gains, despite disappointment and disaster elsewhere. Analysts began asking whether emerging markets were now “Teflon”, as Jonathan Anderson of UBS put it.

去年富国投资者投向新兴市场购买证券的金额创下纪录，将 MSCI 指数推高了19%。8月1日，尽管在其他市场损失惨重，但投资人仍能从新兴市场获利。分析师们，包括瑞银的 Jonathan Anderson 开始思索，新兴市场现在是不是已成了不会将投资人套住的“特富龙”。

Alas, the muck has since stuck firmly to emerging-market shares, dragging them down by over 15%. But it has yet to make quite such a mess of their bonds, even those priced in their own currencies. JPMorgan's index of local-currency government bonds, the GBI-EM Global Diversified, was still up by 3% for the year on September 13th.

唉，那些金融市场的人渣一向总盯着新兴市场股票不放，将股价打压了15%以上。但这并没在新兴市场债券价格上造成同样的混乱，哪怕债券是以当地货币定价的。截至9月13日，摩根大通当地货币政府债券指数，GBI-EM 全球多元化指数依然上涨了3%。

Scarred by the crises of the past, many emerging economies have accumulated foreign-exchange reserves, quelled asset bubbles as best they can and kept a lid on their debts, both public and private. Their credit ratings have improved, even as America and several euro members have suffered rating cuts.

过往的危机造成了累累伤痕，许多新兴经济体积攒外汇储备，竭尽所能平息资产泡沫，控制公共及私人债务上限。当美国和一些欧元区成员国遭受评级下调时，新兴市场信用评级甚至有所提高。

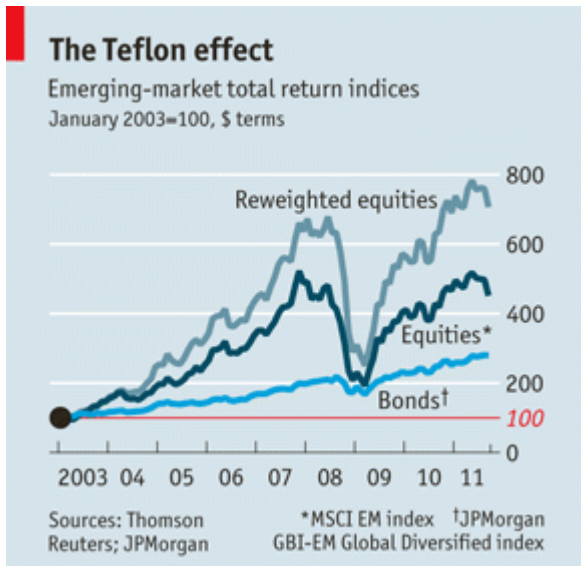
Their bonds also benefit from a captive market, points out Joyce Chang of JPMorgan. Local pension funds and insurance companies do not quit the country at the first hint of trouble, either because they prefer to invest at home or because they are obliged to do so. The assets held by Mexico's pension funds increased by almost 14% in the year to July, according to Amafore, an association of pension-fund managers. They invest almost 60% of these assets in government securities. Malaysia's social-security funds and insurers held a third of the government's bonds at the end of March. Foreigners held 22%.

摩根的 Joyce 指出，新兴市场债券也从行政市场（or 垄断市场，但又不是那个意思。想不出该用什么词，应该是投资人被绑架在这个市场，不得不投资的意思，等校对组和其他同学的好建议）获益。本地养老基金和保险公司没有退出本国市场首先意味着遇到了麻烦，要么是因为他们更喜欢在本国投资，要么是因为他们有责任这样做。根据今年7月 Amafore 养老基金管理者协会的数据，墨西哥养老基金持有资产增加了近14%，其中近60%以上投资是政府证券。3月底，马来西亚社保基金和保险公司持有三分之一政府债券，外国人持有占22%。

Just as domestic investors cannot exit some emerging economies, foreigners cannot always enter. Both China and India impose strict limits on foreign bond purchases. As a result, neither of these giants appears in JPMorgan's global index. Other notable absences include Korea and Taiwan, which count as emerging economies by MSCI's definition.

正如国内投资者无法退出，外国投资者也并不总是被允许进入新兴市场。中国和印度都对外国投资者购买债券

有严格限制。因此，这些巨头都没有出现在摩根大通的全球指数中。根据 MSCI 的定义，其他类似国家还包括韩国和台湾。



These exclusions leave JPMorgan's bond index with 14 members, compared with the 21 countries in the MSCI equity index. To make a fairer comparison between the two, *The Economist* has calculated an alternative equity index, covering the same 14 countries, with the same weights, as JPMorgan's bond index. Like the more familiar MSCI index, this reweighted gauge has performed miserably this year. It has also underperformed bonds over the three years since Lehman Brothers went bust. But it has done better since the start of 2010. And over the long haul, it has outperformed bonds by an even bigger margin than has the MSCI index (see chart).

与 MSCI 股票指数的 21 个国家比较，有 14 国不在摩根大通债券指数统计之列。为了两者间的公平比较，《经济学人》计算出一个替代的证券指数，用与摩根大通债券指数同样的权重覆盖那 14 个国家。与大家更熟悉的 MSCI 指数一样，这个重新加权后的指数今年表现惨淡。自雷曼兄弟破产后，它的债券项目已超过三年萎靡不振。但自 2010 年以来，情况开始好转。从长远看，它所显示的债券利润率甚至比 MSCI 指数还要高（见图表）。

Neither of these asset classes is immune to the turmoil in global financial markets. But what is? "I don't think there are any safe havens, quite honestly," says Ms Chang. Nothing is Teflon. But some markets look a lot stickier than others.

没有什么资产类别能在全球金融市场动荡时免疫。张女士称：“我不认为有任何安全的避风港，坦白地说。”像特富龙一样安全不会套住投资者的市场是不存在的。不过，有些市场看起来比其他的要糟糕得多。

翻译者：黄文琦

Prices or jobs?

要高价还是要就业？

Could the Federal Reserve lower unemployment by revamping its goals?

美联储能不能用重新调整目标来降低失业率？

THE Federal Reserve has scored highly for creativity over the course of the economic crisis. It has already, in effect, lowered short-term interest rates to zero, and carried out two rounds of quantitative easing (QE), the purchase of government bonds with newly printed money. On August 9th it surprised the market by saying it expected to hold its short-term interest rate where it is until mid-2013. By removing any expectations of monetary tightening before then, the announcement delivered a powerful downward jolt to bond yields. The Fed also disclosed it had discussed other policy options and was “prepared to employ these tools as appropriate”. That has fuelled speculation that the Fed will play yet another card when its policy-setting committee gathers for an extended meeting on September 20th-21st.

美联储因为在经济危机时候的灵活应对而备受称赞。事实上，它已经把短期利率调到零，而且已经通过利用新发行的货币购买政府债券，推出了两轮量化宽松货币政策（QE）。8月9日，美联储发出惊人宣言，要将短期利率维持在现有阶段直到2013年年中。这份宣言打消了货币紧缩政策的可能性，给公债利润率下调的一个有力震动。美联储同时透露考虑在适当时候采取一些其他政策。人们根据这一宣言推测美联储将会在政策制定委员会9月20到21日的扩大会议中打出另一张牌。

Many have focused on whether the Fed will embark on another round of quantitative easing, or QE3. That looks unlikely. QE2 was followed by surging commodity prices and vociferous condemnation at home and abroad, extinguishing much of the Fed's enthusiasm for an encore. The Fed could accomplish something similar by reshuffling the composition of the \$2.6 trillion in Treasury and mortgage bonds it already owns. By selling short-term bonds, whose yields would stay close to zero thanks to the Fed's rate commitment, it could boost holdings of longer-term issues, pushing their yields down further. This has been dubbed “sterilised” QE or “Operation Twist”, after a 1960s programme in which the Treasury and the Fed tried to “twist” the yield curve by altering the pattern of Treasury-bond issuance. Anticipation of something along those lines helps explain why ten-year Treasury bonds now yield around 2%, the lowest in 50 years.

许多人都在关注美联储是否会着手新一轮的量化宽松政策（QE3）。结论是不太可能。第二轮的加大货币发行量，已然引起了物价飞涨和来自国内国外大量指责，极大的打消了美联储再行一轮的热情。美联储可以通过重组其已经拥有的2.6万亿美元的资产和抵押债券组合来实现相似的效果。销售短期债券，其利润率——拜美联储的利率托管所赐——将会维持在零左右，并且会推动长期债券的持有，推动其利润率的进一步下降。这一举动被戏称为“无菌化”或者“扭曲操作”，是以1960年美国财政部和美联储试图通过改变发行财政债券的模式来扭转利润率曲线的行为来命名的。对这一系列行为的预测可以帮助解释为什么美国的十年财政债券目前的利润率接近50年来最低的2%。

There are other options, too. The Fed could lower the interest rate it pays banks for excess reserves left on deposit with the central bank, from 0.25% currently. It could also announce targets for longer-term rates, such as those on two- or three-year bonds. But if the Fed wants to surprise the markets again, a more radical idea would be to fiddle with its own mandate.

当然，还有其他选择。美联储可以从目前的0.25%进一步降低银行在中央银行的超额准备金支付利率，也可以宣布为长期利率设定目标，比如2或3年债券。但是如果美联储意图再次给市场一个意外，一个更激进的想法恐怕只会玩火自焚。

Mission half-accomplished

任务已经完成过半

By law the Fed is supposed to pursue both low inflation and low unemployment. You would not know it from the recent record. Since the start of America's recession in late 2007 both overall and core inflation (a measure which excludes energy and food costs) have fluctuated wildly but averaged around or below 2%, the Fed's preferred range (see left-hand chart). Unemployment, on the other hand, has been stuck at around 9% since the start of the year. Fed policymakers reckon America's "natural" unemployment rate—that is, the lowest compatible with stable inflation—is at or below 6% (see right-hand chart). If inflation were running three percentage points above target "any central banker worth their salt would be...acting as if their hair was on fire," observed Charles Evans, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, in a speech on September 7th. "We should be similarly energised" about unemployment.

依法，美联储应该同时努力实现低通胀和低失业率。但是最近的记录显示这个目标并没有达到。自从 2007 年末美国经济衰退开始，整体通胀和核心通胀（一种排除了能量和食品消费的测量指标）都波动巨大，但是平均都在接近或略低于美联储 2% 的倾向区间。另外，失业率从今年开始就卡在 9% 附近。美联储政策制定者认为美国的自然失业率--适合稳定通胀率的最低值--是小于等于 6%。芝加哥储备银行总裁 Charles Evans 在 9 月 7 号的演讲中说，如果通胀在目标指数以上 3%，任何称职的中央银行都会觉得问题已经迫在眉睫需要应对。对失业“我们应该给予同样的关注”

Although the Fed is bound to pursue stable prices and full employment, it has wide latitude in how it defines those goals. It could, for example, announce it is targeting inflation, perhaps just temporarily, of 4% instead of 2%. If people's expectations of inflation rose (which is by no means assured), then real interest rates would fall, boosting demand. Ben Bernanke, the Fed chairman, has flatly rejected this option, however. It would, he says, ruin the credibility the Fed has invested in low inflation, and undermine the ability of firms and people to plan.

尽管美联储必须追求物价稳定和高就业率，但它对如何定义这些目标有很大的自由。举例而言，它可以暂时宣布预期通胀为 4% 而不是 2%。如果人们的预期通胀变大（这是无法确定的），那么实际利率会下降，需求会增大。然而美联储主席 Ben Bernanke 断然否定了这一选项。他认为，提高预期通胀会毁了美联储一直坚持地低通胀的信誉，并且从基本上损害公司和个人制定计划的能力。

An alternative would be to switch to targeting the growth of nominal gross domestic product. If the target were 5%, say, inflation of 3% would not interfere with monetary stimulus so long as real GDP was growing by less than 2%. The Fed toyed with nominal GDP in the past when it was searching for something more stable to target than the money supply. But a regime of this sort has several drawbacks: since the trend in real GDP varies, inflation would, too, presenting similar problems to a higher inflation target. It would also be harder to explain to the public.

另一个选择是转为制定名义 GDP 目标计划。如果目标为 5%，那么只要实际 GDP 的增长小于 2%，3% 的通胀率就不会影响货币鼓励。美联储在过去在追求一些比货币供给更稳定的目标时会拿名义 GDP 戏耍。但是，这样的制度有一些缺点：因为实际 GDP 的趋势变化很大，通胀也是同样，如果设定更高的通胀目标会表现出类似的问题。而且这也很难向公众交代。

The Fed may be able to justify a more forceful attack on unemployment by tweaking, rather than replacing, its current framework. Although a 2% rate may be the Fed's de facto inflation target, the central bank operates (and markets react) as if 2% were a ceiling rather than the midpoint of an acceptable range. Mr Evans noted the problem with this in his speech: "To average 2%, inflation could be above 2% in some periods and below 2% in others. If a 2% goal was meant to be a cap on inflation, then policy would result in inflation averaging below 2% over time." A related problem is that the consequences of overshooting or undershooting the 2% target are not symmetrical. The Fed should arguably accept a higher risk of overshooting than undershooting inflation since it has far more experience with, and more tested tools for, curing inflationary pressures than deflationary ones.

美联储也可以通过调整其目前的框架，而不是直接替代，来更有效地控制失业率。尽管 2% 是美联储的实际通胀目标，但以中央银行实际运行（市场应对）来看，2% 是可以接受的最高限值而不是中值。Evans 先生在他的演讲中提到这个问题“如果要把平均定为 2%，那么通胀会有时高于 2%，有时又低于 2%。如果把 2% 的目标

定为通胀的上限，那么政策实施的结果是久而久之平均低于 2%” 一个相关问题是，通胀高于 2% 或者低于 2% 造成的影响是不同的。美联储应该接受过高的通胀会比过低通胀带来更高风险的事实，因为其应对高通胀更有经验办法。

One way around this problem would be for the Fed explicitly to state its tolerance of inflation above 2%. Mr Evans proposes, for example, committing to easy monetary policy until unemployment is 7.5% or lower, so long as inflation is not above 3%. This still presents problems. The Fed may insist it has not changed its commitment to low inflation but the public may not believe it. And it would require the Fed to have a lot of confidence in its estimate of the natural unemployment rate, a notoriously slippery thing to measure. Laurence Meyer, a former Fed governor now with Macroeconomic Advisers, a consultancy, suggests a different approach: the Fed would explicitly set a 2% medium-term inflation target and a 1.5% to 2.5% short-term range for core inflation. The advantage of both proposals would be to dissuade markets from pricing in higher interest rates even if inflation topped 2%.

一个解决这个问题的方法是，美联储明确的把其对通胀的容忍提至高于 2%。Evans 先生提议，例如，只要通胀低于 3%，可以应允把货币政策放松直至失业率小于等于 7.5%。但这仍会引起问题。因为即使美联储坚持宣称没有改变低通胀率的承诺，公众也不一定会相信。而且这要求美联储对其预测失业率（一个众所周知难以预测的数据）的能力有极大信心。美联储前任理事，现任宏观经济顾问 Laurence Meyer，建议另一种方法，美联储可以明确设定一个中期 2% 的目标通胀率，并给核心通胀设定一个 1.5%-2.5% 区间。这两种方法共同的优势是 阻止市场在通胀达到最高 2% 时给利率定价过高。

Such changes would represent a big shift in how the Fed operates. Less clear is how helpful they would be. The Fed's mandate already provides the justification it needs for steps like QE3. That it has not taken them reflects scepticism that driving long-term interest rates even lower would be worth the criticism.

以上这些改进会带来美联储运营方面的巨大的改变。但是会多有效却不甚明确。美联储的执行令已经提供了其对类似第三次多大货币供应量的举动的正当理由。但没有采取这一措施，反映了美联储对把长期利率拉的更低会带来的指责是否值得的疑虑。

翻译：王紫珊 校对：张理中

Auditing in China

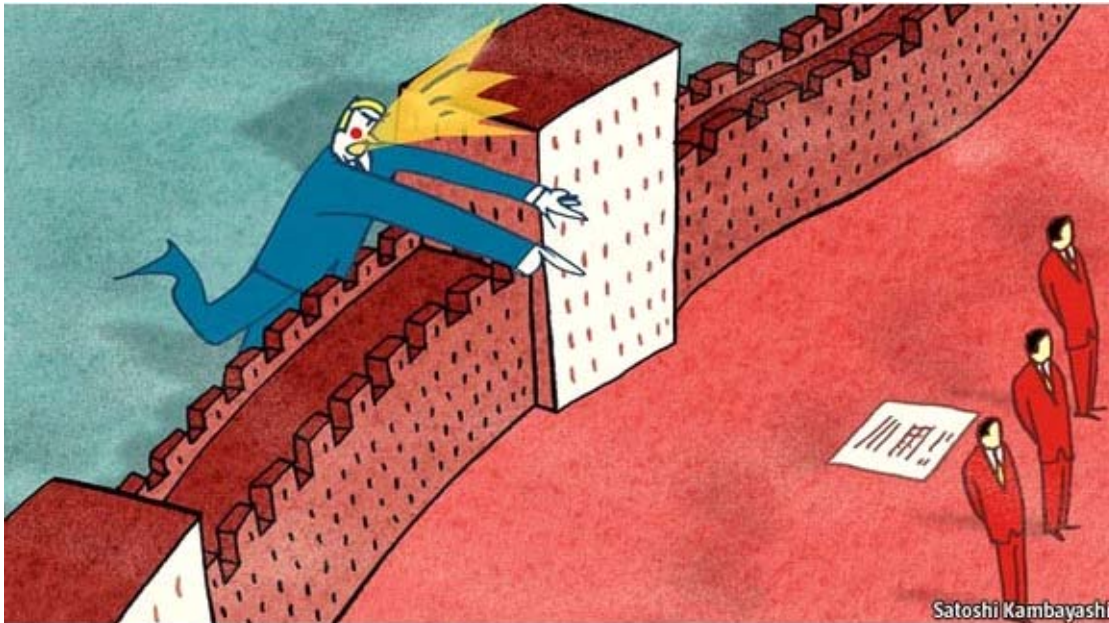
审计中国公司

Chinese stall

中美会计法规拉锯战

A dreadful choice: whether to annoy America or China

顾此失彼：惹毛老美还是得罪中方



THE Shanghai affiliate of Deloitte, one of the Big Four global accounting firms, used to be the auditor of Longtop, a Chinese financial-software company. After signing off Longtop's financial statements for several years, the firm smelled trouble during its audit for the financial year that ended in March. Its subsequent questions did not go down well at Longtop, which seized some of Deloitte's papers and threatened to keep Deloitte staff from leaving company premises. Deloitte quit as auditor, and Longtop's shares ended up being delisted from the New York Stock Exchange in August.

身为全球四大会计师事务所之一，德勤在上海的分公司曾担任金融软件企业东南融通的审计师。数年来，德勤都在东南融通的财务报表上签字保证其真实可信，直到在审计截至今年三月的2011财年财报时，他们才终于嗅出了东家的问题。后来东南融通对事情的处理无异于火上浇油，他们扣住了部分审计文件，并扬言再也不让德勤的员工踏进公司一步。德勤当即炒了东家的鱿鱼，且在今年八月，东南融通的股票也落得个不得不从纽交所摘牌的下场。

Longtop is one of several Chinese firms to have suffered this fate. But Deloitte is now in a bind all of its own. America's Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) subpoenaed Deloitte's working papers for the Longtop audit in May. Deloitte says it cannot deliver them without breaking China's secrecy laws. American law can give way to foreign regulations if they are clear and justifiable. But the SEC says Deloitte has made only hazy assertions of Chinese secrecy law, the basis for which is in any case "impossibly vague".

包括东南融通在内的好几家中国公司都遭遇了摘牌的命运。现如今的德勤却是身缚于自作之茧中。美国证监会（SEC）于今年5月传唤德勤提交东南融通的审计文件。德勤则表示，交出审计资料就等于违反了美国必须对审计文档保密的法律。如果别国已有明确合理的规定，美国法律是可以退居其次的。但证监会认为德勤对相关法律的表述非常模棱两可，在他们看来，中国的保密法律在任何情况下都“不可能含糊不清”。

So on September 8th the SEC asked a court to enforce the subpoena. This the court could do with heavy fines. If Deloitte still refuses to respond, America's accounting regulator, the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board

(PCAOB), could even decertify Deloitte's Chinese affiliate from signing financial statements for firms listed in America.

由此证交会于9月8日委托法院对德勤再次实行强制传唤,且该法院有权对德勤处以重罚。如果德勤还是拒不提交,美国的会计监管机构PCAOB(美国上市公司会计监管委员会)甚至可以取消德勤中国分公司为在美上市公司签署报表的资格。

The Big Four are not single firms but networks of national firms. Observers say their Chinese member-firms are rather good. But they have grown rapidly, by hiring young new accountants and acquiring local firms. Beyond the big cities like Beijing and Shanghai, quality can be "patchy", says Mark Webster of Business Development Asia, an advisory firm. (Longtop is based in Xiamen.) And even the best accountants can find China hard. "Deloitte is just the unfortunate one that got hit first," says Paul Gillis, a visiting professor of accounting at Peking University.

目前“四大”在中国设立的不是单独的子公司,而是遍布全国的分支机构。评论员认为四大的中国成员公司总体是非常不错的。不过通过招募大量年轻的会计师,加上收购当地的会计事务所,四大扩张的速度太快了。亚洲商业发展咨询顾问公司(Business Development Asia)的马克·韦伯斯特指出,出了北京上海这样的大城市,四大的服务水准就“良莠不齐”了(东南融通就在厦门)。不过即便是最顶尖的会计师到了中国,开展审计工作也不容易。北大会计学客座教授保罗·吉利斯说道:“德勤不过是第一个被揪出来的倒霉蛋。”

Deloitte's best hope for getting out of its bind lies in a rapprochement between policymakers. American and foreign regulators have worked out disagreements before—PCAOB this week announced a new accord with Norway, for example, after being blocked from inspections there since 2008. PCAOB officials visited China in July, trying (unsuccessfully, so far) to get access to inspect China-based firms auditing US-listed companies.

现在德勤“破茧而出”的最大希望就寄托在两国政策制定机构能够达成和解。美国和其它国家的监管机构就曾经意见不合——2008年起,挪威就禁止美国介入相关经济审查,但这周,PCAOB宣布与挪威达成一致。7月份PCAOB的官员访问中国,就是希望(尚未成功)获准审查为美国上市公司审计的中国会计事务所。

The posturing over the Deloitte-Longtop affair may make a resolution more difficult. China is always prickly about sovereignty. It may also fear a dam-bursting effect if the SEC finds nasties in the Longtop accounts that prompt it to demand other companies' audit papers. But both sides also have a clear incentive to reach an agreement. America does not want its investors hoodwinked; China has an interest in unblocking financing for Chinese firms that want to list abroad. Any compromise on how to handle cross-listing companies and their audits would by necessity be messy. But without an agreement, investors will continue to wonder whether they can trust the financial statements that come out of China.

中国政府在德勤与东南融通一事上并不配合,这使得问题变得更为棘手。中国一向对自身的主权问题非常敏感。他们还可能担心一石激起千层浪,如果证交会在东南融通的账目上挖出更多的丑事,那就可能进一步要求其它公司提交审计资料。不过双方达成一致的动机还是十分明确的。美方不希望自己的投资者上当受骗,中方也有意疏通中国公司在海外上市的融资渠道。但如何处理跨境上市公司和他们的审计公司,想让双方让步必然是件麻烦事儿。不过只要一天不和解,投资者们就还会担心“中国出品”的财务数据是不是靠谱。

翻译:陈玉梅 校对:张理中

Vegetable oil

植物油

What's cooking?

拿什么拯救你,油~

Edible oils are filling fuel tanks as well as bellies

食用油, 好用又好吃



OIL markets are full of uncertainty. Asian demand is booming and doubts abound over the ability of supply to match the world's appetite. What goes for crude oil also applies to the stuff squeezed out of vegetable matter.

油市总是充满变数。如今亚洲需求不断高涨,油料供应能否满足需求实在令世人担忧。而原油遭遇的困境同样出现在了植物油的榨取上。

The price of stir-frying and dressing a salad has rarely been higher. Over the past decade the price of vegetable oils has all but quadrupled. Like other commodities, prices hit records in 2008. The subsequent slump is now forgotten: prices are back close to the peaks. Glencore, the world's biggest commodity trader, may be about to confirm the industry's allure: rumours are flying that it is mulling an investment in KS Oils, an Indian edible-oil firm.

实际上加热用的油和做沙拉用的油有这么高的价格还是很少见的。过去十年来,植物油价格也只是涨了四倍。和其他商品一样,植物油价格在2008年达到最高值。但它接下来的下跌已经逐渐为人们所淡忘,而现价这个高价风波又要卷土重来重新接近峰值。世界最大商品交易商嘉能可公司,也许正打算用实际行动证实该行业有多诱人,传言它正考虑竞购印度食用油公司K.S. Oils。

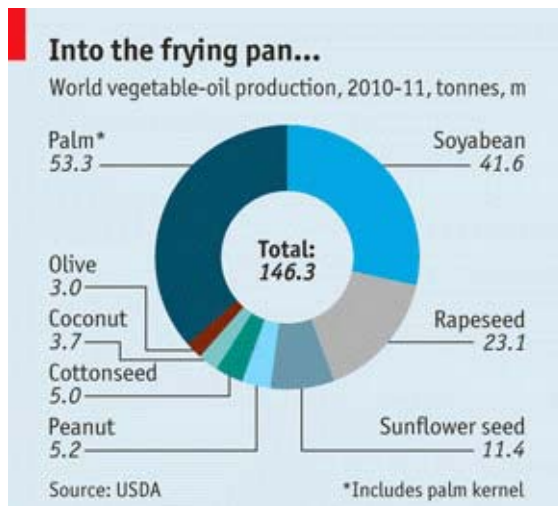
Kona Haque of Macquarie, an Australian bank, points to two structural factors behind oil's sizzle: China and biodiesels. A planet with more mouths to feed and deeper pockets has led to rapid growth in consumption of vegetable oils as well as grains and meat. And although the rapid surge in demand for oils in China and the rest of Asia is slowing there is still plenty of scope for more growth.

麦格理银行分析师哈克指出,植物油价飞涨的背后有两大结构性因素:中国和生物柴油。我们地球有更多的人口需要养活,同时生活水平的提高,也使得植物油和谷物、肉类一样,消费量迅速增加。现在尽管中国和亚洲其他地区对油料需求的激增已经放缓,但仍有大量增长空间。

In the past few years a new source of demand has emerged for vegetable oils. Biodiesel production has rapidly accelerated and now consumes over a tenth of the global vegetable-oil crop. Depending on the crude-oil price and

governments' enthusiasm for mandating biofuels it could account for as much as a fifth by 2020, according to Peter Thoenes of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation.

过去几年中，出现了一种对植物油的新需求。现今，生物柴油产量迅速加大，消耗了超过全球十分之一的本应用于生产植物油的农作物。联合国粮农组织的彼得·梭尼斯表示，鉴于目前的原油价格以及各国政府对发展生物燃料的热情，上述比值将在2020年达到五分之一。



The effect of growing demand for the two main types of vegetable oil, palm and soya (see chart), is amplified by supply problems. In the case of soya, competition for land is the main concern. Farmers in America, the world's top exporter, and Brazil, in second place, are **switching to** maize as sky-high prices make it more attractive.

棕榈和大豆这两类主要植物油的需求增长效应，由于供给原因更加扩大。拿大豆来说，能否争夺到栖息的土地是关键，大豆最大出口国美国以及第二位巴西的农民，看到飞涨的价格，都纷纷转向种植玉米。

Palm oil, also used to make soaps and cosmetics, comes almost exclusively from Indonesia and Malaysia. It suffers from even more acute supply problems. Already intensively cultivated and mechanised, there are few opportunities for farmers to increase output by improving yields on existing acreage. Developing and rolling out new higher-yielding strains is much easier and quicker for annual crops like wheat than for perennials such as palm trees that take time to mature and will bear fruit for many years.

而用做制造肥皂和化妆品的棕榈油，几乎完全产自印度尼西亚和马来西亚，它目前的供应问题更为严重。由于已是集约型耕作和高度机械化，农民想要通过改进现有耕地产量的方式提高产出希望不大。比起费时才能成熟，而后能多年结果的棕榈树之类的多年生植物，开发和种植新型高产品种，如大麦之类的一年生植物，要容易便捷的多。

Finding more land has unpalatable costs. Environmentalists point out that the spread of palm-oil plantations is the greatest threat to forests in Indonesia and Malaysia. In May Indonesia introduced a two-year moratorium on forest clearance in return for \$1 billion, as part of a bilateral climate deal with Norway. But loopholes and exemptions mean that it may not slow down deforestation much. Like its crude counterpart, the march of the vegetable-oil business is not easily resisted.

开发新土地的代价总是令人不快。环保主义者指出，扩建棕榈树种植园，是印尼和马来西亚森林最大的威胁。五月的时候，马来西亚与挪威签署了一项价值十亿美元的双边气候协议，马方同意停止清除森林两年。但是由于政策漏洞和豁免条件，砍伐森林的速度慢不了多少。正如原油一样，植物油行业的迅猛发展不是谁能轻易抵挡的。

- switch to:转而，切换到
- fuel tanks:油箱

翻译：汤永永 校对：张理中

Buttonwood

梧桐树下（美国股市）

Bargain-hunting

捡便宜

Some European stocks are offering very attractive yields

部分欧股收益诱人



Satoshi Kambayashi

EUROPEAN stocks have taken a battering in recent months. The DAX index of German shares has fallen by around a third since May, significantly underperforming the S&P 500.

欧洲股市近几个月遭遇重创。德国 DAX 指数自五月起已下跌近三分之一，表现不佳明显不及标准普尔 500 指数。

It only takes a glance through the rest of this newspaper to figure out why. Investors are mesmerised by the inability of European politicians to deal with the sovereign-debt crisis and are worried about the health of the region's banks. Bank shares have fallen back towards their lows during the 2008-09 crisis, a decline that has not been halted by short-selling bans in some parts of Europe.

只用扫一眼本刊的其他文章就知道原因了：欧洲政客处理主权债务危机时表现出的无能让投资者懵了；并且，他们还担心区域性银行的财务健康。银行股已跌回 2008-09 金融危机时的低点——部分国家的卖空禁令也没能止跌。

A sign of this risk aversion is that investors are happy to lend money to both the American and German governments for less than 2% over ten years, yields which suggest that investors are concerned about a deflationary recession. That might turn out to be the right bet. But it leaves a big gap between bond yields and the dividend yields on offer from leading European equities. If you combine the FTSE 100 and Eurostoxx 50 index, some 46 stocks (almost a third of the total) were yielding more than 5% on September 13th and were thus offering an annual income three percentage points higher than that available from safer government bonds.

这次风险规避的一大标志就是投资者们更愿意以低于 2% 的利率购买美国和德国政府的十年期债券。这个收益率表明投资者对通缩性衰退的担心。这对于他们来说是对的赌注，但这让债券收益与欧洲主要股票的收益之间有了巨大鸿沟。如果把富时 100 指数和道琼斯欧洲 stoxx50 指数合在一起，共有 46 支股票（差不多是全部股票

的三分之一) 的收益率在 9 月 13 日高于 5%。也就是说, 它们的年收益率比低风险政府债券高了差不多三个百分点。

Eliminate the banks on the ground of riskiness and that still leaves 40 high-yielding stocks. Take an even stricter line and exclude all financials (the insurers and the fund managers) and there nevertheless remain 30 to choose from. Of course, dividend yields are normally high for a reason, the likeliest being that investors expect future dividends to be cut. If Europe suffers from the kind of deflationary slump that bond markets seem to be presaging, then profits would undoubtedly come under pressure.

出于风险考虑剔除银行股后, 还剩下 40 支高收益股票。若以更严格的标准, 刨去所有的金融股(保险和基金管理类), 也仍然剩下 30 支股票任君挑选。当然, 股息回报率得高得有理, 最可能的解释就是投资者预计未来会出现股息削减。债券市场像是通缩性衰退的先兆, 若欧洲遭此横祸, 无疑收益水平将会承压。

However, many of the high-yielding equities are in sectors (telecoms providers, power generators, food retailers, pharmaceuticals, and so on) that you might expect to be recession-proof. Some firms, like Marks & Spencer and Royal Dutch Shell, even have earnings that cover their dividend payouts more than twice. Absolute Strategy Research, a consultancy, reckons that European companies have some €800 billion (\$1.1 trillion) of cash on their balance-sheets.

然而, 许多高收益股票都属于人们通常认为的“防衰退”板块股(电信供应商, 能源制造企业, 食物零售业和制药业等等)。一些公司, 如马莎百货(Marks & Spencer)和荷兰皇家壳牌(Royal Dutch Shell), 甚至有超过分红两倍的收益。咨询公司“绝对策略研究”(Absolute Strategy Research)估计, 欧洲公司的资产负债表上, 大约有 8000 亿欧元(合 1.1 万亿美元)现金。

Furthermore, when markets do reach a bottom, high-yielding stocks tend to perform best in the subsequent recovery. In the past five recoveries, the return from high-yielders has beaten that from low-yielders by an average of 29 percentage points in the six months after the trough.

再者, 当市场真的触底, 高收益股票也可能在后续的复苏阶段表现傲人。比如在最近的五段复苏时期中, 低谷之后的六个月内, 高收益股的回报率比低收益股平均高出了 29 个百分点。

The existence of particular shares that look cheap does not necessarily mean the overall European market is a bargain. But there are some signs of general value. The European cyclically adjusted price-earnings ratio (which smooths earnings over ten years) is 12.1, according to Absolute Strategy Research. That ratio compares with one of 20.1 in the United States, as calculated by Robert Shiller of Yale University. French and German cyclically adjusted ratios are close to lows seen in 2008 and the 1970s, reckons Dylan Grice of Société Générale.

某些低价股的存在并不必然表示整个欧洲市场是个大便宜, 不过它们某程度上能反映大致的价值。根据绝对策略研究, 欧洲经过周期性调整的市盈率(该比率将收益平缓地分配在过去十年中)是 12.1; 耶鲁大学教授罗伯特·希勒(Robert Shiller)计算出美国的比率是 20.1; 法国兴业银行(Société Générale)分析师狄伦·格莱斯(Dylan Grice)估算, 法国和德国的比率与 2008 年和上世纪 70 年代的低点非常接近。

The dividend yield for the DAX is 4.4%, more than twice the government-bond yield. The relationship between the dividend yield and the bond yield is one of the most interesting in finance. Up until the late 1950s dividend yields were regularly higher than bond yields, simply because equities were more risky.

德国 DAX 指数成分股的股息收益率为 4.4%, 比政府债券收益的两倍还高。股息收益率和债券收益率的关系是金融界最有趣的话题之一: 直到二十世纪 50 年代, 股息收益率都非常稳定地高于债券收益——理由仅仅是股市风险更大。

At that point, however, the “cult of the equity” developed. Institutional investors, led by George Ross Goobey of the Imperial Tobacco pension fund, realised that equities offered real income growth and were thus a better match for their long-term liabilities than conventional bonds. Furthermore, pension funds could own a diversified portfolio and

thus avoid the risk that dogged private investors, previously the dominant owners of equities: namely, that individual companies could slash dividends or go bust.

然而那之后，“股票崇拜”兴盛起来。以帝国烟草公司退休基金（Imperial Tobacco pension fund）的乔治·罗斯-古拜（George Ross Goobey）为首的机构投资者们意识到，股票提供实际收入的增长，所以较传统债券而言是更理想的长期债务资产。并且，养老基金也可以有一个更多元的投资组合，以防范顽固的私人投资者、先前股票的主要拥有人，也就是私人公司带来的风险：他们可能突然削减分红或宣布破产。

From the late 1950s onwards, dividend yields were lower (often a lot lower) than bond yields. But the relationship seems to have been changing again recently. Japan's dividend yield briefly moved above the government-bond yield in 1998 and 2002. In 2008 it repeated the trick and has shown no sign of reversing itself; indeed, the gap has been getting wider. Europe, which faces similar debt and demographic problems to Japan's, may be heading down the same path.

从二十世纪 50 年代后期开始，股息收益开始低于债券收益，通常还低得不少。但是最近，这个关系似乎又有新变化。日本的股息收益在 1998 年和 2002 年曾短暂地高于政府债券收益。在 2008 年，历史再度重演，并且这次没有回转的迹象；实际上，收益率的差距还在扩大。欧洲国家面临着与日本相似的债务与人口问题，也正踏着同样的道路迈进。

On the other hand, a lot of bad news is already in the price. There will be plenty of investors who figure that the chance to own blue-chip stocks on yields of more than 5% is too good to miss.

另一方面，很多坏消息也已反映在了价格上。许多投资者都会发现，买入一支收益率高于 5% 的蓝筹股机不可失。

翻译者:袁子葳 校对:胡心云

Back to the futures

回归期货

Regulators are homing in on new rules to rein in speculators

监管机构制定新规则控制投机

IN A speech to European policymakers in June Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president, encouraged his audience to be serious about “fighting the mafia”. He was not referring to a French Tony Soprano, but rather that other breed of criminal: commodity speculators, whom many politicians on either side of the Atlantic blame for dramatically pushing up the price of oil and food and contributing to volatility.

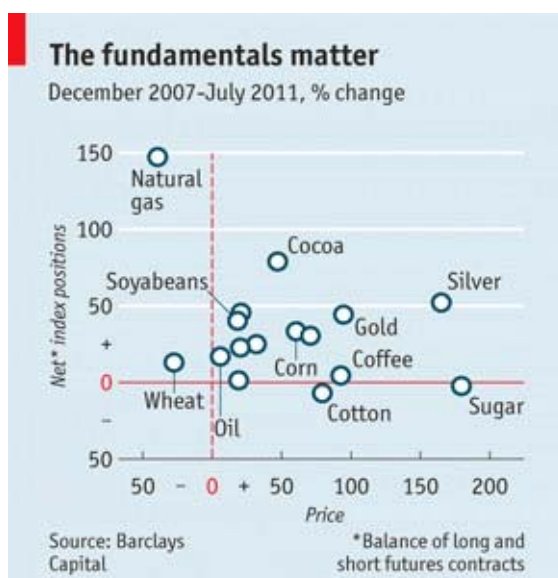
法国总统萨科齐在6月份对欧洲政策制定者的讲话中，鼓励其民众正视“抗击黑手党”的问题。但他并不是指法国的黑手党，而是指另一类罪犯：商品投机者——石油和食物价格急剧增长及经济波动的推手，这也使其成为大西洋两岸的政客指责的对象。

America is leading the charge. As part of a new financial-reform law, the Commodities Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) is proposing “position limits” on the amount of derivative contracts, including futures and swaps, a trader can hold for 28 commodities. No one will be allowed to control more than 25% of deliverable US supply for these commodities, which include oil, corn and gold, unless they are hedging for “bona fide” commercial purposes. CFTC commissioners could vote on the new rules as soon as September 22nd. Egged on by the likes of Mr Sarkozy, the European Commission is likely to issue a draft of similar rules in October.

美国首当其冲。作为新金融改革法的一部分，商品期货交易委员会建议在衍生工具合约的金额上实行“限额持仓”，包括期货和掉期，交易者可以持有28种商品。该建议将禁止控制多于25%可交付的由美国供给的商品，其中包括石油，玉米和黄金。除非他们在善意的商业用途中对冲。商品期货交易委员会委员将于9月22日对新规则进行投票。受到类似萨科齐总统的怂恿，欧盟很可能在十月拟定类似的草案。

Arguments about whether to establish position limits are incendiary. After the CFTC released its draft rules earlier this year, more than 13,000 letters of comment flooded in. Although there is a clear link between commodity prices and politicians’ denunciations of speculators (the latter usually follow spikes in the former), the relationship between speculation and commodity prices is not as obvious.

关于是否应建立持仓限额的争议如燃烧弹。在商品期货交易委员会于今年早些时候发布其草案之后，有13000多封意见函蜂拥而来。尽管在商品价格和政治家对投机者的谴责之间有明显的联系（后者经常遭信签高峰），但投机与商品价格间的关系并不明显。



It is true that there has been a rush of money into commodities. According to Barclays Capital, \$431 billion is invested in commodities now, up from \$141 billion in 2006, as investors use commodities to diversify portfolios, hedge for inflation and profit from emerging markets' appetite for raw materials. But a host of studies have been unable to find conclusive evidence that an influx of commodity-index investors causes increased volatility, and you can look in vain for a pattern between investor flows and prices (see chart).

事实上，已经有一笔钱迅速转化为商品了。根据巴克莱资本显示，从2006年用于投资商品的金额从1410亿美元上涨到4310亿美元。投资者利用商品进行投资多元化，对冲通货膨胀及从新兴市场对原材料的需求上获取利润。但大量研究无法找到确凿证据证明商品指数投资者引起了经济波动，所以在投资者流动和价格之间的寻找关系只是白费力气。（见表）

Price movements, even rapid and large ones, can usually be attributed to the fundamentals of supply and demand. A recent report by JPMorgan also argues that soaring production costs are now a heavy influence on commodity prices. As the rules career forward, position limits still have many critics, even at the CFTC. "With such a lack of concrete evidence, my fear is that at best position limits are a cure for a disease that does not exist or, at worst, a placebo for one that does," said Michael Dunn, a CFTC commissioner, at a hearing in January. The September 22nd vote may be delayed as the commissioners try to work out their differences.

价格的变动，尤其是迅速的大波动，通常是由供求关系引起的。由摩根大通发布的一项最近报告称飞涨的生产成本已成为推动商品价格上涨的主因。随着新规的出台，即使在商品期货交易委员会内部，持仓限额仍遭受诸多非议。“在缺乏足够证据的前提下，我担心持仓限额要么是治不病以为功，要么是不能对症下药”，商品期货交易委员会委员Michael Dunn在一月份的一个听证会上这样表示。而正是由于该委员会委员们试图区分这两者之间的区别，9月22日的投票有可能被推迟。

There is good reason to worry that position limits will harm markets more than help them. Producers of commodities enter into futures contracts to hedge their risk, but need a party to take the other side. Investors will become pickier about the contracts they enter into as a result of the limits, which may cause markets to become less liquid, worsening volatility rather than reducing it.

我们有理由相信持仓限制利大于弊。商品生产者签订远期来避免风险，但合约是双方事项，缺一不可。投资者由于持仓的限制会对合约条件更加挑剔，这可能会引起市场流动性变弱，并加剧了经济波动。

This risk will be particularly great for long-dated futures, where fewer traders are active, because it will be easier to reach the 25% ceiling. Moreover, because the value of the open market, and thus the value of the limits, is determined by the CFTC every year, some predict that permissible positions will shrink each year as investors in general pull back. Others worry that if the rules are not co-ordinated, investors may move to trade commodity derivatives in places like Dubai and Singapore, where their positions will not be constrained, thereby depriving the American market of more liquidity.

这种风险对远期期货影响重大，大多数贸易者不倾向于远期，因为这种期货很容易到达25%的上限。另外，因为公开市场的价值及限制每年都由商品期货交易委员会决定，有些人预测即使投资者在拉回价格但可持有的持仓价仍会下跌。还有些人担忧如果这些规定无法协调，投资者将会在像迪拜和新加坡这类持仓未被限制的国家进行商品替代品的贸易，从而使美国失去了更多的流动市场。

Swap dealers are particularly bent out of shape about the proposed rules. Certain agricultural commodities have had position limits in place for years. Swap dealers used to be able to qualify for exemptions to hedge their risk after they wrote a swap. They won't be able to do so under the new rules, and that will make them pickier about which swaps to write, sapping their own profits and again hurting liquidity. Some hedge funds—especially commodity trading advisers that follow rule-driven, often computerised, investment strategies—will have to rewrite their programs to take the new limits into account.

掉期交易【注解1】者对草案非常不满。一部分特定农产品许多年前就有持仓限制，掉期交易者在签订交易协议后可获得豁免资格来规避风险。然而在新制度下，他们的豁免资格不复存在，因而使得他们对交易协议的签订更加挑剔，来追逐自身利益最大化并再次影响了市场流动性。一些基金组织——尤其按规则驱动的商品交易顾问往往是自动化——将不得不重新修改程序以适应新的规定。

【注解 1】：掉期交易（Swap Transaction）是指交易双方约定在未来某一时期相互交换某种资产的交易形式。更为准确的说，掉期交易掉期交易是当事人之间约定在未来某一期间内相互交换他们认为具有等价经济价值的现金流（Cash Flow）的交易。较为常见的是货币掉期交易和利率掉期交易。货币掉期交易，是指两种货币之间的交换交易、在一般情况下，是指两种货币资金的本金交换。利率掉期交易、是相同种货币资金的不同种类利率之间的交换交易，一般不伴随本金的交换。掉期交易与期货、期权交易一样，是近年来发展迅猛的金融衍生产品之一，成为国际金融机构规避汇率风险和利率风险的重要工具。

As is so often the case with new rules, the details are devilish. The proposals mandate that firms aggregate their positions across different units and subsidiaries, even if some of them are taken on behalf of outside investors and even if firms have only a small, minority stake in the units in question. This would be a headache for banks and asset managers, many of which would probably be in violation of the rules. Some pension funds are also concerned that they will butt up against the limits if they have to calculate positions this way.

新规定往往如此，规定的细节更值得考究。这项提案强制各公司按其连各公司及子公司加总计算其持仓数量，即使有些只是代表海外投资者，甚至有的公司在联合公司中只拥有极少数的股权。这对于银行和资产管理者是很头疼的事，他们当中的大部分很可能会违反规定。一些养老基金会也很担心如果他们也按这种方式计算持仓也将违背新规定。

There are some odd omissions, too. The new rules only target derivatives and don't set position limits for physical commodities, which means that anyone looking to corner a market could theoretically snap up as much as he likes so long as he doesn't do it through futures contracts.

不过这项提案也存在一些奇怪的疏漏。新规定只局限于衍生工具却不针对实物商品进行限制，这就意味着只要不通过远期合约的形式，任何人都可以通过抢购商品以达到垄断的目的。

Despite all the hullabaloo, not everyone is expecting havoc. "My guess is that when the actual rules are in place, it's going to be underwhelming," says Brian Hurst of AQR Capital Management, a quantitative hedge fund. For politicians looking to claim victory against evil speculators, "underwhelming" is not going to be enough. If the new position limits do not do anything to curb commodity-price rises, they may just write fresh rules. Having declared war on the mafia, it will be hard to give up the fight.

尽管存在如此多的非议，但并不是所有人都期待破坏新规定。“我猜想当实际规则开始执行，将会令人印象深刻，AQR资本管理，一家基金公司的布赖恩赫斯特这样说道。因为政客们期望对邪恶的投机者的宣布胜利，印象深刻是远远不够的，如果新的持仓限额对遏制商品价格上涨未起到任何作用，他们将会重新修订规定。一旦向黑手党宣战，便很难投降。

翻译：许青 校对：张理中

Bank of America

美国银行

Strife of Brian

困兽之斗

A battered bank tries to hack and sack its way back to prosperity

一家受伤的银行要杀出一条复兴的血路



FIVE out of six of Bank of America's divisions are doing well, said Brian Moynihan, the company's chief executive (pictured right, with his predecessor, Ken Lewis) in a closely scrutinised presentation on September 12th. In other circumstances that might be a source of cheer—in the second quarter alone the quintet collectively earned almost \$6 billion. Sadly for Mr Moynihan and his beleaguered bank, that one problem division packs quite a wallop.

美国银行的董事长布莱恩·莫尼汉（就是照片右边那位，旁边是他的前任肯·刘易斯）于9月12日在一份相当正式的报告中声称，在美银（下文简称美银）全部的6个部门中，有5个部门的业绩都非常不错。若是在其它的情形下，这也许算是个为人称道的成绩——仅在第二季度，这五个部门就一起斩获了大约60亿美金的收入。悲剧的是，唯一那个出问题的部门就足以让莫尼汉先生和他的银行遭人唾弃了。

The losses from the bank's mortgage operations are not just vast, they are literally incalculable. Since the start of the fourth quarter of last year the bank has written off more than \$30 billion in future provisions, legal settlements and other losses relating to their mortgage exposures, according to a tally by CLSA, a broker. Were that the full extent of the damage, Mr Moynihan's words would now be received with the bored nods that accompany success. Instead, Bank of America's shares trade at one-third of book value, reflecting concern that total losses are a long way from being recognised. A brief pop in its share price following the announcement of a \$5 billion investment by Warren Buffett on August 25th has quickly dissipated.

美银在抵押贷款业务方面所遭受的损失已经不能用“巨额”来形容了——那可真是不可计数。根据里昂证券（CLSA）所做的财务记录，从去年第四季度初开始，风险准备金、法律措施以及其它一些与抵押敞口风险有关的方面所造成的损失已经吃掉了美银300多亿美元。不过若是其全部损失皆在此列，那么莫尼汉的声明早就被人举双手双脚赞成了。与此相反，鉴于美银的股票如今仅有其账面价值的三分之一，我们可想而知，若要确认其全部损失肯定是路漫漫其修远兮。前一阵儿其股价的反弹现在也已烟消云散——就这“反弹”还是拜沃伦·巴菲特在8月25日许诺的50亿美元投资所赐。

The bank's big problem is litigation stemming from America's mortgage fiasco. This risk is not unique to B of A but it is unusually severe. The lawsuits fester in three different categories. The first of these, responsible for \$12 billion

in paid claims and another \$18 billion in specific reserves, covers litigation in state courts over mortgages sold to investors with allegedly faulty representations as to their quality. An \$8.5 billion settlement announced in June with various investors was supposed to have stanch the bleeding in this area, but the deal has recently appeared to unravel. A second category involves alleged violations of federal underwriting laws that are expected to grind through the courts over many years. The final category, tied to irregularities in foreclosure processes, is currently the subject of negotiations with a number of state attorneys-general.

美银目前最大的问题是抵押贷款业务的惨败所引发的诉讼。这个问题并非美国银行所独有，关键在于别人可没这么严重。诉讼问题现在恶化成了三个不同的方面。第一个是美银要负责赔偿120亿美元并另行支付180亿美元用作特殊准备金——包括投资者们在州法庭上控诉美银把不良抵押贷款销售给他们的行径。各方投资者于六月份发布的“85亿美元方案”曾被认为已经遏止了该项业务的颓势，不料该方案最近已然破产。第二个方面是对美银触犯了联邦保险法的指控——各方都做好了进行多年持久战的准备。最后一个是关于取消赎回权【注解1】方面的程序纰漏，这也是目前各司法部长进行磋商的主题。

【注解1】：借款人在偿清抵押贷款后重新获得物业的权利。

Based on the total volume of securities involved, BofA could potentially be **on the hook** for hundreds of billions of dollars, says Chris Whalen of Institutional Risk Analytics, a research firm. Although that kind of havoc will surely not come to pass, the litigation (and the accompanying uncertainty) will certainly weigh on the bank's performance, draining resources and managerial attention. And the distractions come on top of two other worries: the general slowing of the American economy (which is bad for credit, loan growth and interest-rate spreads) and regulatory changes that will force the bank to increase its equity base.

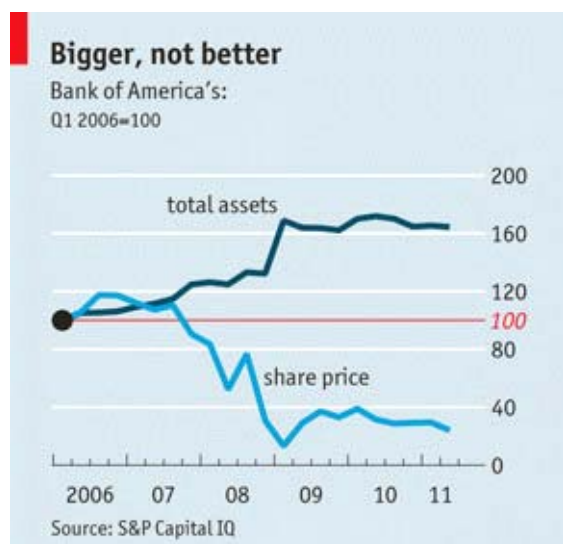
机构风险分析公司（IRA）的克里斯·惠伦认为，考虑到涉及的总股数，美银可能会有数千亿美元的风险。尽管这种惨绝人寰的灾难不太可能发生，其面临的诉讼问题（及其附带的不确定性）无疑会对其业绩、资源使用以及经营管理方面施加一定的压力。除此之外，还有两件事情比较纠结：一是美国经济增速整体放缓（受困于表现不佳的政府信用、信贷增长以及利率收益差）；二是调控措施的改变将会迫使美银增加股本。

Fat or muscle

要脂肪还是要肌肉

Enhancing returns in this kind of environment will not be easy. Mr Moynihan announced plans to cut \$5 billion in ongoing annual costs and the bank subsequently confirmed this will involve the elimination of 30,000 employees, 10% of its staff. These reductions will be in addition to the loss of tens of thousands of other temporary jobs created to process dud mortgages.

想要在这种大环境下提高利润并非易事。莫尼汉在其公布的一项计划中宣称将减少50亿美元的年度开支，而且美银随后证实这一计划将会裁掉3万名员工——占总员工数的10%。需要特别注明的是，这三万人不在为处理不良抵押而临时雇佣的人员之列。



Some of the cuts are long overdue. A string of acquisitions inflated the bank's balance-sheet (see chart) but **saddled** it **with** three separate systems for handling deposits and 63 data centres, according to Mr Moynihan. Outsiders contend that Mr Moynihan's famously acquisitive predecessors, Hugh McColl and Mr Lewis, were far more interested in buying than integrating operations. Mr Moynihan promised this week that these sorts of inefficiencies would be eliminated, a strategy that would perhaps have resonated more had not his audience heard similar pledges repeatedly before.

其实某些裁员行为已是姗姗来迟。据莫尼汉所说,那一系列的收购活动虽然膨胀了美银的资产负债表(见图表),但同时也迫使它背负了3个独立的存款处理系统和63个数据中心。外人认为莫尼汉那两位贪得无厌的前辈(休·麦克科尔和刘易斯)喜好收购远胜于整合经营。莫尼汉许诺本周就将淘汰掉那些低效的部分——要不是这种已被重复了无数次的说法让他的听众们耳朵都生了茧子,这一策略也许能收到更好的效果。

The announcement of redundancies seemed to provoke little enthusiasm among investors. Bank of America's share price barely budged after Mr Moynihan's presentation. A possible reason is concern that any benefits from reduced expenses could be offset by damage to the bank's operations. The ubiquity of Bank of America's heavily staffed nationwide branch network is what enables it to retain customers despite charging high fees and offering depositors low interest. It retains a vast credit-card and mortgage-origination business, both of which are gold mines in less desperate environments but which require lots of committed staff.

这份宣布裁员的声明貌似根本没入投资者们的法眼——美银的股价在莫尼汉公布声明之后也就向上拱了一点。这可能是因为任何通过节省开支得来的利润都有可能被美银的经营活动毁于一旦。正是因为美银的全国分支机构都有大量人员供职才使得美银能够维持它的客户群——而且让客户忍受着高额手续费和低水平的储蓄利率。美银保留了大规模的信用卡业务和按揭首付业务,这可算是如此绝境中的两座金矿——问题在于该业务需要大量的忠实员工。

Keeping the troops happy is even more important at Merrill Lynch, whose "thundering herd" of 16,000 brokers underpins the firm's wealth-management business. Here, Mr Moynihan has used the scalpel rather than the cleaver, getting rid of Sallie Krawcheck, the head of the division, earlier this month but sparing Merrill in the bigger round of cuts. But the broker may be in line for harsher treatment in the months to come. Swarms of aggressive competitors surround Bank of America, alive to the possibility that cuts could prompt affluent clients or staff to desert.

Merrill Lynch现在的头等大事就是让他手下的1万6千名经纪人卸下担子——他们可是美银理财业务的中流砥柱。事关重大,莫尼汉决定效仿庖丁解牛而非胡砍瞎剁。本月初他解雇了理财部门的头头Sallie Krawcheck,这也帮助Merrill避免了更大规模的裁员,虽说这些经纪人接下来几个月的日子恐怕会不太好过。现在美银的周围已经聚起了一大圈虎视眈眈的对手,他们敏锐地注意到这大规模的裁员可能会引发大客户或其经纪人的流失。

That has prompted some to wonder whether a more decisive move is needed. The mortgage lawsuits come from three sources, of which the smallest by far is the pre-crisis Bank of America franchise at under \$10 billion in claims, according to **Institutional Risk Analytics**. Perhaps two to three times that amount came with the costly 2009 purchase of Merrill Lynch. But the largest chunk of claims by far, about \$60 billion, came along with what may ultimately prove to be the single worst acquisition since Paris grabbed Helen, the 2008 purchase of Countrywide.

身处如此情形,有些人觉得美银似乎还需要有些决定性的动作。据IRA所说,美银的抵押贷款诉讼有三个来源,最小的一个是美银的危机前特殊处理权被索赔100亿美元,而其在2009年对美林证券的收购开销可能是这笔费用的2到3倍。不过目前数额最大的一笔索赔(大约600亿美元)则来源于美银在2008年对美国国家金融服务公司(Countrywide)的收购——这可能是自帕里斯强掳海伦以来最糟糕的单笔收购案。

The most provocative question during Mr Moynihan's presentation this week was whether he would put Countrywide into bankruptcy. He declined to answer, leaving the door to that possibility slightly ajar. Mr Whalen contends that BofA is, in essence, a healthy operating bank buried by obligations tied to Countrywide. Shedding those obligations would, in theory, create a vast and profitable bank, with all the residual benefits that might bring to the listing American economy.

在莫尼汉的本周报告中,最刺激的问题莫过于他会不会让Countrywide破产。结果他拒绝回答,留下了一扇虚

掩的门——一切皆有可能。在惠伦看来，美银实质上是一家经营状况非常不错的银行——只不过让其对 Countrywide 必须负起的责任给毁了。拨开这些责任构成的外衣，我们可以看到一家规模巨大且盈利能力良好的银行，其全部的留存收益也许本来能够挽救那倾斜的美国经济大厦。

Whether the courts would allow BofA to make a clean getaway from Countrywide is far from clear, however. The consequence might be nothing more than yet another round of litigation. As a lawyer himself, and the bank's general counsel at the time of the Countrywide purchase, Mr Moynihan is in a good position to judge. The alternative course, and the one he put forward this week, is to **slog it out**. That may be realistic but it also suggests a siege that could outlast Troy's.

无论如何，法庭是否会让美银从 Countrywide 的泥潭中成功脱身还是个未知数。当然，结果也可能只不过是新一轮的诉讼。律师出身的莫尼汉在当年对 Countrywide 的收购案中出任了总顾问一职——这也给了他一个“审判”此事的绝佳席位。无论是其它的道路还是他本周推行的计划都是为了在困境中杀出个黎明——也许能行，不过这也暗示了围城的希腊大军可能会比特洛伊人坚持得更久。

Phrases:

- **on the hook for** : (北美, 非正式) (金融方面的) 指责
- **saddle (+on/upon/with)** : 使负担; 强加
- **Institutional Risk Analytic** : 机构风险分析
- **Slog it out**: 竭力奋战, 尽力争取

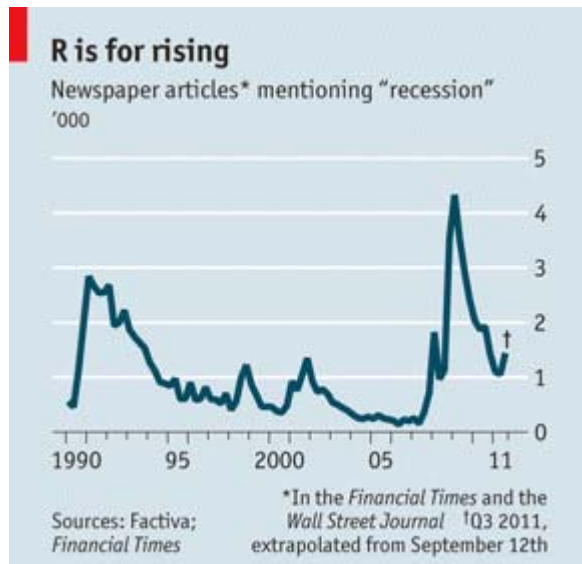
翻译者：胡伟凡 校对者：李方裔

Up means down

上即是下

The Economist's gauge of gloom

经济学人对阴霾的测度



IT HAS been a thoroughly wretched summer in the rich world: weak growth, dismal jobs numbers and plunges in stockmarkets. Now there is yet another cause for concern.

对于富裕世界来说这是一个充满煎熬的夏天：经济增长疲软，劳动市场晦暗，股市也大幅下挫。现在又有了新的忧虑的原因了。

The Economist's informal R-word index tracks the number of newspaper articles that use the word "recession" in a quarter. The index has the advantage of being timely: data for the articles are available immediately, whereas first estimates of GDP are typically released four weeks after the end of the quarter. If not foolproof, it boasts a decent record: previous incarnations of the index pinpointed the start of American recessions in 1990 and 2007.

经济学人杂志非官方的衰退见报指数记录了一个季度中“衰退”这个词在报刊中出现的数量。这个指数最大的优势在于其时效性：关于文章的数据能即时获得，而对 GDP 的一手预测通常也要等到季度结束的四周以后。尽管过于简单，它的表现还是很不错的：过去的准确定位了美国 1990 年至 2007 年来衰退开始的时间。

The latest iteration counts articles published in the *Financial Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. It shows the index declining steadily from a peak in early 2009, with just a brief pause during the summer of 2010. September, however, has brought a change in the weather. Measured at a quarterly rate, the index has visibly turned up since the start of this month. The chances that a slowdown will become a recession still hang in the balance. But the hacks are getting anxious.

最近一期指数对 *金融时报* 及 *华尔街日报* 中的文章做了统计。结果显示该指数从 2009 年年初的最高点平稳下降，在 2010 年夏季经历了一个短暂的间隙。而 9 月则带来了气候的变化。本月开始这个季度指数就出现了显著上升。增长减缓是否演变成衰退仍然悬而未决。但是人们已经坐立不安了。

翻译者：陈默

Poverty and health care

贫穷与医保

Pinched

资金匮乏

Shocking numbers, just as sacrifices are being demanded

令人震惊的数字，就好像牺牲是必须的



THE recession ended, at least technically, only six months into Barack Obama's presidency. For many voters, it certainly does not feel that way. Unemployment in August still stood at 9.1%, nearly twice its level at the start of the downturn. And on September 13th the Census Bureau released its latest figures on income, poverty and health coverage. The data, for 2010, represents the first full year of numbers since the recession's end in June 2009. Laymen would be forgiven for not noticing much change.

至少技术上来说，奥巴马政府只花了六个月就让萧条结束了。但许多的选民并不这样认为。八月份时，美国的失业率仍然达到了 9.1%，几乎是经济危机开始时的两倍。统计局 9 月 13 日发布了关于收入、贫困和健康保险的最新数据。2010 年的数据代表了从 09 年 6 月萧条结束后一整年的数据。但外行人可能看不出其中的玄机。

The data was remarkable for breaking a few records, none of them good ones. Income has, inevitably, dipped after previous recessions, but never by so much. Real median household income was \$49,445 in 2010, down 2.3% from 2009—indeed, income fell even further after the recession than in the recession's final year. This follows more than a decade of bad news. Since the peak in 1999, real median household incomes have plunged by a miserable 7%, and are now back where they were in 1996.

这份数据因打破了一些纪录而备受关注，而这些记录没有一个是好的。上次经济危机发生后，收入都不可避免地减少了，但从未减少过这么多。在 2010 年真正的中产家庭收入只有 49445 美元，比 09 年降低了 2.3%——的确，这个数据在经济危机结束后并未呈减少趋势，反而降低的越来越多。紧随而来的还有一个长达十余年的坏消息。自从 1999 年的峰值过后，中产家庭的收入水平骤降了惊人的 7%，目前已经回到了 1996 年的水平。

The ranks of the poor continue to swell. The number of people below the poverty level (defined last year as \$11,139 for an individual or \$22,314 for a family of four) reached 46.2m, the largest number of Americans since the Census Bureau started keeping track, back in 1959. The poverty rate was 15.1%, up from 14.3% in 2009, the second highest jump ever in the year after a recession, and the highest level since 1993. For some groups this problem is particularly acute. Nearly one-third of families with single mothers were impoverished in 2010. More than one-fifth of children

and 27% of blacks and Hispanics were poor, too. A lack of jobs, rather than a drop in wages, was the main problem. The old fared best, with just 9% in poverty.

穷人的队伍日益壮大,处于贫困线以下(在去年,这是指个人收入少于 11139 美元或四口之家的收入少于 22314 美元)的人群数量达到了 4620 万,这是自从 1959 年统计局开始记录出现的最庞大的数目。贫穷率已经从 2009 年的 14.3%升到了 15.1%,这是经济危机后一年内幅度第二大的一次跨越,也是 1993 年以来的最高水平。对于一些群体的人来说,这个问题相当严重。2010 年时将近三分之一的单亲妈妈家庭陷入了贫困,而现在超过五分之一的孩子,27%的黑人和西班牙裔美国人也同样贫穷。就业问题已取代降薪成为了主要的问题。老年人的情况是这些群体中最好的,只有 9%的人陷入贫困。

The figures for health insurance were only relatively sunnier. The proportion of those without insurance remained the same, at 16.3%. More young adults had insurance, perhaps thanks to a reform that lets them stay on their parents' health policies until they are 25. But with the main provisions of Mr Obama's health-care reform still years from implementation, the uninsured rate rose for those 35 and older. Even these numbers, however, mask the burden of health costs. For middle-class families with employer-sponsored insurance, health care has further eroded wages. In 2009, compared with 1999, the median family had \$5,400 less to spend than if health costs had kept pace with inflation, explains David Auerbach of RAND, a think-tank. The poor, meanwhile, devote more than 20% of income to health, according to Georgia State University.

医保的数据只是相对来说比较令人乐观。那些没有医保的人的比例仍维持在 16.3%。多数的年轻人都拥有医保,也许是由于改革让他们能享用父母的健康保险直到 25 岁。但是奥巴马总统制定的关于卫生保健的主要规定还需要数年才能够实施,因此对于那些 35 岁以上的人来说未参保率将会上升。即便如此,这些数据可能会掩盖(中产家庭)医疗支出的负担。对于拥有雇主支付的保险的中产家庭来说,医保进一步降低了他们的工资。著名智库兰德公司的 David Auerbach 说:“如果医疗费的增长率和通胀一样,在 2009 年中产阶级家庭的可支配支出上要比十年前少 5400 美元。同时佐治亚州立大学的(数据)表明穷人们 20%的以上的收入都作为了医疗支出。

The census data, though bleak, could have been even worse. Social programmes helped. Without unemployment insurance, now running out for millions, 3.2m more people would have been counted as poor. Without Social Security, the number of poor elderly would have quintupled.

这份调查数据虽然已经令人绝望,但是实际情况还可能更加糟糕。社会保障项目起到了不少作用,若不是(政府)提供的数百万失业保险,还有 320 万的人将被视为贫困人口。若没有社保,贫困的老人数量将会翻五倍。

All this sets a ticklish task for Mr Obama. His jobs plan could keep 3m out of poverty next year, says Isabel Sawhill of the Brookings Institution. But his constituents have yet to feel the benefits of health reform. They will be further rankled if he tries to cut hundreds of billions of dollars from Medicare and Medicaid in order to get his bill passed. The old, the one group that has been protected from the havoc, are only likely to become more protective of Social Security. It is hard to ask Americans to give up benefits, even in good times.

所有的这些都使奥巴马总统感到棘手。布鲁金斯研究所的 Isabel Sawhill 说总统的就业计划将使 3 百万人在明年脱离贫困。但是他的选民们还没感受到医改的好处。如果他为了使议案通过而消减用于医疗保障和医疗补助的数千亿美元,将会加深选民的积怨。在经济萧条时受到保护的老年人们只可能更加维护他们所享有的社会保障权益。即使在经济发达的时候,让美国人民放弃利益也是非常困难的。

翻译者:王法俊 校对者:李方裔

Lexington

列克星敦

A problem with club Med [注解 1]

“地中海俱乐部”的烦恼

America in the middle between Israel, Turkey, Egypt and Palestine

看美国将如何立足于以色列，土耳其，埃及，巴勒斯坦的中间

[注解 1] Med=Mediterranean Sea 地中海



WHEN is anything going to go right for Barack Obama in the Middle East? The president came to office hoping to deliver a **two-state solution** in Palestine, and wasted a lot of political capital failing to do so. He wanted dearly to put America on the right side of the Arab spring, though this entailed joining a war in one Arab country (Libya) while looking on helplessly while another (Syria) slaughtered its own citizens. Now he has been drawn into a tangle of quarrels between America's best friends in the eastern Mediterranean, from which there may be no exit.

中东局势何时才能稳定？奥巴马现在最头疼的恐怕就是这个问题。他曾希望在巴勒斯坦地区建立**两国制**【注解 2】，并且投入了大量财政资金用于实现这个目标，可惜以失败告终。他想让美国同阿拉伯国家建立一种积极的合作关系，但要想实现这个愿望，就必须参与阿拉伯国家间的战争，比如利比亚战争；当美国人民看着无辜的叙利亚民众惨遭屠杀时他们只能表示自己有心无力。现如今，奥巴马已经被卷入了一场由美国及他们地中海东部两个好朋友们的三方参与的纷争当中，而且任何一方都不会轻易手下留情草率退出。

【注解 2】：详见 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Two-state_solution

Only yesterday, or so it seems, the eastern Mediterranean was a tranquil lake, policed congenially by the American sixth fleet. Israel, Egypt and Turkey were all friends not only of the United States but also of one another. Over the years, it is true, the peace between Israel and Egypt grew cold. After the 2008 Gaza war between Israel and Hamas a frost settled on relations between Israel and Turkey as well. Behind the scenes, however, the governments (and armed forces) of the three countries seemed happy to stick to their strategic understandings, leading policymakers in America to hope that this might be at least one virtuous triangle in the otherwise vicious geometry of the Middle East.

仿佛昨天的地中海还是风平浪静，在美国第六舰队的管理下安安稳稳的过日子。那时以色列，埃及，土耳其，不仅同美国是好朋友，彼此之间也是友好的兄弟姐妹。但多年之后，实际上，以色列和埃及之间的感情已经逐渐淡化。在 2008 年加沙战争（以色列 vs 哈马斯）以后，以色列和土耳其的关系也开始僵化。然而，这背后的阴谋是，三个国家的政府及

其武装部队都坚持他们的战略战术，意在把美国的决策者引向一种憧憬，那就是当前的局势其实让中东局势脱离苦海来到美好的另一边的必经之路。

No longer. On September 10th Mr Obama and his defence secretary, Leon Panetta, found themselves in frantic phone calls with Israel's prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, and Field-Marshal Muhammad Hussein Tantawi, the chairman of Egypt's governing council, striving to save Israel's staff in Cairo from a mob that had invaded its embassy. Egyptian soldiers rescued the trapped Israelis. But the spectacle of Israel's ambassador **being plucked from** the jaws of the Arab spring to the safety of Jerusalem was a signal of what the Arab democratic awakening might mean for the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, Jimmy Carter's proudest achievement and the foundation on which America's Arab-Israeli diplomacy has stood for more than 30 years.

但是上述情况再也不会出现了。九月十号，奥巴马先生和他的国防部长利昂帕内塔与以色列的首相宾亚敏·内塔尼亚胡和陆军元帅穆罕穆德侯赛因坦他唯进行了匆忙的电话联系，当以色列驻埃及的大使馆被暴徒袭击时，埃及的政府委员会主席试图解救了以色列的工作人员。随后埃及军队解救出了所有被困的以色列人。无巧不成书，将以色列大使拖出鬼门关，从阿拉伯人手中解救出来，并将其带到耶路撒冷的安全地带的这种行为被视为了一个标志，它意味着阿拉伯政府的觉醒可能会使以色列和埃及问题得到和平解决，它意味着吉米卡特【注解3】此生最大的成就，它意味着美国与阿拉伯以色列国家长达30多年之久的外交关系的奠基石。

【注解3】吉米卡特：美国第39位总统(1977年1月20日--1981年1月20日)

At the same time, America has been struggling without success to repair the breach between Israel and Turkey that followed Israel's killing of eight Turks and a Turkish-American on board the **Mavi Marmara** when it tried to break the Israeli naval blockade of the Gaza Strip in May last year. An elaborate plan to **patch up** the quarrel collapsed when Mr Netanyahu's prideful coalition partners refused to let him go beyond expressing regret and offer a formal apology. Turkey's own response has now gone into rhetorical overdrive: on top of booting out Israel's ambassador, suspending defence ties and threatening legal action, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the prime minister, appeared at one point to hint that Turkish warships might escort future aid convoys to Gaza.

与此同时，在修复以色列和土耳其的外交裂痕上，美国正在做无用功。这个裂痕的由来是因为以色列的蓝色马尔马拉号曾在试图突破海军封锁的加沙地带时打死了8名土耳其人和一名美籍土耳其人这个事件造成的。由于内塔尼亚胡先生自视清高的同盟者拒绝让内塔尼亚胡先生对外发表公开道歉言论，这种做法使得一个为打破僵局而精心设计的周密计划流产了。而土耳其的回应则颇为欲盖弥彰：土耳其总理塔基普埃尔多安指出，将以色列大使扫地出门，暂时解除防御，使用威胁性的法律手段等一系列行为都证明了土耳其的舰队已经具备了在加沙地区进行协助维和工作的实力。

As in the case of the growing tensions between Israel and Egypt, the rupture between Israel and Turkey leaves America helplessly in the middle. Turkey is a NATO partner; Israel is America's special friend. The State Department says forlornly that it would like to see "these two strong allies of the United States" work together in search of regional stability. That will not happen any time soon. A UN report finding Israel's naval blockade legal, even if its use of force was "excessive", makes it even harder for Mr Netanyahu to give Mr Erdogan his apology. Mr Erdogan, likening Israel to a "spoiled child", has meanwhile gone on the warpath. He was in Cairo this week, at the beginning of a tour of the Arab world, winning the admiration of rapturous Egyptian crowds for his belligerent blasts against Israel.

在以色列和埃及的关系进一步陷入僵局的情况下，以色列和土耳其的断交，使得美国陷入了一种“爹不疼娘不爱”的尴尬局面。土耳其是北大西洋公约组织【注解4】的成员；以色列是美国的一个“私交”。美国国务院凄凉的说这就好像昔日美国的左膀右臂如今走到一起共同寻求关于维护区域稳定的解决方案。好在这种局面不会马上发生。一项联合国报告指出以色列的海军封锁行为是合法的，尽管它使用了“极端的”手段使得内塔尼亚胡先生想向埃尔多安先生表示歉意的愿望更难达成。埃尔多安把以色列比作一个被遗弃的孩子，同时他坚持走战争化道路。他在对阿拉伯国家的访问的第一站开罗，赢得了开罗民众对其攻打以色列做法的支持和拥护。

【注解4】北大西洋公约组织 (英 NATO :North Atlantic Treaty Organization 法 OTAN :l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord)，简称北约组织或北约，是美国与西欧、北美主要发达国家为实现防卫协作而建立的一个国际军事集团组织。北约拥有大量核武器和常规部队，是西方的重要军事力量。这是资本主义阵营在军事上实现战略同盟的标志，是马歇尔计划的发展，使美国得以控制欧洲的防务体系，是美国称霸世界的标志。

Not content with standing on Turkey's own national honour, Mr Erdogan is also **intent on** making Turkey a champion of the Palestinians. Having felt personally slighted when Israel launched its Gaza war just when he was trying to mediate between Israel and

Syria, he has now thrown Turkey's support behind the Palestinians' plan to give up on the interminable "peace process" and take their quest for statehood directly to the United Nations later this month. "Let's raise the flag of Palestine to the sky and let it be a symbol of justice and peace in the Middle East," he told a meeting of Arab League foreign ministers in Cairo.

抛开土耳其本国的荣誉不说，埃尔多安先生坚持让土耳其成为巴勒斯坦国的捍卫者。就在土耳其努力调停以色列和叙利亚的冲突的时候，以色列又开始在加沙地区宣战，这一切的一切让土耳其觉得自己所作的实在微不足道，于是它扔掉了长期以来挥动的橄榄枝，丢出了巴勒斯坦护卫军的招牌，并且这个月的晚些时候土耳其曾直接上报联合国要求为巴方的国家主权讨个说法。“我们会让巴勒斯坦的国旗在空中恣情飞扬，让它的独立成为中东地区公正与和平的象征！”这是他在开罗会见某阿拉伯同盟外交使节时说出的豪言壮语。

The Americans, who are the chief sponsor of the interminable peace process, are appalled by this idea. However strong an advocate he may be of a Palestinian state, Mr Obama says that trying to create one via a UN resolution, without a negotiated agreement, will be a "distraction". It could be much worse than that. Israel and its friends in Congress are considering dire retaliation, including cutting off financial aid and tax transfers to the Palestinian Authority. Security co-operation between Israel and the Palestinians in the West Bank might collapse, sparking a new **intifada** 【注解 5】. So unless the Palestinians thoroughly dilute their planned resolution, Mr Obama will almost certainly veto it if it reaches the Security Council. That would give his pro-Israel credentials a needed pre-election boost, but might shatter all his strenuous efforts to improve America's standing with the Arabs.

埃尔多安先生的这个想法可是把为这趟“和平苦旅”提供赞助的美国吓得不轻。同样作为巴方的强烈拥护者，奥巴马先生却表示在未经洽谈磋商的前提下贸然希望通过联合国的裁判成立独立政府的这种行为，是事半功倍的。而实际情况更加糟糕。以色列和他国会中的“好兄弟们”正伺机进行报复行动，包括截断财政补助以及对终止巴勒斯坦政府的税收优惠政策。可以说西方国家在稳定巴以局势上的合作是极其失败的，甚至可能会导致历史上的暴动事件再次发生。因此，除非巴勒斯坦人彻底淡化他们预想的那种强硬的姿态，否则奥巴马总统在安理会上会坚决投反对票。这么做就意味着之前支持以方的国家拿到了胜利的绿卡，也同样意味着他之前所做的大量的让美国与阿拉伯国家交好的努力付之一炬。

【注解 5】：intifada:1987 年底爆发的，以色列占领区的巴勒斯坦人的暴动

Paying the Israel premium

给以色列保险费

American officials sped to the region this week, hoping, with European help, to avert a collision at the UN. But even if they succeeded, America's Middle East diplomacy will be a mess. Though Egypt's present rulers might not welcome a rupture with Israel, the forces unleashed by its revolution will continue to push for one. Mr Erdogan's Israel-bashing will continue as well, because it is driven not just by a grievance but also by a strategic decision to put Turkey on the right side of the Arab spring after Mr Erdogan spent too long ignoring the massacres in neighbouring Syria. That may seem hard on Israel, but the Jewish state is paying what some call a "Netanyahu premium" for its prime minister's intransigence towards the Palestinians. And America, whose president also wanted so much to get on the right side of the Arab spring, will pay a growing premium for its friendship with Israel.

美国官员在这周火速赶往中东地区，希望在欧盟各国的帮助下，避免与其他国家在联合国产生正面交锋。但是尽管他们成功了，美国的中东外交政策也将会乱成一团毫无头绪。就算眼下埃及当局不希望和以色列的断交，在那些强硬派暴行的持续作用下，断交是迟早的事。以埃尔多安先生为首的毁灭以色列集团也将持续发挥其影响，因为他们的动机不仅来源于怨恨和不满，而是埃尔多安希望在长期没有提起他们的邻居——叙利亚——遭遇的那场大屠杀之后，让土耳其成为与阿拉伯人民世代友好的国家。这点对以色列来说就有点难度了，不过犹太人们正在支付一种可以称作“内塔尼亚胡保险”的东西来为他们迟迟不肯在巴勒斯坦问题上做出让步的总理承担风险。而那个以总统为先锋，渴望与阿拉伯世界人民结盟的美利坚合众国，将会为他们同以色列的友谊付出更多的代价。

Phrases:

patch up : 修补 包扎

pluck from : 被拖出

be intent on: 坚持

翻译者：慧子 校对者：尹茜

New York's special election

纽约的特别选举

Taking the ninth

夺取第九区

A Republican wins in an overwhelmingly Democratic district

共和党在民主党重镇获得压倒性胜利



IN NEW YORK'S ninth congressional district, which takes in chunks of Queens and Brooklyn, registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by three to one. It was once the seat of Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman vice-presidential candidate. And it has been represented by Democrats for almost 90 years.

纽约皇后区和布鲁克林区在纽约第九国会选区中占有举足轻重的地位。选区内注册的民主党人数远远超过共和党人数，比例达到 3:1。这里曾经是第一位女性副总统候选人 Geraldine Ferraro 的管辖地。民主党曾在此地独领风骚长达九十年。

No longer. Anthony Weiner, one of the few vigorous defenders of Obamacare, was extremely popular in the district. Even after the scandal that erupted when he sent pictures of himself in his underpants to a woman not his wife, many of Mr Weiner's constituents wanted him to stay put. A Republican victory seemed unimaginable just a few weeks ago. But Bob Turner, a former cable-TV executive, shocked both sides of the aisle with an unexpected win on September 13th. Mr Turner received 54% of the vote, while David Weprin, the Democratic candidate, got a measly 46%.

但是如今，民主党的劲头却不复当年。Anthony Weiner，作为奥巴马医改方案少数几个有力的捍卫者之一，在此地区特别受欢迎。他将自己只穿着内裤的艳照送给其妻子以外的女人，随之丑闻爆发。即使这样，许多 Weiner 的支持者仍希望他能够留任。在几个星期之前，共和党的胜利还宛如镜中花水中月。但是，有线电视高级管理人员 Bob Turner 令人意外地获得 9 月 13 日的胜利，让两党双方均感震惊。Turner 先生获得了 54% 的支持率，而民主党候选人 David Weprin 只获得了 46% 的支持率。

The upset should not have been such a surprise. The district is liberal by national standards. By New York standards, however, it contains some of the most conservative parts of the city. And its voters are leaning more to the right by the day. In the 2000 presidential election, they voted 67% to 30% for Al Gore. In 2008 Barack Obama only won 55% of the district's vote, and he lost the Brooklyn part by 15%.

事实上，此次逆转是意料之中的。因为按照美国国家标准，这个地区属于自治区。然而，以纽约标准来看，此地汇集着这个城市最保守的部分。这里的选民日益倾向于右翼。在 2000 年的总统大选中，他们对 Al Gore 的支持率由最初的 67% 下降到 30%。在 2008 年，Barack Obama 只获得了此区 55% 的选票。15% 的支持率使得奥巴马败走布鲁克林选区。

Most of the district is white and many residents are blue-collar. About a third of the population is Jewish. This powerful voting block is especially unhappy with Mr Obama's policies towards Israel. Ed Koch, an outspoken former mayor of New York, thinks Democrats should not take the Jewish vote for granted. He crossed the aisle to lend his support to the Catholic Mr Turner over the Jewish Mr Weprin. During his victory speech, Mr Turner was flanked by the American flag on his right and the Israeli one on his left. 此地区聚集的人种大部分为白色种人。许多居民都是蓝领工人。三分之一的人口为犹太裔。这个强有力的选民群体，对奥巴马对待以色列政策感到不满。前纽约市市长 Ed Koch，一向以心直口快闻名，他认为民主党不应该认为犹太族为其投票是理所当然。他转变阵营，不再支持犹太族的 Weprin 先生，转而支持天主教派的 Turner 先生。Turner 在发表其胜利演说时，他的两侧分别是美国国旗和以色列国旗。前者在右，后者在左。

Democratic political bosses seem to have taken the district for granted; Mr Weprin was a dull pick. They doubtless wanted someone pliable who would cause no fuss next year, when the ninth is likely to be dissolved during redistricting. But what they got were some damaging gaffes, such as Mr Weprin not having a clue about the size of the national debt.

民主党的政治首领似乎认为获得这个地区的支持是理所当然的；选择 Weprin 实属无奈。无疑他们需要的是一个圆滑的人，并且在明年选区重新划分时不会惹出麻烦。那时，第九选区将被划分为几个选区。但是，他们却接连遭遇几近毁灭性的丑闻，比如 Weprin 对于国债的规模一无所知。

He also failed to turn up for a political debate, blaming Hurricane Irene. Mr Turner, who had been evacuated from his home, was ready. Mr Weprin could not even vote for himself, as he does not live in the district he wanted to represent. At the 11th hour, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee stepped up with a \$500,000 infusion of cash, but only when the race was already dangerously close. Bill Clinton and Andrew Cuomo, the popular governor of New York, were deployed on telephone calls to constituents. But it all came much too late.

并且，他将没能出现在政治辩论上的原因归咎于飓风 Irene。而 Turner 先生却早已从家里搬出，随时准备应战。由于 Weprin 先生不住在他希望代表的地区，所以他不能为自己投票。在第 11 个小时的时候，民主党国会竞选委员会突然发力，注入 50 万美元的资金。只是这时已是比赛的尾声。Bill Clinton 和 Andrew Cuomo，是纽约市政府最受欢迎的管理者。他们被安排接听选民的电话，但是一切都太晚了。

The turnout was low, but even so Republicans are gleefully calling this a referendum on the president. Voters are angry about the poor economy and lack of jobs. Mr Obama's approval rating in the district is an abysmal 31%. "What's my kid going to do when he finishes college?" worried one Democrat who voted for Mr Turner. Only a few months ago, Democrats were cheering when their candidate beat the Republican in an upstate New York election. But the bosses who pushed Mr Weiner to resign this summer must be wishing he had stuck it out.

尽管选民热情不高，共和党依然欣喜地发起对总统进行全民公决的号召。选民对经济环境不景气与失业率的攀升感到愤怒。奥巴马的支持率已下跌至 31%，这一数字十分可怜。为 Turner 投票的民主主义者不无担忧地说道：“孩子毕业后要能做什么？”。就在几个月前，民主主义者正为他们的候选人在纽约北部地区击败共和党人而欢呼雀跃。但是领导人却让 Weiner 放弃夏天的争夺战。也许是希望他厚积薄发。

[相关新闻]：中新网 9 月 16 日电 从未担任过公职、商人出身的美国共和党候选人特纳(Bob Turner)，13 日在纽约州第九选区国会众议员补选，意外击败支持力雄厚的民主党对手现任州众议员魏普林(David Weprin)，攻下 1923 年以来的民主党重镇，令政坛震惊。美国《世界日报》对此评论称，这场失利向美国总统奥巴马发出了警示，显示美国民众对奥巴马政策的不满。

主流媒体评论员 14 日都认为，在这场选战失利，无异向奥巴马发出了警示：选民对国家现状非常焦虑，包括许多民主党员在内的选民，极为不满奥巴马的政策，宁愿把票投给另一个政党的政界新人。

主持特纳与魏普林唯一电视辩论的纽约一号频道(NY1)新闻主播刘易斯(Errol Louis)，在有线电视新闻网(CNN)撰文指出，选民似已明白表示，他们对奥巴马的政策十分愤怒。他提醒各界，2010 年期中选举时，共和党净增 63 席重新控制国会众院，就是受到这种政治动力推动。

他说，奥巴马和民主党都应该忧心。

刘易斯指出，民主党在这个选区占尽一切优势却吃了败仗，对选举不够用心，也应该检讨。他说，民主党忘记或忽略了“一

切政治皆与地方有关”。

他很惊讶，电视辩论时，魏普林大谈奥巴马的预算政策及美国对以色列的立场，几乎不谈纽约关心的问题（像是风灾后重建），如此无疑让特纳占到很大的便宜。他只要抨击奥巴马的经济政策，就能得分。

《洛杉矶时报》驻华盛顿资深记者欧利芬特(James Oliphant)指出，每个人都可看出，民众对国家现状十分焦虑不安，特纳意外获胜，关键在于把经济不振紧紧贴在奥巴马身上。

他用纽约市皇后区居民琳达·戈博格告诉《纽约时报》的话做为佐证：“我是注册的民主党党员，一辈子都是民主党党员，我来自民主党家庭。我很不愿说，但我这次投票给共和党。我需要告诉总统，他没有把工作做好。我们的经济很可怕。百姓都吓坏了。”

民主党 13 日除了输掉纽约州国会众议员补选，在被视为总统大选“摇摆州”的内华达州，也铩羽而归。

校对者：裴静 校对者：尹茜

Flipping the classroom

颠覆传统教育模式

Hopes that the internet can improve teaching may at last be bearing fruit

让互联网提高教学质量的美好愿望最终或可开花结果。



MacSchool

THE 12-year-olds filing into Courtney Cadwell's classroom at Egan Junior High in Los Altos, a leafy suburb of Silicon Valley, each take a white MacBook from a trolley, log on to a website called KhanAcademy.org and begin doing maths exercises. They will not get a lecture from Ms Cadwell, because they have already viewed, at home, various lectures as video clips on KhanAcademy (given by Salman Khan, its founder). And Ms Cadwell, logged in as a "coach", can see exactly who has watched which. This means that class time is now free for something else: one-on-one instruction by Ms Cadwell, or what used to be known as tutoring.

这些十二岁的孩子排成纵队进入考特尼·卡德韦尔所管理的伊根高中的教室，这所高中位于绿树成荫的硅谷城郊洛斯拉图斯，每个孩子都从小推车上拿出一个白色的 MacBook 笔记本电脑，登陆一个被称作可汗学院的网址并开始做数学练习。他们不会从卡德韦尔女士那里获取任何的课程，因为他们已经在家中看到了可汗学院网站上各种各样的授课视频片段（这些视频均是由萨尔曼·可汗这位可汗学院网络课程学校的创始人提供的）。而卡德韦尔女士以“教员”的身份进入教学系统，从而可以准确地掌握同学们接受课程的情况。这就意味着课堂的时间现在可也腾出来干一些别的事情了：由卡德韦尔女士进行的一对一的指导，过去亦常被称为辅导。

So Ms Cadwell, in her own web browser, pulls up a dashboard where KhanAcademy's software presents, through the internet, the data the children are producing at that instant. She can view information for the entire class or any individual pupil. Just then she sees two fields, representing modules, turning from green to red, one for Andrea, the other for Asia. Ms Cadwell sees that Andrea is struggling with exponents, Asia with fractions. "Instead of having to guess where my students have gaps, I can see it, at that moment, and I walk over to that one student," says Ms Cadwell, as she arrives at Asia's chair.

所以卡德韦尔女士在她个人的网络浏览器上，设置了一个界面，在这个界面上可汗学院的软件可以通过互联网显示出学生们在那一刻所产生的数据。就在这时她看到了两个区域，这两个区域代表了模块，这些模块从绿色到红色逐渐变化，一个是安德里亚的，另一个是爱莎的。卡德韦尔女士看到安德里亚正苦苦挣扎于指数之

中，而爱莎则埋头于钻研分数。“我可以在那一刻清楚地了解到而不需要去猜测我的学生在哪里遇到了困难，同时我可以走到那名遇到困难的学生跟前，”当卡德韦尔女士来到爱莎跟前时她这样说道。

While the other pupils continue to work at their own pace and at different problems, Ms Cadwell now spends a few minutes just with Andrea and Asia. Soon Andrea has an epiphany and starts firing correct answers, getting, in Khan Academy's jargon (术语), a "badge", then going "transonic". A few minutes later, Asia also gets a "streak (闪电)". She lets out a shriek. Ms Cadwell, with a big smile, is off to another pupil. "The growth in these kids is just staggering," she says. "This is the future. I don't see how it couldn't be."

当其他的学生继续在以自己的节奏去工作并且遇到各种各样的困难的时候，卡德韦尔女士现在花费了几分钟的时间去处理安德里亚和爱莎所遇到的问题。不一会儿安德里亚就产生了灵感并开始写出正确的答案来，与此同时他得到一个用可汗学院术语称作的“徽章”，然后奔“升级”而去。几分钟之后，爱莎也灵光一现而得到了启发。她发出了喜悦的尖叫声。卡德韦尔女士脸上洋溢着笑容，她离开了爱莎走向另一个学生。“这些学生的进步是令人吃惊的，”她说道。“这就是未来的教育模式，就我现在所见它无所不能。”

This reversal of the traditional teaching methods—with lecturing done outside class time and tutoring (or “homework”) during it—is what Mr Khan calls “the flip”. A synonym for flip, of course, is revolution, and this experiment in Los Altos just might lead to one. For although only a handful of classes in this public-school district tried the method in the last school year, many other schools, private and public, are now expressing interest, and the methodology is spreading.

这种通过在课堂之外进行课程的讲授和在这期间的辅导（或是家庭作业）对传统教育方式的颠覆——就是卡德韦尔女士所称作的“颠覆”。当然，颠覆的同义词就是变革，而这一在洛斯拉图斯的尝试仅仅可能会产生以上所说的一种结果。尽管在这片公立学校的区域里只有一小部分班级在上一学年尝试了这种教学方法，然而许多其他的学校，不管是公立的还是私立的，现在都表达出了对这一教学方法的兴趣，与此同时这一教学方法正逐渐得到普及。

Indeed, philanthropists such as Bill Gates have such high hopes for the new method that they have given money to KhanAcademy, a tiny non-profit organisation based in Mountain View, next to Los Altos. This means that the more than 2,400 video lectures, on anything from arithmetic and finance to chemistry and history, will remain free for anybody.

事实上，像比尔·盖茨这样的慈善家对这种教学方法寄予了如此高的期望以至于他们已经向可汗学院这个位于毗邻洛斯拉图斯的山景城的非盈利组织捐赠了钱款。这就意味着涵盖了从算术方法和金融知识到化学知识和历史知识的超过 2400 个视频教学课程，都将会对所有人免费开放。

If KhanAcademy were merely about those online lectures, of course, it would be in good but large company. Increasingly, teachers, professors and other experts make their talks available online: on iTunes, YouTube or university websites. Some, such as Michael Sandel at Harvard with his philosophy lectures, have become minor celebrities. More and more sites exist purely to spread learning—some free, such as AcademicEarth.org; others not, such as TheGreatCourses.com.

当然，如果可汗学院仅仅是涉及网络课程，那么它会是一个处于良好的运营状态的大公司。越来越多的老师，教授和其它的专家学者使他们的演讲能够传播到网络上：在 iTunes，YouTube 或者大学的网站上。一些诸如麦克尔·桑德尔在哈佛大学的授课演讲已经小有名气。越来越多的网址的存在纯粹是为了传播知识——一些是免费的，如学术地球，其它的则不是，如最伟大的课程这一网站。

Watching lectures online, or on a smartphone or iPad on the go, has advantages, as Mr Khan has discovered from the huge number of comments he gets on his site. Children (or adults, for that matter) need no longer feel ashamed when they have to review part or all of a lecture several times. So they can advance at their own pace.

可汗先生从他网站上获取的大量评论中发现，在网上看讲座视频，或者在路途中用智能手机或者苹果平板电脑看，有它的优势。当孩子（以及一些成年人）需要花好几次来复习讲座的一部分或者全部时，他们再也不会觉得不好意思，这样就可以按照各自的步伐前进。

But lectures, whether online or in the flesh, play only a limited role in education. Research shows that the human brain accepts new concepts largely through constant recall while interacting socially. This suggests that good teaching must “de-emphasise lecture and emphasise active problem-solving,” says Carl Wieman, a winner of the Nobel prize in physics and an adviser to Barack Obama.

但是不管是网络教学还是课堂教学，讲座对教学的作用有限。研究表明，人脑接受新概念主要通过社交互动时不断的回顾，这就表明好的教学必须“淡化讲课而强调积极地解决问题”，诺贝尔物理学奖得主兼奥巴马的顾问卡尔·威曼说。

To KhanAcademy’s fans, the flip that Mr Khan advocates helps to do just that. As a tool, KhanAcademy individualises teaching and makes it interactive and fun. Maths “is social now,” says Kami Thordarson, as the 10-year-olds in the 5th-grade class she teaches at Santa Rita Elementary School huddle round their laptops to solve arithmetic problems as though they were trading baseballcards or marbles.

对可汗学院的粉丝来说，可汗先生所倡导的革命正致力于此。作为一种工具，可汗学院使教学个性化，令其具有互动性和趣味性。圣丽塔小学一群五年级的十岁小孩围在他们的电脑旁边解决算数题，就像在交换棒球卡或者弹球（一样热闹），他们的老师卡米·索尔达松感慨道，数学“现在是集体活动了”。

The system has its detractors. First, it may not be much use beyond “numerate” subjects such as maths and the sciences; KhanAcademy does have a few history offerings, but they are less convincing than the huge number of maths and science ones. Second, even in these subjects KhanAcademy implicitly reinforces the “sit-and-get” philosophy of teaching, thinks Frank Noschese, a high-school physics teacher in New York. That is, it still “teaches to the test”, without necessarily engaging pupils more deeply. Worse, says Mr Noschese, KhanAcademy’s deliberate “gamification” of learning—all those cute and addictive “meteorite badges”—may have the “disastrous consequence” of making pupils mechanically repeat lower-level exercises to win awards, rather than formulating questions and applying concepts.

该系统也频遭诟病。首先，它对于数学和科学以外的非“数字”学科可能不那么有用，可汗学院确实也有一些历史课程，但这些课程没有大量的数学和科学课程那么令人信服。第二，即便是数学和科学课程，可汗学院暗中强化了“让孩子静下心来学习”的教学理念，纽约一所高中的物理老师弗兰克·诺斯凯塞这样认为，即它仍然是“为考而教”，而非让学生更多地参与进来。诺斯凯塞说，更糟糕的是，可汗学院刻意将学习的过程“游戏化”——那些可爱又容易上瘾的“陨石徽章”，可能导致“灾难性的后果”，即让学生为了奖励而机械地重复较低级别的练习，而不是思考问题和运用概念。

The teachers now using KhanAcademy counter that it is meant to be merely one, not the only, teaching tool, and that by freeing up class time it also makes possible other projects that do exactly what Mr Noschese promotes. In the fifth-grade class at Santa Rita, the children have made a tile floor (requiring fancy maths to estimate sizes, shapes and numbers). When this correspondent visited, they practised on KhanAcademy but then played SKUNK, a game involving probability.

正在使用可汗学院的老师反驳说该软件只是教学工具之一，而非唯一的教学工具，并且它通过腾出课堂时间使得其他项目得以开展，而这些项目正是诺斯凯塞先生所提倡的。在圣丽塔五年级的课堂上，孩子们做了瓷砖地板（需要花哨的数学估计大小、形状和数字）。记者走访时，他们正在可汗学院上练习，而一会儿又玩起了涉及概率的“臭鼬”游戏。

America’s standardised tests are now “easy, a floor, not of interest”, says Ms Thordarson. She feels that the tool thus allows her to teach better and go deeper. But “You have to be more creative and more flexible, which is challenging,” she says. It’s not for teachers who “want to turn a page in a book”, adds Kelly Rafferty, the co-teacher. They thereby answer one common misconception about KhanAcademy: that it makes live teachers less relevant. Mr Khan, the teachers and Mr Gates all insist that the opposite is the case. It can liberate a good teacher to become even better. Of course, it can also make it easy for a bad teacher to cop out.

索 尔达松女士说，现在美国的标准化考试“容易、单调又无聊”，她觉得该工具使她教得更好、更深入。但是“你必须更有创造性而且更灵活，这一点很挑战”，和她一起教的老师凯利·拉弗蒂补充说，这种工具不是给那种光顾着照本宣科的老师准备的。他们也顺便回答了对可汗学院的一种常见误解：它淡化了教师的重要性。可汗先生、老师们和盖茨先生都强调说，情况恰恰相反。它可以解放一个好老师使其变得更好。当然，它也让坏教师很容易偷懒。

The value of teachers

教师的价值

The arrival of a powerful new tool thus does not replace the other necessary element in education reform, the raising of teacher quality. Good teaching is the single biggest variable in educating pupils, bigger than class size, family background or school funding, says Eric Hanushek, an education expert at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. And crucial to having better teachers is evaluating them properly, hiring, firing and promoting on merit.

这个功能强大的新型工具的引进并没有取代教育改革中的另一个必要元素——提高教师水平。良好的教学质量是小学教育当中唯一的最大变量，甚至比课堂规模、家庭背景或者教学资金的变数更大，来自斯坦福大学胡佛研究所的教育学专家埃里克·汉鲁谢克如是说。而且拥有一支良好的教师队伍关键在于恰当地评估教师水平、根据教师才能进行聘用、解聘以及升职。

The teachers' unions, however, are fighting all attempts to move away from systems in which pay and tenure are linked only to seniority and credentials. In some places, such as Washington, DC, the reformers have won a few skirmishes; in others, such as Los Angeles, the unions are digging in for a long war. The core question is how, even whether, teachers can be evaluated fairly on the basis of exam results or classroom observation (given that some pupils are from educated families, others from poor areas, and so on). The unions are doing their best to ensure that evaluations have no consequences in staffing.

然而，一直以来，任何想要改变当前体系中薪资和职位只与资历和证书挂钩这种情况的企图都受到教师工会的打压。在某些地方，例如首都华盛顿，改革者已获小胜，而在其他地方，譬如洛杉矶，教师工会却丝毫没有让步的意思，他们已经挖好了战壕做好了长期斗争的准备。在整场改革当中，核心的问题在于如何甚至是否基于考试结果或课堂观察对教师进行公正的评估（鉴于许多学生出生于受过良好教育的家庭，而其他的却来自贫困地区，以及诸如此类的一些差异）。教师工会正在尽全力保证评估工作的公正性，力求评估结果不受人员配备情况的影响。

Technology can play a part here, because, in essence, evaluation is an information problem. Today's standardised tests are deservedly unpopular with teachers and parents because, first, the “standards” tend to be low (and easily lowered further); second, teaching to the test is a form of dumbing down; and third, the tests take place only once or twice a year.

这时科技的力量就显得举足轻重，因为从本质上说评估工作是个信息问题。如今的标准化考核已经理所当然的不被教师和家长所待见。原因有三：其一，这种标准化考核的“标准”通常偏低（而且以后可能会更低）；其二，教学测试已是降低标准的一种形式；其三，教学测试每年或者每两年才进行一次。

By contrast, spend a few minutes playing with the KhanAcademy dashboard of a class in Los Altos, and you see a vision of the future. You can follow the progress of each child—where she started, how she progressed, where she got stuck and “unstuck” (as Ms Thordarson likes to put it). You can also view the progress of the entire class. And you could aggregate the information of all the classes taught by one teacher, of an entire school or even district, with data covering a whole year.

相比之下，只需在洛斯拉图斯的某个班级的可汗学院的控制板上花上寥寥数分钟，你就能设想到将来的教学场景。你可以跟进每一个学生进度——她从何时开始学习的、她是如何进步的、她在何处被困又如何“突围”（像托德桑女士喜欢称呼的那样）。你还可以观察到整个班级的进步情况。而且你可以利用全年的数据整合整个学校甚至整个地区中由同一名老师授课的所有班级信息。

Dennis van Roekel, the president of the National Education Association (NEA), the largest labour union in America with 3.2m members, goes ballistic at this suggestion. “Don’t demean the profession” by implying that you can rate teachers with numbers, he says. Besides, this sort of thing would introduce destructive competition into a culture that should be collaborative, he adds (without explaining why data-driven evaluations have not destroyed collaboration in other industries).

全国教育学会作为全美最大的劳动工会，旗下 320 万成员。其主席丹尼斯·范·诺克尔，对于这个提议可谓是暴跳如雷。“不要贬低了这个职业的名声”他说道，言下之意是意人们可以根据序号对教师进行评估。此外，他还补充道，像这类事物将会给本来应当合作共赢的教育文化引入破坏性的竞争（但他却不解释为什么以数据为导向的评估工作在其他领域并没有破坏人们之间的合作）。

The NEA and its supporters will eventually lose this fight, says Kate Walsh, the president of the National Council on Teacher Quality, a think-tank that unions love to hate. “It will be considered fair game to collect the data” and to use them to get better teachers in America’s classrooms, she says. It may or may not be KhanAcademy’s software that produces this information. Nonetheless, the academy, “by offering a different model, is forcing the issue that people have speculated about”, says Mr Hanushek at Stanford. “These technological ideas offer the possibility of breaking a logjam.”

此一战，全国教育协会及其支持者们必定落败，凯特·华士预言道，身为全美教师质量委员会的主席，她是工会们讨厌的智囊团。“汇集数据才是公平的”她说，而且要根据这些数据为全美国的学生们找到更好的老师。以后不一定会由可汗学院的软件，可能会是其他的软件来提供这些信息。尽管如此，这个学院“通过提供一个不同的模型，正在催生一个人们早就已经料想到会发生的议题”，汉鲁谢克先生评价道，“这种技术层面的想法为打破僵局提供了可能”。

翻译者：李苏&贾茗越&郑恒 校对者：尹茜

Voter identification

选举人身份证明

First, show your face

首先,让大家看看你的相貌

Now South Carolina, too, wants voters to produce photo ID

现在,南卡罗来纳州也想要投票人拿出有相片的身分证明来

RARE is the governor so passionate about a piece of legislation that she offers to turn chauffeur. Yet that is just what Nikki Haley, South Carolina's governor, did after hearing complaints about a bill passed by the state legislature requiring voters to show a government-issued photo ID. More than 178,000 registered voters in South Carolina lack such formal identification. Opponents of the bill claim it discriminates against black and poor voters. "Find me those people that think that this is invading their rights," Mrs Haley said tartly, responding to such claims, "and I will go take them to the DMV [the Department of Motor Vehicles, which issues driving licences with photographs] myself." In the end, Mrs Haley did not drive anyone anywhere, though she has ordered the state to ferry voters without ID to the DMV free of charge on September 28th.

很少有州长对一条法律热心到主动提出去当司机的地步。但当南卡罗来纳州州长 Nikki Haley 听到人们对一条州立法机构通过的要求投票人出示政府颁发的带照片身份证明法的怨言后,她就是这样做的。超过 178000 位南卡罗来纳的注册投票人没有这种正式的身份证明。这项法案的反对者称这将对黑人和贫穷的投票人造成歧视。“给我把那些认为这侵犯了他们权利的人找来,”Haley 女士如此尖锐地回应这些说法,“我会亲自把他们带去 DMV (机动车管理局,颁发带照片的驾驶执照)。”最终,Haley 女士也没开车送任何人去任何地方,但她命令州政府把没有身份证明的投票人在 9 月 28 日免费送去 DMV。

Even that offer may be moot. Under the terms of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), South Carolina, along with part or all of 15 other (mostly Southern) states, must submit changes to its election practices to the Justice Department. In August the department requested additional information from the state about how it intends to implement the law. Some have interpreted this request as a sign that the department has reservations about the new law, and may strike it down for violating the VRA.

即便是这个提议可能也没有意义。在 1965 年选举权利法案下,南卡罗来纳州以及部分或全部 15 个其它州(多数是南方的)必须将选举过程的变动呈递给司法部。在 8 月,司法部要求南卡罗来纳州提供更多关于意图如何实施这项法规的信息。有人将这项要求解读为司法部对这项新法律有所保留的信号,而且可能因其侵犯 VRA 而将其否决。

Yet, South Carolina is just one of 34 states to consider bills to strengthen voter-ID requirements in 2011. Currently only two states, Georgia and Indiana, require voters to show photo ID when they go to vote at polling stations. But Kansas, Tennessee, Wisconsin and pending the Justice Department's approval, South Carolina and Texas will all probably have such laws in place in time for next year's presidential primaries.

然而,南卡罗来纳只是 34 个在 2011 年考虑要提高投票人身份认证要求法案的州之一。目前,只有乔治亚和印第安纳两个州要求投票人在投票站投票时出示有照片的身份证明。但是堪萨斯,田纳西,威斯康辛,以及在等待司法部许可期间的南卡罗来纳和德克萨斯都将可能在明年的总统初选时实施这样的法律。

Supporters contend these laws are simply meant to ensure the integrity of the voting process. If Americans must show a photo ID to board a plane or buy a beer, they can easily show one to vote. In 2008 the Supreme Court agreed, denying a challenge to Indiana's law, and ruling that an ID requirement does not constitute an undue burden.

支持者称这些法律只是出于保证选举程序公正的考虑。如果美国人必须在登机或买啤酒时出示有照片的身份证明,那投票时也并不困难。2008 年,最高法院驳回对印第安纳州这项法律的质疑,承认了它,并裁定对身份证明的要求并不构成不适当的负担。

But the sort of deception that showing a government-issued photo ID would prevent—voter-impersonation fraud, in which one person on the voter rolls tries to vote as someone else—is very rare. Too rare, say some opponents, to justify erecting barriers that will disproportionately disenfranchise poor, young and minority voters, who tend to support Democrats. Tova Wang, a fellow at Demos, a public-policy think-tank, notes that this new push for stronger voter-ID laws occurred—suspiciously enough—after Republican takeovers of state legislatures and governorships in 2010. No member of South Carolina’s legislative black caucus supported its photo-ID law, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) claims that the state “ignored significant testimony from opponents of the bill regarding its racial impact...[and] may have enacted the requirement with the intent to discriminate against minorities.”

但是，那种通过出示政府颁发的带有照片的身份证明就能防止上当——即假扮投票人欺诈，意思是说投票人名单上的一个人试图以另一个人的身份投票——这并不多见。一些反对者说。这种案件实在是少的不足以调整标准，不成比例地剥夺穷人、年轻人和少数民族投票者这些倾向于支持民主党的人的权利这一行为来辩护。一家公共政策智囊团 Demos 的研究员 Tova Wang 注意到，这次对加强投票人身份证明法律的推进极为可疑地发生在共和党于 2010 年接管州立法机构和州长职位之后。南卡罗来纳黑人立法委员会中，无一人支持这项人像身份证明法，而美国民主自由联盟（ACLU）声称南卡罗来纳州“忽视了该法案反对者对其种族影响的事关重大的证据。。并且可能意图通过实施该法歧视少数种族。”

Whatever their intent, these laws impose significant costs on states. Nationally, around 11% of registered voters lack government-issued photo IDs. States cannot charge for IDs required to vote (that would be a de facto poll tax). They must spend time and money ensuring that voters know about the new requirements and can get their IDs easily. Still, a growing number of states seem to consider that money well spent.

无论他们意图何在，这些法律都会强加给州政府一大笔开销。全国有大约 11% 的注册投票人缺少政府颁发的带照片的身份证明。州政府不能向被要求用于投票的身份证明收费（说白了就是人头税）。他们必须付出时间和金钱来保证投票人了解这些新要求，还能很方便地得到他们的身份证明。尽管如此，看起来越来越多的州都认为这笔钱花的值。

翻译者:杨畅 校对者:尹茜

Republican governors

共和党人当州长

The right's brave swingers

象党奇葩粉墨登场

A collection of new governors in battleground states are stirring things up

奇葩州长与摇摆州二三事



“HERE’S a great quote,” says John Kasich, the governor of Ohio, reading from an article about the cuts he instigated to the state’s subsidies for nursing homes, “‘It took a real bastard to change things.’” Mr Kasich (pictured above) is one of a new crop of Republican governors, including Chris Christie of New Jersey, Rick Scott of Florida and Scott Walker of Wisconsin, who seem to relish putting noses out of joint. Their obstreperousness is all the more remarkable given that they are all from swing states, or, in the case of Mr Christie, a resolutely Democratic one. Whether their tactics will help to cement the Republicans’ new-found advantage in those places or doom them to transience is a subject of heated debate.

“这真是个不错的报价，”俄亥俄州州长约翰·卡斯奇在读到一篇关于他所鼓吹的削减养老院补贴的文章时这样说道，“‘想搞改革？门儿都没有！’”卡斯奇（见上图）是共和党新生代州长，这个群体里还有新泽西州州长克里斯·克里斯蒂、佛罗里达州州长里克·斯科特以及威斯康辛州州长斯科特·沃克尔，这伙人惯于不按常理出牌。他们作为摇摆州的立场总是引来公众的关注，当然克里斯蒂先生掌管的是民主党把持的新泽西州。他们的政策导向既可能帮助共和党巩固前场优势，也可能将这一切流于政客的口水之中。

All four governors have caused a stir by taking on public-sector unions. Mr Christie, who was elected in 2009, a year before the others, fought a long and noisy campaign to get state and local employees to contribute more towards their health care and pensions, eventually **winning over** state’s Democratic legislature.立法机构

The other three, not **content with** cutting employees’ benefits, have all **pushed for** curbs on the unions themselves. Messrs Kasich and Walker saw through bills stripping public-sector workers of almost all collective-bargaining rights, despite big public protests. Mr Scott pressed, unsuccessfully, for Florida’s lawmakers to make it much harder for unions to collect dues, and to use them for political purposes.

这四位州长已然引起了公共机构工会的极大关注。当选于2009年的克里斯蒂先生，比其他几位都早一年上位。他曾极力鼓吹并主导要求国家和所在州的雇员们在医保和退休金问题上做出让步，并最终赢得民主党控制下的新泽西州州议会的赞同。另外三位则不仅不满足于削减雇员福利，他们还打算弹压工会。卡斯奇和沃克尔两位先生不顾大规模的公众抗议，决定废除公共机构雇员在劳资集体谈判制度上所规定的几乎所有的权利。斯科特

先生也试过，不过失败了，因为佛罗里达州的议员们设立的法律条文让工会无从收费，更遑论将这些钱用来为他的政治目的服务了。（赞）

The four have also pointedly withdrawn their states from initiatives dear to Barack Obama, to the delight of conservatives around the country. Messrs Kasich, Scott and Walker all turned down generous federal grants for high-speed rail projects, for fear that they would turn into **white elephants**. Likewise, Mr Christie refused to pay New Jersey's (small) share of the cost of a new rail tunnel to New York, scuppering the scheme. Mr Scott has **made a habit of** spurning federal handouts, especially if they are tied to Mr Obama's health-care reforms. By one count, he has left over \$100m by the wayside for things like sex education for teens and medical counseling for the elderly, in addition to the \$2.4 billion he passed up for a **whizz-bang** rail link between Tampa and Orlando.

这四位州长都有针对性的将各自州的政治立场由亲奥巴马政府转向取悦保守党。卡斯奇、斯科特和沃克尔都拒绝了联邦政府在高速铁路项目上慷慨的经费支持，称担心这一项目最终会成为累赘。同样，克里斯蒂拒绝为通往纽约的新铁路线中新泽西州的那部分（很小的一部分）埋单，致使项目搁浅。而斯科特则一直都拒绝接受联邦政府的拨款，尤其是对奥巴马医疗改革政策的相关内容。一方面，他将总额为一亿美元的青少年性教育和为老年人提供药品购买咨询服务的计划搁置一边；另一方面，又追加 24 亿美元来建设连接坦帕市和奥兰多市的高级铁路。

To fill their states' yawning budget gaps, the foursome have all presided over big cuts to state spending, especially on education, while refusing to countenance any tax increases. Schools in Wisconsin, for example, will see spending per pupil fall this year by 10%, and those in Ohio by 9%, according to the Centre on Budget and Policy Priorities, a think-tank. Mr Christie, meanwhile, has twice vetoed attempts by New Jersey's legislature to reinstate a lapsed tax surcharge on those making more than \$400,000.

为了填补各自州内的巨额预算缺口，这四位州长都采取削减政府开支的方式，特别是教育支出；同时他们都拒绝增税。以威斯康辛州的学校为例，按智库“预算和政策优先”中心的数据，该州今年花在每个小学生身上的经费降低了 10%，而俄亥俄州该支出下降了 9%。同时，克里斯蒂两次否决了新泽西州议会试图恢复的过期税务附加费议案，这可为当地财政带来 40 多万美元的收入。

Many other governors have taken similar approaches in the face of dire budgetary shortfalls and a sluggish economy. In New York Andrew Cuomo, a Democrat, has **pushed for** cuts to state workers' benefits while resisting tax increases. The biggest cut to education this year, of 13% per student, is taking place in Illinois, a state with a Democratic governor and legislature. It was Colorado, also under a Democratic governor and legislature, that pioneered one of Mr Christie's most controversial steps, of reducing the annual **"cost-of-living adjustment"** to existing state pensioners.

很多其他州的州长也开始采取相似的方式来解决预算不足和经济滞涨的问题。在纽约州，民主党人安德鲁·郭谟一方面强烈要求削减州内公务人员福利，一方面又抵制增税；而民主党人控制的伊利诺伊州，出现了今年最大幅度的教育经费的削减，平均每个学生身上的投入减少了 13%；同样是民主党治下的科罗拉多州，率先实施克里斯蒂推行的最具争议举措中的一项，即降低现有退休人群每年的生活费用调节（指因生活费用上涨而给予的社会福利津贴）。

But the four Republicans' uncompromising and unapologetic stance **marks them out**, says Carolyn Fiddler of the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee, an outfit dedicated to getting more Democrats elected to state legislatures. She notes that they have all attempted to cut taxes even as they slash spending. Mr Kasich's budget compounded an \$8 billion two-year shortfall by eliminating Ohio's inheritance tax and pressing ahead with a promised income-tax cut that had been delayed for two years. Mr Walker piled \$200m in tax cuts onto a \$3.2 billion gap in Wisconsin. Mr Scott, who already needed to find cuts of \$3.7 billion to **make ends meet**, proposed \$2 billion in tax cuts, but was rebuffed by the legislature.

但是这四位共和党人不妥协、不道歉的姿态立场使得他们备受关注，民主党立法竞选委员的卡罗琳·费德勒如是说。民主党立法竞选委员会旨在帮助更多的民主党人参选议员。费德勒表示，这些人即使削减支出也要减税。在卡斯奇的预算中，他将取消俄亥俄州的财产继承税，并将通过施压以削减他所承诺过却已拖延两年的所

得税。两项税 收加起来，两年之内将造成总值达 80 亿美元的财政赤字。沃克要以价值 32 亿美元的财政赤字为代价达到减税两亿的目的。而斯科特在已有了 37 亿美金的缺口的前提下，又提出 20 亿美元的减税计划，结果被州议会否决了。

All this has made the four heroes in Republican circles. Mr Christie is constantly swatting away pleas that he run for president. Mr Walker is spoken of as vice-presidential material. Their pugnaciousness has energised donors and activists. But it has not endeared them to the general electorate. Polls over the summer put Mr Christie's approval rating at 47%, Mr Walker's at 45%, Mr Kasich's at 36% and Mr Scott's at 35%—especially dismal numbers for the three who have been in office for less than a year.

这一系列 举措让这四位州长成为共和党内的风云人物。克里斯蒂被拥护去竞选总统，而沃克尔则被视为副总统的料儿。他们的强硬立场让捐赠人和活动家们都充满希望。不过一般 选民们可对他们并不感冒。今夏的民意测验显示克里斯蒂的支持率为 47%，沃克尔的支持率为 45%，卡斯奇的支持率为 36%，斯科特的为 35%——这个数字对从政还未满一年的三位政客来说确实非常惨淡。

It is a standard tactic to get unpleasant tasks out of the way at the beginning of a four-year term, in the hope that anger will have faded by election time. It work for Mitch Daniels, the Republican governor of Indiana, another swing state. But Messrs Kasich and Walker, in particular, seem to have stirred unusually fierce opposition.

通常来说，在四年任期之初处理掉棘手的事务，并在选举期间平息选民的愤怒才是王道。这一点对另一摇摆州--印第安纳州--州长麦克·丹尼尔就挺适用。不过对于卡斯奇和沃克尔两位来说，似乎适得其反。

Democrats in Wisconsin have already unseated two Republican state senators in recall elections for supporting Mr Walker's crackdown on the unions; they say Mr Walker himself will be their next scalp. Unions have collected enough signatures in Ohio to get a measure to reinstate collective bargaining onto the ballot this November. And the Republican majority in Florida's legislature must think Mr Scott is **pushing his luck**, judging by their selective embrace of his proposals. Some even argue that the more combative governors are harming the Republican cause nationally. Richard Trumka, the head of the AFL-CIO, America's biggest confederation of unions, recently said he would like to give Mr Walker an award "for mobilizing labor". The test of that will come in November next year.

威斯康辛州的民主党人 已经在罢免选举中将两名支持沃克尔搞垮工会的州参议员拉下马。他们表示，沃克尔本人将是其下一个要收拾的对象。俄亥俄州的工会则已收集到足够的签名，在十一月份将把 集体谈判这一制度送上表决台。而佛州的议会认为斯科特在仗着选民对其提案的支持得寸进尺。甚至有人认为，这些争强好胜的州长 会坏掉共和党在全美范围内的大计。美国最大的工会联盟——美国劳工总会和产业劳工组织主席理查德·杜姆卡最近表示，他要给沃克尔先生颁发“劳工折腾”奖。当然，一切的一切，到明年十一月份才可以揭晓了。

Phrases:

win over 赢得... 的支持

content with 使某人满足于...

pushed for 急切强烈的要求

white elephants 累赘

made a habit of 做某事成了习惯

mark out 选出，选定，划出

push one's luck 得寸进尺

cost-of-living adjustment 也作 COLA,指因生活费用上涨而给予的社会福利津贴

翻译者：程蒙 校对者：尹茜

From deficits to jobs, and back

除了赤字，就是就业

Republicans and the deficit stand in the way of a new stimulus package

共和党人和财政赤字成了奥巴马的拦路虎

AMERICA'S political priorities have undergone a breathtaking about-turn. In early August Barack Obama and Congress were consumed by fears about deficits, eventually making a deal to cut more than \$2 trillion dollars from the budget over the coming decade.

美国政坛的焦点话题正在经历一场大转变。8月初，奥巴马还在跟国会为财政赤字之虞软磨硬泡，并最终达成了未来十年内，财政预算削减两万多亿美元的协议。

By the time Mr Obama spoke to Congress on September 8th, though, the deficit had taken a back seat to job creation. Mr Obama proposed a \$447 billion plan which, he said, would keep the economy from dipping back into recession. Republican leaders promised their help in the hunt for "long-term, sustainable jobs". Both sides have good reason to change their tune. After pushing the country to the brink of default before last month's debt deal, the Republicans in Congress have seen their approval ratings plunge. Mr Obama's political fortunes, meanwhile, have followed the economy's southward.

而转眼到了9月8日，奥巴马总统跟国会协调的话题，就由财政赤字变成了增加就业。奥巴马总统推出了一项总值为4470亿美元的计划，以帮助美国经济摆脱泥沼。而共和党领导人则承诺他们将为增加“长期、可持续性的就业机会”出一把力。两党这次纷纷转变口风，自然有个中缘由。上个月的债务危机之前，共和党人险些将国家推入深渊，这让他们在国会的支持率下跌。而奥巴马总统的政治命运，同样也和南部的经济状况紧密相连。

Without intervening action, fiscal policy is on course to make matters worse. The August debt deal, the fading impact of Mr Obama's original \$830 billion stimulus, the expiry of a further \$200 billion in support added last December and surprisingly strong tax collections this year all point to a fiscal squeeze, totalling perhaps 2% of GDP, next year, which could easily knock the economy back into recession.

如果不采取行动，现有的财政政策必然使整个事态陷入更加糟糕的境地。8月份的债务危机冲击，奥巴马原有的8300亿美元的刺激计划的日渐式微，去年12月份追加的200亿美元到期，加上今年增税比例的大幅上扬，这一切都指向财政紧缩，这一数额幅度达到GDP的2%。如此下去，明年经济很容易再度陷入衰退。

Obama's jobs bill

New stimulus measures	\$bn
Business tax cuts	70
Infrastructure spending, state and local government aid	140
Unemployment insurance and training	62
Payroll-tax cut	175
Total	447
Paid for by	
Limiting deductions for upper-income earners	405
Treating carried interest as ordinary income	18
Limiting oil and gas company tax benefits	40
Removing corporate-jet tax breaks	3
Total*	467

Source: White House *Figures may not sum due to rounding

Mr Obama's plan would neutralise that hit (see table). He would extend an employee payroll-tax cut due to expire in December and expand it to 3.1% of wages from 2%. He would also cut the employer's share of the payroll tax, with larger cuts for those who boost net payrolls or raise wages. He would let the unemployed continue to collect benefits for up to 99 weeks, and wisely funnel some unemployment-insurance money into retraining and subsidies for hiring the long-term unemployed. He would also plough some \$140 billion into aid to keep teachers, police officers and firefighters employed, to rehabilitate schools, and to build infrastructure. Macroeconomic Advisers, a consultancy, reckons that the plan, if fully implemented, would boost GDP by 1.25% next year and employment by 1.3m.

奥巴马的计划抵消冲击带来的影响。一方面,他将延长原定于12月截止的雇员工薪税减税计划,并将减税额度由工资的2%增至3.1%;另一方面,他将削减雇主缴纳工薪税的比例,尤其是对那些促进就业净增长或是提高工资水平的雇主,减税额度将大大提高。同时,他让失业人员领取失业救济的时间延长为99周。奥巴马还很明智地将部分失业保险金转化为为雇佣长期失业者而用的就业培训费和生活补贴。奥巴马另外抽出1400亿美元,来为教师、警察以及消防队员提供帮助,同时恢复学校教学,增加基础设施建设。宏观经济顾问公司曾估测过这个计划,如果全部上马,明年将会拉动GDP 1.25个百分点的增长,同时增加就业1300万人。

Full implementation, though, is not going to happen. The common ground of which Republicans speak so warmly is precariously small: passage of free-trade deals, reduced red tape for small business, and tweaks to how unemployment insurance and infrastructure money is doled out. Some Republicans could also support the payroll-tax cuts.

尽管整个计划可能难以全部上马,但是共和党人嘴上功夫温情款款,其共识却少而勉强。他们要求自由贸易协定的通过,要求减少对小企业的法规束缚,要求将混合的失业保险和基础设施资金分开发放。当然,部分共和党人还是支持削减工薪税的。

The bigger obstacle is the deficit. For all the change in focus, Mr Obama's jobs proposal is still hostage to it. On September 12th Jack Lew, his budget director, suggested paying for the plan with \$467 billion-worth of tax increases over the coming decade, the largest of which would limit tax deductions for the affluent. Mr Obama has failed to get these ideas enacted before, even when Democrats controlled Congress. The odds are hardly better with Republicans running the House. Mr Lew said the alternative would be to increase the deficit reduction now being sought by Congress's "supercommittee", created under last month's debt deal. Its target of \$1.2 trillion-\$1.5 trillion was already a stretch; raising it by almost a third will only make the supercommittee's job harder.

最大的障碍依然是财政赤字。尽管工作重心已经发生改变,但是奥巴马的就业计划依然受阻于此。9月12日,奥巴马总统的预算总监杰克·卢建议他在未来十年内增税4670亿美元,其中的大头自然摊给富人。不过即使在民主党人掌控国会时,奥巴马都碰了壁,遑论如今国会是共和党人的天下。卢表示,另一个选择是通过增加财政赤字来寻求国会中的“超级委员会”的支持,上个月就是这帮人促成了债务协议。不过,政府的总额为1.2—1.5万亿美元的计划已然出炉,如果再增加1/3,恐怕即使是“超级委员会”也很难办。

Mr Obama has promised to deliver his own deficit-reduction plans to the committee on September 19th. These may not just raise taxes but reform entitlements, notably Medicare and Medicaid, the federal health plans for the elderly and poor. Although he has previously explored such a “grand bargain” privately, he has never before laid out a credible formal plan for one. If he does so now, his own supporters will object. For the moment, fiscal policy seems unlikely to deliver the two things Americans need most from it: near-term stimulus and long-term reform.

奥巴马已经承诺将在9月14日向“超级委员会”公布他的赤字减免计划。其中的内容不仅包括增税,还包括诸如医疗保险、医疗补足计划和联邦政府专为老年人和贫困人口设立的医疗计划的改革。尽管奥巴马私下已经跟各方有过协商交易,但是他还没有推出一个正式而可靠的计划。如果现在他把这个计划兜出来了,那么他自己的支持者必然会反对。眼下,财政政策似乎并没有传递出两个对于美国来说最关键的信息,即短期刺激和长期改革。

翻译者:程蒙 校对者:尹茜 xi

The compass fails

敢问路在何方

Loss of moral authority, competition and distraction weaken Western clout in promoting human rights. Fighting corruption (see article) is another story

西方道德权威沦丧、诸国纷争四起，放慢了西方推行人权的脚步。而反腐斗争似乎更让西方举步维艰。

ACCORDING to a cable leaked last month, the European Union's man in Ethiopia told his masters that "basic human-rights abuses are being committed by the government on a daily basis" and "the EU must respond firmly and resolutely." That was in 2005. Neither the EU nor any other Western donor has done anything of the kind. The United States, Germany and Britain have continued to pour money into the country despite the arrest of opposition politicians on trumped-up treason charges, the harassment of ordinary citizens, the curbing of internet access, and heavy spying on universities and workplaces. Sweden is one of the few donors that publicly raises civil liberties.

上个月流传出来的一份电子文件中，一位埃塞俄比亚的欧盟官员向上级领导报告说，“对人权的侵犯在这个国家（埃塞俄比亚）每天都在发生”，“欧盟必须对此作出坚定而果断的反应”。——这段话发生在 2005 年。事实是，不论是欧盟还是其他西方捐助国，都没有对人权侵犯作出任何回应。美国，德国和英国不顾埃塞俄比亚捏造叛国罪名逮捕反对派政治人物、扰乱民众生活，限制网络开放，严密监视大学和其他工作场所的状况，仍然持续向该国投入大量资金。而瑞士则是为数不多的公开呼吁提高公民自由的捐助方之一。

When outsiders do bring up such issues, Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia's prime minister, responds tartly that, with famine again stalking the Horn of Africa, the right of people to food, shelter, a job and indeed to life itself depends on the stability of the state. To challenge this is sabotage. 针对外界的种种质疑，埃塞俄比亚总理梅莱斯·泽纳维给予了犀利的回击。如今饥荒再次袭击非洲之角，人民获得食物，容身之所，工作机会的权利，乃至生命本身，都取决于国家的稳定。而挑战稳定就是蓄意破坏。

Paul Kagame, president of Rwanda (another country where past horrors tweak Western consciences) is similarly defiant. Asked in Paris this week about his human-rights record he replied: "I don't know what you are talking about." Yet several Rwandan military officers, and a few opposition leaders, have died mysterious deaths; other senior figures have been jailed on charges of historical revisionism or sedition. Mr Zenawi and Mr Kagame both enjoy Western favour; they are ex-rebels who run their countries cleverly and ruthlessly, with contempt for the strictures of campaigners such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. Both men are adept manipulators of Western guilt, and like many leaders in such countries, they know that the rise of China as an alternative patron makes it easier for them to cock snooks at critics.

卢旺达总统保罗·卡加梅（过去发生在这个国家的恐怖事件扭曲了西方的良知）的态度也同样十分挑衅。这周在巴黎卡加梅被问到有关人权纪录时，他回应道：“我不知道你在说什么”。而事实是，又有几个卢旺达军官和反对派领导神秘死亡，其余的高层人物被指控以历史修正主义和煽动叛乱而入狱。这两国的领导人都受西方的青睐，他们是前反政府武装出身，狡诈冷酷地控制着这个国家，对国际特赦组织和人权观察组织这类非难机构嗤之以鼻。他们善于操纵西方的负罪情绪，和其他类似的非洲国家领导一样，把崛起的中国视为潜在的资助者，这助长了他们与批评者叫板的嚣张气焰。

If Western largesse brings little leverage over such behaviour, opprobrium also carries little clout. The current, elected leader of the African Union—supposedly a guardian of the continent's conscience—is President Teodoro Obiang of Equatorial Guinea, a venal strongman who has failed to spread his oil wealth. This week he played host to President Isaias Afwerki of Eritrea, a barefaced dictator who has muzzled the press and ravaged a generation of young men. Both are seen by Western governments as pariahs, but neither cares.

西方资金上的馈赠尚不足以唤起这些国家领导的“人权”之心，大概指着鼻子骂也无济于事了吧。非盟领导人本该是这片大陆良心的护卫者，可惜如今当选的赤道几内亚总统奥比昂，却是条贪污的大蛀虫，石油发家，散财无道。这周与他会面的东非厄立特里亚国总统伊萨亚斯·阿费沃尔基，也是个臭味相投的大独裁者，操纵舆论，毁了一代年轻人。按照西方国家的评判标准，这两位都是不折不扣的恶民总统，但两人对此安之若素，又如之奈何？

This depressing picture is not confined to Africa. Freedom House, a New York-based body that monitors a range of political and civil rights, reported that 2010 saw a net decline in liberty across the world for the fifth year in a row, the longest continual decline in four decades of record-keeping. It noted more “truculence” among authoritarian rulers. That was before the Arab spring—which, heartening as it was to believers in freedom, prompted many Asian regimes, from Iran to Uzbekistan to China, to intensify repression and curb the media.

这种惨淡的局面已在非洲以外上演。据自由之家——一个以纽约为基地的政治和民权观察机构——的调查显示，2010 年是各国社会自由程度连续第五年下降，这是在该机构长达四十年的统计记录中持续时间最长的衰退。同时，独裁统治者表现得更为疯狂。此前的阿拉伯之春发起的一系列行动在自由派看来是令人鼓舞的，也带动了许多亚洲国家，如伊朗，乌兹别克斯坦，乃至中国等的自由行动，但紧随其后的是更加严厉的政治打压和媒体控制。

For their part, Western governments have become shy about spreading the idea that certain human rights, enshrined in United Nations conventions, are universal. When they do preach that message, it often falls on deaf ears. The human-rights industry is alive and well, but deeply divided. A cacophony of rival talkfests in New York in the coming days will include a UN conference on “racism”—known as Durban III because it follows a meeting in South Africa in 2001—that will feature much tub-thumping from anti-Western leaders.

西方政府在宣传所谓的人权自由这一问题上，也变得遮遮掩掩起来。人权只是锁在联合国的深闺之中。西方宣传人权思想，即使对方置若罔闻，他们也睁一只眼闭一只眼。人权事业没有枯竭，但陷入四分五裂的尴尬境地。未来几天将于纽约举行的恳谈会包括一场有关“种族歧视”的联合国会议——由于该活动在 2001 年南非的一次会议之后举行，人们又称之为第三次德班会议（Durban III）——届时将会聚焦反西方领导人激情澎湃的发言。

America, Canada and at least six EU countries will boycott the conference on the ground that it targets Israel far more than any other country. One bunch of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) supports the shindig. Another lot opposes it, blasting the UN for being hard on Israel and soft on anti-Western despots. Thor Halvorssen, founder of a gathering called the Oslo Freedom Forum, calls Durban III “the last act in a tragicomedy” that demonstrates the UN establishment’s subjection to “despotic regimes which speak pretty words about human rights while they kill, torture or jail their opponents.”

美国，加拿大，还有至少六个欧盟成员国将抵制这次峰会，称该次会议将矛头直指以色列。非政府组织则分化成了两个阵营。一方支持，另一方反对，指责联合国对以色列过于严厉而对反西方独裁者网开一面的作风。一个名叫奥斯陆自由论坛的创立者扎罗·哈罗日森把德班第三次峰会称为“悲喜剧的终结篇”——上演了一场“独裁政权一面屠杀、虐待、关押统治者，一面粉饰人权”的场景，而联合国则作壁上观。

This broken consensus about which rights, and whose rights, matter most contrasts sharply with the halcyon days of 20 years ago. As democratic Russia emerged from the Soviet chrysalis it tried to outbid the West in its fervour for human rights. The talk was of a new liberty-respecting, democratic space stretching, at a minimum, from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Only a decade ago, the Clinton administration—flush with confidence after enlarging NATO, defeating Serbia’s ethno-nationalism and promoting free trade—spoke as if the final triumph of liberal, rights-observing democracy was just a matter of time.

如今在到底什么权利、谁的权利才是人权的问题上争论不休的局面，与 20 年前的太平时期形成了鲜明对比。民主俄罗斯从苏联的体制中诞生出来之时，伴随着比西方国家对人权更加热切的期盼。对自由的崇尚，民主地域的扩展，至少从温哥华到海参崴，到处都是自由的热土。就在十年之前，克林顿政府还在实施了扩张北约，击败塞尔维亚针对少数民族的排外主义，推行自由贸易等一系列措施之后自信满满，仿佛自由主义者最后的胜利就要到来，人权当道的民主世界指日可待。

The shift stems partly from the Western powers' loss of global heft. Some powers now emerging—India, Brazil and South Africa—are robust democracies, but they still resist the idea of teaming up with the old West to back liberal values, notably in votes at the UN. Even in Western corridors of power, where promoting civil and political rights till commands lip service, other priorities have blunted zeal. Trade with China is one; the need for ex-Soviet states' help over Afghanistan is another. American government efforts now focus on narrower areas: religious freedom, people trafficking and bonded labour, and (pace WikiLeaks) internet freedom.

西方国家在世界范围内影响力的减退，似乎是人权天平失衡的开端。一度，巴西，南非这些势力开始崛起。他们也呼唤民主，但同时抵制与老牌西方国家联合缔造自由价值观。这一差异在联合国投票上表现的尤为显著。即使是在夸夸其谈着民主、倡导政治权利的西方核心强国中，其它的重要事务也使政府对此热情递减。这些重要的事务包括对中国的贸易，以及争取使前苏联成员国对阿富汗伸出援助之手。美国政府在人权问题上所做的努力被限定在一个更狭隘的范畴内：宗教自由，非法入境，担保劳工，和网络自由。

Catherine Ashton, the EU's foreign-policy chief, issues almost daily scoldings to nasty regimes. But tyrants hardly tremble at her tongue-lashing, or see any consistency in the application of tougher measures. Sri Lanka shrugged off criticism of its treatment of Tamil civilians in the war. EU sanctions on Uzbekistan, imposed after a massacre in 2005, were largely lifted in 2007, amid German hopes (which proved futile) for "constructive engagement". A recent closed-door consultation between EU officials, NGOs and the Beijing authorities was overshadowed when a feisty New York-based NGO, Human Rights in China, was kept away. The stalling of EU expansion has dented its soft power to its east. The show trial of Ukraine's opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko has drawn no serious sanction from the EU. Both sides care more about trade.

欧盟外交政策主任凯瑟琳·艾什顿几乎每天都对恶劣的政局口诛笔伐，但暴掠的统治者对此却无动于衷，在是否采取更为严格的手段没有统一的说法。斯里兰卡对当局在战争中虐待泰米尔市民引发的谴责置若罔闻。欧盟因 2005 年的一次大屠杀对乌兹别克斯坦实施的制裁已经在 2007 年大面积解除，德国曾希望“有建设性的介入”，但后来证明是徒劳的。最近欧盟官员，非政府性组织和北京政府举行了一次秘密磋商，但少了以纽约为基地的非政府组织“中国人权”的参与，陡然失色了不少。欧盟因为拖延扩张，导致其软实力向东方转移。在对乌克兰反对派首领尤利娅·季莫申科装模作样的公审后，欧盟并没有做出严厉的制裁决定。双方都更加重视贸易。

Nor does the West's moral clout in north Africa amount to much. A history of cosy ties with corrupt autocracies in Egypt and Tunisia and (for a time) Libya have left people suspicious of Western motives and unwilling to be lectured. Indeed, half-hearted human-rights diplomacy can backfire nastily. Criticism merely alienates incumbent regimes. But when they fall, the new lot say that by doing too little the West tacitly colluded with their torturers.

西方在北非的道德影响力似乎也没有增加多少。埃及，突尼斯和利比亚（一段时间上的）的官僚腐败的历史，让人们西方的动机产生了怀疑，不愿甘于被西方教化。心术不正的人权外交可能适得其反。对统治者们报以批评的西方只是疏远现任政府，当一个政府倒台后，人们就不免觉得西方干预过少，好像与施暴者在战略上存在某种勾结的嫌疑。

Yet promoting human rights in thick-skinned countries is not a hopeless cause. All tyrants want things from the West—from a haven for their ill-gotten gains (see article) to recreation for their families. When access to these goodies is withdrawn, it can send a powerful signal. In recent days, for example, New York's Fashion Week cancelled a presentation of haute couture designed by Gulnara Karimova, the Uzbek ruler's daughter after NGOs drew attention to her father's human-rights record. Under similar pressure, RBS, a British bank, vowed to stop raising bonds for Belarus, Europe's "last dictatorship", which has jailed dozens of political prisoners. In July the rock star Sting cancelled a concert in Kazakhstan in protest at the violent treatment of striking oil workers. That was the sharpest rebuke the regime had received for a long time.

然而在这些厚颜无耻的国家推行人权似乎还是有希望的。所有暴君都对西方有所求——比如为他们的不法所得和家人提供避风港。如果西方拒绝提供这些好处，就可以发出强有力的信号。比如近来纽约时尚周刊取消了由古娜拉·卡日莫娃设计的高级时装店的发布会，古娜拉是乌兹别克领导人的女儿，此前有非政府组织揭露其父亲在人权上的不良记录。迫于类似压力，苏格兰皇家银行宣布停止向白俄罗斯发行债券。白俄罗斯被认为是欧

洲“最后一个独裁国”，关押了数十名政治犯。七月，摇滚歌手斯汀取消了原定在哈萨克斯坦的一场表演，以声讨罢工石油工人受到的残酷对待。这可以看成是长期以来这些人权缺失地区受到的最为强烈的指责。

All these involved a Western partner forfeiting something—from bond-management fees to music or fashion royalties—for the sake of principles. So far the people who sell sports cars to President Obiang have not shown such self-denial. But when anybody feels strongly enough about a cause to make a sacrifice, that compels a certain respect. Lofty, cost-free moral lectures count for less and less.

但这一切似乎都凸显了自我牺牲的西方合作者的形象。从债券问题到音乐再到时尚界，他们用行动表示了对原则问题的忠诚。但向总统奥比昂（赤道几内亚总统特奥多罗·奥比昂·恩圭马·姆巴索戈（Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo））贩卖跑车的人们却并没有偃旗息鼓。但必须承认，人们因为对信念的坚守而做出自我牺牲时，也获得了被尊重的力量。道貌岸然却廉价的道德说教，已经越来越无足轻重了。

翻译：单李扬 校对：杨舒雅

The tents of the righteous

公正之所在

At 50 the rich-country club for number-crunchers and sleaze-fighters is thriving: now Russia wants to join
50 周年纪念时，这个以数据精算和提倡道德的组织在兴旺，如今俄罗斯也希望加入。

CRONYISM and sleaze are an ever-present danger in international organisations. Away from the scrutiny of elected lawmakers and voters, members' bad habits and the self-interest of officials compound each other. Another problem is the watering down of tough requirements and procedures as new members join. That has been the fate of many outfits formed with noble intentions, from the Council of Europe to numerous UN agencies. An exception may be the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, founded in September 1961. Operating with unashamed nerdishness in a prosperous part of Paris, it is a wonks' delight, churning out fact-studded reports on government performance in everything from macroeconomics to education policy.

任人唯亲和道德败坏一直是国际组织的一个威胁。不谈那些被选上的谨慎的立法者和投票者，组织成员们的坏习惯和官员们的自利心常常掺合到一起。而另一个问题则是新成员加入时的必要资格和程序越来越少。这一命运已为许多在崇高目标中建立起的组织所面临，从欧洲委员会到众多联合国机构。但是 1961 年 9 月成立的经济合作与发展组织（OECD）是一个例外。该组织是在巴黎的一块繁荣地带由一群毫无羞耻心的书呆子所建立，而今它已成为这类人的乐园，他们常对政府从宏观经济到教育政策的各种表现粗制滥造出一些充满事实的报告。

The main membership ticket is often seen as wealth. But the 34 rich countries that belong also have a more subtle dress code: "like-mindedness", in OECD-speak. It is a place for people who believe that gathering and crunching data can lead to good policies backed by sound laws. It has moved in recent decades from pure think-tankery to what looks increasingly like police work, for example on corruption. But in a world where established democracies are losing clout, can the OECD remain both virtuous and relevant? If the large emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China have something in common, besides their catchy BRIC acronym, it is that none is in the OECD. Nor are South Africa, Indonesia or Saudi Arabia, although they too are in the G20, which supposedly steers the world economy.

入会的门票通常是富有。而 34 个富有的成员还有一个更隐晦的“着装规范”，按该组织的说法，即“志趣相投”。组织里的人都认为只要收集和计算数据，就能确保健全法制下的良好政策。但是面对建立起的民主逐渐失势的当今世界，OECD 还能保持其道德和相关性吗？巴西、俄罗斯、印度和中国除了金砖四国这一个醒目的名字外，可能还有某些共同点的话，那也绝对和经济合作发展组织无关。同样，被认为会操作世界经济的 20 国集团中的南非、印度尼西亚和沙特阿拉伯亦是如此。

Almost all the big outside countries co-operate with the OECD at some level. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF), a tough-talking OECD-linked outfit that fights money laundering and terrorist financing, encompasses in some form just about every country, barring a handful of pariahs like Iran and North Korea. But so far only one big, awkward country, Russia, has formally applied to join the OECD.

几乎所有非成员大国都与 OECD 进行一定程度上的合作。反洗钱金融行动特别工作组（FATF）作为一个反洗钱和反恐怖主义融资的强硬机构，与 OECD 有所关系。它除了禁止伊朗和北朝鲜等一些受排斥的国家加入外，以一定形式涵盖了几乎所有国家。但目前只有俄罗斯这一个庞然大物申请加入 OECD。

In May it was cordially welcomed as a full participant in the OECD's highest-profile activity: a convention to outlaw bribery. Countries that sign up must pass laws making it an offence for their citizens or firms to pay, to offer or to promise money or any other reward in exchange for favours from officials in other countries. No less important,

governments must be seen to enforce these laws; OECD bureaucrats and fellow members scrutinise each signatory to see how rigorously they investigate and punish foreign corrupt practices.

今年五月，OECD 真诚地欢迎俄罗斯全面加入到其最高姿态的活动，即反贪会议之中。与会的签约国必须通过相关法律以禁止国内公民或企业为获得其他国家政府官员的好处而支付、提供或承诺金钱或其他任何回报。同样重要的，是这些政府必须在监视下颁布此法律，OECD 的官员和同伴国负责监督签约国是否认真调查并惩治国外贪污行为。

Cynics might find Russian support for a stringent anti-bribery regime akin to an inveterate alcoholic joining a campaign for total abstinence. But the OECD does not aim to deal with the ingrained traditions of favour-swapping and rent-seeking inside Russia. The convention excludes domestic corruption; in theory, a country riddled with sleaze at home could meet the rules by rigorously enjoining its citizens to stay clean in business dealings abroad. Russia is already a full member of FATF. When that body mentioned corruption as a problem in the Russian financial system, Moscow raised no objection (and is said to have toughened its rules since joining). Other countries have been thinner-skinned.

一些批评人士指出俄罗斯支持严格反腐的做法犹如一个老酒鬼加入一次彻底禁酒的行动中去。但是 OECD 并无意向处理俄罗斯国内利益互换和搜刮租金这些根深蒂固的传统。本次会议不讨论国内腐败问题，因为理论上，一个国内腐败风行的国家也能严格确保其公民在国际交易中保持廉洁。俄罗斯已是 FATF 的成员国。而当该组织提到俄罗斯国内金融体系中的贪污问题时，莫斯科政府毫无异议（同时据说政府自从加入该组织后加强了法律）。其他国家则不如俄罗斯脸皮来得厚。

The bribery convention is a more formal instrument. It requires members to change their legal system and open law-enforcement systems to intense external scrutiny. Russia has already changed its bribery legislation to jump through OECD hoops, though the Duma has yet to ratify membership of the convention. Rhetorically at least, Russian politicians—and President Dmitry Medvedev, in particular—seem eager to get the club's certificate of good behaviour. And OECD officials insist that (in contrast with other clubs that Russia has joined, from the Council of Europe to the G8) there will be absolutely no bending of the rules to appease Kremlin sensitivities. Many see compliance with the anti-bribery convention as a big test of Russia's willingness to meet the still broader demands of full membership.

本次反腐会议作为一个更具官方说辞的傀儡。它要求成员国改变法律体系、公开执法体系以加强国外监管。俄罗斯已改变其反贪法律，由此进入了 OECD 的监管圈内，尽管俄罗斯议会并未正式批准其参与会议的权利。讽刺的是，至少在口头的修辞上，俄罗斯已梅德韦杰夫总统为首的政治家们似乎乐于获得 OECD 对于他们优秀表现的认可。OECD 官员们强调不会为了安抚克林姆林宫的敏感反应而改变规定（相比之下，俄罗斯加入的其他组织则不会如此，比如欧洲委员会和 8 国集团）。许多人都认为这次俄罗斯是否会为顺从反贪会议将会有效地考验出俄罗斯是否愿意满足作为成员国的更大要求。

Even the most self-respecting older members find the anti-bribery rules tough, and are subject to public naming and shaming when they breach them. Britain's Bribery Act, passed last year, was the culmination of a decade of peer pressure (see article). At one point British officials had to give quarterly reports to their fellow OECD members to explain their country's lack of adequate legislation on sleaze. Even now, the government guidelines issued to British firms on how to apply the act are raising unhappy eyebrows at the OECD. Officials also fear that enforcement may slacken if the London-based Serious Fraud Office suffers a deep budget cut. Even the United States, which along with Germany is the keenest enforcer of the bribery accord, has had to undergo scrutiny at the hands of its peers and listen meekly to ideas for better enforcement. That contrasts sharply with the rejectionist American approach to many other forms of international legal scrutiny.

但即便是最为自重的老成员们也觉得这次反贪规定过于严格，一旦违反规定就将受到公开指名批评。英国去年通过的贪污法案，代表了十几年来同伴国压力下最终的妥协（参考 Bribery abroad 一文）。英国官员曾一度不得不每一季度地向其在 OECD 的伙伴国汇报并解释国内在健全的反弹法律上的不足。即使到了现在，政府向英国企业提出的如何贯彻法案的方针也会招来眉头紧皱的 OECD。官员们还担心建立在伦敦的严重诈骗惩办公室一旦遭受财政缩减的影响，将削弱其执法力度。即便是和德国一起并称反贪协约的最忠实实行者的美国，

也要受到同伴国的监督，并虚心接受改进执法的建议。而这与美国反对其他国际法制监管的势力形成鲜明对比。

Perhaps the biggest consequence of the new rules is to change the way people talk. It is no longer possible in any big, respectable country to insist with a sophisticated shrug that doing deals in some parts of the world always means paying kickbacks. But even among the world's paragons of corporate virtue, reality and rhetoric diverge.

或许新规定最大的结果就是改变了人们讲话的方式。那些自重的大国故意拒绝来自世界上其他地区的交易，由此表示需要支付回扣，这一行为已不再可见。但甚至是世界上集体美德的典范国家里，言行也有所不一。

A study this year by Transparency International, a Berlin-based sleaze monitor, found that only seven countries "actively enforced" the OECD's anti-bribery convention and another nine (including France) "moderately enforced" it. Some 21 countries, including a usually virtuous G7 member, Canada, hardly enforced it at all. Such figures may suggest that the bribery accord's onward march has been halted. But among countries that do try to stop bribery, like the United States, law-enforcers have been growing more zealous—for example, by chasing companies which at some point in the past issued securities in American capital markets. Britain's generally good record of enforcing its own laws offers grounds for optimism too.

由总部位于柏林的贪污监督机构国际透明所进行的一项研究表明，仅有 7 个国家积极贯彻 OECD 的反贪会议精神，另有 9 国（包括法国）则适度贯彻。而包括品行正直的 7 国集团成员加拿大在内的 21 个国家，则几乎没有贯彻。这一数据表明了反贪协定的进程被中断了。但那些努力反贪的国家（如美国）里，执法者们的热情愈加高涨，例如他们会追查过去曾在美国资本市场出售过证券的企业。英国有着一贯良好执法的记录，而这也为反贪的积极发展奠定了基础。

For countries that care about such things, being shamed by nerds is a useful exercise. But they are usually not the ones that need such treatment most.

对于在乎上述事情的国家，由书呆子进行批评是行之有效的方法。但它们通常不是最需要此等待遇的国家。

翻译者：沈骢 校对者：尹茜

Undeclared beneficial ownership

未公开的受益人

Licence to loot

打劫许可证

Governments and campaigners want tighter scrutiny of company registration. Others don't

政府和社会运动家想对公司注册进行更严格的检查，其他人则不这么想



PERSONAL identity is a tightly policed business. Birth certificates are unambiguous. Using forged documents is a crime. Even where sporting an alias is legal it counts as dodgy. Yet corporate citizens are different. They can hide their true identity in a maze of interlocking companies, or even use places such as the British Virgin Islands, where anonymity is legally protected. Those seeking the owners' real names and addresses there find that the trail goes cold with a nominee—a lawyer or accountant—who shields clients from nosy outsiders.

个人身份是很严格的警政业务。出生证不容模棱两可。伪造文件也是犯罪。即便在一些能合法使用别名的地方，这样做也会被看做某种狡猾。然而企业公民则不然，他们可以在连锁企业中隐藏他们的真实身份，甚至搬去类似英属维尔京群岛等地方——别名在这些地方也受到法律保护。苦苦打听那些人的真实姓名和地址的，就会发现他们最终只能找到一名替代者——某律师或者顾问——他们会保护客户隐私，使其免受这些嘈杂的外人干扰。

This can benefit the devious, the tax-shy, the corrupt and the outright criminal. Campaigners and, increasingly, criminal-justice agencies want the rules tightened—and not only in faraway islands. The case for this is highlighted in “The Money Laundry”, a new book by Jason Sharman, an Australian academic. As a test, he tried creating companies in various places without using a real (verified) ID. Of the 47 providers of registration services he approached in OECD countries, no fewer than 35 agreed to form shell companies without requiring proper documents. Some also helped to open bank accounts. Classic tax havens were on the whole much more rigorous.

这些做法会使那些狡诈者、偷漏税者、贪腐者以及真正罪犯受益。社会运动家以及越来越多的刑事司法机构希望收紧法律法规，而且范围不仅仅局限于国外。最能凸显这个问题的是澳大利亚大学教师 Jason Sharman 写的

一本新书《洗钱》。他做了一个实验：在不用真实的（有效的）身份证的情况下，他尝试在几个不同地方创办企业。在 47 个提供注册服务的经济合作和发展组织（OECD）成员国中，有不少于 35 个不需要提供有效文件就允许他创办公司，有些还帮他开户。而大体而言，传统的“避税天堂”的要求都更为严格。

The American administration highlights reform of company registration as “critical” to its new crime-fighting strategy, published in July. It is backing a long-running attempt by Carl Levin, a Democratic senator, to make disclosure of beneficial ownership a condition for any company registering in the United States. An al-Qaeda fund-raiser (using a company called Truman Used Auto Parts), Iran (which owned a Manhattan skyscraper) and Viktor Bout, an arms trader now facing trial, are among those that America’s lax regime has benefited.

美国政府强调，企业注册改革是其打击犯罪新战略（该战略于七月份发表）的“重点”，对于民主党参议员 Carl Levin 争取很久的提议——那些想进驻美国的企业必须公开实益拥有人——而美国政府对此表示支持。某筹款基地组织（利用一家名为杜鲁门二手汽车配件企业）、伊朗（曼哈顿大厦拥有者）以及如今受到指控的军火贸易商维克多布特等，都是美国那相对松散的制度的受益者。

Tightening the rules is under consideration at a forthcoming working group of the Paris-based Financial Action Task Force. Its recommendations already require countries to prevent abuse of corporate structures—but it does not check up much how they do so. The main onus is on banks to identify their customers (a company without a bank account is not much use). But a report this summer by Britain’s Financial Services Authority lambasted banks for their failure to investigate their customers’ real identity: many took the company registration at face value. Five are now under investigation. Campaigners such as the Global Witness group also want tougher rules on providers of registration services.

收紧法律法规也是总部位于巴黎的“金融特别行动工作组”的考虑事项。它已经提议国家不要滥用企业结构——但它没有考虑的是如何去做。银行的主要责任是验证企业客户的身份（一所没有银行账户的企业是没多大能耐的）。然而今年夏天英国金融服务管理局针对他们没有成功调查出客户真实身份而发布的报告表明：很多银行只是从字面意义上就相信了注册企业。有五所企业现在正接受调查。像“全球见证”小组这样的社会运动家也希望对提供注册服务的机构加强规范力度。

Plenty of pressure comes the other way too. British lawyers want the “know-your-customer” rules relaxed. American states such as Nevada, Wyoming and Oregon have flourishing industries providing registration services. Selling respectability is a great business, until you run out.

大量压力也来自其它地方。英国律师希望“了解你的客户”这个规则有所放松。而美国内华达州、怀俄明州以及俄勒冈州却兴起了很多提供注册服务的企业。尊严是可以卖个好价钱，直到你失去它。

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L' Aquila' s earthquake**拉奎拉地震**

Scientists in the dock

被告席上的科学家

Next week sees the start of an extraordinary manslaughter trial in Italy**下周意大利将开庭审理一场意想不到的过失杀人案****An act of God?****天意？**

ON MARCH 31st 2009 Bernardo De Bernardinis, then deputy chief of Italy's Civil Protection Department, told people in and around the medieval Italian city of L'Aquila that a series of tremors which had been felt in the area over the past four months posed "no danger". Speaking to a journalist from a local television station, he said that "the scientific community continues to confirm to me that in fact it is a favourable situation, that is to say a continuous discharge of energy." Six days later L'Aquila and several surrounding villages lay in ruins. An earthquake of magnitude 6.3 had destroyed thousands of buildings and killed 308 people.

2009年3月31日,当时的意大利民政部副主席 Bernardo De Bernardinis 告诉中世纪意大利城市拉奎拉市民和城市周边的人民,那些在过去四个月内发生的一系列地震是“毫无压力”的。他对当地电视台的一位记者说,科学界仍然想让我相信事实上这是个有利的形势,那就是地球在不断释放能量。坑爹的是六天后拉奎拉和周边的一些村庄化作废墟。里氏6.3级的地震摧毁了上千座建筑,造成308人死亡。

Dr De Bernardinis, an expert on floods, made his comments just before a meeting held in L'Aquilain which he and six other scientists and engineers were called upon to analyse the risk posed by the ongoing swarm of tremors. The seven, a mixture of full and acting members of the Civil Protection Department's national commission for the forecast and prevention of major risks, have since been indicted for manslaughter and their trial starts on September 20th. The prosecution contends that Dr De Bernardinis's comments and others made by Franco Barberi, a volcanologist who is the commission's vice-president, at a press conference immediately following the meeting gave undue reassurance to the public that a major quake was not on its way and that, as a result, some people who would otherwise have left their homes following two tremors on the night between April 5th and 6th remained indoors and perished.

洪水专家 De Bernardinis 博士在拉奎拉会前作出解释,他和与会的六名科学家和工程师将对接二连三的地震带来的风险进行分析。这七位负责预报和预防主要风险、完美而又行动派的民防局成员,被指控过失杀人,并定

于9月20日开庭审理。控方称 De Bernardinis 博士和委员会副会长、火山学家 Franco Barberi，在会后的记者招待会上相当不适当的给出了安慰公众的说辞，即大地震不会来，结果一些人本可以在两次地震发生的晚上（4月5日和6日）离开室内去避难，最后却在室内遇难。

Fabio Picuti, the public prosecutor, stresses that the charge is not about whether the experts, who included Enzo Boschi, then president of the National Institute of Geophysics and Vulcanology (INGV), should have predicted exactly when, where and with what force the earthquake would have struck. He recognises that is something which remains beyond the bounds of science. Instead, he says, the seven are guilty of negligence because they did not take the risk of a big quake seriously enough. He argues that their discussions, as recorded in the official minutes of the meeting of March 31st, were too generic and completely failed to address the risk at hand.

公诉人 Fabio Picuti 强调，指控不是针对这些专家（包括国家地球物理与火山学研究院的主任 Enzo Boschi）是否能准确预报地震的时间地点以及强度。当然他也承认有些东西超出了当今的科学水平。他说，对这七位的指控是玩忽职守，因为他们没有严肃对待大地震带来的风险。他据理力争地说正如他们3月31日的官方会议记录的，会上说的太平常了以至于完全无视即将来临的灾难。

Gian Michele Calvi, an expert in earthquake engineering who is one of the indicted seven, says the commission recognised that L'Aquila is in a highly seismic zone, and that a powerful earthquake could therefore happen at any time. But he says that, based on the evaluations of the committee's seismologists, they considered the probability of a major quake to be "essentially the same with or without the seismic sequence", and that as a result they did not discuss the possibility of emergency action.

被指控的七人之一，地震工程学专家 Gian Michele Calvi 表示委员会承认拉奎拉地处活跃的地震带，因此强烈的地震是随时有可能发生的。但是他说，根据委员会地震学家的评估，他们认为发生和不发生大地震的概率是相等的，这正是他们没有讨论应急行动的原因。

However, this assessment appears at odds with what seismologists have known for at least 20 years—that small earthquakes increase the likelihood that a powerful event will happen in the near future, even if the absolute probability of such an event remains low. Indeed, Warner Marzocchi and Anna Maria Lombardi of the INGV showed that a few hours before the earthquake actually struck modelling would have suggested the chance that a powerful quake would occur within 10 kilometres of L'Aquila within three days rose from one in 200,000 (the background level) to about one in 1,000.

然而，评估似乎与地震学家们从业20年的经验不符——小地震次数的增加意味着近期可能会发生大地震，即使发生这一事件的绝对可能性很低。实际上，地球物理和火山研究所的 Warner Marzocchi 和 Anna Maria Lombardi 指出地震发生前几小时的模拟暗示，大地震将会在三天之内于拉奎拉10公里范围内发生的概率从二十万分之一（基值）上升到千分之一水平。

Thomas Jordan, an Earth scientist at the University of Southern California, in Los Angeles, who chaired an international review of earthquake forecasting in Italy in the wake of L'Aquila's quake, says that these calculations must be put into context. He points out that, with the exception of an informal system in California, no country in the world has yet set up regular probabilistic earthquake forecasting that can be used to guide emergency actions. The hope of policymakers until recently was that research would identify precursor signals that could predict earthquakes with near certainty.

加州大学洛杉矶分校的地球科学家 Thomas Jordan，在意大利拉奎拉震后负责审查国际地震预报，他认为这些推断一定要具体问题具体分析。他指出除了加利福尼亚非正式的系统以外，世界上目前没有一个国家可以建立起合格的可以引导地震发生的应急行动的预报系统。决策者目前希望研究可以识别出近期肯定会发生地震的前兆信号。

Damned if you do, damned if you don't

做不做都很苦逼

Dr Jordan argues that a focus on prediction rather than forecasting held sway in Italy in the days before the quake at L'Aquila. He says that the seven members of the commission concentrated on refuting the predictions made by Gioacchino Giuliani, a laboratory technician at the nearby National Institute of Nuclear Physics, who claims to have developed a method for predicting earthquakes that involves measuring emissions of radon. His public pronouncements reportedly caused panic in the nearby city of Sulmona two days before the meeting of the commission (no big earthquake followed on that occasion). The members of the commission therefore, according to Dr Jordan, "got trapped into a conversation with a yes/no answer". The result, he says, was that the commission gave the impression that there would be no quake.

Jordan 博士指出，拉奎拉地震之前，意大利关注的是预报而非预测。他认为委员会的七名成员把精力集中在反驳一位隔壁国家核物理研究所的化验员 Gioacchino Giuliani 作出的预测上，他得意地声称自己已经发明了一种预测地震的方法，其中包括测量氡的放射量。据说，就在委员会会议的两天前，他的公开声明引起了附近城市苏尔莫纳的恐慌（随后那里没有大地震发生）。据 Jordan 博士说，委员会成员为此陷入了一个回答是还是不是的杯具对话。他说，结果委员会给大家留下了不会发生地震的错觉。

Gaetano De Luca, who is in charge of looking after the INGV's seismographs in the Abruzzo region, of which L'Aquila is the capital, agrees that the commission got side tracked by Mr Giuliani. But he says this cannot be used as an excuse. He claims that the increased danger in the run-up to the quake was clear, maintaining that a swarm of comparable duration, intensity and geographical concentration had not been witnessed in the area for at least 50 years. As a result, he argues, simple precautions, such as checking the buildings most at risk, should have been taken.

Gaetano De Luca 负责侍弄 INGV 在 Abruzzo 区域的地震仪，在那儿拉奎拉是绝对的中心，他承认委员会受了 Giuliani 先生的牵制。但是他认为这并不能作为借口。他声称在数量急剧上升的震动中，危险升级是很明显的，因为在该区域过去50年中，未有过与目前地震的持续时间、强度以及地理上的集中程度存在可比性的数据。最终，他说应该有简单的预防措施，例如检查豆腐渣工程。

However, Dr De Luca reckons, it is not only the experts who should be on trial. He says that local politicians and administrators should also be held to account. "It is right that you look for those responsible," he adds, "but the search should be cast more widely."

然而 De Luca 博士认为，不仅仅是科学家们应该站在被告席上。当地的政治家和官员们也应该算上。还有，寻找承担责任人是对的，但是范围要更广一些。

翻译：朱田牧 校对：刘拓

The dark at the end of the tunnel?

暗物质在隧道的尽头？

Evidence for the existence of dark matter begins to stack up

暗物质存在的证据开始增加



FOR more than a decade, physicists running an experiment called DAMA, about 1,400 metres under Gran Sasso, a mountain near L'Aquila in central Italy, have been fighting a lonely battle. They claim to have detected dark matter—an invisible substance thought to be five times as abundant as the familiar electrons, protons and neutrons of “ordinary” matter—but until a few months ago almost everyone else who runs similar experiments did not believe them. Now, those opponents are being won over. The latest converts are the members of the CRESST collaboration, also based at the Gran Sasso laboratory (the tunnel leading to which is pictured above). They said on September 6th that they, too, had data suggesting the existence of weakly interacting massive particles (WIMPs), the objects of which dark matter is hypothesised to be composed. That followed an announcement in May that an American experiment called CoGeNT had also seen evidence of WIMPs.

十年之前，物理学家开展了一项名为DAMA的实验。他们在意大利中部拉奎拉附近的Gran Sasso山中，地下大约1400米处，已经孤军奋战很久了。他们声称已经发现暗物质——一种看不见的，比我们熟悉的电子，质子和中子还要丰富五倍的物质。但是直到一个月前，做类似实验的几乎人们还不相信他们。而现在，这些对手正被他们说服过来。最近转变观点的是同时以Gran Sasso实验室（图片中隧道通向的地方）为基础的CRESST的成员们。他们说他们9月6日的数据已经暗示弱相互作用重离子（WIMPs）的存在。弱相互作用重离子被假设为暗物质的组成部分。随后在五月份，一项名为CoGeNT的美国实验也得出了WIMPs的证据。

Physicists are pretty confident dark matter exists. Astronomical observations first made in the 1930s show there is not nearly enough ordinary matter to hold galaxies together as they spin round. The visible matter of a galaxy, in other words, must be embedded in a halo of something invisible or else it would fly apart. This dark matter is assumed to consist of novel subatomic particles that interact neither electromagnetically (and so are “blind” to light

and other kinds of electromagnetic wave) nor via the strong nuclear force that holds atomic nuclei together. Only gravity and a phenomenon called the weak nuclear force, which governs some types of radioactive decay, can bind them—hence the term “weakly interacting”.

物理学家十分确定暗物质的存在。二十世纪三十年代，天文学家观测首次发现一般物质是无法让整个银河系聚集在一起并旋转着的。星系中的可见物质，一定是嵌入一种不可见的物质的环状之中，否则就会飞离星系。科学家们假设这种暗物质是由新的亚原子粒子构成，而不是电磁地（所以是光波和其他电磁波“看不见的”）或者通过强核力使原子核在一起，只有引力和一种弱核力现象，能控制一些放射性衰变，可以让他们在一起，加强“弱相互作用”这一概念。

To identify dark matter, experiments like DAMA, CRESST and CoGeNT look for weak-force-mediated collisions between atoms on Earth and WIMPs in the dark-matter halo of the Earth's home galaxy, the Milky Way. Such collisions should cause individual atomic nuclei to recoil, and with the right apparatus such recoils can be observed. To screen out the confounding effects of cosmic rays, though, such experiments are best located underground.

为了识别暗物质，像DAMA, CRESST 和 CoGeNT这样的实验都在寻找地球上原子间弱力控制的碰撞，和地球所在的银河系中 处于的暗物质环的弱相互作用重离子。这样的碰撞应该造成单个的原子核反冲，而且用特定的仪器可以捕捉到这样反冲。为了分离出宇宙射线的干扰，这类实验最好在地下进行。

WIMPs grow stronger

弱相互作用重离子变强

DAMA, led by Rita Bernabei of the University of Rome Tor Vergata, measures the recoils in a 250kg crystal of sodium iodide, a material chosen because it can be grown into such large, pure crystals. Over the 15 years of its operation the experiment's detector has recorded hundreds of thousands of signals. Most are not caused by dark matter. Even buried deep in the Earth does not screen all background signals out. But although Dr Bernabei cannot tell which individual events (if any) are the result of WIMPs, she does see an intriguing pattern. Every year the number of collisions rises, until it peaks late in May. And every year it then falls back to a minimum in late November. Dr Bernabei and her colleagues believe this is strong evidence that some of the recoils are caused by dark matter, because the motion of the Earth round the sun would be added to the speed with which the solar system moves through the halo in the summer (and thus increase the number of WIMPs that sweep through the crystal) and subtracted from it in the winter, making interception of WIMPs respectively easier and more difficult.

由罗马第三大学Rita Bernabei领导的DAMA，测量了在250kg碘化钠晶体中的反冲。实验选择碘化钠是因为它可以在短时间内长成这么大这么纯净的晶体。经过DAMA15年的运行，实验探测器记录了成百上千的信号。大部分并不是暗物质导致的。就算是深入地下也不会屏蔽所有的背景信号。虽然Dr Bernabei博士不能分辨出哪些信号是WIMPs造成的，但她发现一个很有趣的规律。每年碰撞的数量在增加，在五月末到达顶峰。每年又会在十一月末到最小值。Bernabei博士和她的同事相信这是由暗物质引起的一些反冲的有力证据，因为地球围绕太阳运动，在夏至时会加速（这导致了WIMPs在晶体中急速增加）并且在冬天减少，使得对WIMPs的拦截在夏天更容易，在冬天更困难。

Not everyone agrees. So many things vary with the seasons that such an annual cycle might have another explanation. The CRESST collaboration therefore seeks to distinguish the signal from the noise. CRESST's physicists, led by Franz Pröbst of the Max Planck Institute for Physics in Munich, cool crystals of calcium tungstate (chosen for similar reasons to sodium iodide) down to within a few thousandths of a degree of absolute zero and use special thermometers to measure the tiny temperature increases that occur when subatomic particles collide with the calcium, oxygen or tungsten nuclei and heat the material up. They think they are able to recognise dark-matter collisions by measuring the minuscule flash of light generated in each collision, as well as the heat. Dark-matter collisions would produce less light than non-dark-matter collisions that generated the same amount of heat.

并不是每个人都同意。所以很多事情按季节的变化而变化，这样每年的循环可能有其他解释。因此CRESST小组试图去区分来自噪音的信号。由来自慕尼黑Max Planck物理学院的Franz Pröbst所领导的CRESST的物理学家们把钨酸钙晶体（和碘化铊选用理由一样的晶体）冷却到接近绝对零度的千分之几度，然后用特制的温度计去测量亚原子粒子和钙、氧、及钨的原子核碰撞后产生的微小增加的温度。他们认为通过测量碰撞引起的非常

微小的闪光和热量可以识别出暗物质的碰撞。暗物质碰撞会产生比非暗物质碰撞产生更少的光，但是产生同样多的热量。

The CRESST collaboration's recent result, published in *arXiv*, a research database, is the result of an analysis of nearly two years' worth of data taken from eight 300-gram calcium-tungstate crystals. This identified 67 collisions that generated the kind of energy expected from a WIMP interaction. Of these, the researchers calculated that fewer than 50 came from the four known types of interference produced by radioactive decay in and around the experimental apparatus. The rest, they say, could therefore be WIMPs.

通过对8块300克重的钨酸钙晶体在将近两年间的实验数据所进行的分析，CRESST项目最近的研究成果已经新鲜出炉——并公布于*arXiv* 这一科研资料库。该项成果宣称，科学家们识别出有67次粒子碰撞产生了那种“万众期待的”由WIMP进行相互作用而生成的那种能量。当然，研究者们也统计出这其中有不到50次是来源于4种已知的干扰现象——拜实验设备内部及其周边环境的放射性衰变所赐。至于其余的么，据当事人所说，这个真可以是WIMP所为。

Statistically, the result appears plausible. The researchers conclude there is less than one chance in 10,000 that all 67 events are caused by known forms of background interference. But that does not necessarily mean they have spotted WIMPs. The accepted threshold for a discovery in particle physics is one chance in 3.5m that the result is an accident, and Dr Pröbst's colleague Leo Stodolsky points out that the extra collisions could be caused by unknown background sources, or that he and his colleagues may have underestimated the effects of the four known sources.

从统计学角度来讲，这个结果貌似还是挺靠谱的。研究者们断定这67次粒子碰撞全部是由背景干扰引起的概率尚不足万分之一，但这并不一定意味着他们发现了WIMPs。要知道在粒子物理学领域，可以接受的错误概率要低于350万分之一。而且Pröbst博士的同事Leo Stodolsky指出，那些剩余的碰撞有可能是由未知的背景干扰源引起的，或许他和他的同事们低估了那四种已知干扰源的影响程度也说不定。

The CRESST of a wave?

CRESST风生水起

Dan Hooper, a theoretical physicist at Fermilab, in America, is slightly more indulgent. He describes the latest results as a big step forward and believes that CRESST may well be seeing particles of dark matter. He says the results seem to be roughly compatible with the analyses of DAMA and CoGeNT (the latter, like DAMA, having found evidence of a seasonal fluctuation) since the data of all three groups point to the existence of WIMPs with similar masses and interaction strengths.

身为美国费米实验室的理论物理学家，Dan Hooper现在稍稍有些“雄姿英发”了。他把上文中CRESST的最新成果看作是相关领域的一大进展，而且他相信CRESST很有可能可以观测到暗物质微粒。他认为上述结论貌似与DAMA和CoGeNT（正如DAMA的实验结果，后者已经发现了一种季节性波动的证据）的分析结果在大体上是一致的——根据这三家团体的实验数据，他们识别的WIMPs具有相似的质量和相互作用强度。

The results from two other experiments, CDMS (which, like CoGeNT, is located in the Soudan mine in Minnesota) and XENON, a third project at Gran Sasso, do not fit into this neat picture because they indicate interaction strengths significantly below those estimated from the other experiments. Dr Hooper, though, believes that XENON's researchers may be underestimating the strengths of these interactions. He also says that the CDMS results might be consistent with those of DAMA, CoGeNT and CRESST thanks to uncertainties in both the relative speeds of WIMPs in the galactic halo and the sensitivities of the various detectors.

不过两个其他的实验所得出的结果则有些“不合时宜”，因为它们得出的相互作用活性比其它的实验低了不是一星半点。这两个实验一个是CDMS，它与CoGeNT比较类似，其实验活动在明尼苏达州苏丹镇的一个矿洞中进行；另一个是XENON——这是格兰萨索山里的第三个实验了。尽管如此，Hooper博士还是认为XENON的研究者们低估了这些相互作用的活性。他同时表示，鉴于WIMPs在银晕中的相对速率以及诸多探测器的敏感程度都存在着不确定性，CDMS的实验结果还是有可能与DAMA、CoGeNT和CRESST的结论相一致的。

Narrowing these uncertainties will mean collecting more data. Technicians at CRESST are currently replacing some

of its parts in order to reduce contamination levels within the apparatus itself. Dr Stodolsky reckons they should start seeing results from this more advanced set-up within two years. Fortunately, none of the experiments at Gran Sasso succumbed to the L'Aquila earthquake (see [article](#)). So, with luck, the moment may soon arrive when physicists can agree that they have at last glimpsed the missing mass of the universe.

减少这些不确定性将意味着我们需要收集更多的数据。CRESST的技术人员目前正在更换某些设备部件以便提高设备自身的纯净程度。Stodolsky博士认为,我们将在两年内看到这些更先进的设备所带来的成果。幸运的是,格兰萨索山里的实验项目无一在阿奎拉的地震中遭受损失。所以借此好运,或许物理学家们能早一天最终观测到宇宙中那缺失的质量。

翻译者:朱田牧 胡伟凡 校对者:刘洋Steven

Fossil feathers

羽毛化石

Not just for the birds

不仅仅属于鸟类

A trove of fossils sheds light on the evolution of feathers

一块化石揭露了羽毛的发展史

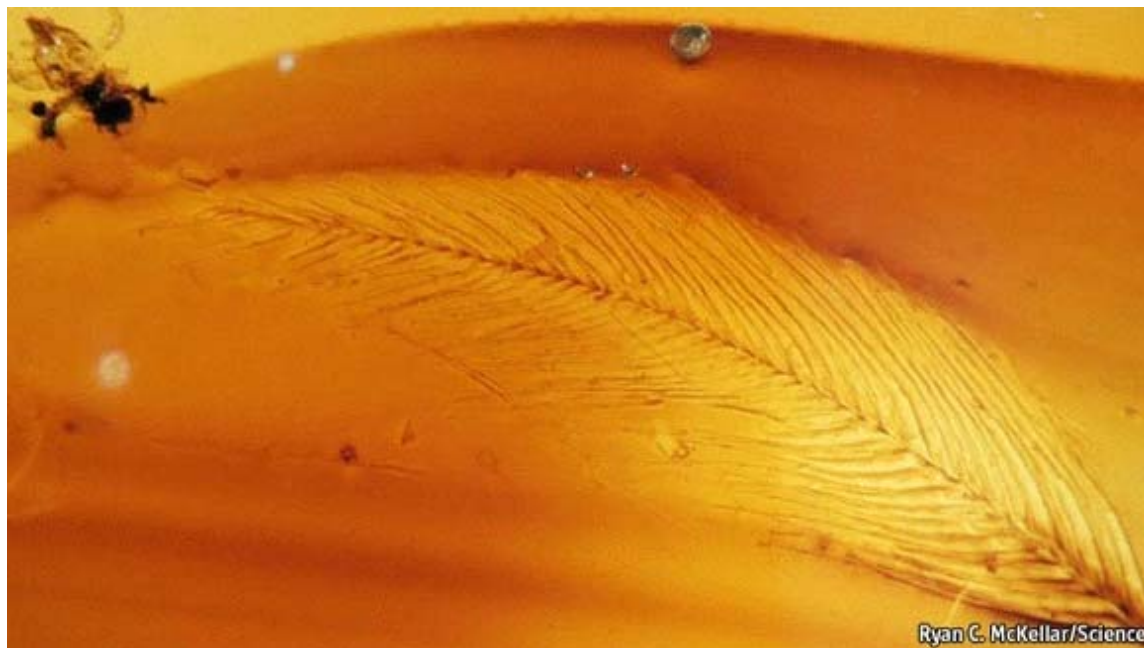


THE fossil record is, famously, full of holes. One such lacuna has been the absence of well-preserved feathers from the Cretaceous—the period between 145m and 65m years ago that ended with the mass extinction that wiped out the dinosaurs. Now, this gap has been partly filled. In this week's *Science*, a team led by Ryan McKellar from the University of Alberta report the discovery of eleven feathers preserved in amber from the latter part of the Cretaceous, about 70m-85m years ago. Intriguingly, not all of them seem to come from birds.

众所周知，化石记录并不完整，遗漏诸多。其中之一便是一直杳无踪迹的来自白垩纪时期的保存良好的羽毛化石。白垩纪起始于一亿四千五百万年前，直到六千五百万年前恐龙的大规模灭绝后才结束。现在，这个漏洞已经有一部分被补好了。在这个星期的《科学》杂志中，来自艾伯特大学的赖安·麦克凯拉团队发表了他们的发现成果——大约7000万年至8500万年前白垩纪晚期的里面完好保存了十一只羽毛化石的琥珀标本。有意思的是，这些羽毛化石似乎不全来自于鸟类。

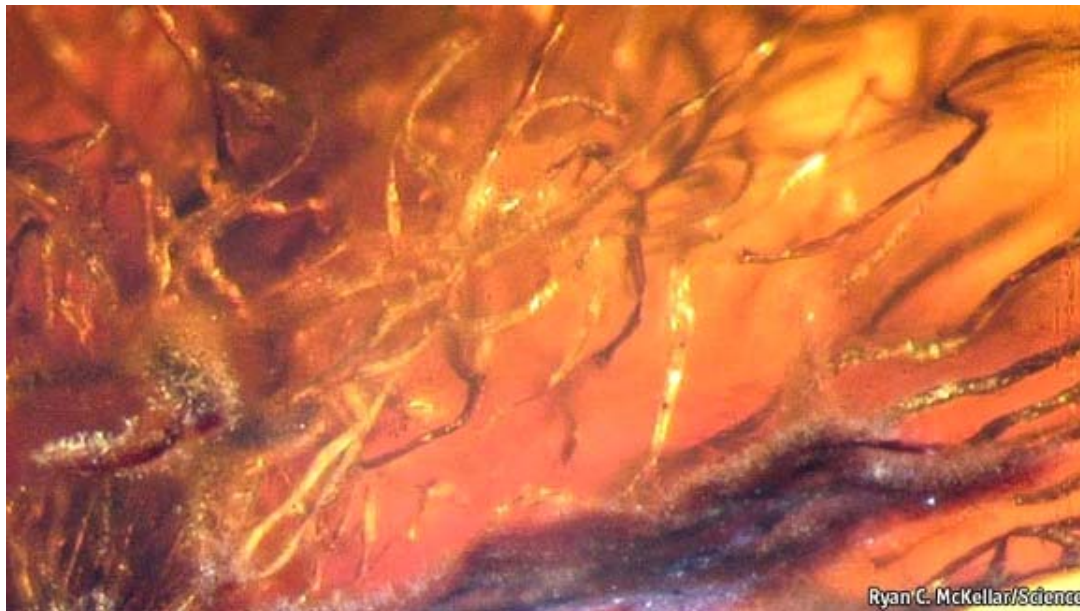
The origin of feathers is a mystery. The earliest known bird, *Archaeopteryx*, lived during the Jurassic, the period before the Cretaceous. But fossils from China suggest the precursors of feathers—simple, filament-like structures possibly used for insulation—evolved in land-lubbing dinosaurs and were only later adapted for flight. The top picture shows similar filaments discovered by Dr McKellar and his team, suggesting flightless dinosaurs sporting such protofeathers were still around in the late Cretaceous.

羽毛最初的起源一直是个谜。人类所知的最早的鸟类，始祖鸟，生活在白垩纪前的侏罗纪世代。不过，出土于中国的化石却展现了羽毛的前导——一种简单的，细丝状的，很可能是起保温作用的东西——是由陆地上行走的恐龙先行进化出来的，直到后来才被用于飞行。上面的这幅图展示了类似于麦克凯拉博士和他的团队发现的细丝状物质，表明不会飞行的恐龙在白垩纪晚期已经戴着这种原始羽毛到处跑了。



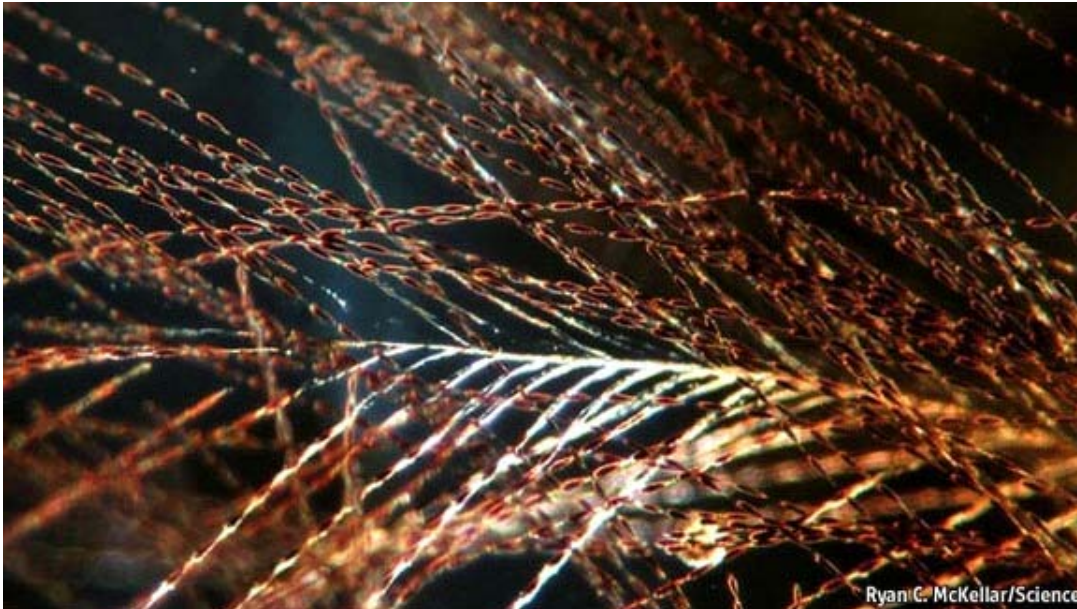
Not all the feathers found by Dr McKellar were so primitive, though. The second picture shows one similar in shape to those sported by modern birds. Modern feathers consist of thousands of fibres held together by tiny hooks. The details of that design can be tweaked to change a feather's characteristics, offering waterproofing, insulation, streamlining and so on.

麦克凯拉博士找到的羽毛化石不全是那种原始状态的，第二幅图展示了一片很像现代的鸟类身上的羽毛的羽毛化石。现代鸟类的羽毛由成千上万的纤维组成，这些纤维由细小的钩状体连在一起。这种构造的细节可以做多种不同的细微调整，使羽毛具有一些特性，比如防水、保温，和在运动中保持流畅等等。



The third picture shows feathers that have just such a specialisation: coiling reminiscent of that seen in the feathers of modern divers. Such coiling allows a feather to absorb water, which streamlines and insulates the owner. These feathers, then, presumably adorned a diving bird—perhaps *Hesperornis*, a flightless North American diver from precisely this period.

第三幅图便表现了其中一种具有特性的羽毛。图中的羽毛具是卷曲的，就像现在的水生动物身上的毛发一样。这种卷曲的形态使得羽毛在吸收水分后变得更具流线型并且可以使自身与水绝缘。这种羽毛大概是长在一只水生鸟类的身上——也许是黄昏鸟，一种生活在北美的不会飞行的鸟类，而它们正好存在于我们研究的这个时期。



The final picture shows pigmentation preserved in a fossil feather. Different feathers have different patterns of colour, suggesting that Cretaceous dinosaurs—flying or otherwise—used their feathers for display. Charles Darwin once said that contemplating a peacock's tail made him sick, such was the difficulty of explaining its complexity. Dr McKellar's finds suggest, at least, that that complexity began to evolve a long time ago.

最后一幅图里的化石，完好的保存了羽毛的色泽。不同的羽毛有不同的花色图案，说明在白垩纪，无论是会飞还是不会飞的恐龙，都把羽毛作为了可以炫耀的装饰物了。查尔斯·达尔文曾说，凝视一只孔雀的尾羽会让他头晕目眩，因为它的图案实在是太复杂了。麦克凯拉博士的研究至少可以说明一点，那就是这种复杂图案的羽毛是从久远的古代发展而来的。

翻译者：徐莉钦 校对者：刘洋Steven

The power of infinity

无限的能量

How will mankind keep the lights on and the temperature down?

如何控制全球变暖



AS THE American presidential election approaches, expect to hear plenty of talk in the months ahead about “energy independence”. Some candidates may also express fears over “**peak oil**”. The merits and terrors of nuclear power will be discussed. Anthropogenic climate change, or Republican denials of it, already has been. Energy is a critical issue in today’s political debate—as is only appropriate. Providing sufficient energy to seven billion increasingly affluent humans without burning up the planet may be humanity’s greatest challenge. “What is at stake”, writes Daniel Yergin, “is the future itself.”

随着美国大选的临近，预计在未来几月关于“能源独立”的话题将持续升温。部分候选人同时表达了对“**石油峰值【注 1】**”的担忧，同时，利用核能源的所引发利弊权衡问题也将纳入讨论范畴。无论共和党承认与否，因人类活动而导致的气候变化已成为既定的事实。能源是目前政治讨论的焦点话题，可能也是唯一合适的话题。怎样既要“青山绿水又要金山银山”成为当前人类所面临的巨大挑战。“什么事当务之急”丹尼尔耶金写道：“人类的未来”

注解 1，何为“石油峰值”

“石油峰值”源于上世纪 50 年代美国著名石油地质学家哈伯特(Hubbert)发现的矿物资源“钟形曲线”规律。哈伯特认为，石油作为不可再生资源，任何地区的石油产量都会达到最高点；达到峰值后该地区的石油产量将不可避免地开始下降。这是石油峰值理论的核心。

1953 年，哈伯特根据峰值理论预测美国本土 48 州的石油产量在 1970 年前后达到峰值。后来，美国本土石油产量果然在 1970 年左右到达峰值。从此以后，石油峰值问题逐渐受到关注。

爱尔兰地质学家坎贝尔(Campbell)发展了石油峰值研究。坎贝尔曾在 BP、壳牌、菲纳财团、埃克森和雪佛龙等大石油公司担任首席地质学家和副总裁。他继承了哈伯特的理论，继续研究石油峰值，并成立了石油峰值研究会(ASPO)。1998 年，他发表了《廉价石油时代的终结》，在油价还十分低迷的时候得出廉价石油时代必将终结的结论。近来的高油价似乎验证了其结论。与此同时，关于石油峰值的研究也在全球扩展开来。本报专访的夏尔·阿列克列特(Kjell Aleklett)就是石油峰值研究会的现任主席。

目前，不同机构和学者对何时达到石油峰值说法不一。以坎贝尔为代表的“悲观派”认为，石油峰值已经到来或即将到来。坎贝尔认为，石油峰值已在 2007 年到来，我们现在已经站在石油峰值年份上。另一派是以剑桥能源研究会(CERA)为代表的“乐观派”，认为科技进步会显著地增加石油产量，将使石油峰值的到来推迟到 2030 年以后。“中间派”如世界著名油气研究专家、ASPO 成员、道达尔石油公司前副总裁 Pierre-Rene 认为世界石油峰值将于 2020 年左右出现；国际能源署 (IEA) 的预测也大约是 2020 年。

针对“石油峰值论”，一些石油业内人士进行了反驳。埃克森 - 美孚石油公司的高级主管马克·诺兰日前援引美国地质勘探局(USGS)的数据说，全球常规可开采原油超过 3 万亿桶，对重油等非常规石油的开采可使全球可开采原油量增至 4 万亿桶，而全球目前仅开采了 1 万亿桶原油，因此“石油末日”还很遥远。

针对关于石油峰值的不同意见，美国能源部已委托相关机构进行研究，以此作为其能源政策的基础。

我国学者对石油峰值的研究始于 20 世纪 80 年代。我国著名地球物理学家、中科院院士翁文波做了大量开创性工作。翁文波在 1984 年出版的《预测学基础》专著中指出，任何事情都有“兴起——成长——鼎盛——衰亡”的自然过程；油气的发现也有类似规律。基于此，翁文波提出了著名的“泊松旋回”模型。这是我国建立的第一个油气田储量、产量中长期预测模型，通常称之为“翁氏模型”。

我国一些学者以翁氏模型为基础进行了改进，以分析我国石油产量的峰值。目前，对中国境内石油峰值问题的研究取得了一定成果。国土资源部油气资源战略研究中心景东升博士在 2007 年预计，中国的石油峰值将会出现在比 2020 年稍晚的时候，峰值产量大约 2.2 亿吨/年。而中国石油大学副校长庞雄奇则预测，中国石油峰值可能在 2015 年就会到来。

Mr Yergin's previous book, "The Prize", a history of the global oil industry, **have the advantage of** an epic tale and wondrous timing. Years in the making, it was published, to critical and popular acclaim in 1990, two months after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, thereby putting Saudi Arabia's oilfields in peril. "The Quest", as its more open-ended title suggests, is a broader and more ambitious endeavor. It is, first, an account of the many ways in which people have sought to produce energy—by burning fossil fuels, harvesting the wind, brewing biodiesel and trapping the sun's heat. It is also an analysis of the increasingly fraught political context in which this business is conducted, especially with regard to three big and longstanding fears: energy scarcity, energy security and, more and more, the environmental ruin that energy can cause.

耶金先生讲述全球石油工业历史的作品《石油·金钱·权力》【注解 2】的出版占据了宏大的故事以及完美的时间结点等优势：经过多年的酝酿，终于在 1990 年，也就是萨达姆攻入科威特两个月之后，这本书付梓成印，一经出版，就获得了大众的广泛好评。选择“追求”作为对原题的开方式补充，是作者一个广泛而大胆性的尝试。首先，作者回顾了人类用来产能的种种方式，例如化石能源、风能、生物柴油以及太阳能。其进一步分析了能源产业所处的欠佳的政治环境，特别是三大长期性担忧：能源匮乏、能源安全以及能源导致的环境污染。

注解 2：《石油·金钱·权力》(The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power)，丹尼尔·耶金 (Daniel Yergin) 著，1991 年出版（中译本由新华出版社出版）。石油是地球上最重要的商品，是现代文明的动力。耶金了不起的地方就是他让读者对世界，特别是中东为何是今天这种状况有了深刻了解，而在讲述这一切的时候，始终像在讲述一个有趣的故事。

The first is nothing new. People have been warning of peak oil almost since they began putting the stuff into barrels in Pennsylvania 1859. Both world wars saw surging demand for oil—in inflation-adjusted terms America's highest ever petrol prices were in 1918—and both ended amid dark predictions that it was running out. Mr Yergin counts five such scares in all. Yet there is plenty of oil left, with perhaps only a fifth of the world's endowment so far produced. Indeed estimates of the remaining reserves keep growing. This is proof of something the doomsayers routinely discount, the wonderful combination of human ingenuity and market forces.

众所周知的是，人类自 1859 年在宾夕法尼亚人将石油按每桶计量时【注解 3】已经被警告过石油峰值。两次世界大战见证了原油需求的暴增，高通货膨胀率使得美国石油价格在 1918 年达到顶峰，而且两次世界大战都在关于石油即将耗尽的预言中收场。耶金在书中总共列举了五次恐慌。尽管地球上尚且仍存有大量石油，可能目前已消耗的石油总量大约只占全部储存量的五分之一。目前对于石油剩余储量的猜测一直不断上升，而灾难预言家们最容易忽视的往往是人类的智慧和市场的力量。

注解 3：石油桶数

桶和吨是常见的两个原油数量单位。欧佩克组织和英美等西方国家原油数量单位通常用桶来表示，中国及俄罗斯等国则常用吨作为原油数量单位。吨和桶之间的换算关系是：1 吨约等于 7 桶，如果油质较轻(稀)，则 1 吨约等于 7.2 桶或 7.3 桶。美欧等国的加油站，通常用加仑做单位，我国的加油站则用升计价。

石油桶数 - 计量

1 桶 = 158.98 升 = 42 加仑。美制 1 加仑 = 3.785 升，英制 1 加仑 = 4.546 升。如果要把体积换算成重量，和原油的密度有关。

石油桶数 - 桶数来历

桶真正跟石油发生关系应该是在 1859 年，美国宾夕法尼亚州泰托思维尔镇的德雷克发现石油。这位美国人也是跟我国早期的四川人一样，试着想挖井找盐，没想到却找到了石油。当时在内燃机还没有发明之前，生产的石油主要是用来制造煤油及灯油。德雷克共有 24 口生产井，1860 年产出原油 9 万吨，1862 年生产了 27 万吨。

德雷克的油井出油后，他用一只容积约 8 个啤酒桶的鲸鱼油桶当作储存槽，再放不下只好在地上挖坑做石油池，让来不及装桶的原油暂时存放，再用一个个啤酒桶分装，用马车拉到河边，装上船沿河运送到各地精炼厂。1865 年铁路延伸到油田区，又利用火车的平板车台一桶一桶放置运送出去。这段故事终于创造了石油与桶此后不可分割的关系。

在英语中，大大小小的木桶都称为“Barrel”，都可用来盛装石油。大家的交易又是以 1 桶为准，初期没有统一的标准规格，的确给买卖双方都造成困扰。盛装石油的木桶大的有 50 加仑（加仑为另一种容积单位，每加仑为 3.785 公升），小的只有 30 加仑，以 40 加仑及 42 加仑为多，但以 40 加仑为最通用，大家也逐渐朝这规格靠拢。使用木桶装原油有一个缺点，就是热胀冷缩的物理现象经常使木桶破裂，所以装油时会故意装少些。1870 年，洛克菲勒成立标准石油公司时，大量使用自家生产的木桶，自立交货规格，把 1 桶定为 42 加仑，而且把木桶喷成蓝色以表示与其他厂家的区别。在当时，石油的交易是以桶为单位，各家油商向不同的油厂提油，所提的每桶数量都不一样，这对 ZF 而言，要公告价格与收税也没有标准，所以要定一个标准量的桶，对各方来说都变得很迫切。美国在 1876 年内战前，采取了英国商人和美国商人都能共同接受的一个标准，制定 42 加仑为 1 桶。如果换算一下，约合 159 公升。

说来很有意思，这 42 加仑是采取了装鲑鱼的木桶及装猪油的木桶，二者都是 42 加仑，但都与石油没有关系。后来，桶成为全世界统一的石油计量单位，全世界各国一致向它看齐。这不像其他计量单位，有美制、英制或公制的区别。桶这个计量单位，不只是石油业界使用，凡是与石油有关的产业、机构或个人，也深受此单位的影响。

随着石油管道的修建以及贮油器、散装货轮和油轮使用的增加，石油很少再以桶装形式运输了。1972 年，石油生产国协会采用了 42 加仑桶作为石油的通用计量标准。

石油的基准价格——伦敦市场的北海布伦特原油和纽约的西得克萨斯轻质原油价格——是以桶为单位并以美元报价的

As oil prices have risen, from less than \$10 a barrel in the mid-1980s to nearly \$150 in 2008, so oilmen have got much better at retrieve more oil from smaller deposits and remoter places.

The digitalization of oil production will make far more oil from any field.

The complex deepwater drilling recently perfected by Petrobras, Brazil's state-controlled company, has suddenly raised the prospect of Brazil becoming one of the world's biggest producers. Refinements in **hydraulic** 【注解 4】fracturing, or “fracking”, whereby water and sand are squirted at high pressure into shale beds, have made massive reserves of American gas available—sufficient to maintain current levels of production for a century. Such breakthroughs do not end concerns over scarcity because the coming surge in global energy demand, chiefly from Asia, will be massive. Between 2006 and 2010 China doubled its capacity for electricity generation; between 2010 and 2030 India's electricity consumption is expected to increase fivefold. Yet peak oil and gas look to be many decades off.

当石油价格已经从 20 世纪 80 年代中期低于 10 美元/桶升到 2008 年 150 美元/桶时，油商能够从小油井及偏远地区攫取原油时获取高额的回报。巴西国家控股公司 Petrobras 完善了复杂的深水挖掘技术，使得巴西一下

子有望跃居世界产油大国行列。石油开采的自动化使得人类可以从任何地方获取更多的石油。水力压裂法的完善，即将水和沙子高压喷向页岩层的技术，使得美国天然气大量储存成为可能，同时也使其在一个世纪内不用再为天然气的供应量问题烦恼。技术上的巨大突破并不能缓解人们对资源枯竭的忧虑，尤其以亚洲为代表带来的爆发性的全球能源需求增长，是十分巨大的。从 2006 年到 2010 年，中国的发电总量翻了一倍。从 2010 年到 2030 年印度的发电量消耗预估将翻五翻。不过目前距离石油峰值和天然气产量峰值的到来还有几十年时间。

注解 4：水力压裂法 (hydrofracturing method) 又称水压致裂法。一种绝对地应力测量方法。测量时首先取一段基岩裸露的钻孔，用封隔器将上下两端密封起来；然后注入液体，加压直到孔壁破裂，并记录压力随时间的变化，并用印模器或井下电视观测破裂方位。根据记录的破裂压力、关泵压力和破裂方位，利用相应的公式算出原地主应力的方向和大小。由图可得关泵压力 (p_s)、裂缝扩展压力 (p_r) 和破裂压力 (p_f)，并按下式计算主应力：最小水平应力 $\sigma_h = p_s$ ，最大水平应力 $\sigma_H = 3p_s - p_r - p_o$ ，式中： p_o 为孔隙压力。而铅直应力 σ_v 可根据上覆岩层的重量计算： $\sigma_v = \rho g H$ ，式中： ρ 为岩石密度； g 为重力加速度； H 为测量深度；主应力方位由印模器确定。此法于 20 世纪 50 年代由哈伯特 (Hubbert)、威利斯 (Willis) 在理论上进行论证，60 年代由夏德格 (Scheidtgerger)、凯利 (Keighley)、费尔赫斯特 (Fairhurst) 等加以完善，海姆森 (Haimson) 等分析了压裂液渗入的影响，并作大量野外和室内实验工作。由于操作简便，且无须水力压裂法知道岩石的弹性参量而得到广泛应用。美国已进行很多水力压裂法地应力测量，德国、日本和中国等也已相继开展此项工作。目前，此法已能在 5000 米深处进行测量。^[1]

That exacerbates the other worries. In the realm of energy security, a nuclear-armed Iran, holding its oil-rich region to ransom, looms large. Yet these threats seem to be dwarfed, in Mr. Yergin's analysis, by global warming. The possibility of a cyber-attack on the world's ever more interlinked energy system is another concern. Burning fossil fuels has sent the atmospheric carbon-dioxide level rocketing. In 1958, when an American scientist, Charles Keeling, began measuring carbon-dioxide levels on a volcano in Hawaii, it was around 315 parts per million; half a century later, it was about 387 parts per million. Stopping the increase at 450 parts per million—when the climate is generally expected to be no more than two degrees warmer than in pre-industrial times—is the world's ambition. How likely is this?

这加剧了其他方面的顾虑。在能源安全问题上，掌握核技术的伊朗凭借其石油资源丰富的优势耀武扬威，成为了世界巨大的隐患。而运用计算机手段对于联系日益紧密的能源系统的潜在攻击是另一个值得忧虑的地方。不过在耶金看来，与全球变暖相比，上述威胁都不值一提。燃烧化石燃料使得大气中 CO_2 含量急剧升高。在 1958 年，美国科学家 Charles Keeling 在火山区域测得 CO_2 含量为百万分之三百一十五；而半个世纪后，大气中 CO_2 含量达到了百万分之三百八十七。目前人类奢望能将 CO_2 含量控制在百万分之四百五十之内，即使得气温与工业化之前相比上升不超过 2 摄氏度。但这可能性能究竟有多大呢？

Not remotely, Mr Yergin suggests. Fossil fuels supply 80% of the world's energy needs and, as the main driver of China's and India's growth, they will remain pre-eminent for decades. That is a lot to worry about, and Mr Yergin's book, which includes almost 100 pages on the history of climate science and politics, should be required reading for all those in warming denial. The author finds at least some cheer in recent breakthroughs in alternative sources of energy, chiefly solar and wind. On current form neither is remotely able to stand against coal. Yet a rising wave of innovation—what Mr Yergin calls an unprecedented “great bubbling” in the broth of energy innovation—suggests that one day they may. Most of this is of course happening in America. Between 2001 and 2010 investment in the American clean-tech industry increased tenfold. Most of the climate science that Mr Yergin describes, with an appealing fondness and respect for its obsessive practitioners, happened in America, too.

不幸的是，耶金觉得人类终将面临 CO_2 含量超标的困境。在当今社会，化石燃料产能占全球能源供应的 80%，其主要推手是中国和印度的快速发展，而这两个国家的繁荣昌盛也将持续数年之久。这种情况值得深思，在耶金的书中关于政治影响气候变化的叙述大概占 100 页左右，这部分值得对全球变暖持否定态度的人们仔细读一下。尽管如此，作者在替代能源方面还是发现了可喜的突破，其中最富代表性的当属太阳能和风能。只不

过目前其任何形式的能源也无法替代取代煤的地位。不过，耶金觉得一系的改革就像“手忙脚乱的厨房里正在沸腾的肉汤冒出的气泡”一样，早晚都会出现。而且这些创新大部分将会发生在美国。从 2001 年到 2010 年，美国清洁能源的投资额翻了整整十倍。耶金书中描述的大部分气候科学以及喜爱和崇敬气候科学的狂热从业者都来自美国。

Ploughing through the 800-plus pages of “The Quest” also consumes a fair bit of energy. Mr Yergin’s book is not always an easy read. Its scope is vast, parts of the book are confusingly structured and the author sometimes **shies from** pushing his arguments to a satisfying conclusion. That aside, “The Quest” is **a masterly piece** of work and, as a comprehensive guide to the world’s great energy needs and dilemmas, it will be hard to beat.

阅读这本 800 多页的书同样同样要消耗读者大量的脑力和体力。耶金的著作从来都不太容易读懂。而且这本书所覆盖的知识面非常广阔，书中的部分内容结构繁复而且作者大部分时候不喜欢直接评述那些既定的结论。不管怎样，《石油·金钱·权力》此书是一部伟大的巨著，尤其其在于引导读者了解世界能源的需求和当前困境方面，都是无与伦比的。

plough through:钻研，艰难前进

shy from:厌恶

a masterly piece of work : 巨著

have the advantage of 胜过，优于，比... 处于有利地位

翻译者：钮成拓 校对者：尹茜 xi

The world of adolescence

青少年时代

The best days of their lives?

人生中最美好的时光？

What drives the young

什么在驱使着青少年们？

CHRISTIAN SMITH is a well-known sociologist of religion. That alone may deter the more deeply secular from reading his book, "Lost in Transition", which explores the moral map of 18- to 23-year-olds in America. This would be a shame, as it is intensely and uncomfortably thought-provoking. It deserves consideration on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly from the parents of that generation.

Christian Smith 是一位闻名遐迩的宗教社会学家。不过这也使得那些排斥宗教的人拒绝阅读他的著作——《迷失于转型之中》(该书探讨了美国 18 至 23 岁之间的青少年的道德问题)。遗憾的是，作品中极其强烈的反思会使读者感到不安。理解此书需要青少年们和父母间的相互理解，尤其是父辈那方面。

A note about method first. Mr Smith (a professor at the University of Notre Dame) and his co-writers have been following the emerging adults on whom this study is based since 2001, when they were just young sprats. The authors have repeatedly surveyed a "nationally representative" sample of over 3,000 and personally interviewed a smaller number. This book relies primarily on intensive interviews in 2008 with 230 of the original group, many of them then in college or university.

先说一下其研究方法，文中记载了自 2001 起 Smith 先生（圣玛利亚大学的教授）和他的合著人持续追踪记录的那些所研究的初绽头角的青少年们。作者们反复调查了 3,000 余名具有全国代表性的样本，并亲自采访了一小部分人。此书的主要参考依据是 2008 年间对某部分人群中 230 人的密集访问，他们中有许多人已经迈入了大学之门。

Mr Smith starts from the observation, which few would dispute, that adolescents are slower to emerge into adulthood these days: they study for longer, they depend on their parents for longer and they marry later, if at all. The world of real work they eventually enter is not the world of stable, long-term jobs that previous generations knew. During that long transition they have unprecedented freedom—from unwanted childbearing, for example—and no particular reason to rush into commitments of any sort. Moral boundaries are less clear than they were; many young adults have been taught not just to tolerate other people's views and behaviour but to see them all as equally valid.

毫无争议，Smith 先生由此观察得出，如今的青少年们转型为成年人的过程更为缓慢：他们的学业持续时间更长了，对父母依赖的时间久了，离晚婚族又更近了...嗯，如果有的话。在他们即将踏入的社会，工作并不是他们前辈们所知的铁饭碗。在这漫长的转型期，他们拥有史无前例的自由生活——诸如不想要孩子什么的，这使得他们无需卷入各种责任之中。道德界限较从前变得更为模糊；许多青少年们就受到如是教育，不仅要能忍受他人的观点与行为还要将其视为是有一定道理的。

In every age the transition to adulthood is a turbulent time. The message here is that in today's world there is much that is fun, free and promising about this stage of life, but a dark side of apathy, confusion, loss and grief is less readily acknowledged. The book focuses on five areas: how young adults make ethical decisions; what role consumerism plays in their lives; why they drink so much; why they have sex so indiscriminately; and why, despite optimistic claims that Barack Obama awakened young people in 2008 as John F. Kennedy did their parents or grandparents, they are in fact disengaged from civic and political life. The answers in the first area foreshadow most of the rest. What is striking about the responses to a whole string of questions probing how these young people deal with moral issues is how few of them seem to grasp what is being asked. Murder, rape, bank robbery are seen as wrong. But what about cheating on exams, cheating on lovers, even driving drunk? They talk about whether they might be caught, how their friends would react, how they themselves might feel. Where it is a question of others'

questionable behaviour, a standard answer is that it is up to each individual to decide for himself. Very few seem to think that right and wrong are rooted in anything outside personal experience.

在任何时期，向成人过渡的过程都是叛逆而躁动的。当今世界传递了一个这样的信息：有趣，自由而前途无量的人生舞台通常被人们欣然接受，然而，充斥着冷漠，混乱，失败与悲伤的黑暗面总是被拒之门外。本书内容主要覆盖了 5 个方面：青少年们如何在道德问题上做出决定；消费主义在其生活中担当何种角色；为什么他们总爱喝酒；为何性行为那般随意；以及，尽管书中以积极态度阐述了于 2008 年 Barack Obama 试图效仿 John F. Kennedy 激励其父辈们一般使这些青少年们觉醒，却也提出为何他们的日常与政治生活仍是那般松懈。恰巧的是第一个问题的答案正预示了其余几个方面。在这一连串探讨年轻人如何处理道德问题的答案中彰显出一点，他们中只有很少一部分人能真正理解这些问题。谋杀，强奸，抢银行都是恶劣行为。但是难道考试作弊，爱人间的背叛，酒驾这些就不是了吗？他们谈论着是否会被逮着，朋友作何反应，他们自己会有何感想。对于其他诸如此类无明确界定的行为，是与非皆是因人而异的。只有极少部分人明白是非的判定标准不能由个人经历来决定。

And so to consumerism. Shopping is personally fulfilling; buying things supports the economy (true enough); if you can afford it, you deserve it. Might it be just a tiny bit gross to own ten cars while others in your city are working double shifts to buy shoes for their children? Apparently not. The good life consists of having a decent job, a decent standard of living and a nice family, not of fighting for justice or saving whales.

消费主义也是如此。购物是一个自我满足的过程；买东西能促进经济（确实如此）；如果你有这个能力购买，便值得拥有它。当和你同城的人需要打两份工才能给他们的孩子买新鞋的情况下，你却拥有 10 辆车，这会不会有些“小”过分呢？自然是不会的！美好的生活意味着一份体面的工作，高质量生活环境和一个美满的家庭，并不是什么为公平而战或是拯救鲸鱼之类的。

As for the prevalence of drink and sex, peer pressure, advertising and the media play their part, but so too does sheer boredom. Many of the young women, in particular, look back with some regret on very early sexual experiences, and on later ones with virtual strangers. And as for politics, what emerges is a strong feeling of disempowerment and distrust. Relatively few young people think they know or can do much about what is going on, and most of those who do follow current events and vote seem to take things no further.

至于酗酒和随意的性行为的普遍存在，这或许是源于同辈间的压力，同时一些广告媒体也需承担一定负责，当然其中有些人可能是纯属寂寞了。许多年轻女性，尤其是那些性体验较早的女人都会流露出后悔之情，晚一些的则是因为与陌生人发生关系而后悔。当提及政治问题，青少年们便会联想到剥夺权利和不信任感，由此便迸发出了强烈的不满情绪。相对的，这使得很少有年轻人会认为他们对正在发生的事情有着深入的了解并且能起到大作用，从而选择了随波逐流，故投票似乎也起不到什么作用。

Yet “Lost in Transition” is not, in fact, a hand-wringing tale of gloom. Nor is the moral map it describes unique to America; there are many echoes in Britain, which was struggling even before its August riots to understand why so many young people seemed adrift. It is really a warning to parents. In the guise, often, of teaching tolerance, we are failing to ensure that our children understand how to frame moral issues and make judgments about right conduct and about what is good in life. The reason for this, Mr Smith suggests, is that we are not so sure ourselves.

不过，事实上《迷失于转型之中》并非是一部被绝望与忧郁的氛围所笼罩的作品。其对青少年道德问题的分析也不仅限于美国，在英国此书也得到了众多回应，甚至八月骚乱之前（有许多人）仍在努力理解为什么有那么多的年轻人漂泊不定。这给父母们敲响了警钟。时常，我们以教学宽容为理由，没能确保孩子们是否清楚如何建立道德观，以及对行为的是非，生活中的善恶作出判断。Mr. Smith 暗示道，出现这种情形的原因是大人们自己都无法明确地作出区分。

翻译者：姚欣悦 校对者：胡心云

The constant gardener

不朽的园丁

The future of wilderness 荒原的未来

WHEN the Scottish-born American naturalist, John Muir, encountered a pristine wilderness where the soaring mountains touched the open sky, birds sang in the pine trees and fish spawned in the free-flowing rivers, he was determined to protect it from over-exploitation by the settlers who succeeded the native American presence. Muir fought to ensure that the Yosemite Valley in California became a national park, and he succeeded in 1890. The concept of preserving nature from man's interference proved both powerful and enduring: almost a century later the Wilderness Act of 1964 empowered states to designate protected land. In "Rambunctious Garden" Emma Marris outlines why the concept of wilderness is flawed.

John Muir, 一位苏格兰出生的美国博物学家,第一次看到优胜美地山谷山峰高耸直入云霄,鸟儿松林间低吟浅唱,鱼儿清澈活水里繁衍生息的景象,他便下决心好好保护这块美丽的处女地,避免外来移民过度开发。Muir 为加州的优胜美地谷底成为国家公园做了不懈努力,终于在 1890 年取得成功。保护环境以避免人类的破坏这样的观念影响力是巨大而持久的:几乎在一个世纪以后,1964 年颁布的《荒野法》,它赋予每个州自己划定保护区的权利。在“桀骜的园区”里,Emma Marris 粗略的描述了荒原保护的这个概念为什么有不足之处。

The journey begins in Hawaii, where biologists are toiling to remove species that have been introduced to the islands over the centuries since James Cook's party landed there in 1778. Invaders such as purple-flowered Asian melastome and strawberry guava threaten to overrun delicate Hawaiian natives such as thornless roses and delicate tree ferns. Yet even if all the invaders were removed, it would only return the islands to the state into which the Polynesians, who inhabited them for at least 1,000 years before Cook's arrival, had shaped them.

事情起因于夏威夷,当时,那里的生物学家一直致力于消除岛上自詹姆斯库克的船队 1778 年登上夏威夷这几个世纪以来引入的外来物种。这些入侵者包括,可能威胁到脆弱的无刺玫瑰和树蕨正常生长的紫色花牡丹以及草莓番石榴。即使,所有的外来物种都被清理干净,这些岛屿也只能返回到库克船长到来之前,已经在夏威夷定居至少 1000 年的波利尼西亚人形成的状态。

Even theoretically, returning Hawaii to a prehuman existence would be impossible. Ecosystems change over time, with or without the involvement of mankind, so no one can tell what Hawaii "should" look like. And mankind's influence on his environment is now such that he has changed the composition of the atmosphere over the past few centuries, so the effects of humanity can never be completely removed.

即使从理论上来说,把夏威夷还原到人类还未存在之前的状态是不可能的。不管有没有外来者侵入,生态系统随时间变化而变化,所以,谁也不知道夏威夷究竟该成为什么样子。人类对环境的影响如此显著,以至于在过去的几个世纪里,人类已经改变了大气的组成成分,从这一点来看,要想消除人类对环境的影响是不可能的。

Ms Marris traces the emergence of a "wilderness cult" that she believes affects efforts to restore habitats to a previous form. She argues that early American environmentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, have been misread as its champions. Although Emerson described "essences unchanged by man; space, the air, the river, the leaf", he also wrote of the "perfect exhilaration" of "crossing a bare common, in snow puddles at twilight, under a clouded sky". And when Thoreau became determined to get away from it all in 1845, he retired to Walden Pond, a mere mile-and-a-half away from the nearest village. Preserving nature, Ms Marris writes, is a relatively recent preoccupation.

Marris 在其作品里追溯了“荒原崇拜”的根源,她相信这种崇拜影响着生态栖息地的复原工作。她认为,早期美国博物学家,如 拉尔夫·瓦尔多·爱默生和亨利·大卫·梭罗,被其拥护者误读了。虽然爱默生形容自然是“未被人类改变的精华,是大气,是江河,是草叶”,他还写道,“人生之致乐莫不是在阴云密布的苍穹下,肩披晚霞,

穿行坑坑洼洼的雪地，静静走过一片荒野。”1845 年，梭罗决心远离尘嚣，于是，他来到了离最近村庄大概 1.5 英里瓦尔登湖。即便如此，环境保护，Marris 写到，这个概念直到最近才受人关注。

Perhaps, but it has a longer history than the author fully acknowledges. A struggle between those who would remove man from a landscape and those who think we should actively manage the environment has existed since at least the 1930s. When the first global environmental organisation was established in 1948, it was called the International Union for the Protection of Nature: the organisation renamed itself in 1956, replacing “protection” with “conservation” in its title, because its members had grasped that people play an important role in shaping the natural world.

也许，这个概念的历史远远比 Marris 了解的要长。自从 1930 年来，一部分人建议消除自然景观中人类的足迹，另一部分人认为人类应该积极管理自然，而不是消极的从自然景观中脱身出来；这两部分人一直争论不休。1948 年，第一个名为国际自然保护联盟的国际性环境组织成立。1956 年，这个组织改了名字，把名字中的“Protection”换为“Conservation”，因为其组织已经明白，在改造自然界方面，人类的作用大得多。

Ms Marris’s book is an insightful analysis of the thinking that informs nature conservation. The author outlines the concepts of “re-wilding” habitats by introducing species that have been lost, of the “assisted migration” carried out by foresters who prepare for climate change by planting trees at the current limits of their ranges (and, indeed, the gardeners who transplant cuttings and seedlings from one part of the planet to another). She describes how ecosystems can be designed: nesting birds can be encouraged to breed on a site by manipulating it to suit them, for example. And nature can flourish in areas that are not wild, such as city roof-gardens.

Marris 的书对自然保护的思想作了深刻的分析。书中她还初步探讨了栖息地修复的概念：林业工人尽其所能种植树木，以应对气候变化，人为的从其他地方迁移引入已灭绝的物种，她还描述怎么设计生态系统：比如说，改造人类居住的场所以鼓励鸟儿在其中繁衍生息，再比如说，修建城市的屋顶花园，这样生物也能繁荣发展。

There are many reasons to value the natural world. Some people want to prevent certain species from becoming extinct, others to ensure the diversity of an ecosystem, to make use of clean air and water or to revel in the beauty of a landscape. Happily for both mankind and the natural world, Ms Marris concludes, many such causes can be aligned.

珍惜自然界是有充分理由的，一些人的理由是希望阻止某些物种的灭绝，还有一些人的理由是希望保持生态系统的多样性，这样的话，我们就能呼吸清洁的空气，喝上纯净的水，尽情享受自然之美。Marris 最后总结道，这一切不仅有利于人类自身发展也有利于自然界的发展，保护环境理由很多，但并不矛盾。

翻译者：罗智 校对：胡心云

New fiction

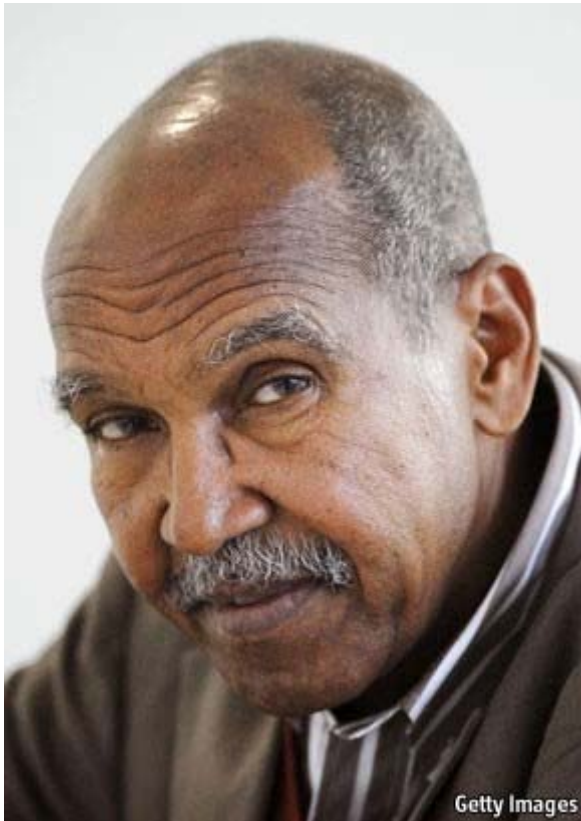
新小说

Somali son

索马里之子

A voice from Africa

来自非洲的声音



NURUDDIN FARAH went into self-imposed exile from his native Somalia in 1976, during the 22-year dictatorship of Mohamed Siad Barre. He now lives in Cape Town and Minnesota and writes in English. Yet the ten novels that have earned him recognition as a sophisticated voice in modern fiction—and one of Africa's most important writers—are all set in Somalia. They combine an intimate dissection of power within the family with a strong dose of scepticism about the machinations of national and global power.

1976年，NURUDDIN FARAH 离开家乡浪迹天涯，时值 Mohamed Siad Barre 长达 22 年的独裁统治期间。他现在居住在开普敦和明尼苏达，并用英语写作。迄今为止他所出版的 10 部小说为他赢得了现代小说中老练的声音的赞誉——他也是非洲最重要的作家之一。所有这些作品都以索马里为背景。它们构成了对家族内部权力的详尽剖析，并对国家阴谋和全球霸权表现出强烈的怀疑主义倾向。

In his third and latest trilogy, "Past Imperfect", Mr Farah proves a penetrating interpreter of the chaos that ensued when Siad Barre was ousted by warlords in 1991. In the concluding novel, "Crossbones", which has just been published in America, a Somali-American professor named Jeebleh goes back to the capital, Mogadishu. A Dante expert, Jeebleh had first returned to his homeland in the mid-1990s after 20 years abroad—just as the author did—to find rival strongmen jostling in the Italianate city's infernal ruins, a scene that was described in the trilogy's opening volume, "Links" (2004). Ten years on, he finds white-robed men with beards and whips imposing order. These Taliban-inspired "religionists", as Mr Farah calls them, had already made an appearance in the second book, "Knots" (2007), foisting "body tents" on women. These female targets include Cambara, an actress and one of the author's many robust heroines, who has returned from exile in Toronto to reclaim her family home from its squatting warlords.

在他的第三部也是最新的三部曲《不完美的过去》中，Farah 先生精彩的演绎了 1991 年 Siad Barre 被军阀赶下

台时接连发生的混乱局面。在最终的小说《骷髅旗》中（这本小说已经在美国出版），一位叫做 Jeebleh 的美籍索马里教授回到索马里首都摩加迪沙。但丁专家 Jeebleh 在海外生活 20 年后首度于 20 世纪 90 年代中期返回祖国。（正如作者所做的那样。）他发现，势均力敌的铁腕人物宛若大力士般角逐在这种意大利风格城市的废墟之中。这个场景在三部曲的首卷《链环》（2004）中有所描述。10 年以来，他发现留着络腮胡的白袍人手拿芒刺和鞭子强行建立着所谓的“秩序”。如作者所言，这些受塔利班鼓舞的“宗教分子”强制女性成为“人体帐篷”。这些角色已在第二本书《结扣》（2007）中出场。这些女性中包括女主角 Cambara。她是作者笔下诸多的坚强的女英雄之一。她终止在大多伦多的浪迹生涯回到索马里，从窃据重器的军阀手中接回她的亲人。

In “Crossbones” the Union of Islamic Courts has vanquished the “CIA-funded” warlords. But when Ethiopia, with the help of American drones, invades Somalia to prop up the embattled federal government, the Courts’ al-Qaeda-affiliated military wing, Shabaab, regroup for insurgency. Jeebleh is accompanied by his son-in-law, Malik, a New York journalist. Their story alternates with that of Malik’s brother, Ahl, who is searching in the autonomous coastal region of Puntland for his runaway stepson, Taxliil. The teenager is thought to have left Minnesota with other Somali-American youths, heading for Shabaab’s jihadist boot camps.

在《骷髅旗》中，伊斯兰法庭联盟已经消灭了“受 CIA 支持的”军阀。但埃塞俄比亚在美国无人机的帮助下入侵索马里，借以扶持危机四伏的联邦政府。伊斯兰法庭联盟中隶属于基地组织的军事组织，青年党，开始重新部署以平定反叛。Jeebleh 由侄子 Malik 陪伴。他的侄子是一名来自纽约的记者。小说轮流叙述 Jeebleh 侄侄和 Malik 的兄弟 Ahl 的经历。Ahl 正在普特兰的沿海自治地区寻找他离家出走的继子，Taxliil。这个年轻人和其他美籍索马里年轻人一样，被认为参加了青年党的圣战新兵训练营。

The brothers uncover links between Shabaab and Somali piracy by talking to would-be suicide bombers, pirate financiers and a “deviously handsome” middleman between the hostage-takers and the shipowners. Their findings support the view that pirates began as a community “coastguard” after illegal foreign fishing boats had exploited Somalia’s collapse to plunder its sea resources. As one source says, “We have nothing to eat, no fish to fish.” Sharks up the food chain take their cut, leaving local pirates to pilfer crews’ watches and mobiles.

通过与“人肉炸弹”，海盗资财管理人以及一个面相狡诈的掮客（他负责劫持犯和船主之间的联络）的对话，这对兄弟发现了青年党和索马里海盗之间的联系。他们的发现验证了海盗们开始成为“海岸保卫”组织的消息：之前外国非法捕鱼船利用索马里动荡的局势抢夺该地的海洋资源正如他们中的一个人所讲的那样，“我们没饭吃，没有鱼可以捕。”抢夺者位于食物链顶端夺走了他们的份额，只剩下当地的海盗顺手牵走船员的手表和手机。

Mr Farah reveals the minutiae of survival in a failed modern African state that is awash with SIM cards and AK-47s, where television-repair men are spies, reporters are targeted with roadside bombs and petty disputes turn lethal “in less time than it takes to stub out a cigarette”. His interest is in the moral ambiguity of surviving in such conditions and the compromised choices it forces upon people. Cambara’s cunning misdirections to a young insurgent result not only in his death but in that of an innocent old man. “When the country in which they live changes”, people change unrecognisably, a reformed militiaman explains. It is to the novelist’s credit that he preserves a degree of sympathy for those whom poverty pushes towards piracy, as well as for the teenagers who are brainwashed into jihadism and whose fate, should they refuse to take orders, may entail shackling and torture.

Farah 展现了在一个失败的现代非洲国度生存的细节：到处充斥着 SIM 卡和 AK-47。修电视的是间谍，记者们被路边的炸弹盯上了。很小的分歧导致的谋杀“不会比弄灭一根烟更慢”。作者志在考察生存在环境中模糊的道德界限还有强加于人们身上的妥协的选择。Cambara 精明的误导使得一个年轻的反叛者和一名无辜的老人毙命。“当人们所生存的国家改变”，人们才能在不知不觉中改变，一名改过自新的民兵如是说。作者对于那些因贫穷而去做海盗的人和那些被洗脑而参加圣战的青少年流露出一定的同情，对于那些拒不执行命令而可能遭受拘捕折磨的人表示赞赏。

The novel debunks the view that the “religionists” restored order in Somalia. Spoiling for battle with its Christian neighbour, Shabaab ignores the trauma of the 1977 Ogaden war with Ethiopia, the subject of Mr Farah’s “Maps” (1986). Shabaab’s militiamen, who are now obstructing aid in Somalia’s latest famine, kick the corpse of an Ethiopian soldier in a repetition of the “self-dishonouring dance around a dead Marine” that shocked the world in

1993.

Farah 先生小说《地图》(1986)戳穿了“宗教主义分子”在索马里重塑秩序的真相。青年党无视 1977 年与埃塞俄比亚的欧塞登之战带来的创伤,憋足劲准备与它的基督教邻居开展战争。青年党的民兵阻断了针对索马里最近发生的饥荒的援助。他们踢着一名埃塞俄比亚士兵的尸体,重复着 1993 年那震惊世界的“围着一名海军陆战队员跳着自我羞辱的舞蹈”。

There are traces here of the dreams and proverbs that enrich Mr Farah's fiction ("the shoes of a dead man are more useful than he is"). But "Crossbones" leans heavily on research and recent political events. An impassioned urgency in bearing witness makes this illuminating trilogy less poetic and polished than his earlier novels—but no less powerful for that.

梦境和谚语在这里成为线索,这丰富了 Farah 先生的小说(死人之鞋较之其人更为有用)。但《骷髅旗》植根于调查和最近的政治事件。更多情绪激烈的场面见证所带来的压迫感,这使得这部富于启发的三部曲不如他本人早期作品那么有诗意和优雅的气息——但这并不影响其中的激动人心之处。

翻译者 : 唐宇 校对者 : 胡心云

“Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy”

锅匠、裁缝、士兵、间谍[[注解 1](#)]

Cold-war comeback

冷战回来了

John le Carré's thriller remade—and remodeled

約翰·勒·卡雷[[注解 2](#)]惊悚小说重现-及改编

Give us a Smiley

GARY OLDMAN, the pomaded star of the remake of John le Carré's 1970s cold-war thriller, “Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy”, found himself being asked one question over and over while he was shooting the film. How different would he be from Alec Guinness, his predecessor in the role of George Smiley? “There are many ways of playing Smiley,” he found himself replying laconically. “Just as there are many ways of playing Hamlet.” And so it proves.

GARY OLDMAN 这个头发油光可鉴的明星在拍由 20 世纪 70 年代約翰·勒·卡雷的冷战惊悚小说《锅匠、裁缝、士兵、间谍》改编的电影时发现他一直被不断追问一个问题。与前任扮演者 Alec Guinness 相比，他扮演的 George Smiley 会有哪些不同？“扮演 Smiley 的方式多种多样，”他发现自己回答的很简洁，“就像每个人演的哈姆雷特都不一样。”也确实是这样。

Twelve years younger than Guinness was when he made the English spy famous in a BBC television adaptation in 1979, Mr Oldman (pictured below) has made his hero, in his own words, sexier, crueller and more melancholic. The old flabby, flaccid Smiley seems to have been retired, just as the old spymaster himself was **put out to grass** in the book. And there's a sadistic side that Mr Oldman has brought carefully to the surface.

Oldman 饰演这位英国间谍时比 1979 年的 BBC 电视改编版中使这一角色名声大噪的饰演者 Guinness 还要年轻 12 岁，用他自己的话说，Oldman（图片如下）将其英雄形象塑造的更加性感、残忍和忧郁。似乎老版中优柔软弱的 Smiley 已经退休了，就像这个老间谍首脑在书中被免职一样。Oldman 已经小心翼翼的将暴虐的一面表现出来。

The British actor has had help along the way. First was the decision to appoint a Swede, Tomas Alfredson, to direct. Although best known for once directing a vampire film, Mr Alfredson has clearly also been influenced by the Danish crime series, “The Killing”. He brings a crucial pared-down bleakness that is unencumbered by too much fussy British anxiety about accents and class.

这位英国演员一路走来都不缺帮助。首先这部电影决定由让瑞典导演 Tomas Alfredson 执导，虽然他最出名的是曾经执导一部吸血鬼电影，同时 Tomas Alfredson 也深受丹麦罪犯片“The Killing”系列的影响。他给该片营造了至关重要的清冷阴郁氛围，并且没有受到太多来自英国人对口音及阶层过于挑剔的焦躁影响。

Then there is the fact that to work as a feature film, Mr le Carré's book had to be condensed into 127 minutes, almost a third of the length of the television version. The action is tighter, more precise and more affecting. The catastrophic foray into the Czech double-agent underworld that takes up almost the entire first television programme, with much driving through mud and running about in dark forests, is, in the film, dispatched in two brisk takes: the British agent is shot as he leaves the café where a first meeting has been set up; a young woman, gently feeding her baby at the next table, is killed in the attack. As blood runs down the side of her face from the single bullet hole in the temple, the camera pans out to show her child still suckling at her breast.

本片作为故事片必须面对的事实是 le Carré's 的书必须被浓缩在 127 分钟里，差不多是电视版的 1/3 长。情节会更紧凑、切合、震撼。电视版的第一集几乎都在讲述对捷克双重间谍界大规模的突袭，而其中很多镜头都是在漆黑的森林里奔跑、越过泥地。在电影中，这一部分仅有两个场景：英国间谍在离开咖啡馆的时候中弹，于此同时他们正在筹划第一次会面；邻桌一个年轻的母亲在温柔的给孩子喂奶，她随后在袭击中遇难。血从她头上太阳穴的弹孔里流出顺着脸颊向下淌。镜头拉近，孩子仍然在吮吸着妈妈的乳房。

Paradoxically, Mr Alfredson has managed to keep the book's slow, cerebral mood while at the same time speeding up the narrative about agents and double agents. Even the simplified version subtly emphasises the many subterranean conflicts between the players as they try to work out who is the best person to spy on the spies.

矛盾的是，Alfredson 在试图保持书中缓慢、理智的节奏时同时加快了对间谍和双重间谍的刻画。甚至在剪辑版也巧妙地强调了他们在决定谁去监视这些间谍的最佳人选时候候选者之间的暗地争斗。

If Mr le Carré gave the book life and Alec Guinness extended it, Mr Alfredson has given the story a whole new incarnation. “Tinker, Tailor” brings together some of Britain's finest—John Hurt, Toby Jones, and Colin Firth as the traitor to king and country. As for Mr Oldman's Smiley, he might be more sexy, but his calibrated coldness can't be mistaken for kindness. A deliciously memorable film.

如果说 Mr le Carré 给这本书注入生命而 Alec Guinness 将之延续，那么 Alfredson 则给了整个故事一个全新的诠释。《锅匠、裁缝》将英国最好的一些演员汇聚在了一起——John Hurt、Toby Jones 和 Colin Firth，他们分别饰演国王和国家的叛徒。至于 Oldman 饰演的 Smiley 可能会更性感，但他老 K 脸式的冷漠并不能被误认为是仁慈。这会是一部令人回味无穷的电影。

Phrases:

put out to grass: 退休, 不再从事什么工作

[注解 1] 来源于儿歌 “Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor”，压头韵。

[注解 2] 间谍小说的超人气作家

翻译者: 史心语

校对者: 胡心云

American humour

美国人的幽默

Funny man

风趣的男人

The talent of an American lyricist

一个美国词作者的才能

CALVIN TRILLIN made his reputation over four decades as the author of “US Journal” in the *New Yorker*, reporting extensively about serious and often tragic subjects such as race relations and crime. He was also among the first writers to grasp that American cuisine is a good way to understand the nation’s vigorous and various cultures. But Mr Trillin is incapable of resisting the temptation of comedy. The jokes kept on welling up and Mr Trillin made a parallel reputation as a writer of funny stuff.

加尔文·特里林，作为纽约客杂志“美国日报”的作者，几十年来享有声誉，经常对严重的，往往是悲剧性的问题进行广泛报道，如种族关系和犯罪问题。他也是第一批领会到北美菜式是理解国家旺盛而多样文化的很好方式的作家之一。但特里林先生还是无法抗拒喜剧的诱惑。笑话在他的脑子里不断涌出，他作为一个幽默作家享有相同的声誉。

He belongs to a tradition that included distinguished journalists such as Art Buchwald in the *Washington Post*, and Russell Baker at the *New York Times*. Each might regard the idea as risible, but their ability to deflate the reputations of self-important politicians and men of business makes classy moralists of them.

他继承了一个传统，包括一些著名的记者，如布赫瓦尔德在“华盛顿邮报”，罗素贝克在纽约时报。每一个人都能有搞笑的想法出来，但他们讽刺自以为是的政治家和商人的能力成为一流的道德家。

The title of this collection of his humorous writings is the first of many jokes. Mr Trillin makes fun of the arrival in the Port of Galveston, Texas, in 1908, from somewhere “near Kiev”, of his father and his Uncle Benny. Apparently, Jacob Schiff, an eminent German Jewish banker was embarrassed by the poor, huddled masses from eastern Europe cluttering up New York at the time and financed the detour to the south-west. The thought is rather appalling, but Mr Trillin makes it work for him: “You can say what you want to about my Uncle Benny, but he never made his living as a money lender.”

这本收录其幽默作品的集子中许多题目来笑话的开头。特里林取笑他的父亲和叔叔本尼从“基辅（乌克兰共和国首都）”附近的某个地方，于1908年到达德克萨斯州加尔维斯顿港口。显然，雅各布·希夫，一个著名的德国犹太银行家，因穷人而感到尴尬，把这些来自东欧并弄乱了纽约的人们挤在一起，并资助到了到达西南部的“盘缠”。这个玩笑开得很大，但特里林先生觉得它很得当：你可以多我叔叔本尼说任何你想说的话，但他从不会把自己的生活弄的像一个放款人一样。

Although Mr Trillin graduated from Yale University (his father encouraged him to go east having read Owen Johnson’s 1911 tale, “Stover at Yale”), he was brought up in Kansas City, Missouri. This led him to found the Missouri School of Poetry, with a membership of two—himself and T.S. Eliot, who was born in St Louis. In truth, he is more at home in the School of Ogden Nash of Rye, New York.

虽然特里林先生从耶鲁大学毕业（他的父亲在读欧文·约翰逊1911年的故事“耶鲁大学的秸秆”后鼓励他去那里），他在美国密苏里州的堪萨斯城长大。这让他建立了密苏里州的诗歌学会，两个成员：他自己和艾略特，他出生在圣路易斯。事实上，他在纽约奥格登黑麦学校时更多在自己家中。

Mr Trillin describes himself as a “Deadline Poet” because of the rhyming verses he contributes regularly to the *Nation*. Happily, there are pages of them in this book. One sample, after a headline in the *New York Times*: “SEC Accuses Goldman of Fraud in Housing Deal”:

They’re doing God’s work, their CEO said.

They're the kings of the Street.

They are regal.

So now we must ask if God ever knew

That some of his work was illegal.

特里林先生把自己描述成一个“最后期限诗人”，因为押韵的诗句，他定期像《民族》杂志投稿。令人高兴的是，在本书中有几页这些诗稿。举个例子，在纽约时报标题“美国证券交易委员会指控高德漫在房屋交易中欺诈”：

他们做着神的工作，他们的 CEO 说。

他们是街道上的国王

他们是富豪

所以，现在我们要问：如果上帝是否知道

他的一些工作非法。

翻译者：熊朋迪

书出南亚

Engrossed

喷涌的书之潮

The latest in a rash of regional literary festivals

南亚地区文化节风起云涌

OF THE things that unite South Asians, a love of words and an alacrity with language are often noted. While the book trade struggles in much of the world, Kathmandu is the latest city in the region to launch an annual literary festival, which begins on September 16th. Big-name international writers will be there, as well as dozens from Nepal's own energetic literary scene. Several thousand Nepali bibliophiles, most of them young, are expected to attend three days of fizzing discussion.

南亚的文学作品字里行间总是充满了可爱的语调和令人愉悦的气氛。正是这些文字,把整个区域联系在了一起。当书刊买卖在世界大部分地区都举步维艰时,加德满都举办了南亚地区一年一度最大的文学节。蜚声国际的作家和活跃在尼泊尔文坛的笔者们齐聚于此。数千位藏书家中多为年轻一辈,大家都对为期三天的研讨会充满了期待。

The fashion for literary gatherings in South Asia spread from the Jaipur festival in India, founded on a shoestring in 2006 and now a huge international success. Pakistan, where the Karachi Literature Festival had its second outing this year, showcases relatively young but internationally liked authors. Bhutan, Galle in Sri Lanka, and Goa and Trivandrum in India have joined in. But a new annual festival in Srinagar, capital of Indian-controlled Kashmir, has just been postponed indefinitely after threats of violence and a perverse campaign by some authors who argued that it was wrong to talk about books in a place where liberties were curtailed.

这股南亚文学集会的风潮,自2006年从印度的斋普尔节蹒跚起步开始,到如今已经演变为一个国际盛会。而在巴基斯坦卡拉奇举办的文化节成为了其今年第二大外事活动,参展作品都来自年轻但已经享誉国际的作者们。不丹、斯里兰卡的加勒、印度的果阿和特里凡得琅都举办过这一盛会。但是印控克什米尔首府斯里那佳新举办的年度文化节却因为暴力威胁和部分作家抗议文化节不该在一个自由受限的地区举办而被迫延期。

In contrast to bleak conditions in Western book markets, the Indian divisions of international publishers are busy signing up new authors. London's literary agencies have opened offices in India. Namita Gokhale, a novelist and one of the Jaipur festival's organisers, says that South Asia is having a "literary moment". It is "exploring its place in a new world" in English, while also maintaining traditions in the region's native languages. She believes making sense of South Asia's many upheavals has something to do with the outbreak of writing and reading.

相比于西方图书市场的惨淡,印度各地的国际出版商则忙着跟文学新人签约。伦敦的文学机构也在印度开设了办事处。作为一名小说家,同时也是斋普尔文化节的组织者,纳米塔·戈卡勒表示,南亚正在处在一个“文学盛世”。南亚人正在用英语“探寻本地区在新世界的位置”,同时还用本区的地方语言去维系着自身的传统。在她看来,正是南亚地区的一些剧变,使得人们开始去思索,并最终触发了这种写作和阅读的浪潮。

Nepal's literary scene is smaller and less heralded than India's and Pakistan's. But Sanjeev Upreti, a novelist who writes in his native Nepali, says it has been energised by the country's social revolution and turbulent modern politics. Book clubs and bookish events are now common. Several recent works (including his own) have been bestsellers. There is much good writing in English, in which the Nepali flag is flown most prominently by Manjushree Thapa, whose recent novel, "Seasons of Flight", describes a young woman's self-discovery as a migrant in America; and by Rabi Thapa, with his tales of upper-class youth, "Nothing to Declare".

比起印度和巴基斯坦,尼泊尔的文坛规模小了一些,影响力也没那么强。不过作为用尼泊尔语写作的小说家,山吉夫·乌普里提表示尼泊尔的社会革命和风起云涌的现代政治浪潮,都将为该国文坛的发展补充足够的养料;

图书俱乐部和学术性集会现在已经司空见惯了；而包括他的作品在内的新作已然成为畅销书。而很多用英文行文的佳作则被曼乌西里·萨帕称为彰显了尼泊尔的民族特色。其中，他的新作《飞行之季》，就描述了一个年轻的美籍尼泊尔裔女人发现自我的经历；而另外一位叫拉比·萨帕的作家则在《无可奉告》中讲述了上层社会年轻人的种种。

翻译者：程蒙 校对者：穆雪

Banyan

榕树下

New light in Myanmar?

缅甸新的曙光

Or at least, flickers of optimism pierce the gloom

至少可以说是黑暗中透出一丝亮光。



PROGRESS in Myanmar, an Australian **foreign minister** once remarked, comes at the pace of glue flowing up a hill. Lately, however, it has become a brook bickering merrily down the valley. Cynicism about the regime's intentions is so entrenched that few observers see this as more than an optical illusion. But, tantalizingly, genuine change seems closer than for decades.

一位澳大利亚外交部长曾经说过，缅甸的发展历程就像是用胶水黏在山上一样是不断攀升。可是最近它变成了一天涓涓流水的小溪，流向了山谷。关于政权意图的指责是坚不可摧的以至于很少有观察分析师能看透被表象所掩盖的真相。但是，让人焦心的是，几十年来从未有像现在一样迫近一场本质上的变革。

Most startling is the latitude accorded to Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel-prize-winning campaigner for democracy, by the notionally civilian government installed after a farcical election last November. Miss Suu Kyi, freed from her latest bout of detention just after the voting, has no official standing. Her party does not recognise the constitution imposed by the outgoing junta, and, unrepresented in the new parliament, is technically illegal.

最令人震惊的是根据诺贝尔和平奖的获得者，民主战士昂山素姬【注解 1】的说法，继去年 11 月选举闹剧以后，又出现了一个名义民主政府。素姬女士在上次扣押被释放之后，还没有发表过任何言论。她的正当不承认由军阀政权制订的宪法章程，并且在新的议会中没有席位，可以说是一个不折不扣的非法团体。

【注解 1】：昂山素姬 (Aung San Suu Kyi)，1945 年出生，缅甸政治家，缅甸最大的反对党——缅甸全国民主联盟——领导人，1990 年获萨哈罗夫奖，1991 年获得诺贝尔和平奖。扩展阅读 <http://baike.baidu.com/view/3180201.html>

Yet the government seems now to be treating Miss Suu Kyi with almost the respect due to her as the de facto leader of Myanmar's opposition. Of all her recent activities, most laden with symbolism was a meeting last month with Thein Sein, the new "civilian" president of a regime dominated by men who, like him, are former soldiers. The meeting, in Naypyidaw, the megalomaniacal new capital, showed willing on both sides. Some of the opposition would have preferred Miss Suu Kyi to shun the president until at least a few of the 2,000 or so political prisoners

were freed. Government hardliners would have liked prior concessions from her—notably recognising the new regime's legitimacy.

不过政府现在近乎已经对素姬女士表现出了应有的尊重，这缘于她出任了缅甸在野党的领袖职务。在她近期的所有活动中最有意义的当属数月前与他信，一个在军阀统治的国家，换言之就是像他一样是正式军人的人统治的刚上任的“国民”总统。会议在内比都，一个狂妄的新首都举行。双方呼吸那个交换了意见。一些反对者希望素姬女士放弃当选总统知道至少 2000 名或更多的政治犯被释放为止。政府中的强硬路线支持者优先向她让步——值得一提的是承认了新政体的合法地位。

The two leaders seem, however, to have decided that, after over 20 years of sterile confrontation, government, opposition and Myanmar itself could all benefit from a new effort at co-operation. Miss Suu Kyi would like the prisoners freed and a dialogue on national reconciliation. The government, desperate to appear more than **old military wine in new bottles**, would like her to persuade Western governments to lift sanctions against Myanmar.

不过两位领导人都决定在长达超过 20 年而毫无结果的漫长对抗之后，政府，反对派，和缅甸本身都将受益于合作所带来的好处。素姬女士希望释放关押的政客们并且在与国家的意见分歧上达成一个妥协。而政府相较于以往换汤不换药的做法也更加积极主动，他们希望素姬能够游说西方国家解除对缅甸的制裁。

It is making some progress. Miss Suu Kyi now routinely **features** on the itinerary of senior foreign visitors. Last month she met Tomás Ojea Quintana, the UN's special rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, whose entry the government had rejected for the previous 18 months. Then she received Kristalina Georgieva, the EU's aid commissioner, who left Myanmar after seeing her and the authorities “encouraged” by the government's pledges to grant humanitarian workers greater access.

上述改编确实取得了很大的成效。素姬女士现在已经作为外国政要经常出现在报纸杂志的特写文章中。上个月他会见了金塔纳，联合国缅甸人权状况特别报告员，他曾在过去的 18 个月被缅甸政府拒之门外。然后素姬女士接待了 Kristalina Georgieva，欧洲的援助特使在看完一个由缅甸政府倡导的政府誓要保护人权的工作成果后离开了缅甸。

That was followed this week by a visit from Derek Mitchell, Barack Obama's new special representative to Myanmar(which America, like Miss Suu Kyi, still calls “Burma”). America maintains more stringent sanctions against Myanmar than does any other country. This has the effect of precluding financial assistance from multilateral bodies such as the World Bank. Yet a spokesman for Miss Suu Kyi's party said she had discussed with Mr Mitchell the possibility of American humanitarian assistance, at least in education and health.

接下来的这周是来自新上任的奥巴马缅甸问题特别代表 Derek Mitchell (缅甸 Myanmar，也作 Burma)。美国维持对缅甸实行比其他国家更加严厉的制裁。其中包括对象世界银行类似的国际组织对其提供的经济援助，但随后素姬方的发言人表示，素姬女士正在于 Mitchell 先生讨论向缅甸提供来自美国的人道主义援助，至少在教育 and 医疗方面，

In Washington, meanwhile, Congress was voting to approve a routine resolution to extend sanctions on Myanmar. But Jim Webb, the senator who chairs the committee on Asian affairs, issued a statement noting “clear indications of a new openness” from Myanmar's government, and arguing that America should be prepared to adjust its policy.

与此同时在华盛顿，国会正在就同意对缅甸延长制裁期限的常规解决方法进行投票表决。但是，负责亚洲事务委员会的参议员吉姆·韦伯发表了一项声明，他指出，缅甸政府已经明确的表现出了一种新的、积极的、开放的态度并且他认为美国应该为适应缅甸的政体做好充分准备。

The government is cutting Miss Suu Kyi some slack. Despite warning her against making political trips outside Yangon, Myanmar's main city, where she lives, it tolerated her visit in August to the town of Bago. Big crowds lined the streets to glimpse her. It also invited her to an economic seminar in Naypyidaw. It **turns a deaf ear** to her **phone-in** shows on a radio station run by angry exiles. And after pretending for years that she does not exist, in July the official press published a commentary by her. (Another article, however, **fell foul of** the censors.) The press has

in general softened a bit. A tawdry daily propaganda sheet, the New Light of Myanmar, has dropped its quotidian slogans inveighing against the “killer broadcasts” of overseas radio stations.

不过缅甸政府并没有让素季有喘息的机会。尽管政府警告她不能在缅甸主要城市，素季的住地仰光以外的地方从事政治活动，但还是容忍了她八月份的勃固之旅。大批群众涌向街头一睹素季的风采。一个位于内比都的经济小组还邀请她加盟。她对长期流亡海外的人在收音机频道上播放的关于她的言论充耳不闻。多年来官方出版社都视她为空气，然而就在 7 月某主流媒体引发了关于素季的实时报道。（另一篇文章则未通过审查）

整篇文章大体来说与其较为温和，没出现过激言论。一个夺目的大标题：缅甸的曙光，将全文主旨落在了对海外流亡者对她的“电波袭击”的猛烈抨击上。

Mr Thein Sein has also appealed to exiled dissidents to come home. A few have been emboldened to do so. Many more, however, will wait and see. Few details were released about the substance of what was discussed when the president met Miss Suu Kyi. Probably not much: after such a long history of mutual distrust, confidence-building may be the best that can be expected.

他信先生也呼吁那些公开反对者早日收手。一部分人已经大胆尝试了啦。而另一部分则持观望态度。素季在会见政要时双方商讨的事务完全封闭，没有透露任何细节。可能不用做很多的事情：在彼此长时间的不信任之后，重铸信心也许才是万众期待的结果。

Optimists hope that, beyond this, Miss Suu Kyi or her nominee might be appointed to an official body—such as one dealing with Myanmar’s many disgruntled ethnic minorities, some of whose armed insurgencies are again fighting the army. Ceasefires are fraying over the army’s attempts to co-opt the insurgents into an official border force. In an open letter in July to the president and organisations representing four minorities (the Kachin, Karen, Mon and Shan), Miss Suu Kyi appealed for a new truce. If Miss Suu Kyi could persuade the insurgents that Myanmar’s many ethnic groups are indeed, as she put it, “like siblings from a single family”, it would be another huge boon to the regime.

乐观开来，综上所述，素季或者她的官员们可能想要一个官方的实体——比如处理与缅甸敌对的种族部落问题，它们的存在助长了叛乱分子一次又一次的与军队对抗。但停火协议会将军方一直试图将叛乱分子重新整顿、编制为官方边境维和部队的努力付之东流。7 月份素季女士在一封寄给总统和四个主要民族【注解 3】（克钦、克伦、掸和勃欧）表达了她渴望休战停火的诉求。如果素季可以成功规劝叛乱分子（实际上就是少数民族），使得大家想一个家庭中的兄弟姐妹一样和睦相处，那将会是缅甸政治史上另一个巨大的里程碑！

【注解 2】缅甸有约五千两百万的国民，70%为缅族。主要的法定少数民族为掸族（8.5%）、克伦族（7%）、孟族（2%）、克钦族、克伦尼族（1%）、钦族（2%）、若开族以及印度人、孟加拉人、华人（3%），但是缅甸官方目前不承认印度人、孟加拉人、华人为法定少数民族。

Once, twice, three times...

重蹈覆辙...

That might be beyond even her unifying powers, even were she given a chance to try. And pessimists doubt she will. They point to similar episodes when compromise seemed possible—after her release from detention in 1995, and again in 2002. Both bubbles of optimism burst because the junta was unwilling to cede any real power. At some point a crunch will come. Miss Suu Kyi and her party will have to accept the legitimacy of the government and of a constitution foisted on Myanmar in a ludicrously rigged referendum in 2008, enshrining perpetual military dominance. Or the government will have to change it. In that respect, Mr Thein Sein has yet to prove that his regime is any different from its uniformed predecessor in its willingness to countenance any real dilution of military power. He may look like a reformer, but he owes his job to the army from which he hails.

可能就算她全力以赴也实现不了，但是起码她勇于尝试。而悲观主义者则质疑她的动机。他们指出相似的事务背后源于相似的动机——在她 95 年被释放接着 2002 再次被释放。这些一个又一个显示出积极影响的泡泡一次有一次的破裂其实是因为军阀政府其实不愿意分给她任何实权。而且这种爆发是突发性的，并且可以以任何理由出现。2008 年，素季和她的政党也不得不接受那个所谓合法政府组织的，宪法强加在缅甸人身上，滑稽且藏有猫腻的公民投票，总之就是一切的一切都要终生归军方所有。如果不是，那么政府就要强行把它改回来。在那些方面，他信先生尚未用行动证明他的政府和他穿军装的祖先在淡化支持军阀统治这个核心意向上有何不同之处。他可能看上去像个社会改革者，但他始终忠诚的将他的职业生涯奉献给了他所热爱的军队事业。

Phrases:

Foreign minister: 外交部长

Old wine in new bottles: 换汤不换药

Features: 【美式英语】报纸杂志上的特写文章，也称为特辑（之前我不知道这个，希望也给大伙普及一下——尹茜）

turns a deaf ear: 充耳不闻

phone-in: （电台或电视台的）听众可来电话的直播节目（向主持人提问或作评论）

fell foul of: 与。。。相冲突

in general: 大体来说

翻译者：刘畅 校对者：尹茜

Not fade away

卸任国家领导人余威犹存

A growing number of former leaders are speaking out

越来越多的前任领导人畅所欲言



Blunt and honest, in a bookshop near you

直率而诚实，就在你身边。

A REMARKABLE recent improvement in the way China's murky politics is conducted is mostly to do with the succession process at the highest levels of the Chinese Communist Party. In decades past, vanquished political foes tended to end up purged, imprisoned or dead. The victors, meanwhile, hung on to power long into their dotage. Now the holders of many high party and state posts face age limits on service, while those at the very top of the heap, notably the president and prime minister, are restricted to two five-year terms. To outsiders, the process of choosing party successors remains as opaquely Byzantine as ever. But it is undoubtedly more orderly—and less brutal—than it used to be.

最近中国黑暗政治方式中一个卓越的提高是管理方面的，这是和中国共产党最高领导层的继承方法有关。在过去几十年里，被征服的政治敌人趋于肃清，被囚禁或者被处死。同时，这个胜利者永久地紧紧抓住了权利。现在，党内高层的权利持有人面临着执政年龄的限制，就是在获胜者中地位相当高的人，尤其是国家主席和总理，被限制在两个五年任期内。对于局外人来说，党内继任人的挑选过程依旧保留着不透明的拜占庭式的风格。但是毫无疑问的更加有序了——少了些不讲理——相比之前。

中国共产党最高权力机构关于继任者选举办法的改革堪称近期关于中国灰色政权体系方面最为人称道的进步。在过去几十年，被带大高帽的政治家们要么得以平反，要么惨死狱中。而那些大权在握的官宦们则绞尽脑汁的想如何延长在位时间，如果可能的话他们希望死都戴着乌纱帽。而现在，政府人力资源部对于人民代表尤其涉及到国家最高领导人的委任多了很多苛刻的年龄限制。其中国家主席和国务院总理的任期不得超过连续两届任期（即十年）这项尤为引人注目。可能对于外人来说，国家领导人的选举制度仍然黑得坑爹。但是毫无疑问，这项改革还是蛮给力的，尤其在它改善了以前那种粗野的管理方式，使之在规范化制度化方面提高了许多。

Yet China must now reckon with a potentially destabilising consequence of this new, improved process. It is that the cohort of retired leaders is burgeoning. And before they go to meet their Marx, most are keen both to continue exerting political influence and to go on protecting the (business or less often political) interests of family members, along with their vast networks of protégés.

然而中国先必须处理一些潜在的不稳定因素，改进选举过程。那就是迅速增长的退休领导人的支持者。并且在他们去见他们的马克思之前，很多人利用他们广大门客的人际关系，既热衷于继续发挥政治作用，又热衷于继续保护家人的利益（经济方面的，或多或少还有些政治上的）。

然而中国必须先通过改进选举制度处理一些潜在的不稳定因素——迅速增长的退休领导人的拥护者们。在他们去见马克思之前，很多人热衷于利用他们广大的人际关系，继续发挥政治作用，保护家人的经济还有或多或少的政治利益。

Next year the ten-year reign of President Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, the prime minister, will begin winding down. Jockeying to replace them is well under way. There is no guarantee that today's widely touted front-runners, Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang respectively, will finish on top—nor indeed that the process will run as smoothly as it did last time round. But assuming that it does, Mr Hu and Mr Wen will join a growing crowd that includes not only their immediate predecessors, Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji, but plenty of other old-timers. Among them are such political heavyweights as Zeng Qinghong, a former vice-president, and Li Peng, prime minister from 1987 to 1998.

明年是胡锦涛主席和温家宝总理的第十年任期，他们的任期要开始逐渐接近尾声了。争夺着取代他们正在顺利的进行中。没有什么可以保证今天广泛被吹捧的竞选中的红人，分别是习近平和李克强，将会取得最终的胜利，也有可能这个过程确实会进行的像上次一样圆滑顺利。但是假定是这样，胡主席和温总理将会加入一个人数越来越多的群体，这个群体中不仅仅包括他们的前任，江泽民和朱镕基，还包括很多其他的老前辈。在他们中有一些政治上有重要影响的人，像曾庆宏，前任副主席，还有李鹏，1987年到1998年的国务院总理。

明年是涛哥和影帝任期中的第十年了也就是最后一年。争夺者取代他们的活动正在顺利进行中。没有什么可以保证目前被看好的竞选中的红人——习近平和李克强——将会取得最终的胜利，不过也有可能这次会像上次一样交接的顺利。假定是这样的，涛哥和影帝将会加入那个人数越来越多的群体，该群体中不仅包括他们的前任江泽民和朱镕基，还有很多其他的老前辈。其中当然还有一些政治上有重要影响的人，像前任副主席曾庆宏、1987年到1998年的国务院总理李鹏。

When former leaders have kept a hand in things, they have usually done so from behind the scenes. Most maintain offices and large staffs. They get copies of official documents and are quietly consulted on important matters—not least on the promotion of future leaders.

前任领导人插手一些事情，他们经常在幕后这么干。大部分人保留着办公室和大量的员工。他们复印办公文件，秘密地咨询重大事件——尤其是提拔未来继任者的事情。

前任领导人总在幕后插手一些事情。大部分老前辈都保留着原来的办公室和原班员工。他们拷贝官方公文，悄悄地咨询一些重要事件——尤其是提拔未来继任者这档子事。

But this month saw a rare public return to the fray. Mr Zhu, who is 82 and in much more robust health than Mr Jiang, retired as prime minister in 2003. In office, Mr Zhu had a reputation as a blunt, honest reformer. He has now released a multi-volume collection of speeches and letters from his years in power. China's state-controlled press has given his work lots of attention, even highlighting some of the most pointed remarks made by a man famous for his short temper and sharp tongue. Among these were his contention that a government full of yes-men ill serves the needs of the people. Chinese leaders, he also railed, should devote less time to lavish banquets and pointless meetings, and more time to solving problems.

但是这个月很少看到公开回到争论上。朱先生2003年从总理的位置上退下来，现在82岁，比江先生身体强健很多。执政期间，朱先生享有着直率而诚实改革家的声誉。他现在发布了多卷从他执政开始的讲话和书信的系列书籍。中国国有媒体把大量关注放到他的作品上，甚至突出了这个以他急性子和话语刻薄著名的人的一些最尖锐言论。在这其中，他的主要争论是政府里满是唯唯诺诺的人，很少真正服务于人民的需求。中国的领导人，他也抱怨说，应该少放点时间在奢侈浪费的宴会和不得要领的会议上，应该多投入时间到解决问题上。

然后这个月很少发生回到原来争论的问题上来。朱爷爷2003年从总理的位置上退下来，现在82岁，身体状况比江先生好很多。执政期间，朱先生享有着直率而诚实改革家的声誉。他现在发布了多卷收录了他执政开始的讲话和书信的系列书籍。中国国有媒体把大量关注放到他的作品上，甚至突出了这个以急性子和话语刻薄著名的人的一些最尖锐言论。其中，他争论的主要热点是政府里满是唯唯诺诺的人，很少真正服务于人民的需求。同时，他抱怨到，中国的领导人应该少把时间浪费在铺张的宴会和不得要领的会议上，应该多把时间投入在解决实际问题上。

Mr Zhu attracted attention earlier this year with a speech at his alma mater, Tsinghua University, in which he offered unusually direct criticism of current policy. He appears dismayed that the market reforms that he pushed have slowed under Mr Hu and Mr Wen, while the state's economic clout has only grown.

朱先生这些年早期是以在他母校清华大学的一个演讲而吸引了公众的注意，在这个演讲中他对当前政治提出了不寻常的直接批评。他对他推行的市场改革在胡先生和温先生的领导下变慢，同时唯有国家经济的影响力增长而表现出担忧。

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Cheng Li of the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, says he is surprised that Mr Zhu is now being so forthright, but predicts that public interventions by former leaders—"old-man politics"—could well increase. Not only is the number of ex-leaders growing. A rise in factional politics and greater differences of opinion among a new (and weaker) generation of leaders might also undermine unity at the centre. China's old men will no doubt want to say something about it all.

华盛顿布鲁克斯研究院的程力说，他惊讶于朱先生现在变得如此直率，但是预言到前任领导人的公众影响——“老人政治”——会迅速增多。不仅仅是前任领导人数量的增加。小派别政治的增加和与新（较弱的）一代领导人相当不同的观点可能也会逐渐破坏中央团结的整体。中国的老一辈领导人毫无疑问的想要对一切说点什么。

华盛顿布鲁克斯研究院的程力惊讶于朱先生现在变得如此直言直语，但他也预言到前任领导人的公众影响力——“老人政治”——会越来越大。不仅仅是因为前任领导人数量的增加。而且小派别政治团体的增加和与新（较弱的）一代领导人持相当不同的观点可能也会逐渐破坏中央团结的整体。中国的老一辈领导人毫无疑问的总想要对一切说点什么。

翻译者:郑玮

校对组:刘拓

Taliban attacks in Afghanistan**阿富汗的塔利班袭击**

On the front line

在前线

In the capital, sound and fury in broad daylight**在白天，首都里充斥着呐喊与骚动**

ON SEPTEMBER 14th the American ambassador in Kabul had the unenviable task of trying to locate a silver lining in a Taliban-linked assault on the Afghan capital that had grabbed the world's attention the previous day. For 20 hours groups of attackers from a deadly Taliban ally, the Haqqani network, assaulted three areas of the capital. Right in the heart of the city they seized a half-built high-rise building from which they could not easily be dislodged. From there they fired rockets at the American embassy, NATO headquarters, and Afghan government buildings, including a prison where top insurgents are held.

9月14日，驻喀布尔的美国大使接到了一个不怎么让人羡慕的任务，尝试对一次位于阿富汗首都与塔利班有联系的恐怖袭击进行定位，这次袭击在昨日受到了全世界的瞩目。袭击持续了20个小时，成群的来自塔利班危险联盟——哈卡尼网络——的袭击者，攻击了首都的三个地区。在城市的中央，他们夺取了一个正在建设中的高层建筑，在这里他们很难被驱逐。从这个建筑里他们发射火箭弹，目标朝向美国大使馆、北约总部、阿富汗政府大楼，还包括一个拘禁着重要叛乱分子的监狱。

That they could keep fighting for so long suggested an unusual degree of organisation. Possibly they had earlier smuggled in supplies in preparation for a long siege. According to Afghan officials, the attackers' handlers gave support and advice by phone from over the border in Pakistan.

他们可以长期坚持战斗，表明了他们拥有不同寻常程度的组织。有可能他们之前已经走私过物资为遭受长期围困做准备。据阿富汗官员称，袭击的操控者通过电话在巴基斯坦的边境地区给予支持和建议。

With 11 civilians and five police killed, along with 11 insurgents, the death toll could have been much worse. But the attack still had the power to shock, coming after a series of incidents across Afghanistan involving teams of fighters attacking notable targets.

11名平民和5名警察被杀害的同时，也有11名反叛分子伏诛，攻击付出的死亡的代价越来越重。但是随着一系列在阿富汗全境出现的组队攻击显著目标的事件发生后，攻击仍然具有很强的冲击力。

In the weeks before the tenth anniversary of September 11th, the authorities had been bracing for something big. But this time Afghanistan's usually rather effective intelligence service failed to pinpoint what was coming over the horizon.

在9·11十周年纪念日的几个星期，当局已经为某些严重事件而绷紧了神经。但是这次，阿富汗平日相当有效的情报服务没能查出丝毫线索。

Mustering all his diplomatic skills, Ryan Crocker, the United States ambassador, described the episode in which his staff ran for cover in the huge embassy compound as "not a fun day". But nor was it "a very big deal". That insurgents could sneak rocket-propelled grenades into the city and then fire them at the American embassy was not, Mr Crocker insisted, the Tet offensive. He was referring to the 1968 debacle when months spent trying to persuade the American public that the war in Vietnam was being won were torn to shreds by countrywide assaults on key command centres by communist guerrillas. Although NATO helicopters circled the skies above Kabul, with foreign troops on the ground, it was the Afghan security forces who led the fight against the attackers. The Afghans covered themselves with credit, Mr Crocker maintained.

Ryan Crocker, 美国大使，用尽了他的一切外交技巧，描述这一情节，他大使馆的员工都掩饰地称之为“不是快乐的一天”。但它也并非“一件很大的事”。Crocker 先生坚称，反叛分子们能够偷偷地将火箭弹运进这座城市，而后向美国大使馆开火，并不是“新年攻势”。他指的是1968年的崩溃事件，几个月的时间被用来劝说美国公众相信越南战争正在取得胜利之后，共产主义游击分子对关键指挥中心进行的全国范围袭击将之前的一切撕成了碎片。尽管北约直升机盘旋在喀布尔的上空，同时外国军队也占据了陆地，但这毕竟是阿富汗安全部队领导下的，对攻击者的斗争。Crocker 先生坚持认为，阿富汗人能够履行自己的承诺。

The American ambassador's reasoning serves the interests of his country, which is desperate to show that Afghanistan is succeeding in taking over responsibility for its own security. American front-line troops are supposed to be pulled out of Afghanistan by the end of 2014. Yet Mr Crocker's analysis also makes sense.

美国大使的推论是在为他自己国家的利益服务，他们不顾一切地试图展现阿富汗在成功地接管自身安全的责任。美国的前线部队大约在2014年底撤出阿富汗。不过，Crocker 先生的分析也具有一定意义。

Although Kabul took a pasting this time, it remains, along with all the country's big urban areas, emphatically under government control. Urban Afghans do not turn to Taliban courts to resolve their disputes, as do many in rural parts of the country. Girls' schools are thriving in Kabul. Trendily dressed youngsters hang out in shopping malls. And a lively media scene emulates Western television content that would turn the stomach of many an austere Talib.

尽管喀布尔这个时期乱成一锅粥，但它和该国各大城市地区一样，仍牢固地保持在政府的控制下。阿富汗城市地区的人们并不为解决他们的矛盾而前往塔利班的法院，但是农村地区的人们就有很多这样做的。女校在喀布尔蓬勃发展。打扮时髦的年轻人在购物区闲逛。热闹而生动的媒体模仿西方电视的内容，这将让很多朴素的人的兴趣转向塔利布。

What is more, Kabul's crack anti-terrorism unit is at last becoming a force to be reckoned with. It has recently been called upon to deal with several spectacular assaults on prominent sites by squads of suicide fighters. The attacks would have challenged the world's finest commandos. In the event, Afghan teams have acquitted themselves well.

再有，喀布尔的精锐反恐联盟至少正在成为一支不可忽视的力量。它最近被要求处理一些在显著位置发生的令人震惊的袭击事件，它们是由一队队的自杀式袭击者发起。这些袭击甚至可以睥睨世界上最棒的敢死队。在事件中，阿富汗的队伍能够全身而退。

But if the attack "had no operational effect whatsoever", in the words of John Allen, the senior American general in the country, what of the arguably more important, though less tangible, effect on public confidence in both Afghanistan and America about whether the war can ever be won? For their part, Kabulis show every sign of being largely desensitised to such attacks. Although the diplomatic quarter quickly emptied of life when several rockets sailed over the top of the American embassy, in the rest of the city the shops remained open. Students rushed to school to be on time for their exams.

但是，如果真如美国高级将军 John Allen 所说，这些袭击事件“没有任何效果”，那么更为重要的问题，尽管不那么切实有形，便是这场战争的胜利与否会对阿富汗和美国的公众信心产生何种影响。对于他们来说，Kabulis 的种种迹象都表明其对此类事件的反应迟钝。尽管外交季迅速冲淡了火箭飞过美国大使馆上空的那种生活，在城市的其他地方，剩下的商店仍在开门，学生们还是会为了准时参加考试而涌向学校。

Certainly, Afghans are apprehensive about a rising tide of violence and what the future may have in store for them. But this attack, though admittedly more spectacular than most, is unlikely to tip the scales of despair. Likewise, it is hard to see public sentiment in America falling much further than it already has.

当然，阿富汗仍为逐渐涌起的暴力潮流和不确知的未来而忧虑。尽管这次袭击不可否认地相比大多数时候更为猛烈，但却并不能倾斜沮丧的天平。同样的，也不会看到美国公众的情感比现在降得更低。

But that may not have been the attackers' aim. Nor (though the NATO secretary-general argued to the contrary) did it look like an assault on a “transition” process in which Afghan security forces gradually take over duties from foreign troops over the next three years. Rather, the real point may have been to influence the course of peace talks, about which there continues to be much chatter and rumour, if little of real substance.

但这并不是攻击者的目的，也不像是蓄意在阿富汗安全力量来逐步接管外国军队的三年过渡阶段发起攻击。真正的目的可能是为了影响和谈的进程。而当前和谈仍然更多地是聊天和谣言，实质内容很少。

Simon Gass, NATO's ambassador in Kabul, points out that violence is likely only to increase as talks of a settlement are in the air, and as groups “try to maximise their leverage”. Of course, more attacks like this one may kill off any mooted talks. But just before the attacks, it was reported that America had given its backing to the idea of the insurgency opening a political office outside the country, probably in Qatar. The proposal has long been pushed by former high-ranking Taliban. They argue that it would allow the insurgents' representatives to talk freely to other parties in the conflict. It would also provide an environment unconstrained by Pakistan's intelligence service, which regards the Afghan Taliban as its personal property.

北约驻喀布尔大使 Simon Gass 指出，只要当我们的解决方案悬而未决，或者“尝试最大化自身作用”之时，暴力行动就会不断增加。当然，更多像这样的袭击会扼杀无实际意义的谈话。但是恰恰在这些袭击发生前，美国又回归到在阿富汗之外为反叛分子开设政治办事处的想法，或许这个地方就是卡塔尔。这个计划曾一直被塔利班前高层竭力推进。他们认为这个政治办事处应该能让反政府代表在冲突中可以自由地和其他政党交流。同时应该由巴基斯坦情报部门来提供一个不受约束的环境，他们应把阿富汗塔利班像自己的私有财产一样对待。

Nobody really knows how interested insurgent leaders are in the idea (they are probably divided). But this bold attack by Taliban accomplices will certainly not be the last. Getting inside the city and attacking the institutions of government and the innocent civilians: “that is what they do,” says General Allen.

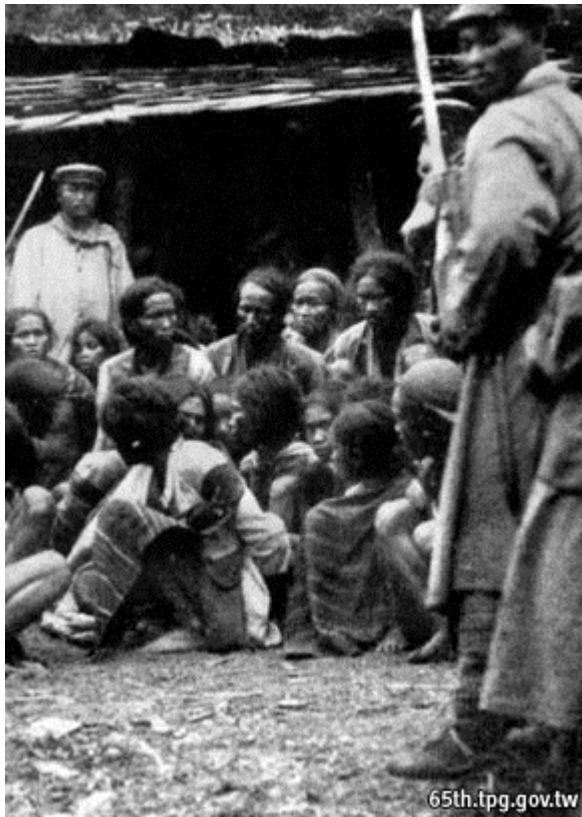
没人真正知道叛乱的领导人对于这个想法到底有多大兴趣（或许他们内部已经有分歧）。但是塔利班及其同盟的这种大胆袭击绝不会是最后一次。打入城市内部，袭击政府机构和无辜平民：“那正是他们所做的”秘书长 Allen 说。

翻译者：王英莲

A Taiwan blockbuster**轰动台湾**

Blood-stained rainbow

血染彩虹

A new film highlights the island's aborigines**一部刻画岛上原住民的最新电影****The End**

A FILM that depicts Taiwan's half-century of Japanese colonial rule from the point of view of a fierce tribe of indigenous headhunters is generating a surge of national pride on the island. "Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale" was surrounded by buzz at this year's Venice Film Festival. But that was nothing compared with its reception in Taiwan since opening on September 9th.

一部从凶猛部落的视角描写台湾半个世纪的日本殖民统治的电影正引发岛上的人民的民族自豪感。电影《赛德克巴莱：彩虹勇士》正在今年的威尼斯电影节热映，但是和 9 月 9 日台湾公映以来受到的待遇比起来，电影节上的反响就显得过于平淡了。

Made by an acclaimed Taiwanese director, Wei Te-sheng, with John Woo, a Hollywood force, as producer, the film has already broken records. At a cost of \$25m, it is the most expensive Taiwanese film ever made. The opening-day takings of NT\$23m (\$790,000), for the first of what will be two instalments, were the highest ever for a Taiwanese film. More box-office records are bound to follow.

这部由台湾导演魏特生指导、好莱坞方的 John 吴担任制片人的电影已经打破了纪录。只用了 2500 万美元的拍摄成本，便打造了台湾有史以来成本最高的电影。其首映日票房高达 2300 万新台币（79 万美元），单单作为上下两部中的上部，其成绩已超过以往任何一部台湾电影了。盒装碟片也马上跟进加量生产。

Quite probably "Warriors of the Rainbow" also has the highest number of graphic beheadings of any film anywhere. But they are faithful historical depictions. In 1930 hundreds of Taiwan's Seediq people living in the central uplands, oppressed and exploited by the Japanese and believing their culture was being destroyed, revolted against their

overlords with scant hope of success. They first attacked a school athletics gathering, slaughtering over 100 Japanese, and then raided police outposts. The uprising, known as the Wushe incident, triggered a brutal Japanese response, including poison gas dropped from aircraft. The rebellion's leader, Mouna Rudao, is still seen as a folk hero by many Taiwanese.

很可能《彩虹勇士》中断头一类的镜头比有史以来任何地方的电影都要更多。但是这些镜头都在忠实的还原于历史。19 世纪 30 年代，中部高山上生活着成千上万的台湾赛德克族人，他们受日本人压迫过着奴役的生活，他们已然确信自己的文化正在被摧毁，怀着渺茫的胜利希望去对抗统治者。他们首先袭击了一所学校的运动会，屠杀了 100 多位日本人并袭击了警察部队。这次起义被称为雾社事件【注解 1】，触发了日本人飞机上投掷毒气弹等残酷反应。Mouna Rudao 作为这次反抗斗争的首领，仍然被很多台湾民众视为民族英雄。

【注解 1】：雾社事件是台湾受日本统治时期发生在台湾台中州能高郡雾社（今属南投县仁爱乡）的抗日行动。事件是由于当地赛德克族（马赫坡社），因为不满台湾总督府与地方政府的压迫而发起，牺牲人数近千人，仅次于西来庵事件。事件领导人莫那鲁道自杀外，参与行动的部落几遭灭族，雾社事件是日本统治台湾期间最后一次激烈的台湾反抗行动。台湾总督府于此事件之处理方式遭日本帝国议会强烈质疑，总督石冢英藏与总务长官人见次郎等人遭到撤换。

The film emphasises the Seediq belief that only warriors with hands bloodied by slaughter can qualify for the afterlife (reached across a rainbow bridge). Its violence is disturbing in the extreme. One aboriginal boy in his early teens leads children to knife both their Japanese teacher and cowering women. (Later in the Wushe incident, though not depicted in this instalment, Japanese-led punitive forces indulge in a beheading orgy of their own.)

影片强调了赛德克族的信念——只有双手沾满杀戮鲜血的勇士才有资格拥有来世（到达一座彩虹桥的另一端）。这个民族的暴力具有极端的影响性。一个十几岁原住民男孩带领了一些儿童用刀杀死了他们的日本教师并猥亵妇女。（虽然没有在这部分电影中描绘，后来在雾社事件中，日本人主导的镇压军队沉醉于自己杀戮的狂欢。）

“Warriors of the Rainbow” is the first mainstream Taiwanese film to focus on Taiwan's aboriginals. Numbering about 500,000 out of a population of 23m, Taiwan's aborigines are descendants of Austronesians who first came to the island as long as 12,000 years ago. Han Chinese immigration started in earnest in the 17th century, beginning the long marginalisation of indigenous groups. Not all aboriginal groups saw the Japanese as their chief oppressors. Many sided with them against the Seediq, and many more fought for the Japanese in South-East Asia, a fact of which their descendants remain proud. Mouna Rudao himself was for the Japanese, before he was against them.

“彩虹勇士”是第一个聚焦台湾原住民的主流台湾电影。230 万台湾人口中约 50 万是原住民，他们是 12000 年前最先来到岛上的南太平洋群岛人的后裔。汉代中国人 17 世纪起就移民，开始了长期对原住民族群的边缘化。并非所有的原住民族群都视日本为主要压迫者。很多族群支持日本对抗赛德克族，还有更多的族群在东南亚地区为日本人而战，他们的后代对此仍然感到自豪。Mouna Rudao 自己与日本人进行反抗斗争前，也是支持日本人的。

The film, at least in the first instalment, glosses over such ambivalence. Its message of a unique, empowering Taiwanese identity is unmistakable, and the main reason for its popularity. No Chinese is spoken in the film. Rather, only Seediq and Japanese are used, with Chinese subtitles. Both Taiwan's president, Ma Ying-jeou, and Tsai Ing-wen, his challenger in next year's election, set aside their sniping to sit down to a screening together.

至少在上部中，影片掩盖了这种矛盾心理。其独特而认同台湾人身份的内容明确无误，这些内容也是电影受欢迎的主要原因。没有一个中国人在电影中说话。相反，只有原住民的语言和日语，配有中文字幕。台湾总统马英九和他明年大选的挑战者蔡英文，抛开了恩怨一同坐下来观影。

Taiwan has never seen anything like it. The central bank has plans to release a set of coins commemorating the Seediq. The film sets have become a tourist attraction. There are Seediq Bale commemorative wines and ionised water. Han Taiwanese as well as indigenous filmgoers don aboriginal dress for the viewing. As for China, those critics who have seen the film have noted its “provincialism”, a slur that mainlanders usually reserve for Taiwan's

independence movement.

台湾从来没有发生过这种情况。中央银行已经计划推出一套纪念原住民的硬币。电影拍摄场景已成为一个旅游胜地。那里有《赛德克巴莱》纪念酒和去离子水。作为汉人后裔的台湾人以及原住民影迷穿上原住民传统服饰供人参观。至于中国，那些已经看过这部影片的影评家们指出其中存在的“地方偏狭观念”，由于大陆人通常对台湾独立运动持保留意见，使得这一因素成为该影片的一个污点。

翻译者：王英莲 校对者：尹茜

Banyan

专栏

Newlight in Myanmar?

缅甸新光?

Or at least, flickers of optimism pierce the gloom

或者至少，乐观主义的光辉已划破(黎明前的)黑暗



PROGRESS in Myanmar, an Australian foreign minister once remarked, comes at the pace of glue flowing up a hill. Lately, however, it has become a brook bickering merrily down the valley. Cynicism about the regime's intentions is so entrenched that few observers see this as more than an optical illusion. But, tantalisingly, genuine change seems closer than for decades.

澳大利亚外交部长曾说缅甸的发展就像自下而上流向山顶的胶着物，没有任何可能性。然而如今的缅甸却犹如从山谷间流出的泉水叮咚，一派生机。对缅甸政治走向一贯的冷嘲热讽让多数观察家认为如今的良好局势不过是错觉。但事实是，缅甸即将发生近几十年来最为诱人的，真正实质性的变革。

Most startling is the latitude accorded to Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel-prize-winning campaigner for democracy, by the notionally civilian government installed after a farcical election last November. Miss Suu Kyi, freed from her latest bout of detention just after the voting, has no official standing. Her party does not recognise the constitution imposed by the outgoing junta, and, unrepresented in the light>newlight> parliament, is technically illegal.

最让人吃惊的莫过于诺贝尔和平奖获得者，缅甸民主斗士昂山素季重获自由。昂山素季在(21年前的)选举之后遭软禁，去年11月，一场闹剧般的大选产生的所谓的文官政府释放了昂山素季，但并未给予其官方身份。她所在的民盟并不承认由即将离任的军政府颁布的，在新议会中没有代表的宪法的合法性。

Yet the government seems now to be treating Miss Suu Kyi with almost the respect due to her as the de facto leader of Myanmar's opposition. Of all her recent activities, most laden with symbolism was a meeting last month with Thein Sein, the light>newlight> "civilian" president of a regime dominated by men who, like him, are former soldiers. The meeting, in Naypyidaw, the megalomaniacal light>newlight> capital, showed willing on both sides. Some of the opposition would have preferred Miss Suu Kyi to shun the president until at least a few of the 2,000 or so political prisoners were freed. Government hardliners would have liked prior concessions from her—notably recognising the light>newlight> regime's legitimacy.

然而碍于其为缅甸反对派实际领袖的事实，政府如今对素季女士的态度似乎比较尊重。其近期政治活动中最具标志性的便是上个月与新文官政府领导人，曾是统治缅甸的前军政府一员的吴登盛的会面。这次会面设在内比都，这个不像首都的新首都，双方对于此次会面均感愉快。一些反对此次会面的人认为在至少 2000 多名政治犯被释放以前，素季女士应该对总统保持回避。而政府强硬派希望昂山素季率先作出，特别是在承认新政权合法性方面的让步。

The two leaders seem, however, to have decided that, after over 20 years of sterile confrontation, government, opposition and Myanmar itself could all benefit from a light>newlight> effort at co-operation. Miss Suu Kyi would like the prisoners freed and a dialogue on national reconciliation. The government, desperate to appear more than old military wine in light>newlight> bottles, would like her to persuade Western governments to lift sanctions against Myanmar.

不过在历经 20 多年的无意义对抗之后，两位领导人似乎已经明确表态此次会面合作的努力将会惠及政府，反对派乃至整个缅甸。昂山素季女士希望释放政治犯，并就全国和解问题展开对话。而急不可耐以崭新的执政姿态，而非沿袭军政府模式上台的新政府，希望昂山素季能促使西方国家解除对缅甸的制裁。

It is making some progress. Miss Suu Kyi now routinely features on the itinerary of senior foreign visitors. Last month she met Tomás Ojea Quintana, the UN's special rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, whose entry the government had rejected for the previous 18 months. Then she received Kristalina Georgieva, the EU's aid commissioner, who left Myanmar after seeing her and the authorities "encouraged" by the government's pledges to grant humanitarian workers greater access.

进展当然是有的。素季女士如今主要的日常行程是会见外国高层。上个月，她会见了曾遭缅甸政府拒签长达 18 个月的联合国缅甸人权状况特别报告员奎因塔纳。然后接待了欧盟负责救援事务的专员克里斯塔莉娜·乔治艾娃。在与昂山素季和缅甸政府会面之后，乔治艾娃表示自己为缅甸政府能准许更多的人道主义工作者进入缅甸而感到欢欣鼓舞。

That was followed this week by a visit from Derek Mitchell, Barack Obama's light>newlight> special representative to Myanmar (which America, like Miss Suu Kyi, still calls "Burma"). America maintains more stringent sanctions against Myanmar than does any other country. This has the effect of precluding financial assistance from multilateral bodies such as the World Bank. Yet a spokesman for Miss Suu Kyi's party said she had discussed with Mr Mitchell the possibility of American humanitarian assistance, at least in education and health.

接下来的这个星期，巴拉克·奥巴马的新特使米德伟将访问缅甸。（美国人，昂山素季都称缅甸为“Burma”）。美国一直对缅甸采取比他国严厉的制裁。这势必会阻碍包括世界银行在内的多边机构对缅甸的经济援助。然而昂山素季政党发言人说，昂山素季已与米德伟就美国对缅甸在教育与健康等方面展开人道援助的可能性进行了商讨。

In Washington, meanwhile, Congress was voting to approve a routine resolution to extend sanctions on Myanmar. But Jim Webb, the senator who chairs the committee on Asian affairs, issued a statement noting "clear indications of a light>newlight> openness" from Myanmar's government, and arguing that America should be prepared to adjust its policy.

与此同时，华盛顿也在进行是否继续对缅甸扩大制裁决议的投票。但是美国参议院外事委员会亚洲事务小组主席吉姆·韦伯发表的声明指出缅甸政府已经发出全新对外开放的信号，强烈要求美国应做好战略调整的准备。

The government is cutting Miss Suu Kyi some slack. Despite warning her against making political trips outside Yangon, Myanmar's main city, where she lives, it tolerated her visit in August to the town of Bago. Big crowds lined the streets to glimpse her. It also invited her to an economic seminar in Naypyidaw. It turns a deaf ear to her phone-in shows on a radio station run by angry exiles. And after pretending for years that she does not exist, in July the official press published a commentary by her. (Another article, however, fell foul of the censors.) The press has in general softened a bit. A tawdry daily propaganda sheet, the New Light of Myanmar, has dropped its quotidian slogans inveighing against the "killer broadcasts" of overseas radio stations.

缅甸政府已然放了昂山素季一马。尽管政府警告昂山素季不许其在除居住地仰光，这一缅甸主要城市之外的地方进行政治活动，但仍对其八月在勃固区的行程睁一只眼闭一只眼。为一睹昂山素季的风采，大批民众夹道欢迎。此外，政府邀请她到首都内比都参加经济研讨会。昂山素季曾接受由激进的流亡异士主办的广播电台对其进行的电话访问，但政府对此事充耳不闻。多年以来，政府都在遮掩昂山素季的存在，如今官方媒体居然在 7 月发表了对昂山素季的评论。（但另一篇文章没有通过审查。）媒体言辞相较以前普遍温和不少。辞藻华丽的官方宣传日报，缅甸新光报，也撤下了每天都会用来抨击海外电台的诸如广播凶手之类的标语口号。

Mr Thein Sein has also appealed to exiled dissidents to come home. A few have been emboldened to do so. Many more, however, will wait and see. Few details were released about the substance of what was discussed when the president met Miss Suu Kyi. Probably not much: after such a long history of mutual distrust, confidence-building may be the best that can be expected.

吴登盛总统已经呼吁流亡的异议人士回归祖国。接到此等消息的异士中确实不乏大胆者身先士卒。至于多数异士的态度，唯有坐等，静观之。有关总统会晤昂山素季所讨论的具体细节并没有透露。不过内容大致应是：经历如此长时间的猜疑敌对，建立互信可能是目前解决问题的最好办法。

Optimists hope that, beyond this, Miss Suu Kyi or her nominee might be appointed to an official body—such as one dealing with Myanmar's many disgruntled ethnic minorities, some of whose armed insurgencies are again fighting the army. Ceasefires are fraying over the army's attempts to co-opt the insurgents into an official border force. In an open letter in July to the president and organisations representing four minorities (the Kachin, Karen, Mon{没查出来} and Shan), Miss Suu Kyi appealed for a light>newlight> truce. If Miss Suu Kyi could persuade the insurgents that Myanmar's many ethnic groups are indeed, as she put it, "like siblings from a single family", it would be another huge boon to the regime.

乐观人士希望，除此之外，昂山素季或是她所任命的人能被指派执掌政府某项工作，如处理缅甸现在的少数民族问题。如今很多少数民族对现状不满，一些少数民族武装叛乱一次又一次与军队发生冲突。军方试图收编停火和解的少数民族武装组织，将他们编入政府控制的边防部队，但矛盾重重。在 7 月给总统和代表着四个少数民族的组织写的公开信中，（克钦族，克伦邦族，和掸邦族），素季女士呼吁出台新的停战协定。如果昂山素季能够说服叛乱者相信缅甸的各个民族，就像她所说的，如同一个家庭里的兄弟姐妹一般一个都不能少，那么这对整个政权来说又将是莫大的恩惠。

Once, twice, three times...

一而再 再而三

That might be beyond even her unifying powers, even were she given a chance to try. And pessimists doubt she will. They point to similar episodes when compromise seemed possible—after her release from detention in 1995, and again in 2002. Both bubbles of optimism burst because the junta was unwilling to cede any real power. At some point a crunch will come. Miss Suu Kyi and her party will have to accept the legitimacy of the government and of a constitution foisted on Myanmar in a ludicrously rigged referendum in 2008, enshrining perpetual military dominance. Or the government will have to change it. In that respect, Mr Thein Sein has yet to prove that his regime is any different from its uniformed predecessor in its willingness to countenance any real dilution of military power. He may look like a reformer, but he owes his job to the army from which he hails.

即使昂山素季有机会一搏，即使她拼尽全力要想统一各部，但这委实超出了她的能力。而且悲观主义者也怀疑她成功的可能。他们指出一旦有达成妥协的可能性，类似的情节就会上演，如昂山素季 1995 年从软禁中释放后与在 2002 年再一次释放后的情况不尽相同。过分乐观犹如不断膨胀的泡沫最终破裂，（昂山素季在 95 年被释放后又被软禁）皆因 其所在政党不愿放弃任何实权。在某种程度上说，这是遭到打压的直接原因。昂山素季和她的政党必须承认政府以及在 2008 年荒唐舞弊的公投下产生的宪法的合法性。除非新政府以后会更改宪法，否则以后在宪法中军政府的统治将永远被视为神圣。吴登盛至今未能证明他与他的军方前任在真正瓦解军方势力方面的决心有何不同。他看起来像是一个改革者，但他如今的地位却仍要归功于他曾经为之效力的军队。

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Feeling the heat of isolation

四面楚歌

Egyptians relish Israel's growing discomfiture in the region. But they do not want another war

以色列日子难过了，埃及人笑了。但另一场战争？谁都不希望

ISRAEL has diplomatic relations with only three nearby countries. In the space of ten days its ambassadors have been humiliatingly forced out of two of them: Turkey and Egypt. The king of the third, Jordan's Abdullah, commented without apparent displeasure that Israel was "scared".

以色列和其邻国的外交关系，仅局限于三个国家。而在过去十天之内，其中就有两个国家——土耳其和埃及，驱逐了以色列驻该国大使，这难免让以色列倍为羞辱。而硕果仅存的约旦哈希姆王国国王表面上并没有不悦，他评论说，以色列多少有些“害怕”了。

A week after the Turkish démarche, and linked to it in the eyes of many Israeli commentators, a Cairo mob attacked the Israeli embassy, housed on three floors of a high-rise building in the suburb of Giza. Policemen did little as demonstrators with hammers battered down a wall of concrete slabs put in place to protect the building. The embassy had recently been menaced by protesters in the wake of an incident along Egypt's border with Israel in Sinai, when several Egyptian soldiers were killed, apparently by Israeli troops engaged in a battle with Palestinian fighters.

在以色列评论员看来，土耳其此次驱逐以色列大使的举动，和开罗暴徒袭击以色列位于吉萨一座高层建筑三楼的大使馆事件不无关系。示威者手持锤子，摧毁了大使馆外的防护墙。警察出动了也无济于事。而以以色列驻埃及大使馆最近不断遭到抗议者的威胁，则是由于在西奈半岛以埃边境处以军和巴勒斯坦军队交火时，几名埃及士兵被误杀。

Even more troubling for Israel, Field-Marshal Muhammad Tantawi, Egypt's top man for the time being, and others in Egypt's interim military government were unavailable to take calls from Israel's prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, until Barack Obama intervened directly with them. Six Israeli security men stuck in the embassy were eventually rescued by Egyptian commandos who scattered the crowd with gunfire. Some 80 Israeli diplomats and their families were driven to the airport under military escort and ferried home by an Israeli air-force plane.

以色列的麻烦远不止这些。以色列总统内塔尼亚胡一直无法与埃及最高指挥官，陆军上校穆哈穆德·坦他维和其他埃及过渡军政府人员取得联系，直到奥巴马出面直接与穆哈穆德对话。六名以色列安全人员被困在大使馆内，最后在埃及突击队用枪火驱散群众后才得以获救。约有八十人的以色列外交官及其家属的队伍，在军方护送下到达机场，登上以色列空军飞机离开埃及。

Mr Netanyahu says his ambassador will soon be back. Egyptian officials have voiced embarrassed regret. But even if Israel can find and fortify an alternative less vulnerable location, it sees the episode, with its display of deep antipathy towards Israel on the Egyptian street and the perhaps deliberately slow reaction of the Egyptian authorities, as ominous. And it looked on grimly as Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's prime minister, flying into Cairo on September 12th, was feted as a champion of the Palestinian and Muslim cause.

内塔尼亚胡总统表示，以色列大使将很快返回埃及。埃及官员也对以色列大使撤离表示遗憾。但就算以色列能找到更坚实安全的防身之所，就埃及当地街头巷尾弥漫的反以情绪，和民众对政府号令的反应速度和力度来看，以色列使团前途堪忧。土耳其总理埃尔多安九月十二号飞抵开罗，受到巴勒斯坦和穆斯林事业领袖般的最高接待。这无疑又使以色列的处境雪上加霜。

Mr Netanyahu speaks almost fatalistically of the ferment in the region. His aides bemoan Mr Erdogan's ambitions of regional leadership. They seem to have concluded, however, that they should be as reluctant as ever to give any ground to the Palestinians. In particular, Mr Netanyahu and his friends in the pro-Israel lobby in the United States are inveighing vehemently, albeit with an undertone of panic, against the campaign by the Palestinians to win a vote in

the UN later this month to grant them statehood, at least on paper. Most wretched, from Israel's point of view, is the possibility of an emerging consensus among Europeans on the Palestine vote at the UN; they may offer the Palestinians some kind of statehood ("the Vatican option" is a widely touted compromise), albeit without full membership at this stage.

内塔尼亚胡对于目前愈演愈烈的动荡局势发表的讲话带有很强的宿命感。他的助手则对埃尔多安此次出访表现出的地区领导的野心表示惋惜。但似乎他们又维持了一贯的做法：不愿给巴勒斯坦留下任何发展空间。内塔尼亚胡和美国政坛内的亲以人士对巴勒斯坦本月下旬希望在联合国获得确保其国家地位的投票（尽管可能只是确保形式上的国家存在）发起了猛烈抨击，但这也暗示着他们的惶恐情绪。而欧洲国家对巴勒斯坦地位逐渐认可的事实，使以色列尤为头疼；欧洲国家可能赋予巴勒斯坦一些国家地位（“梵蒂冈模式”是一个广泛受追捧的这种方案），虽然现阶段各国还没有达成共识。

At street level, many Egyptians were delighted by the assault on the embassy. Last month a young man called Ahmed al-Shahat, dubbed "the flagman", was hailed as a national hero for scaling the Israeli building and replacing the Star of David with a Palestinian banner. But reaction to the burning of the building on September 9th was more nuanced. Most prominent political groups, from the left-liberal April 6th Movement to the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood and even the more extreme Salafists, condemned the violence, though the Islamists were evasive about the entry into the building. And the interim military government took advantage of the assault to threaten a crackdown against street protesters continuing to call for faster reform.

许多街头的埃及民众都表示乐于看到以色列大使馆遭袭。上个月，一名叫做埃赫门·阿沙哈特把以色列建筑外墙上标志犹太人的大卫之星换成了巴勒斯坦旗帜，而被人们盛赞为民族英雄，他也因此得到“旗手”的称号。而对于九月九号焚毁以色列建筑的行为，人们的反应则显得更为微妙。许多主要的政治团体，从左派的埃及四六自由运动组织到伊斯兰穆斯林兄弟会，甚至更为极端的萨拉菲斯特圣战主义者，都强烈谴责这种暴行，然而这些伊斯兰教徒们对于冲进以色列使馆这件事却不置可否。过渡军政府借这次骚乱，向呼吁加快改革步伐而走上街头的抗议者发出最后通牒。

Yet Egyptian attitudes to Israel are rarely simple. A bit of anti-Israeli theatre goes down well. But when incidents such as the embassy break-in become an international affair and foreign governments question Egypt's ability to protect diplomats, whoever they may be, people become edgier. Opinion polls suggest Egyptians want peace with Israel but not necessarily under the terms of the 1979 treaty.

然而，埃及对以色列的态度经常是复杂的。戏剧性的反以行为有所收敛。但当大使馆被埃及民众袭击变成国际关注的焦点，埃及对驻该国大使的保护能力遭到国外政府的怀疑时，不论质疑之声来自何方，都让埃及人绷紧了神经。民意调查显示，埃及人希望与以色列保持和平，但却并不一定是在 1979 年的戴维营协议框架内。

All the same, anti-Israeli feeling is growing. Some political parties want to close the Suez Canal to the Israeli navy and to block the sale of natural gas to Israel. The new Freedom and Justice Party, an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, says the 1979 treaty should be "revised".

与此同时，反以情绪仍在高涨。一些政治团体企图号召对以色列海军关闭苏伊士运河的水道，并停止向以色列的石油供应。新自由公平党作为穆斯林兄弟会的分支，在发言中称戴维营条约如今需要“修改”。

But most groups dread the prospect of actual war. One of the few good things that many Egyptians have to say of Hosni Mubarak, their deposed and generally reviled president, is that he kept Egypt out of war with Israel. The military government says that policy towards Israel should be left to an elected government. Still, the embassy incident serves as a warning to Israel that a democratically elected Egyptian government may be a lot less friendly.

然而大部分政治团体都是不希望开战。而提到被弹劾的埃及前总统霍斯尼·穆巴拉克，虽然他声名狼藉，但有一点是值得肯定的——毕竟他避免了埃及与以色列交战。军政府称埃及队以色列的政治方案需要由选举产生的政府决定。但以驻埃大使馆事件无疑对以色列敲响了警钟——一个由民主选举产生的埃及政府或许更加不友善。

The new Libya

新生的利比亚

Patience, please

请给予你们的耐心

The new authorities are trying to lower people's expectations

新政府试图降低人民的期望值

FOR the first time in months it was neither bombs nor gunfire that cracked Tripoli's humid night sky. It was fireworks, popping in starbursts, to welcome Mustafa Abdul Jalil, head of Libya's interim government, to the Libyan capital's freshly renamed Martyrs' Square. The frail-looking former justice minister under Muammar Qaddafi, having travelled on September 10th from his old headquarters in the eastern city of Benghazi, assured a cheering crowd that the new Libya would be a country of tolerance and mercy, free from extremism and open for all to take part in shaping a common future.

绚烂的烟花划破的黎波里氤氲的夜空。几个月来的第一次，人们在天空中再不见炸弹或炮火。美丽的烟花在夜空绽放，以欢迎利比亚临时政府首脑 Mustafa Abdul Jalil 至利比亚首都新命名的烈士广场。这位卡扎菲政权中看似软弱的前司法部长，9月10日从其位于东部城市班加西的旧总部来到黎波里，并向夹道欢迎的人们担保，新生的利比亚将会是一个充满宽容和仁慈的国度，再不受极端主义的迫害。利比亚将向所有人开放，众志成城，共创美好未来。

What thrilled the 10,000 or so spectators was the symbolism of the speech rather than its content. For it was here, albeit standing high on the walls of the old fort that overlooks what he called Green Square rather than on Mr Abdul Jalil's modest podium, that Colonel Qaddafi delivered his fist-pumping harangue in February, when he urged his people to hunt down and kill the rebel "rats" who had the temerity to demonstrate against him.

然而，真正让一万多观众兴奋的，并不是这场演讲的内容，而是它的象征意义。因为不同于 Abdul Jalil 先生谦逊的讲台，今年二月，正是在这里，卡扎菲上校高高站立于这陈旧堡垒的高墙之上，俯瞰这片他称之为“绿色广场”的土地，紧握双拳，发表了他呼吁全国人民追捕猎杀敢于公然反抗他的叛军“鼠群”的激昂演说。

For all that it lasted four decades and ended less than a month ago, the colonel's era already seems light-years away. "I'm still not used to being able to say whatever I want to complete strangers," says a returning exile who recalls the pervasive fear of informants. "But this feels now like a normal city in a normal country."

四十多年的独裁统治在距今一个月内就戛然而止，对于所有经历过这段非常时期的人们而言，这段“上校时代”似乎早已成为往事。“我仍然不习惯对完全陌生的人随心所欲地说话”，回忆起当年由于告密者导致的人心惶惶，一位回到利比亚的流放者如是说道，“但是现在，我感觉身处于一个寻常国家的寻常城市中。”

But Libya will not feel fully normal so long as the colonel remains at large. Forces loyal to him control patches of the vast hinterland. On September 12th his men struck boldly behind rebel lines, killing 15 people in a raid on oil facilities at Ras Lanuf.

然而，只要这位上校还未被抓捕归案，利比亚就不可能完全回归正常。卡扎菲的军队仍然控制着利比亚广阔腹地的几片区域。在9月12日，他的军队大胆地侵入了叛军区域。在对位于拉斯拉努夫的石油设施的袭击中，15人无辜身亡。

To general frustration, progress by the motley "brigades" that make up Libya's new army has slowed. Well-armed pro-Qaddafi gunmen in the coastal city of Sirte and the town of Bani Walid, a gateway to the desert interior, have yet to admit defeat, despite being surrounded by far greater numbers of rebel fighters backed by NATO air power. The besiegers have shied from all-out assaults, for fear of killing civilians and deepening regional enmities.

然而令大多数人失望的是，组成利比亚新一代武装力量的军队成分鱼龙混杂，所取得的进展也日趋缓慢。在海滨城市苏尔特以及瓦利德巴尼城——通往沙漠腹地的通道口，支持卡扎菲的武装精良的枪击手们被人数远超于

他们的叛军及前来助阵的北约空中力量重重包围，但他们仍然拒不投降。由于担心误伤平民和加剧地区敌对情绪，包围者不敢贸然进行全方面打击。

Some say the delay reflects fears within the National Transitional Council, the 43-man proto-parliament under Mr Abdul Jalil, that the end of military fighting might herald the onset of harsher political skirmishing. The tone of some talk is nasty already. Mr Abdul Jalil, a grandfatherly figure, is widely respected, but ministers in the council's executive committee, a proto-cabinet which has now relocated from Benghazi, are less immune from criticism.

有人认为这种推延反映了全国过渡委员会，这一由 Abdul Jalil 下属 43 人组成的原始国会内部的恐惧。他们害怕武装斗争的结束会带来更为猛烈的政治冲突。对此，有些谈话的论调已然尖酸刻薄了。身为一个如祖父般慈祥的人物，Abdul Jalil 先生深受民众爱戴，然而身处国会执行委员会（目前已从班加西搬出）这一初始内阁的部长们就难以免受诟病了。

Liberals tend to grumble that the national council, like the new local councils, is unelected. Islamists sniff that it is stuffed with secularists and technocrats rather than righteous revolutionaries. Some military men dislike the dominance of civilians. Other Libyans detect regional and tribal favouritism. Younger ones resent the presence in government of older officials, especially since many of them held posts under the old regime. In a mosque sermon Osama Salabi, a powerful Islamist leader from Benghazi who is linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and has financial backing from Qatar, is said to have gone so far as to liken Mahmoud Jibril, who as head of the executive committee acts in effect as prime minister, to a jackal feasting on a carcass.

自由主义者通常抱怨目前的全国委员会，如同新的地方委员会一样，不是通过选举产生的。伊斯兰激进派则对于其中充斥着现世主义者、技术专家而非正直的革命者的现状嗤之以鼻。一些军事人员对平民的主导地位感到反感。其他的利比亚人则察觉出存在对于某些地区和部落的偏向。年轻人厌恶于政府中老一辈官员的存在，特别是因为他们当中有许多人曾在旧体制中任职。Osama Salabi，一位来自班加西的伊斯兰教位高权重的领袖，与穆斯林兄弟会联系密切，并拥有来自卡塔尔的资金支持。在一次清真寺前的讲话中，他甚至把 Mahmoud Jibril——利比亚全国执行委员会主席，实际上的总理——比作以腐尸为食的豺狼虎豹。

In Libya's state of flux, and in the absence of an active local press, it is hard to judge the validity of such attacks. Mr Jibril, a dapper former head of investment promotion who has done much to earn legitimacy for the council abroad, says he will soon form a new and more representative cabinet. "The main thing about this government is that they are clean and they are not here to stay," says a property man, out shopping in a Tripoli market. "We don't want Islamists. We don't want liberals. And above all we don't ever want another leader who tells us what to think or do."

从利比亚目前动荡的局势看来，由于利比亚目前的局势十分动荡，并且缺乏活跃的地方媒体），因而很难断定诸如此类攻击的确实性。作为素来衣冠楚楚的前利比亚投资领域领军人物，Jibril 先生此次也为全国委员会在海外的合法性付出了诸多努力。而他也表示自己将尽快组成一个更具代表性的全新内阁。“这次新政府最大的特点在于它清廉，并且只是临时过渡性质的”一个在的黎波里市场采购的货物管理员说道，“我们不想要伊斯兰激进派，也不想要自由主义者。最重要的是，我们再也不想要任何领导人告诉我们如何思考或如何去做。”

翻译者：唐以仁 校对者：穆雪

Libya's fugitives

利比亚的亡命者

Catch them if you can

猫鼠游戏

The new rulers are making headway in rounding up the colonel's friends

新的统治者在对卡扎菲同伙进行的围捕中，取得了进展

MUCH has been made of the fate of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's family, and for good reason. Each of his eight children, four of whom have fled to neighbouring countries, is nasty in his—or her—own way. There are seven boys, of whom two may now be dead, and Aisha, a lawyer who helped defend Saddam Hussein in court. One son, Saadi, who is best known for his love of football but now demands asylum in Niger, led the brigade that shelled civilians in Benghazi in February, killing scores and triggering the revolution.

穆阿迈尔·卡扎菲上校家人的命运发生了重大变化，证据确凿。他的八个孩子都命途多舛，其中四个逃往邻国。卡扎菲有七个儿子，可能已经死了两个，还有一个叫艾沙，是一名律师，曾在法庭上为萨达姆·侯赛因辩护。还有一个儿子萨阿迪，因痴迷足球而闻名，但现在在尼日尔寻求庇护。二月时，萨阿迪率领一个旅在班加西攻击平民百姓，射杀了几十人，引爆了革命。

Less has been said, at least outside Libya, of the colonel's closest fugitive friends. Quietly and more systematically, Libya's new masters have been hunting **them** down. Manned largely by survivors of Colonel Qaddafi's prisons and relying on tips from citizens, a volunteer force in the nascent national army known as the First Security Circle has so far nabbed some three dozen former officials. "We'll give **them** the best treatment and the fairest trials, because that would be the worst punishment for **them**," promises Fathi Sherif, a prosperous Tripoli engineer who has turned his network of family and friends into a rich source of information. "Any decent court would hang **them** anyway," he jests.

关于同卡扎菲关系最密切的逃亡伙伴的言论相对较少，至少在利比亚以外的国家是这样的。利比亚的现任领导人在暗中更系统地追捕这些人。新生国家军队中被称为“第一安全队”的志愿队伍，基本上是由卡扎菲关押的囚犯中存活下来的人领导的，该队伍在市民提供的线索下，目前为止已经逮捕了 36 名前官员。法特希·谢里夫是黎波里一名优秀工程师，他的亲戚朋友已经成为重要的消息来源。他说：“我们会给他们最好的待遇和最公平的审判，因为对他们来说，这是最坏的惩罚了。”他还开玩笑地说：“无论怎样，只要是正派的法庭，都会把他们绳之以法的。”

So far such big fish as Abdullah Sanussi, the colonel's shadowy enforcer, and Tuhani Khaled, chief of the Internal Security Agency, along with his deputy and top interrogator, Abdul Hamid Sayeh, have evaded capture. Three senior generals have fled south-west to Niger, among **them** Mansur Dao, who at Mr Sanussi's orders is said to have carried out the execution, by machinegun and hand grenades, of some 1,200 inmates at Tripoli's Abu Salim prison in 1996. 目前，有几条大鱼逃过了追捕，他们是卡扎菲掩护人阿卜杜拉·萨努斯、国家安全局长图哈密·哈立德，以及他的副官和首席审问员阿卜杜勒·哈米德·萨耶。有三名高级将军从西南边逃向尼日尔，其中一个叫曼苏尔·道。据称，1996 年他根据萨努斯的命令，用机枪和手榴弹处决了的黎波里阿布萨林监狱的 1200 名囚犯。

Still, the list of those caught pleases Mr Sherif. Ahmed Ben Ramadan, Colonel Qaddafi's feared personal aide, tried but failed to shoot himself when soldiers stormed the farm where he was hiding. Abouzaid Dorda, who headed external intelligence, is in custody. So is Saad Masoud, the Special Guard's chief, Muhammad Abdu, the military police boss, and Bashir Saleh, the fallen leader's suave Nigerian-born financial adviser.

不过，已被捕获的人员名单还是能另谢里夫满意的。阿赫迈德·本·拉曼丹是卡扎菲的私人助理，他已经受到了惊吓。当士兵们袭击他藏身的农场时，他企图自杀但未遂。国外情报局首长阿布扎伊德·杜尔达已经被拘留了。同样被拘留的还有特别卫队队长萨阿德·马苏德、宪兵队长穆罕默德·阿卜杜、以及已经倒台的卡扎菲的财政顾问、狡猾的尼日利亚裔巴希尔·萨利赫。

Such people have much to tell. General Hadi Mbairish, chief of joint operations for Libya's security services, believes Colonel Qaddafi will fight to the death, not sparing the lives of thousands of Libyans **if** he has to. "He's got used to killing," says the captive general.

这些人都有许多事可以爆料。哈迪·穆巴里士将军是利比亚安全局共同行动的负责人，他认为卡扎菲会负隅顽抗，如果迫于无奈，他会不顾几千名利比亚人的性命。这名被俘虏的将军说：“他已经杀红了眼了。”

本译文由 ECOCN 提供，翻译者：MaggieXu

Syria's turmoil

叙利亚动乱

Will foreigners get involved?

外部势力会介入？

The prospect of outside help for the protesters is limited—at least for now

外界向示威者提供帮助的希望渺茫，至少现在如此

AFTER six months of demonstrations and some 2,600 deaths, mainly of unarmed civilians, protesters have begun to call in desperate earnest for foreign help. They dubbed the most recent Friday “international protection day”. Many waved signs calling for a UN resolution and for an observer mission to visit the country. Foreign involvement is still minimal. But the prospect of it is being more hotly debated, both inside Syria and beyond.

叙利亚示威已达六个月，死者约 2600 人，其中主要是非武装的平民。示威者开始极力呼吁外界援手。他们称 9 月 16 日为“国际保护日”。多人举着标语，呼吁联合国通过决议，向叙派遣观察团。外界介入的可能性仍很小，但叙国内外就此事的讨论愈加热烈。

A growing number of governments, including many in the region, have called on President Bashar Assad to make concessions. Turkey has turned against him, while keeping diplomatic avenues open. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states have sharpened their criticism. Even Iran, Mr Assad's main regional ally, has been making more nuanced noises.

包括中东地区在内的越来越多国家要求叙总统巴沙尔做出让步。土耳其与其反目，但保持外交渠道畅通。沙特与海湾国家提升了批评调门。即使巴沙尔在该地区主要盟友伊朗的立场也发生了微妙变化。

The United States and the European Union have imposed economic sanctions, banning imports of Syrian oil (a full embargo is to start on November 15th), thus denying Syria 95% of its oil-export market. They are also looking to extend sanctions against people and companies, and **will** try to stop banknotes printed in Europe being sent back into Syrian circulation.

美国与欧盟已对叙施加经济制裁，禁止从叙进口石油（11 月 15 日将开始全面禁运）。叙将因此失去 95% 的出口市场。美欧准备将制裁扩展至叙公司与个人，还拟冻结欧元回流到叙。

Further measures are being floated in Washington and Brussels. Private banks that deal with Syria's regime, most of them Lebanese subsidiaries, may be **targeted** if the killing persists. Byblos Bank, in whose Syrian subsidiary Rami Makhoul, the president's cousin, has a big share, may be hit. Syria's central bank may also be a **target**. On September 14th the UN's High Commissioner on Human Rights appointed a panel to investigate Syria. Some say Mr Assad and his closest allies should be referred to the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

美欧还在拟议进一步制裁措施。若叙不停止杀戮，与叙政权打交道的私家银行（其中大多数是黎巴嫩银行的分行）将受到制裁。黎的毕卜鲁斯银行可能受到影响，巴沙尔的堂（表）兄（弟）拉米·马克鲁夫在该行的叙分行中持有相当大股份。叙利亚央行可能也会成为目标。9 月 14 日，联合国人权事务高专指定一个小组调查叙问题。有些人称，应将巴沙尔及其最亲近的手下诉至海牙国际刑事法庭。

Visiting dignitaries have sought in vain to persuade Mr Assad to give ground, if not to resign immediately. On September 10th the Arab League's new head, Nabil al-Arabi, who was briefly Egypt's foreign minister under the new order, proposed a timetable for open elections. But the Arabs still lack a consensus. In any event, this falls far short of foreign intervention on the side of the protesters.

有些政要到访叙利亚，试图说服巴沙尔，让他即便不立即辞职也要做出让步，但均无功而返。9 月 10 日，曾在埃及新政权中短暂任外长的阿盟新秘书长阿尔阿拉比建议叙制订公开选举的时间表。但阿拉伯国家在该问题上并无一致立场。无论如何，这离外界介入以支持示威者还差得远。

Moreover, Mr Assad still has useful foreign friends. Russia, China, India and Brazil continue to oppose a UN Security Council resolution and UN-imposed sanctions. Russia supplies arms and is building a naval base on Syria's coast. China and India may buy oil to make up for the export shortfall. It is inconceivable that the UN Security Council would now impose a no-fly zone over Syria as it did in March over Libya: Russia and China would veto it. Nor would NATO governments support such a course.

而且，还有些国家对巴沙尔友好。俄罗斯、中国、印度、巴西继续反对联合国安理会通过决议，阻止联合国对叙制裁。俄向叙提供武器，并正在叙沿海某处修建海军基地。中印可以购买叙的石油，以弥补其出口缺口。联合国安理会 3 月曾通过决议在利比亚设置禁飞区，难以想象其在叙仍能如此，因为俄罗斯与中国将否决有关提案。北约各国政府也不会支持有关动议。

Instead, some governments are ramping up efforts to help Syria's fragmented opposition. Turkey and Qatar have hosted gatherings to forge opposition fronts. France is building up links. Many protesters look eagerly to Turkey, which shares a border of nearly 900km (560 miles) with Syria. Some say that, especially if the pace of killing rises, the Turks may be persuaded to create a buffer zone to protect refugees in a "safe haven" along the border. Others air the idea of other havens, for defecting soldiers as well as civilian refugees, in the south and north-east of the country, along the borders with Jordan and Iraq.

有些国家政府代之以加大对叙四分五裂之反对派的支持。土耳其与卡塔尔都召开了会议，促反对派整合力量。法国正与反对派建立联系。土叙两国边境近 900 公里（560 英里），许多示威者对土耳其寄予厚望。有些人称，若叙政府杀戮更甚，可能促土在两国边境建立缓冲区，使之成为保护难民的“安全区”。还有些人提出，在叙南部与东北部沿叙与约旦和伊拉克边境建立另外一些安全区，以保护叙逃亡的士兵与平民。

Another step in the campaign against Mr Assad is an increase in funds for the opposition. More of the protesters, who have generally been determinedly non-violent, are talking of taking up arms, many of which are already being smuggled across porous borders. So the unrest could turn into a civil conflict. Governments in neighbouring countries might then have to decide which side they are on. Rich people from the Gulf, among other places, are said to be involved. Syria's turmoil may yet take on a wider regional dimension. Ordinary Syrians are **getting** ever more fearful.

反对巴沙尔的另一办法是向反对派提供更多资金。示威者原普遍坚定持非暴力态度，但越来越多的人表示希武装起来。已有人通过叙戒备松懈的边境偷运入不少武器。因此，骚乱可能变为内战。届时，叙邻国政府不得不决定支持哪方。据称，海湾各国及其它国家的富豪已经介入。叙利亚的骚乱可能尚未在该地区造成更大影响，但叙普通民众却已更为忧惧。

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Rwanda's foreign relations

卢旺达的外交关系

Frenemies for ever

永远的亦敌亦友

France and Rwanda struggle to get over their mutual loathing

法国与卢旺达努力忘记了他们之间的相互厌恶



Cool shake

坚定的握手？

THREE years ago a commission of inquiry set up by Rwanda's President Paul Kagame accused France of having "played an active part in the preparation and execution of the genocide in 1994". On September 12th a less hostile Mr Kagame met President Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris as part of a continuing bid to mend ties. Words were carefully picked to reflect growing reconciliation, but the visit could not mask plenty of lingering resentment.

三年前，卢旺达总统保罗卡加梅成立了一个调查委员会，该委员会指责法国“在 1994 年，积极参与策划并执行了种族灭绝事件”。在 9 月 12 日对法敌视的卡加梅总统在巴黎会见了法国总统尼古拉萨科齐作为长期努力改善卢法关系的一部分。会谈的话都经过精心挑选来增进双方不断的和解，但这次访问不能掩盖大量残留的怨恨。

It was not the first attempt to repair a once solid link. On a trip to Rwanda last year Mr Sarkozy visited the Gisozi genocide memorial and acknowledged that France had made "a grave error of judgment" and displayed a "kind of blindness" about the genocidal intentions of the previous (French-speaking) Rwandan government. For his part, the English-speaking Mr Kagame talked of "a new relationship" with France. Rwanda broke off diplomatic ties in 2006 after a French judge accused Mr Kagame's Tutsi rebels of shooting down a plane carrying his Hutu predecessor, which triggered the genocide in which 800,000 Rwandans were massacred, most of them Tutsis. But during his visit to Paris, most of the talk was about the future. Mr Kagame even said he may no longer seek a formal apology from France: "It is not what I've been looking for at this time."

这已经不是第一次尝试修复曾经坚实的卢法关系。在去年萨科齐总统在卢旺达之旅中去参观了 Gisozi 种族灭绝纪念馆并承认，法国已经做出了“一个严重的错误判断”，对前卢旺达政府（法语为官方语言）的种族灭绝意图视而不见。到了这届政府，以英语为官方语言的卡加梅政府谈到与法国的“新关系”。在法国法官指责卡加梅总统的图西族叛军击落一架载有胡图族前任领袖之后，这导致了后来的卢旺达大屠杀，有 800,000 名卢旺达人惨遭屠杀，这其中大部分是图西族人，卢旺达在 2006 年断绝与法国的外交关系。但他到巴黎访问期间，大部分

的谈话是关于未来的。卡加梅总统甚至说他可能不会再要求法国正式道歉。“这不是我在此时一直在寻找的。

Mr Kagame is being pragmatic. Rwanda needs investors to sustain its impressive economic growth; forecasts suggest 7% next year. It is among Africa's least corrupt countries, says Transparency International, a Berlin-based anti-corruption body. Much criticised for his authoritarian streak (see article) and conscious of losing political allies at home, Mr Kagame could do with more backing abroad. France may not be the power it once was in Africa—indeed, China has overtaken it as the leading exporter to sub-Saharan Africa—but it still counts. Keen to revive regional ties, Mr Sarkozy has encouraged the building of a cultural centre in Kigali, Rwanda's capital; a year ago a French lycée reopened there. Mr Kagame, says Antoine Glaser, a French specialist on Africa, “wants to become one of the great African leaders of tomorrow, and knows that France still has influence on the continent.”

卡加梅总统此举是务实。卢旺达需要投资者以维持其令人印象深刻的经济增长，预计显示明年经济增长会达 7%。透明国际组织是一家在柏林的反腐败机构，它透露卢旺达位列非洲最不腐败的国家之列。许多人批评他有专制主义倾向（见文章）他意识到自己在国内要失去政治盟友，卡加梅就在国外获得更多的支持。法国可能没有她以前在非洲的势力，实际上中国已经赶上了法国作为撒哈拉以南非洲的主要出口国，但法国在这里的势力仍然很大。萨科齐热衷振兴区域的关系，他一直鼓励在卢旺达首都基加利建立一个文化中心，就在一年前一家法国公立学校在那里建成。安托万 - 格拉泽是一名法国的非洲问题专家，他说道，“卡加梅总统要成为明天的伟大的非洲领导人之一，并且知道法国对非洲大陆的影响仍然存在。”

Will Mr Kagame at last turn the historical page to this end? He is still “very reticent about France”, says one of those who saw him in Paris. Rwanda has accused France of harbouring exiled génocidaires. But like Mr Sarkozy he seems ready to put future interests first, at least for the time being.

总统最终会将卢法敌对的历史页面翻到最后一页吗？在巴黎看过他的人中的一个人说，他仍然“对法国保持很高的警惕性。”卢旺达一直指责法国庇护参与种族灭绝政策的流亡者。但是，像萨科齐，他似乎准备把未来的利益放在首位，至少暂时会这么做。

Not so the French establishment. The French Senate's speaker was “too busy” to see Mr Kagame. His counterpart in the National Assembly was conveniently abroad, as was the foreign minister, Alain Juppé, who held the same job in 1994—and has let it be known he would never shake Mr Kagame's hand.

但并不是所有法国机构都这么认为。法国参议院议长人“太忙”而未见到卡加梅总统。在国民议会里的参议院议长的竞争对手恰巧又出门在外，法国外交部长阿兰朱佩此刻也同样出门在外，阿兰朱佩在 1994 年担任外长一职并且他也明确表示过他是绝不和卡加梅总统握手的。

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Zambia's election

赞比亚大选

Cobra v codger

眼镜蛇 vs 怪老头

Different in style, the main candidates are not that far apart in policy

尽管风格不同，但两位主要候选人的政策取向却大致相同

RANKED less than a decade ago one of poorest countries in the world, Zambia is booming, at any rate on paper. The economy has grown by an annual average of some 6% for the past five years and may exceed 7% this year. What better moment for President Rupiah Banda and his ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to be facing a general election on September 20th?

还不到 10 年的时间，赞比亚，这个曾经是最贫穷的国家之一，最近 5 年年均约以 6% 的经济增速飞速发展，今年更是可能超过了 7%，在各项指标上都表现出了良好的增长态势。对于现任总统鲁皮亚·班达及其领导的多党民主运动（简称 MMD）来说，面对 9 月 20 日即将举行的大选，还有什么机会比这个更好的吗？

Yet the outcome is far from certain. Opinion polls, never reliable in this vast tropical country of 13m people, produce wildly opposing results. One, published on September 8th in the relentlessly pro-government Times of Zambia, gives the MMD the edge with 41% of the vote, against 36% for the Patriotic Front (PF), the main opposition party, led by Michael Sata. But another, published on September 13th in the supposedly independent but in fact fiercely pro-Sata Post, puts the PF in a clear lead with 55%, giving the party 87 seats in the 150-member parliament, twice its present size, with the MMD getting only 34.

然而实际情况并非没有悬念。在这片拥有 1300 万人口，有着广袤的热带地区的国度，在民意测验上却显得不那么真实可信，出来的结果往往大相径庭。一方面，在 9 月 8 号出版的支持现任政府的《赞比亚时代》上，多党民主运动获得了差不多 41% 的支持率，而由迈克尔·萨塔领导的主要反对党爱国阵线（简称 PF）获得了 36% 的支持率；而另一方面，在 9 月 13 日出版的《邮报》，该报纸表面上看似独立而实际上是支持萨塔一派的，得出了爱国阵线以 55% 的支持率同时在 150 个议会席位中获得 87 席的明显优势领先于多党民主运动的 34% 的支持率。

This is making investors nervous. In the past, the ever-changing Mr Sata, who nowadays presents himself as a champion of the poor, has threatened to nationalise the mines and throw out the Chinese, one of the country's biggest investors, claiming that they are "only out to exploit us". This time he has toned down his anti-Chinese language—perhaps because of a growing realisation of the importance of Chinese cash to Zambia's future prosperity, or perhaps, it is whispered, because he is no longer able to get his campaign funds from the Taiwanese and has therefore himself turned to the Chinese. Whatever the reason, Mr Sata is seen as unpredictable.

这让投资者们感到十分的紧张。善变的萨塔将自己描述成穷人的守护神，在以往他曾抛出矿产资源国有化以及要将中国人驱逐出去的威胁性言论，并宣称中国人“只是过来剥削他们的”，而中国则是赞比亚最大投资国之一。现在他却缓和了他的反华言论，或许是因为逐渐认识到了中国的投资对赞比亚经济发展的重要性，又或者暗地里他不再得到台湾人的竞选资金支持，使他的态度转向了中国政府。不管是出于什么样的原因，萨塔总是那么让人难以琢磨。

A minister in Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party, which ran Zambia from independence in 1964 until its defeat in 1991, Mr Sata fell out with the country's founding president and joined the MMD, holding various portfolios under President Frederick Chiluba, before falling out with him as well and setting up his own party in 2001.

以卡翁达为首的联合民族独立党于 1964 年为赞比亚赢得了独立，直到 1991 年才在大选中落败。而萨塔曾经是该党执政时期的政府部长，因为与国家创始人卡翁达总统发生争执而加入了多党民主运动，在时任总统弗雷德里克·奇卢巴麾下担任过各项要职，直到 2001 年也因为与其争吵而自己成立了新的党派。

With the MMD in power for the past 20 years, many Zambians, especially the unemployed urban youth, yearn for change. This is what the 74-year-old Mr Sata, who is the same age as Mr Banda, is promising, under the slogan of “more jobs, less taxes and more money in your pockets”. He is a charismatic and populist orator. Known as King Cobra, he creates more fizz than his stolid, avuncular rival. But how he plans to deliver change is unclear. His friends say he knows how to “get things done”.

在之前多党民主运动执政的 20 年里，许多赞比亚人，特别是没有工作的城市青年渴望变革。这正是萨塔的宣传口号中所承诺的“更多的工作机会，更低的税收，以及更多的个人财富”。萨塔和他的竞争对手班达同为 74 岁。他是一名极富感召力的平民演说家。他习惯于向对手猛施重着，从而被冠于“眼镜蛇之王”的称号。他并没有表明如何实现这些转变。他的朋友说他知道该如何“把事情处理好”。

At independence from Britain, Zambia (previously Northern Rhodesia) was among Africa's richest countries. But within a couple of decades it had become one of the poorest, largely as a result of nationalisation, mismanagement, plummeting copper prices and soaring debt. The gradual reversal of those trends after Mr Kaunda's fall from power in 1991, coupled with foreign aid and debt relief, has helped to boost the recent recovery. But most Zambians have personally yet to enjoy their new-found prosperity. Around two-thirds of them, mostly subsistence farmers, still live on less than \$2 a day.

从英国独立出来后，赞比亚（旧称北罗德西亚）曾经是非洲最富有的国家之一。但是经过几十年的发展，它却成为了非洲最贫穷的国家之一。主要由国有化进程、管理的失误、暴跌的铜价以及高起的债务造成了这幅局面。但是在 1991 年卡翁达总统下台后，这些情况都逐渐有了好转。加上国外的援助以及债务的豁免使赞比亚赢得了这些年来经济复苏。但是大部分的赞比亚人对此仍有保留意见。他们中的大概三分之二仍然是自给自足的农民，日均收入不超过 2 美元。

This is why Mr Banda, with his slogan of “security, stability and prosperity”, is not the shoo-in that might be expected. He is banking on support from the rural poor, who have benefited from generous subsidies for fertiliser and seed, and from the emerging middle class, nervous lest its standard of living fall under a more populist president. Despite the rhetoric, however, the policies of the two main candidates look much the same. Whoever wins, there is unlikely to be a big shift to the left or right.

这大概就是为何班达打着“安全、稳定、繁荣”的旗号而不被看好的原因。他寄希望于受到农村的穷人和新兴的中场阶级的支持。农村的穷人受益于以往大量的化肥和种子的补贴，而新兴的中产阶级会担心一个过于亲近穷人的总统（萨塔）会使得他们已有的生活水平降低。尽管宣传上各有侧重，然而在具体政策上两大候选人却十分相似。无论谁最终获胜，都不会对大局造成显著的影响。

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Racism in South Africa

南非的种族歧视

Song of liberation or hate?

解放之歌还是憎恨之歌？

The banning of a song has highlighted old racial sensitivities**禁止一首歌曲已经突出原来种族敏感问题**

ATTIE POTGIETER, a white farm manager, was stabbed and slashed more than 150 times with a variety of farm tools, including a machete and a garden fork. The pathologist said he had been “tortured to death”. His wife Wilna and their three-year-old daughter were shot by single bullets in the back of their heads. There was no suggestion that their six killers, one aged just 17, bore a personal grudge. They had come to steal, they said. But the brutality of the murders suggested something more at play.

一位名叫艾迪·波特希特的白人农场管理者，被包括砍刀和钉耙在内的各种各样农场工具砍了 150 多次。病理学家称他已经被“折磨致死”。他的妻子和 3 岁的女儿被一颗子弹击中头部后面。凶手有六个人，其中一人仅仅 17 岁，但没有证据显示血案源于私人恩怨。凶手说，他们本来打算偷窃钱财，但是残忍的他们打算来点更刺激的。

Since the end of the apartheid regime in 1994 more than 1,000 farmers and family members have been killed, an average of nearly 70 a year, according to official records. Most were Afrikaners, mainly descendants of Dutch settlers. Farming associations claim the true number is closer to 3,000. Unsurprisingly, their members dislike the black liberation song “Dubhul’ ibhunu”, meaning “Shoot the Boer”, Afrikaans for farmer.

根据官方数据显示，自 1994 年种族隔离体制结束以来，已经有超过 1000 个农民和其家庭成员被杀，平均每年 70 人，大部分都是布尔人，主要是荷兰移民的后裔。农业协会宣称实际的数据接近 3000 人。毫不奇怪，[他们的成员不喜欢黑人解放歌曲《Dubhul’ ibhunu》](#)，这首歌意思为“射杀布尔人”，就是指作为农民的南非白人。

Julius Malema, the rabble-rouser who heads the Youth League of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), appears to take a particular delight in singing the song at rallies. He claims to mean no harm. But he calls white farmers “criminals” for having “stolen” their land from indigenous blacks, and is demanding the expropriation of their farms, Zimbabwe-style, without compensation.

统治非洲国民大会的青年团的领袖朱利叶斯·马勒马是一个煽动政治家，他在集会时唱起这首歌的时候似乎非常开心。他声称没有恶意，但是他称白人农民为“罪犯”，因为他们曾经从本土的黑人手中“偷走”了土地，而且现在还以津巴布韦的方式要求征用他们的土地，且没有赔偿。

Arguing that the song is unconstitutional “hate speech”, AfriForum, a predominantly Afrikaner lobby, referred the matter to South Africa’s Equality Court. On September 12th it ruled that the song was indeed discriminatory and harmful and should be banned. The right to freedom of speech and expression could not trump the constitutional right to dignity, said the judge, who happened to be white. To those who claimed the words were never meant to be taken literally but were rather a call for the destruction of apartheid, he replied that what was understood mattered more.

一个主要的南非白人游说团体——非洲论坛认为，这首歌是违反宪法的“煽动仇恨的言论”，并将此事提交给南非平等法庭。9 月 12 日，法庭裁决这首歌具有差别对待且是有害的，因此应该禁止。恰巧为白人的法官说，言论自由的权利是无法高于高贵的宪法权利。对于那些口是心非，声称要号召破坏种族隔离的人，他回应到理解才是最重要的。

The outrage that has greeted his ruling among blacks bears witness to the depth of racial sensitivities. The ANC said it was “appalled” by the court’s attempt to “rewrite” the history of the liberation struggle and has vowed to appeal. The Congress of South African Trade Unions, an influential power broker, deemed the ruling a “gross insult”, saying that efforts to unite the country could not be “founded on an imposed amnesia about our apartheid past”. As for members of the Youth League, within minutes of the judgment being handed down they were on the court’s steps, giving a lusty new rendition of the forbidden song and vowing never to stop singing it.

黑人中对他裁决的愤怒已经加深了种族敏感性。非洲国民大会声称被法院想要“重写”解放斗争历史的意图“吓坏了”，而且已经发誓将上诉。作为较有影响力的权力掮客的南非工会代表大会认为法院的裁决是“恶心的侮辱”，他们说团结国家的努力可能会建立在强迫遗忘种族隔离的历史的基础上。在裁决递交的几分钟内，青年团的成员们在法院的台阶上，精神饱满地演奏了这首被禁的歌曲，而且还发誓将永远不会停止唱这首歌。

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Baby steps

婴儿学步

The government tries new avenues for corporate-friendly reforms

政府为企业友好型改革尝试新的方案

AROUND 11am on September 13th, a “1” followed by 12 zeros lit up on a sign in downtown São Paulo. Brazil’s impostômetro (taxometer) hit one trillion reais (\$582 billion) 35 days earlier this year than in 2010. Brazil’s tax take is going up, thanks to a booming economy, crackdowns on evasion and inflation pushing people into higher brackets. But public services remain poor: roads are potholed, airports are crowded and pupils learn less than in many places with lower taxes.

9月13号上午11点左右，在圣保罗市中心的一个显示屏上，一个“1”后面紧跟12个“0”的数字显得格外引人注目。这一数字表明，巴西税收今年比2010年提前35天达到一万亿雷亚尔（约合5820亿美元），由于经济蓬勃发展，巴西的税收收入持续上涨，打击逃税和通货膨胀使得人们进入更高的纳税层级。但公共服务仍然较差，道路坑坑洼洼，机场拥挤，与税收低的地区相比教育水平低下。

So it is no surprise that the public sector is Brazil’s weakest point in the World Economic Forum’s latest Global Competitiveness Report, released on September 7th. Its government is the seventh most wasteful spender. Its regulatory burden is the heaviest, and its taxes are the most complex. According to the World Bank’s “Doing Business” report, medium-sized Brazilian firms spend 2,600 hours a year paying taxes—over twice as long as the next-slowest country and nearly ten times the average.

因此，在9月7日世界经济论坛最新发布的全球竞争力报告中，公共部门是巴西最薄弱环节，对此不足为奇。全球最挥金如土的政府排名中，巴西位列第七。它的监管负担是最重的，税制是最复杂的。据世界银行的全球商业环境报告显示，巴西中型企业平均每年花在纳税上的时间是2,600小时——是经济发展次慢国家的两倍以上，是世界平均水平的近10倍。

Such rankings have encouraged many countries to cut red tape. In Brazil, however, a loose federal structure and a constitution packed with fine regulatory detail obstruct reforms. Harmonising interstate taxes would require all state governors to agree: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, president from 2003 to 2010, tried and failed. Many measures to cut labour overheads would require a constitutional amendment.

这些排名促使许多国家减少繁文缛节。然而在巴西，松散的联邦结构和繁琐的宪法体系阻碍了改革。2003年到2010年期间执政的总统路易斯卢拉达席尔瓦曾试图调和州际税，而这需要征得所有州长的同意，这一严苛的规定最终使得改革失败。此外，许多削减劳工费用的措施都需要一个宪法修正案。

Nonetheless, firms in Brazil should take heart. Macroeconomic policies are sound. And the government seems to be learning what companies worked out long ago: even if bureaucratic obstacles cannot be removed, they can still be circumvented.

尽管如此，巴西企业应当鼓起勇气，振作起来。宏观经济政策是很健全的。并且政府似乎很早就开始学着帮助公司解决这些难题：即使官僚障碍不能被根除，公司也可以绕道而行。

Some state officials are making it easier to open a business. The federal government is pushing laggards to follow suit. Dilma Rousseff, Lula’s successor, is trying to rationalise interstate taxes, and has so far refused state governors’ request to reintroduce a financial-transactions tax. The government is planning to move business-tax payments online, which should end the problem of multiple filings to different authorities. And for small businesses life is already simpler: since 2007 they have used a unified tax regime known as “Super Simples”. An extension to mid-sized companies is in the works. However, the model firm put through its paces by the “Doing Business” team—a ceramic-pot producer with turnover equal to 1,050 times GDP per head—is too big to qualify.

一些政府官员正努力使开办企业变得容易。联邦政府督促落后者跟随大流。而卢拉的继任者，戴尔玛罗塞芙，也试图使得州际税收合理化，并且他至今仍拒绝州长重新引入金融交易税的请求。政府正计划开展网上征税，这便可以解决向不同部门多重申报的问题。对小企业来说，生存已经变得简单了不少：自 2007 年以来，已经实行了统一税收制，该税制被称为“超级傻瓜式”。这一税制也计划扩展到中型企业。然而，目前政府“经商”团队选出的试点企业——一家陶瓷罐生产商，其营业额高达人均 GDP 的 1050 倍——因规模过大而无法获准资格。

翻译：胡文玉

校对：杨舒雅

Taxes in Cuba**古巴税收****Get used to it****适者生存**

The Castros' subjects get acquainted with that other sure thing



Half your monies are belong to us

WHEN Raúl Castro, Cuba's president, announced last year that the government would cut its payroll by up to 20% and promote self-employment, state media hailed the birth of a "tax culture". As most Cubans had never paid income tax, the Communist newspaper published a guide to the concept. Government economists predicted a 400% increase in tax revenue from individuals.

去年，古巴的总理卡斯特罗宣布政府将会削减高达百分之二十的员工并且鼓励自主创业，全国媒体都对于征税时代的到来争相报道。由于大部分古巴民众都没有付过所得税，共产主义者报对于这个概念进行了介绍。古巴政府的经济学者预测，国家在个税上的税收收入将会上升 400%。

The experiment has been bumpy. Last October Cuba published a tax code for workers in its 181 newly authorised occupations, ranging from furniture repairer to professional clown. As in the early 1990s, the last time Cuba tried economic liberalisation and taxation, the rates were punitive: 10% on turnover, 25% for social security and up to 50% on income. Such levies discouraged some people from risking self-employment. By May applications for job licences were tailing off.

这项改革自推行以来便路途坎坷。去年十月，古巴新出台一部个税法，适用于从家具维修到职业小丑等 181 种新近合法化的职业。比起在 20 世纪 90 年代古巴最近一次推行经济自由化和税制改革中，各项指标是极严苛的，百分之十的营业额以及高达百分之五十的收入要用于交税，百分之二十五的营业额要作为社会保障。这种征税方式打消了人们冒险自主创业的想法。到了五月份营业执照的申请渐渐稀少了。

Moreover, Mr Castro failed to beef up the National Tax Administration Office (ONAT), which was soon overwhelmed by filings. That has delayed revenue collection, and allowed both intentional and inadvertent tax cheats to go unpunished. "They seem even more confused about this than we are," says Ernesto, an engineer who obtained a licence to set up a plumbing business in March. He admits that he simply guesses how much he has earned each month and declares a tenth as much.

并且，凯斯特罗未能加强已不堪重负的国税管理办公室。这直接导致了征税的延迟，也让各种有意无意的偷税漏税者逍遥法外。欧内斯托，一名于三月份取得水管修理执照的技师，说“他们看起来比我们还搞不清状况”。他坦言他也只能大约估计每月盈余，然后缴纳相当于其十分之一左右的税额。

But Mr Castro seems more flexible than his brother and predecessor Fidel, who blamed the self-employed for sowing inequality and happily taxed private firms out of existence. Eager to find jobs for up to 1m public workers he plans to fire, he has carved out exemptions from the social-security tax and twice increased the scope for deductions. He has also ordered ONAT to retrain its staff and hire new inspectors. “There certainly is an element of making up the rules as they go along,” says one European diplomat based in Havana. “But Raúl seems totally determined to make this work.”

但是凯斯特罗明显比他的兄长，也是前任菲德尔，要灵活变通的多。菲德尔认为自主创业是在播种不平等的种子，于是向私人企业大量征税以致濒临破产。凯斯特罗为了给他即将解雇的将近一百万民众寻找出路，提出了豁免社会保障税并且增大扣减的幅度。同时他还命令国税管理办公室的工作人员进行再培训并且招收新的检察官。“必然是要边推行边完善的。”一名驻哈瓦那的欧洲外交官说。“但是凯斯特罗似乎下定决心要一条路走到底了。”

Further reforms are on the way. By the end of 2011, Cubans will be allowed to buy and sell homes and cars. It remains to be seen how long they will accept taxation without representation. “They happily take our taxes,” says Michel, a barber who recently founded a business. “But they still keep their secrets.”

进一步的改革势在必行。到 2011 年底，古巴民众将可以自由买卖车子和房屋。但民众眼下的平静是否能持久，则仍有待观望。“他们就这样向我们征税，”米歇尔，一名刚刚创业的理发师如是说，“但他们却仍旧对政府事务秘而不宣”。

翻译：栾子越 校对：汪楚航

Colombia's infrastructure

哥伦比亚基础设施建设

Bridging the gaps

缩小差距

A creaking transport network is holding back Colombia's growth. How fast can Juan Manuel Santos improve it?

几欲崩溃哥伦比亚运输网络阻碍着其经济的发展。看胡安·曼努埃尔·桑托斯多快能改变这一现状？



ARTICULATED lorries must take turns to pass one at a time over the narrow steel bridge spanning the Sumapaz river in the town of Melgar, south-west of Bogotá, Colombia's capital. The bridge carries the main road from the Pacific port of Buenaventura to central and northern Colombia. Transporters loaded with Great Wall pickups coming from China cross paths with coking coal on its way to the United States, Peru and Mexico. This bottleneck will be eased later this month, when a 4.5km (2.8-mile) dual-carriageway bypass with wider bridges will open. But across the country the "monumental backwardness" of Colombia's transport network—as Juan Martín, president of the Colombian Infrastructure Chamber, puts it—is perhaps the biggest obstacle to economic growth.

在哥伦比亚首都波哥大西南部梅尔加镇 (Melgar)，一辆辆铰接车只能依次通过横跨苏帕茨河 (Sumapaz) 上的窄钢桥。这座窄桥是连通太平洋岸港口布埃纳文图拉 (Buenaventura) 与哥伦比亚中部及北部的干道。还有运输车载着中国运来的长城皮卡，一路运往美国、秘鲁和墨西哥，而皮卡里装的焦煤沿途洒落一地。不过，这样的困窘局面本月末将有所好转，因为届时将开通一条长约 4.5 公里 (2.8 英里) 的双向环城公路并建设几座更宽的大桥。但就整个国家而言，哥伦比亚基础设施商会会长胡安·马丁 (Juan Martín) 言下哥伦比亚“落后至极”的运输网络可能是阻碍该国经济发展的最大桎梏。

The costs of Colombia's deficient infrastructure—which came 79th of 139 countries' networks ranked by the World Economic Forum—are massive. Moving goods from inland cities to a port can be more expensive than shipping them from the port to a market halfway around the world. Gerardo Duque, a lorry driver, says driving the 410km from Bogotá to the south-western city of Cali can take 14 hours "on one of the better routes". As a result, exporting a standard shipping container costs \$1,770 in Colombia, against \$1,480 in Argentina. Luis Carlos Villegas, the head of the national industry group, likens the infrastructure deficit to a 10-15% tax. And government planners say that resolving it could raise annual GDP growth by a full percentage point.

根据世界经济论坛对国家运输网络的排名，哥伦比亚在所有 139 个国家中位列第 79 名。该国基础设施不尽如人意，成本极其高昂。从内陆城市运货至港口比从港口出发，绕地球半圈再送到市场还要贵得多。货车司机赫拉尔·多杜克（Gerardo Duque）说，从波哥大驶至西南部城市卡利（Cali），即使走“最便利的路线”，这段 410 公里的距离也要耗上 14 个钟头。因此，在哥伦比亚出口一标准航运集装箱需 1,770 美元，而在阿根廷仅需 1,480 美元。国家工业协会会长路易斯·卡洛士·维勒加斯（Luis Carlos Villegas）认为，基建亏损堪比 10-15% 税收损失。而政府规划者则称，解决基建这一问题或可使全年 GDP 整整增加一个百分点。



Colombia's wrinkled topography has always made transport difficult. Most of the population is concentrated in three mountain chains, and much of the flatter area is clothed in jungle. But politics—corruption, a guerrilla war and governments with other priorities—have been just as much of a problem. Transport investment rose from 0.7% of GDP in 2004 to 1.6% last year, but then slowed in the first quarter of 2011. The Inter-American Development Bank recommends at least 4%.

哥伦比亚蜿蜒褶皱的地形往往使得运输变成难事——人口主要集中于三大山脉，而平坦地域则大多被丛林覆盖。而政治上，腐败横行、游击战不断、政府诸多要务缠身，这诸多问题都亟待解决。去年，交通运输投资额占 GDP 比例从 2004 年的 0.7% 提高至 1.6%；但在 2011 年第一季度，增长又有所放缓。而美洲开发银行则建议称，该部分投资至少应占 GDP 的 4%。

Juan Manuel Santos, who became president last year, has vowed to do better. Some increase in infrastructure spending was to be expected after a series of floods late last year. But Mr. Santos's agenda goes far beyond the \$2.2 billion he has allocated for reconstruction. His government has announced a new national infrastructure agency and passed a ten-year, \$55 billion investment plan. It would double the length of Colombia's dual-carriageway roads, continue upgrading Bogotá's airport, revive railways and expand shipping by boat. At least half the money is forecast to come from the private sector. Last month Mr. Santos announced that tenders for 19 projects worth \$1.9 billion will be opened by the end of the year.

胡安·曼努埃尔·桑托斯（Juan Manuel Santos）去年就任总统后，曾发誓要做得更好。去年年末一系列洪水的到来加剧了基建开支。然而，桑托斯的计划可远不止拨款 220 万美元用于灾后重建。他领导的政府已宣布成立新的国家基础设施部门，并且还通过了一项未来 10 年 550 亿美元的投资计划。该计划承诺将双向道路加长一倍，不断扩建波哥大机场，振兴铁路建设，增加船只以扩大航运事业。预计至少一半投资来自于私营企业。上月份，桑托斯宣布，价值 19 亿美元的 19 个项目工程将于今年年底开始招标工作。

Roads are the first order of business. A top priority is linking Medellín, Colombia's second city, to Pacific and Caribbean ports. The current design of four connector highways envisages 900km of new roads, 600 bridges and 131 tunnels.

公路交通建设是首桩交易。当前首要任务则是要连通哥伦比亚第二大城市麦德林（Medellín）和太平洋、加勒比海沿岸的各港口。目前设计建设的四条高速连接路线，包括 900 公里的新建公路，600 座桥梁和 131 条隧道。

Colombia also has international infrastructure obligations. In 2000 the 12 South American countries launched a regional integration plan that included 33 projects in Colombia, a strategic crossroads in the Americas. Among them is a trade corridor between Tumaco in Colombia and Belém in Brazil. Its route includes an unpaved track that locals call the “trampoline of death”, running from Pasto, capital of the Nariño department, to Mocoa in the Andean foothills. Today its 78km take more than three hours to traverse, as gushing mountain streams cross it and continue down sheer cliffs into gorges. A new \$376m road safe for lorries is set to open in 2016.

哥伦比亚还肩负着国际基建任务。早在 2000 年，12 个南美国家共同推出了一项区域整合方案。位于美洲战略十字路口上的哥伦比亚 则承担了 33 个项目。其中之一则是建设连通哥伦比亚的图马科 (Tumaco) 和巴西城市贝伦 (Belém) 的贸易走廊。这条走廊途经一段被当地居民俗称为“死亡蹦床”的路段——从纳里尼奥省 (Nariño) 省府帕斯托 (Pasto) 延伸至安第斯山脉上的莫科阿 (Mocoa)，其间未铺砖砌石，山涧泉涌不息，飞溅悬崖，流入峡谷。因此，穿越这段 78 公里距离要耗上三个多小时。2016 年将斥资 3.76 亿美元在这里新建道路，以使货车平安通过。

The plan's second focus is waterways. The Magdalena River was once Colombia's main economic artery, and is easily accessible from both Bogotá and Medellín. One big barge can move the same amount of cargo as 75 articulated lorries. But 900km will have to be dredged to make the river fully navigable, which would quintuple its shipping capacity. The government is consulting on the project with HydroChina, a state-owned Chinese firm. It is also planning to dredge a series of access channels for ports, and build a railway that will transport coal from central Colombia to the Caribbean harbour of Santa Marta.

桑托斯宏伟计划的第二个重点即水路运输。马格达莱纳河 (Magdalena) 曾是哥伦比亚的主要经济动脉，波哥大和麦德林与这条河的连接都极为便利。一条大型驳船的载重能力相当于 75 辆拖车总载量。然而，要实现完全通航，该河流 900 公里航道尚待疏浚，一旦完成，届时航运能力可增加五倍。哥伦比亚政府正就此项目与中国国有企业——中国水电工程顾问集团公司 (HydroChina) 进行磋商。此外，政府还计划疏浚一系列港口通道，并新建铁路以便从哥伦比亚中部运煤至圣玛尔塔 (Santa Marta) 加勒比海港口。

With the economy growing at over 4% and foreign capital pouring in, funding these projects is not a problem. Rather, it is ensuring they are built on time, to budget and with high quality. Germán Cardona has spent most of his first year as transport minister trying to fix existing contracts, many of which had bad or nonexistent designs and questionable concession deals. The 576km Bogotá-Buenaventura highway involves 16 different contracts. According to Mr Cardona, all but one have had problems. The consortium hired to build the stretch between Bogotá and Girardot included a firm whose three principals are currently in jail on fraud, bribery and other charges. The 125km were supposed to be ready last year, but are now scheduled to be finished by the end of 2012.

目前，哥伦比亚经济增速超过 4%，大批外资被吸引而来，因此这些项目的融资不成问题。保证按时、高质完成这些项目才是真正面临的难题。交通部长盖尔曼·卡多纳 (Germán Cardona) 上任第一年大部分时间都耗在整理现有合同上，这些合同中很多包含有粗糙或不合理的设计，其中的特许协议也令人质疑。光波哥大至布韦那文图拉 (Buenaventura) 这一项距离 576 公里的高速公路建设项目就涉及 16 份不同的合同。据卡多纳称，这些合同中只有一个不存在问题。建设波哥大至希拉多特 (Girardot) 段路线的财团中，有一家企业中的三名高层因欺诈、贿赂和其他指控现已锒铛入狱。该段工程距离仅为 125 公里，本该去年完工，而今只能延期至 2012 年底。

Corruption and inefficiency are endemic in Colombia, as in most of Latin America. But the country has recently overcome far graver problems. The legacy of Álvaro Uribe, Mr Santos's predecessor, was crushing the FARC guerrillas and making it safe for Colombians to leave their homes. Mr Santos's may be helping them to get where they're going.

如同大多拉美国家一样，哥伦比亚腐败、低效肆虐。但该国近期却克服了更为严峻的问题。桑托斯总统的前任阿尔瓦罗·乌里韦 (Álvaro Uribe) 留下来的遗产——击垮了哥伦比亚革命武装 (FARC) 游击队，使得哥伦比亚人民能平平安安出门，而现任总统桑托斯则可能能够帮助他们顺利抵达想去的地方。

翻译者:王思思 校对者:靳浩然

French favours

法国人所爱

Scandals left, right and centre—it's just like the old days

绯闻无处不在——正如旧日时光



De Villepin and Chirac in easier times

BRIEFCASES of cash, dodgy party financing, inflated expense accounts, corrupt public-works contracts and state-sponsored eavesdropping. The claims and counter-claims in recent weeks have given the French the dizzying sensation of being transported back to an era when such misdeeds were commonplace, before rules were tightened and expectations of probity raised. The question is whether the latest allegations reflect a new attempt to shed light on past murkiness—or reveal that shady practices are still going on.

装满现金的公文包，狡诈的政党融资，大幅增长的公费报销，腐败的劳务合同以及州际间发起的窃听。近几周这些诉讼以及反诉讼使法国人产生了一种眩晕的感觉，仿佛穿越回种种罪行都稀松平常的时代，那时的政策还不严密，人们对公正的期望也不高。问题是最近的指控是对过去罪行的揭露，还是透露着阴暗的行为仍在继续。

The newest claims came this week from Robert Bourgi, a Franco-Lebanese lawyer and go-between who acted for Omar Bongo, a deceased former president of Gabon. Mr Bourgi said that he delivered “tens of millions of francs each year” from various African dictators, including Bongo, to Jacques Chirac, a former French president, and Dominique de Villepin, his ex-chief of staff and an aspirant candidate in the 2012 French presidential election, to finance Mr Chirac's election campaigns. Once, he says, the cash was stashed in African drums; another time in a sports bag. He conceded, though, that he had no proof.

这周最新的流言源于罗伯特·伯吉，他是一名法兰克—黎巴嫩籍的律师，曾作为中间人为加蓬已故前主席奥马尔·邦果服务。伯吉先生宣称他每年都从包括邦果在内的不同的非洲独裁者手中拿到“上千万法郎”，交给前任法国总统雅克·希拉克和他的前任办公厅主任多米尼克·德维尔潘，而后者也是 2012 年法国总统竞选中极有声望

的候选人，这些钱用来支持希拉克竞选。他说有一次现金被藏在非洲大鼓里面，另外一次在运动包里。然而，他承认他没有证据。

It comes as no surprise that such practices existed in the past, when a mesh of post-war French ties to Africa known as *françafrique* mixed politics, soldiers, oil money and influence. But Mr Bourgi claims that they continued after 1990, when France began to limit personal contributions to party financing. In 2002, he says, he arranged for five African leaders to ship \$10m to Mr Chirac. The cash, he says, stopped only in 2005.

考虑到战后的法国与非洲存在着一种混杂了政治，士兵，石油经济以及影响力的所谓“法兰西非洲”关系，在过去存在这种状况确实是不足为奇。但是伯吉先生宣称在 1990 年之后这种关系仍在继续，当时法国开始限制个人对政党的资金投入。他声称在 2002 年，他安排了五个非洲领袖运送一千万美元给希拉克。这种现金交易，止于 2005 年。

Mr Chirac's lawyers, who last week argued that he was too mentally frail to appear in court for his own trial—he is charged with putting party workers on the public payroll—said he would sue Mr Bourgi for defamation. Friends of Mr de Villepin, who also plans to sue, dismissed the allegations as part of a “perfectly orchestrated” campaign by the Elysée to discredit him ahead of next year's election. Mr Bourgi's claims came just days before Mr de Villepin was acquitted on appeal in the “Clearstream” trial, a political smear-campaign case, on September 14th.

希拉克的律师上周曾宣称希拉克精神虚弱，不能出席控告他将政党工作人员置于公共支付人员名单之上的审判，又提出将会以诽谤罪对伯吉先生进行起诉。德维尔潘的朋友们也准备进行起诉，将这项指控斥为爱丽舍宫的一项“精心编排的完美计划”，目的是为了在来年的竞选之前使他身败名裂。伯吉先生的发言是在德维尔潘因“清流事件”受审而最终被无罪释放的几天前，该事件是发生在九月十四的一个政治阴谋案件。

Even without proof, Mr Bourgi's word carries some weight. He operated on the watch of Nicolas Sarkozy, Mr Chirac's successor as president, as an unofficial go-between with various African leaders. In 2008 he claimed credit for the firing of Jean-Marie Bockel, an overseas-aid minister, on Bongo's orders, after Mr Bockel had announced the “death warrant” for *françafrique*. Mr Sarkozy decorated Mr Bourgi with the Légion d'honneur. One former adviser to Mr Chirac, Jean-François Probst, now claims that Mr Sarkozy's 2007 presidential election campaign also benefited from African leaders' largesse. Mr Sarkozy's aides dismiss this as nonsense.

即使没有证据，伯吉先生的话也并非无足轻重。他作为一名与非洲领袖的非正式中介，把尼古拉斯·萨科齐——希拉克总统的继任者置于民众监察之下。在 2008 年，邦果时期的海外助理大臣基恩·玛丽博凯尔宣称对“法兰西非洲”执行致命打击之后遭到解雇，伯吉以之邀功。之后，萨科齐授予伯吉法国荣誉军团勋章。希拉克的一位前顾问，基恩·弗朗科西·罗伯斯特，现在也声明萨科齐 2007 年得总统竞选大战同样也从这些非洲领袖的大宗捐赠中受益良多。萨科齐的助理驳斥这些为无稽之谈。

In time, some of these claims may be tested in court. The public prosecutor this week opened a preliminary inquiry into Mr Bourgi's charges. Meanwhile the election season is under way, and voters need to judge the integrity of political parties. Various affairs hang over both left and right. A Socialist departmental president in the south, Jean-Noël Guérini, was recently charged with corruption over public-works contracts. Another southern Socialist, Robert Navarro, faces accusations that he spent tens of thousands of euros of party money on pizzas, among other extravagant expenses, charges he calls “lies”.

某些供述能及时地在法庭上被鉴别。公诉人本周开始了对伯吉指控的初期调查。同时，选举季已经迫在眉睫，选民们需要断定政党的正直度。然而丑闻层出不穷。南部的一名社会主义支部书记 Jean-Noël Guérini 最近被指控在公众劳务合同方面存在腐败行为。另外一名南部的社会主义者，罗伯特·纳瓦罗面临的指控是花费上万欧元党费在披萨上面，除此之外还有很多其他奢侈消费，他称这些指控为“谎言”。

Mr Sarkozy's UMP party also faces inquiries. Judges are investigating claims that Liliane Bettencourt, the billionaire heiress to the L'Oréal cosmetics empire, illegally financed the party. And a linked case involving a lawsuit filed earlier this year by *Le Monde* has taken a new twist. The newspaper had accused intelligence services of ordering a telephone operator to release the records of phone calls made by one of its reporters working on the

Bettencourt affair, who had a source in the justice ministry. The French police chief has now confirmed that he ordered the intelligence services to identify the source, but would not comment on whether this followed proper procedure. Little surprise, perhaps, that *Le Monde* ran an editorial this week entitled “The Fifth, banana, Republic?”

萨科齐的人民运动联盟党同样也面临调查。法官们正在调查关于亿万富豪莉莉恩·贝登考特——欧莱雅化妆品帝国的女继承人，在经济上非法支持政党的事情。而与之有关的今年早些时候由法国世界报提起的诉讼也有了新的转折。这家报纸控告情报部门非法监听一名参与报道贝登考特案件的记者，而这名记者在司法部有内线。法国警察局长坚称是他命令情报部门鉴定线人，但是对于这一举动是否符合法律程序不置一词。可能法国世界报会给我们一个小小的惊喜，将这周的社论命名为“第五个，香蕉，共和国”。

翻译：谢梦婷 校对：杨舒雅

Charlemagne

查理曼大帝

In the Brussels bunker

在布鲁塞尔的沙坑

With the euro under siege, is this the time for more Europe?

在欧元困境下，现在是欧元区扩大的好时机吗？

THERE is surreal calm in Brussels, amid the greatest crisis to befall the European project in its history. The euro is besieged, several members lie gravely wounded or exposed to heavy fire and the defenders are running out of ammunition. The weakest outpost, Greece, could fall any day. Many fear this might lead to a collapse on all fronts. Yet European institutions churn along, producing myriad meetings, consultations and regulations. “I feel like a filing clerk in Berlin in 1945. The work of government goes on, even as the war approaches,” says one ambassador.

在史上最大危机降临欧洲计划之时，布鲁塞尔出现了不切实际的淡定。欧元正处于困境之中，好几个欧元国家不是伤痕累累奄奄一息就是在弹尽粮绝之前做最后的挣扎。最薄弱的一个环节，希腊，随时可能倒下。很多人害怕这将导致前线的全面溃退。然而，各欧盟机构还在手拉着手往前走，开好多的会，制定好多的规则。“我觉得自己好像一个1945年时柏林的政府小文员，战争已经近在咫尺，但是政府的工作还是有条不紊地进行着。”一个代表说。

This week, for instance, ministers of European affairs argued ardently over the seven-year EU budget to 2020, even though nobody knows who will be left standing or what currencies they will use, in seven months’ or even weeks’ time. In the corridors the talk is of looming disaster. Without the next tranche of loans Greece will be unable to pay its bills in October. Even if it can get over this test, what of the next quarterly assessment?

比如说，欧洲事务的部长们还在热火朝天地讨论着延续到2020年的七年欧盟预算，尽管没有人知道七个月甚至七个礼拜以后还有谁能留在这里，他们还会用什么货币。然而灾难正在降临。如果没有下一笔贷款，希腊将无法偿还10月份到期的债务。就算这次希腊勉强应付过来了，下一个季度评估的时候它怎么办？

Eurocrats talk apocalyptically of the consequences of a euro break-up (Poland’s finance minister has suggested that a real war could erupt within a decade). But now that markets are pricing in the near-certainty of a Greek default, nobody is thinking about how to manage it. One senior diplomat speaks of Brussels gripped by paralysis. Perhaps officials simply do not believe that Germany will act on its public threats to cut the Greeks loose—Chancellor Angela Merkel has made reassuring noises. Or maybe they fear that even a hint of defeatism will increase the panic. 欧洲共同市场的官员们说欧元崩溃会带来灾难性的后果（波兰财长还暗示10年之内将爆发一场真正的战争）。然而现在市场正在评估几乎已成定局的希腊违约将产生的代价，没有人知道可以怎么 hold 住整个场面。一个高级外交官说布鲁塞尔已经麻木了。也许官员们就是不相信德国会冒着触犯民意的危险出手救希腊——德国总理默克尔已经再三强调过了。要不就是这些官员们害怕任何失败的迹象都会引起恐慌。

Some in the high command think they can still play for time. If the German parliament approves the second Greek rescue package, if the euro zone’s bail-out fund is beefed up, if tougher fiscal monitoring is endorsed by the European Parliament, maybe the line can hold. Survival might build confidence, and time to turn things around. So put away the cyanide capsules. This is not Berlin 1945, they say, but the Battle of Britain in 1940. EU strategists are already drawing up plans for a counter-offensive. The tactics are still to be decided, but the objective is clear: more Europe.

有些位高权重的人则认为他们还有时间。如果德国议会通过了第二次拯救希腊的一揽子方案，如果欧元区的救助基金可以得到补充，如果欧洲议会同意更严格的财政监管，也许这个场面就 hold 得住。Hold 住了，信心就会有的，挽回一切的时间也会有的。所以放心好了，他们说，这次不是1945年的柏林，而是1940年的不列颠之战。欧盟的战略家们已经准备好绝地大反击了。策略可能还没定，但是目标很明确：更大的欧洲。

The first step is to reorganise the command. Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council (representing the 27 EU leaders) will present a plan next month that is likely to include regular summits of the 17 euro-zone leaders. This may well shift power from the European Commission (the EU's civil service) and finance ministers (the regents of the euro zone) to heads of government. The euro is now *chefsache*—the business of leaders. As their representative, Mr Van Rompuy has much to gain.

第一步要做的事情，是重组权利班子。赫尔曼·范龙佩 (Herman Van Rompuy)，欧洲理事会主席 (第27届欧盟领导人的代表) 将在下月提出一个计划，计划很有可能包括17个欧元国家领导人的定期峰会。这将很有可能使得欧盟委员会 (欧盟的行政部门) 和财长们 (欧元区的摄政王) 的权利转移到各政府一把手们的手上。欧元现在是各国领导人的事情了。而作为各国领导人的代表，范龙佩先生将获益匪浅。

Next comes a pincer movement. One prong is to impose far greater fiscal discipline on countries; the other is to push for more fiscal integration. Creditor countries want the thrust to be on national responsibility and penalties for rule-breakers. Debtors want mutual solidarity; if not direct transfers from rich to poor, then at least Eurobonds to pool debt (the commission is studying the options for this). One side wants to change the behaviour of governments; the other wants to move towards a United States of Europe. This will beset the campaign at every turn, like Montgomery and Patton arguing about how to advance.

第二步则是钳形运动。一边是更更严格的对各国的财政约束；另一边则是更强的财政整合。债权国要求有国际责任的切实实施和对违约者的惩罚。债务国则希望大家互相帮助，如果不是从富国到穷国的直接财政转移的话，那么至少是发行欧元债券来补负债这个洞 (欧洲理事会正在研究这个事情)。一边是想要改变政府的行为模式，另一边则想要一个“欧利坚合众国”。这种分歧阻碍欧盟的发展，就像蒙哥马利和巴顿在争吵如何进军。

A big question is whether to reopen the EU's treaties. Should the euro zone go for a limited push that can be enacted quickly? Or should it seek a more ambitious revision that will take years? Markets are unlikely to wait for the EU to call a constitutional convention, debate schemes for integration and negotiate a text, only to see it buffeted in parliamentary votes and referendums. One idea is to have a new treaty only among the 17 euro-zone countries, separate from the EU's treaties. This would be quicker to agree but messier to implement, and would heighten fears of exclusion among the ten non-euro members. Some fear that saving the euro could wreck the wider EU and its single market.

还有一个大问题，就是要不要重新施行欧盟条约。欧元区是想要一个很快可以实现的小进步呢，还是一个雄心勃勃不过需要花好长一段时间制定的大修订呢？市场貌似已经等不到欧盟再召开宪政会议、无休止地辩论整合方案或者为条文内容协商谈判了，更何况迎接它们的永远只是议会的投票否决。有一种意见是说只在17个欧元区国家范围内施行一个新的条约，而不要在原欧盟条约上大动干戈。这个会比较容易达成一致，不过比较难施行，而且会引起欧盟里面非欧元区成员的恐惧——害怕被排挤。有些人害怕拯救欧元会摧毁欧盟扩大的进程和欧盟单一市场。

There is another conundrum: should the power to tell countries how to run their economies rest with governments or in Brussels? To use the jargon, big countries often prefer “intergovernmental” arrangements in which they hold more sway, while small ones feel less bullied under the “community method”. Take the Netherlands. It is a fiscal hawk, like Germany. But as a smaller country it wants the commission to have big coercive powers—from monitoring budgets to financial sanctions to the loss of voting rights and even of euro membership.

还有一个难题：中央权力应不应该在经济事务上指挥各国？理论上，大国更倾向于政府间的互动安排，因为这样他们往往更有话语权；而小国则倾向于“社区模式”，因为这样他们比较不容易受欺负。拿荷兰举个例子。和德国一样，荷兰是个财政强势国。不过，作为一个小国，荷兰想要欧洲委员会拥有更强大的权利——从监视预算到财政制裁如剥夺投票权甚至剥夺欧元区成员国身份。

We didn't vote for this

我们没有投票干这个

Beyond such euro-theology, there is a deeper question of democracy. All the options for greater integration involve a transfer of sovereignty that, until recently, few would have thought desirable or even possible. Is this what European citizens really want?

在“欧元教”之上，还有一个关于民主的更深的问题。所有的更大更强的整合都意味着一种统治权的让渡。然而，到目前为止，这种让渡都是很不合意甚至很不可能的。这是欧盟的公民们真的想要的吗？

Eurocrats offer several answers. One is that those who signed up to monetary union knew that it was bound to lead to fiscal integration; the crisis has merely hastened the process. Another is that all democracies are constrained by regulators and judiciaries. A third is that democratic control is exerted through governments that still wield great influence in Brussels. And where national vetoes are eroded, there is the European Parliament.

欧洲共同市场的官员们提出来不少答案。一个答案是，那些同意加入货币联盟的人们应该早就料到会有财政整合的一天；危机不过是加快了整合的步伐罢了。另一个答案是，所有民主国家都受法规和司法的约束。还有第三个答案是，民主依然被实施，不过是通过在布鲁塞尔发挥影响力的政府。哪里有国家的否决权被侵蚀，哪里就有欧洲议会。

All this might be satisfactory when dealing with, say, competition policy. But dictating a state's choices over budgets and economic policies intrudes into the heart of national governments. Some countries are more sovereign than others (how many dare stand up to Germany?). The European Parliament is a poor substitute for national legislatures. The crisis has exposed the contradiction between monetary union and national economic policies. The attempt to resolve it will bring out the tension between European integration and national sovereignty. Without more democratic legitimacy, integration is doomed. The danger is that the vanguard may get out too far ahead of the citizens. Before planning the masterstroke, watch "A Bridge too Far".

所有这些都可以得到满足，在，比如说，竞争政策下。然而，对国家财政预算决策和经济政策选择的控制肯定会侵蚀一国政府的核心主权。有些国家比其他国家更加具有独立主权（有几个国家敢勇敢地面对德国？）欧洲议会不过是国家立法机构的一个很弱的替代品。这场危机暴露了货币联盟和各国独立经济政策的冲突。任何解决冲突的尝试都可能引发欧洲整合和国家主权的矛盾升级。没有更多的民主合法性，整合进程是毫无希望的。危险之处在于，整合先锋可能会过多得超前于欧盟的人民。在计划绝妙的表现之前，要小心发生“夺桥遗恨（A Bridge too Far）”（注：夺桥遗恨，指1994年，欧战已近尾声，各地盟军将领认为只要一番猛攻，便可打开通路提早直捣柏林结束战争。于是采取大规模的空降行动降落荷兰，不料遭遇德军的顽强抵抗，以致行动遭到惨败，这个故事后来被拍成电影，名字是“A Bridge too Far”——译者注）的悲剧。

翻译者：徐文婕

Health spending in Spain

西班牙的医疗开支

Fat-trimming needed

减负乃当务之急

The cost of health care in Spain is spiralling out of control

西班牙医疗开支一发不可收拾

JULIA MARTÍNEZ'S pharmacy in the village of Villanueva de Alcorón, in central Spain, has gaps on the shelves. Supplies are short because she cannot pay her bills. Why? Because she has not been paid for three months for drugs she sold to clients whose tabs are supposed to be picked up by the government of Castile-La Mancha.

茱莉亚的药房位于西班牙中部城市维拉努埃瓦的一个村庄，她的货架因付不起账单都已经空了——药品短缺，怎么会这样？那是因为她卖给顾客的药品已经连续三个月没有得到政府的医疗资金。

Ms Martínez is a victim of two linked problems—Spain's budget deficit and its spiralling health costs. The central government wants to cap the combined deficit of the regions, which account for one-third of public spending, at 1.3% of GDP this year. By June it had already reached 1.2%. Spain's Socialist finance minister, Elena Salgado, insists that the country will meet this year's overall deficit target of 6% of GDP. But she—or her replacement from the opposition People's Party which, if the polls are right, will take power after a general election on November 20th—will have to find extra resources to cope with the regions. The latest talk is of a wealth tax.

马丁内斯女士正是西班牙政府两大错综问题的受害者：财政预算赤字和逐渐加速上升的卫生医疗开支。中央政府试图控制地区的财政赤字，赤字已经达到了整体国民经济开支的三分之一，占今年国民经济总量的 1.3%。直至 6 月份就已经达到了 1.2%。西班牙社会党财政部长艾莲娜萨加多坚持认为，国家今年的全部赤字将达到国民经济总量的 6%。但是如果她本人或是在反对党中选出来的对手根据民调将在 11 月 20 的大选中执政，必须找到新的办法来应付这个国家的难题。其最新的谈话内容是关于征收财富税收的提议。

Health spending makes up 30-40% of regional governments' budgets. Long-lived Spaniards are rightly proud that they enjoy free health care from cradle to grave. But soaring drug bills, an ageing population, slack cost controls and reduced tax revenues are testing the system to breaking point. One estimate is that health costs will double in the decade to 2018.

医疗卫生开销占到了国家政府预算的 30-40%，长寿的西班牙人对于自己自生至死享受的免费医疗是十分自豪的。但是激增的医药账单，人口老龄化的现实，以及松懈的管理和微薄的税收都正在考验着这个系统的崩溃临界点。有关预测医疗费用到 2018 年将会翻一番。

The pain is already being felt. Castile-La Mancha's pharmacies are just one example. This summer doctors in Mediterranean beach resorts refused to prescribe Spanish holidaymakers some of the more expensive drugs—instead sending them back to their home health authorities.

整个国家都已经感觉到这项政策带来的痛楚了。拉曼查地区的药房就是最好的例子。这个暑假位于地中海度假胜地的医生都拒绝开给西班牙游客昂贵的药品，而是将他们送往自己家乡的官方健康中心。

In the past health budgets have overrun by up to 15%, according to one former regional health boss. When tax revenues were growing, that could be handled. Now much of the debt is passed on to drug companies and health-care technology suppliers. They are jointly owed €9.5 billion (\$13 billion) and have to wait an average of 430 days to be paid for hospital drugs, says Humberto Arnés of Farmaindustria, a trade body. "Basically we are financing the system," he says.

据前国家医疗机构领导透露，过去这些年卫生医疗已经超出了预算的 15%。只有当增加税收这种情况才能得以解决。目前大多数的债务被转移到药品公司以及一些医疗器械供应商身上，他们被拖欠药品账款 95 亿英镑（合

130 亿美元)而不得不等待 430 天之后才有还款。一个药品交易机构代表人胡姆贝托说“基本上是由我们来支持整个医疗系统的金融运作。”

A recent study from the OECD, a rich-country think-tank, found potential efficiency savings in health spending, but also said that Spain had less room for manoeuvre than other countries. Although doctors and nurses are badly paid by European standards, staff costs account for half of health spending. Many medical staff are in essence unsackable civil servants. Absenteeism is rife.

来自世界经济合作与发展组织的一份研究显示,一个富裕国家的智囊团已经找到了可行的医疗卫生开销的救助方案,但是也说西班牙和其他国家相比而言操纵的空间更少。尽管医生和护士待遇按照欧洲的标准来看的话比较低,但员工工资就占了医疗费用的一半。许多医务人员实质上是不能解雇的公务员。旷工盛行。

What can be done? Last year the central government cut civil-service wages by 5%. Various models of contracting out bits of public health care are used, but more could be done, especially at primary-care level. An aggressive approach to cutting the cost of prescribed drugs, after a decade of rapid rises, could cut 15% off the bill over two years. But none of this will be enough.

这种情况该如何是好? 去年中央政府已经缩减了公务人员 5% 的财政工资。各种公共医疗招商承办的方式都用到了。但是还是有办法可想,尤其是在基本的医疗上。债务在过去的十年一直在增长,采取积极的方法用来减少规定药品的成本,将会使总债务在未来的两年减少 15%,但是上述的所有措施都是不够的。



There are few incentives to save money. Spaniards are avid consumers of free health. On average they visit their doctors nearly eight times a year, more than any other country in the EU-15 (ie, the 15 members before the 2004 enlargement) bar Germany (see chart). Doctors prescribe drugs without concern for cost: the drug bill per head was, until recently, 40% higher than Britain's. The state picks up most of the tab, as pensioners, the biggest pill-poppers, pay nothing. "We spend more of our budget on drugs than universities," complains Alberto Núñez Feijóo, PP president of Galicia's government.

有一些关于省钱的奖励措施。西班牙人渴望免费医疗。一般情况下他们每年要看 8 次医生。比欧洲 15 国其他国家要多得多。(在 2004 年前扩大成员)(见图)。医生在开处方的时候不顾成本,就造成了至今药品开支比英国高出 40% 的状况。领养老金的人他们是药品的最大消耗者,但是医疗费用全部由国家买单。加利西亚政府主席抱怨到“我们的财政花在医疗上的部分要远远超过对大学教育的投资。”

Politicians say the problems can be fixed by improving efficiencies. Even the PP has ruled out asking patients to contribute to the cost of visits to the doctor. Only a few brave voices admit that the choice is between raising funding or reducing free services. Mr Núñez Feijóo, for example, suggests asking why the state pays for the drugs of those on large pensions.

尽管 PP 已经排除让病人承担看病医药费的可能性。政客们说这些问题都能够高效率地解决。只有少部分勇敢的声音赞成在发行更多的基金和减少提供免费服务项目中做出选择。努涅斯先生提议质问为什么国家要给那些拿大笔养老金的人付医疗费。

In the meantime Spaniards risk getting less, not more, healthy. The famous Mediterranean diet, rich in olive oil, fresh produce and beans, is giving way to junk food, bringing with it familiar rich-world maladies like obesity, diabetes and lower life expectancy. For Spaniards and their health-care system alike, getting fitter may also mean slimming down.

在此期间，西班牙民众的健康正在经受风险。著名的地中海式饮食，丰厚的橄榄油，新鲜的农产品和大豆正在被垃圾食品取代，带来了跟富裕国家相似的弊病如肥胖，糖尿病和较短的寿命。对于西班牙人来说他们的医疗保健系统与地中海菜式也很相似，瘦身下来就会更健康（医疗系统负担太重）。

翻译者：张亚玲 校对者：尹茜

Berlin's elections

柏林选举

The cost of cool

酷的代价

To stay sexy, must the German capital remain poor?

为保持性感迷人，德国首都必须维持贫穷？



Still on the edge

仍在边缘状态

CLOUD clamps on to the rooftops in October and stays until April. The language seems equally forbidding to many. Berlin's streetscapes and restaurants dazzle less than those of Paris or London. Apart from that, it is hard to find fault with the city. Berlin has music, art and nightlife to rival Europe's more established capitals, but not their high costs and hellish commutes. It is a metropolis with the lazy charm of the countryside.

十月乌云紧锁屋顶，并将持续到来年四月份。这严峻的情形似乎对很多人都适用。柏林的街道景观和饭店不如巴黎和伦敦的那样光鲜照人。除了这些，很难找到这个城市的缺点。柏林有能与欧洲中心城市比肩的音乐、艺术和夜生活，但是却不存在它们那样的高消费和地狱般的通勤状况。它是一个有着乡村般慵懒魅力的首都城市。

It took a while for people to notice. After the brief euphoria of unification in 1990, the West's subsidised industry and the East's socialist enterprise collapsed alongside each other. On measures like employment, public debt and school performance, Berlin ranks at or near the bottom among Germany's 16 states (it is one of three city-states). Klaus Wowereit, who hopes to be re-elected to a third term as mayor on September 18th, memorably branded the city "poor but sexy".

人们要花一段时间才能注意到这些。1990年德国的统一带来的短暂美满感后，西德受资助的产业和东德的社会主义企业同时土崩瓦解。从就业、政府债务和教育来看，柏林几乎是德国16个州的最后一名（它是三个城邦之一）。有望在9月18号再度当选第三任期市长的克劳斯·沃维雷特，令人印象深刻地给这个城市贴上“贫穷但充满魅力”的标签。

That is its magnetism. The federal government's move to Berlin from Bonn in 1999 was a political decision. "Creative" folk are drawn from across Europe and America by cheap studios and frontier-like freedoms. Berlin's centre still has voids to be built on and argued about. "Easyjetsetters" infest clubs and bars at weekends. More than 1m newcomers have replaced Berliners who have died or left the city since the 1990s.

这就是它的吸引力。1999 年，联邦政府从波恩迁到柏林是出于政治上的考虑。“创造性的”民俗文化被廉价的作坊和前沿的自由之风从欧洲和美国带来。柏林的中心区至今仍然亟待于建立和被讨论。周末里“Easyjetsetters”出没于俱乐部和酒吧。一百万以上的移民者已经取代了于 19 世纪 90 年的死亡或者离开的柏林人。

Effervescence pulls in investors. Google plans an “institute for the internet and society”. Industrial clusters have formed in health, transport and green technology. Parts of the media have relocated from Hamburg. Germany will never be as centralised as Britain or France, but if people have something to say to a national audience they tend increasingly to say it in Berlin.

活跃的气氛吸引了投资者们。谷歌计划一个“互联网和社会的研究机构”。产业群由医疗健康、交通运输、绿色科技所组成。一部分的媒体已从汉堡重新安置。德国没有英国和法国那样集权，但如果人们想对全国听证会说什么的话，他们日益趋向于在柏林说。

Since 2004 Berlin has created jobs at a faster pace than the German average. It leads the country in business start-ups. But the city is defined as much by its inertia as by its energy. A fifth of Berliners live off social transfers. Unemployment is still close to double the national rate because the workforce has recently expanded almost as quickly as the number of jobs. In Berlin “aspiration can be a negative word,” says Philipp Rode of the London School of Economics. Much of its energy comes from outsiders. Even the aspiring are often thwarted: 29% of social scientists and 40% of artists are jobless, according to DIW, a Berlin think-tank.

2004 年以来，柏林以快于德国整体水平的步伐创造着就业机会。这带来了国家在商业上的起步。但是这个城市的情性同活力一样显著。五分之一的柏林人靠政府救济生活。由于近期劳动人口的增长数量几乎和就业机会的增长数量一样多，失业率仍然接近国家失业率的两倍。在柏林，“理想抱负可能是一个消极的词”，伦敦经济学院的菲利浦罗德说。柏林的活力大部分来自于外来人口。甚至有志之士也经常被打击：柏林的智囊团——德国经济研究机构指出，29%的社会学家和 40%的艺术家处于失业状态。

Mr Wowereit, a Social Democrat, strives to channel the city’s edginess while reassuring Berliners weary of change. That is one reason why he is likely to win re-election. (The main suspense involves the Greens, which could replace the ex-communist Left Party as Mr Wowereit’s coalition partner, and the open-source-inspired Pirate Party, which might enter a German state legislature for the first time.) But the straddle is becoming harder. Rents, although still low, have jumped by 30% since 1999. The Swabian yuppie, with multiple offspring and a fondness for coffee bars, is a widely despised figure. “Berlin’s drama”, wrote Berliner Zeitung, a local newspaper, is that its “creative richness is inseparable from its economic poverty.” That will be Mr Wowereit’s puzzle, if he wins.

沃维雷特先生，作为一名社会民主党党员，致力于消除对变革感到厌倦的柏林人的疑虑，同时疏导这个城市的急躁之气。这是他很可能赢得连任的原因之一（主要的悬念在于绿党——可能取代前左翼共产党成为沃维雷特先生的盟友，和以开放资源为主旨的盗版党——可能第一时间进入德国国家立法机构）。但是这种跨越正变得艰难。租金，虽然仍旧不高，但是自 1999 年以来已经上涨了到 30%。带着多种多样的成果和对咖啡馆的喜爱的斯瓦比亚的雅皮们，是个被小瞧了的角色。当地报纸《柏林画报》所撰写的“柏林的戏剧性”是指柏林“创造性的丰富是与经济上的贫穷分不开的”。如果沃维雷特先生能够在选举中胜出，这将成为他的难题。

翻译：李慧慧 校对：汪楚航

Elections in Russia

俄罗斯大选

Welcome to the circus

欢迎来到马戏团

In place of genuine politics, the election season will be full of Kremlin-sanctioned buffoons, clowns and imps

俄罗斯大选期间将到处充斥着政府的搞笑明星，小丑和顽童们，这场闹剧代替了真正的政治。



IN A packed stadium, an actor-turned-priest with presidential ambitions sporting a white cape clammers atop a pyramid and preaches about Russia's messianic role. In a television studio politicians of all stripes entertain viewers with mudslinging, shouting and buffoonery. With parliamentary and presidential elections three and six months away respectively, Russia's political season is in full swing.

在座无虚席的体育场，一个有野心做总统的人转变成个演员，装扮成一位牧师，他炫耀着自己洁白的披风并登上金字塔顶，并且鼓吹着自己作为俄罗斯救世主的角色。在电视演播室当中，形形色色的政治家们插科打诨地娱乐观众，“互相揭短，大吼大叫”。三个月后的议会选举与六个月后的总统大选使得俄罗斯的政治秀场如火如荼。

In a country of 140m people with huge demographic, economic and regional problems, and a simmering war in the north Caucasus, elections ought to be a serious affair. But in place of proper debates about the country's future is a political marsh bubbling with imitators, clowns, nationalists, provocateurs and other imps.

在这个有着 1.4 亿人口的国家里，人口问题，区域经济，地区管辖都存在大的弊病，在北高加索还有一场战争蓄势待发，这时候的选举确实应该是颇为严肃的事务。但是我们并没有看到他们义正辞严，适逢严肃地看待国家前途，却看到一群模仿者，小丑，民族主义者，教唆者和顽童们把这场政治活动搞得面目全非。

The outcome of both sets of elections is predetermined, as Russian voters know well. (More than half tell pollsters they believe the elections will be dirty.) The Kremlin's United Russia party, whose only purpose is to keep the incumbent bureaucracy in power, will probably get at least 60% of the vote in December's parliamentary election, giving Vladimir Putin, its leader, a power base, whether or not he decides to stay as prime minister or to return to the Kremlin next March.

俄罗斯选民们十分明白，这场选举的结果其实是早就定好了的（一半多的选民告诉民意调查官他们对选举的当中肮脏交易心知肚明）。克里姆宫的俄罗斯统一党的唯一目的就是保证在职官僚继续掌权，该党有可能在

12 月的议会选举中获得至少 60% 的投票，不管统一党主席普金是否决定继续留任总理还是于明年三月重新当选总统，这些得票将为他赢得更大的支持势力。

In the absence of genuine politics the main job of the Kremlin's spin-doctors is to imitate it in order to stop the crowd from getting so bored that they ignore elections altogether. Parties are engineered for all tastes: nationalist, liberal, communist (nationalism sells best). The Kremlin's cynical stage managers run the show with utter contempt for their audience. Although mostly concealed from view, they occasionally peep out to make sure that the actors are sticking to the script.

没有了真正的政治角色，克里姆林宫的高级幕僚们的主要职责就是极尽模仿选举的程式，不让观众感到无聊到以至于连选举都一并忽略了。各个党派在安排下扮演了几乎所有的角色：民族主义者，自由主义者和共产主义者（民族主义者最受欢迎）。在克林姆林宫那张显着愤世嫉俗的舞台上，指挥家们带着对观众的嘲讽继续操纵着这场华丽的演出。尽管他们都隐藏在幕后，但还是会时不时会出头来确认一下，看看演员们有没有照着剧本演下去。

The case of Right Cause, a liberal party headed by Mikhail Prokhorov, a billionaire tycoon, confirms that Russia's leaders have limited tolerance for anything outside their control. In June the Kremlin promoted the party as an alternative to the independent liberal opposition it had recently barred from running in the Duma election. It thought Mr Prokhorov could be useful in neutralising the vocal liberal voters that constitute up to 15% of the total electorate. People close to Mr Prokhorov say that Vladislav Surkov, the Kremlin's chief ideologist, told him which subjects he could campaign on and nominated snoopers to keep an eye on him.

由亿万富翁 Mikhail Prokhorov 领导的自由党派一事说明对于任何超出他们控制范围的事情，俄罗斯的领导人们的忍耐都是有限的。克里姆林宫在六月将它选作一个近来被禁止参加杜马选举的自由主义反对派的替代品，它认为普罗霍罗夫可以中和这个拥有 15% 选民的自由派的声音。Prokhorov 的近臣表示，克里姆林宫的第一思想方向标曾告诉他，哪个项目他可以参选，又有哪些探子被指名去监视他。

But Mr Prokhorov had his own ideas. He gambled that the Kremlin would let him run his own campaign, and possibly even share power, so long as he did not personally attack Mr Putin or Dmitry Medvedev, Russia's president. Instead of sticking to Mr Surkov's brief, he aimed to position Right Cause as a mainstream party appealing to Russians who see only dead ends at home but are unwilling to emigrate. He also insisted on control over his party list for elections.

但 Prokhorov 先生有自己的想法。他打赌，只要他没有个人攻击过普金和梅德韦杰夫，克里姆林宫将让他筹划自己的竞选活动，甚至可能分享权力。而他并没有顺应 Surkov 的指挥，而是把正义事业党放在主流党派的位置上，想获得某些人的支持，比如那些虽然看到国家大限已到，但仍不愿移居国外的俄罗斯民众们的支持，不仅如此，他还坚持让党内其他人员也参选。

The Kremlin was not slow to react. First, masked police raided a bank part-owned by Mr Prokhorov. Then, on September 14th, fake party members planted by the Kremlin hijacked Right Cause's party congress. Blaming Mr Surkov for the attack, Mr Prokhorov angrily resigned a day later. He vowed to stay in politics and to petition Mr Putin and Mr Medvedev to fire Mr Surkov, describing him as a "puppeteer" who had "privatised the political system".

克里姆林宫的反应也并不迟缓。首先，暗中指挥警方突击搜查由 Prokhorov 撑控的银行。然后，在 9 月 14 日，安排假冒的党员劫持了正义事业党的代表大会。普罗霍罗夫将这次袭击事件归咎于苏尔科夫议员，并于一天后愤然辞职。他发誓要留在政治界，并向普京和梅德韦杰夫请愿，要求炒掉苏尔科夫，还不惜说他是“把政治体制私有化的”的“傀儡。”

What this shows is that the system created by Mr Putin is spooked by the slightest competition. After all, Mr Putin's choice of Mr Medvedev as president in 2008 was dictated precisely by his lack of competitive edge. If Mr Putin decides to return to the Kremlin it will probably be because he believes Mr Medvedev is too weak to exert control. But rather than bring the Kremlin more power, the disposal of Mr Prokhorov is likely to feed into a growing sense of

hopelessness among Russia's ambitious types. Some could be tempted by a new populist movement calling itself "Nakh-Nakh" (read: "fuck off"), which urges voters to spoil their ballots.

这显示出由普金创建的政治体系是多么脆弱，一点小小的竞争就把它给唬住了。毕竟，普金于 2008 年选梅德韦杰夫当总统就是非常明确的表现出了自己缺乏竞争优势。如果普金决定重返坐镇克林姆宫大概是因为他认为梅德韦杰夫并不会运用权力控制别人。但是和增强克林姆宫势力比起来，清理掉普罗霍洛夫 似乎更能让那些雄心勃勃的俄罗斯人失望。有的人可能会受到自称为 "Nakh-Nakh" 的（表明：“滚开”）平民党运动怂恿，鼓励选民放弃自己拥有的选票。

The Kremlin is confident of its ability to manipulate politics. Yet the real threat comes not from Mr Prokhorov but from the Kremlin's nationalist games. It has dusted off Motherland, a nationalist party created by Mr Surkov before elections in 2004. It has allowed Vladimir Zhirinovsky, another nationalist, to run on the slogan "For the Russians".

All this can only fan the fast-spreading conflict between the ethnic Russian population and the Muslims of the north Caucasus. Ramzan Kadyrov, the strongman president of Chechnya, and his kind do not work by the Kremlin's post-modern rules. If a surge in racial conflict turns them against the Kremlin, Russia's political farce could quickly turn into tragedy.

克林姆宫对于自己操控政局的能力十分自信。不过真正的威胁并不是来自于普罗霍洛夫，而是来自民族主义者发起的政治动乱。这个运动洗清了祖国联盟党的罪名，该民主党由苏尔科夫于 2004 年大选之前创建。该运动还允许另一个民主党人士 Vladimir Zhirinovsky 打着“为了俄罗斯”的旗号参与竞选。俄罗斯少数民族和北高加索的穆斯林信徒之间的冲突正在快速持续蔓延，这却只有煽风点火的作用，车臣的强势领导人 Ramzan Kadyrov 的慈悲心在克林姆林宫的强硬规则下一无是处。一旦民族矛盾激化，他们将与克林姆宫为敌，到时候俄罗斯的政治闹剧马上就会变成一场悲剧了。

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