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第1单元

外交原则与战略

Diplomatic Principle and Diplomatic Strategy

Part I Topic Briefing

Directions: Use this brief topic overview for memory training. No notes should be taken while listening. Memory skills such as description, sequence, categorization, generalization, replacement and comparison are expected to be adopted.

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resorting to force, propaganda, or law.

Diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy, either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment. It also includes such discrete activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill. Therefore, until the label “diplomacy” was affixed to all of these activities by Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as “negotiation”.

As noted, diplomacy is an important means by which states pursue their foreign policies, and these policies are still framed in significant degree in many states in a ministry of foreign affairs. Meanwhile, diplomacy is not merely what professional diplomatic agents do. It is carried out by other officials and by private persons under the direction of officials. It is also carried out through many different channels besides the traditional resident mission.

According to Western studies, diplomacy in its modern form has its immediate origins in the Italian Peninsula in the late 15th century. Nevertheless, its remote origins are to be found in the relations between the “great kings” of the Near East in the second or possibly even in the late fourth millennium BC.

Part II Topic Highlights

Directions: Test all or several of the following either in the whole group or in pairs. Listen and take notes on key expressions. Remember that key expressions should be accurately interpreted.

1. 不管国际风云如何变幻，中国都将高举和平、发展、合作旗帜，奉行独立自主的和平外交政策，恪守维护世界和平、促进共同发展的外交宗旨。
No matter how the international situation may evolve, China will always stand for peace, development and cooperation, pursue an independent foreign policy of peace, and stick to its diplomatic vision of upholding world peace and promoting common development.
2. 我们始终不渝坚持在和平共处五项原则基础上同所有国家发展友好合作。中国主张，世界上的事情应该由世界各国共同决定，不能由一两个国家说了算。这也正是我们不赞成搞 G2 的原因。
We are committed to developing friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China maintains that international affairs should be handled with joint efforts of all countries, not to be decided by one or two countries. This is why we do not endorse the notion of “G2”.
3. 我们始终不渝奉行互利共赢的开放战略。中国将继续以自己的发展促进地区和世界的共同发展，扩大同各方利益的汇合点，在实现本国发展的同时兼顾各方特别是发展中国家的正当关切。
We are committed to pursuing a win-win strategy of opening-up. China will continue to push forward regional and global development through its own development. We will work to broaden converging interests with other countries and, while pursuing our own development, we will accommodate the legitimate concerns of others, especially those of developing countries.
4. 中国的发展是和平的发展，不会损害任何人，也不会威胁任何人。中国决不做损人利己、以邻为壑的事情。中国现在不称霸，将来也绝不称霸。
China’s development is peaceful in nature, and it will not harm or threaten anyone. China will never seek to advance its interests at the expense of others. China does not seek hegemony now, nor will it do so in the future.

5. 我们一贯倡导并践行国家不分大小、强弱、贫富，都是国际社会的平等成员，应互相尊重、平等相待。所谓“国强必霸”的逻辑既有悖于中国的历史，也有违中国人民的意志。

China has always maintained that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community and must respect one another and treat one another with equality. The argument that a strong nation is bound to seek hegemony finds no supporting case in China's history and goes against the will of the Chinese people.

6. 争取和平的国际环境发展自己，又以自己的发展更好地维护世界和平，是中国出于自身和世界长远利益的战略选择。

We will seek a peaceful international environment to develop ourselves and at the same time contribute to the cause of world peace through our own development. This is a strategic choice that China has made. It is a choice rooted in China's own interests as well as the long-term interests of the whole world.

7. 中国的外交是以维护国家的主权、安全和发展利益，以促进世界的和平与发展为己任，这就是中国外交的“理”。

It has always been the mission of China's diplomacy to defend China's sovereignty, security and development interests and promote world peace and development. This is the principle that China adheres to in conducting diplomacy.

8. 各国应遵循《联合国宪章》宗旨和原则，恪守国际法和公认的国际关系准则，在国际关系中弘扬民主、和睦、协作、共赢精神。

All countries should uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, abide by international law and universally recognized norms governing international relations, and embrace a spirit of democracy, harmony, collaboration and win-win progress in international relations.

9. 各国应在政治上相互尊重、平等协商；经济上相互合作、优势互补；文化上相互借鉴、求同存异；安全上相互信任、加强合作；环保上相互帮助、协力推进，共同呵护人类赖以生存的地球家园。

Politically, we should respect each other and conduct consultations on an equal footing. Economically, we should cooperate with each other and draw on each other's strengths. Culturally, we should learn from each other and seek common ground while shelving differences. On the security front, we should

trust each other and bolster cooperation. And on the environmental front, we should help each other and make joint endeavors to protect the planet Earth, our common home.

10. 我们积极开展全方位外交，与各大国、周边国家和广大发展中国家的对话合作稳步推进，大力加强人文等领域外交，有效维护我国公民和法人在海外的合法权益。

We energetically carried out all-round diplomacy, and made steady progress in dialogue and cooperation with major powers, neighboring countries, and developing countries. We greatly strengthened diplomacy in all fields, including cultural diplomacy. We effectively safeguarded the lawful rights and interests of Chinese nationals and corporations overseas.

Part III Topic Interpreting

Directions: While listening to the following passages, take notes. Then interpret consecutively and record your performance. Finally, evaluate your performance individually or in the whole group. A follow-up discussion about the interpreting skills and diplomatic knowledge can be held with the help of the notes provided.

1. Interpret the following passage from Chinese into English.

关于新时期中国外交的新思想、新理念，胡锦涛主席在中共十七大的报告里面已经作了全面的阐述，温家宝总理在本届人大的政府工作报告中再次予以强调。我想就和平发展¹、交流沟通、互利共赢、合作和谐对中国外交思想的重要性谈几点看法。

一要讲和平发展，因为中国是一个发展中国家，发展任务很艰巨，中国将始终不渝地走和平发展道路。同时，我们认为世界各国，不管是发达国家还是发展中国家，都应该走和平发展道路，以和平方式解决彼此之间的问题，以实现和睦相处，共同发展。

二要讲交流沟通。虽然我们是生活在信息化社会²，但这并不必然等于人们之间能进行有效沟通。我觉得国家之间一定要怀着换位思考的意识，抱着公正客观的态度，承认和照顾彼此合理利益需要，这样才能够增进互信，加强合作，增加共识。中国向来有礼尚往来、子诚我信的优良传统，我们愿意同各国交朋友，话沟通，谋合作。

三要讲互利共赢。这不仅是指在经贸领域，在其他领域，比如说政治、安全、文化、教育，国家之间都应该讲互利共赢，这样国家之间关系才有坚实的基础，才能保持其活力和旺盛力。

四要讲合作和谐。中国提出建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界的目标，我认为这也是全人类追求的目标。中国人讲要“和合而谐³”，我们一定要加强沟通，密切合作，使得世界上和谐的成分能够多增加一些，不和谐的成分减少一些，这样有利于加深和扩大各国之间的合作。推动建设和谐世界，不仅是中国外交的长远目标，也是现实的任务。我们愿意同世界各国一起，为推动建设和谐世界，使世界更美好作出更大的努力。

(Excerpt from remarks by Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi at the Annual NPC Press Conference, 12 March 2008)

Notes:

- 1** 和平发展 (peaceful development): 20 世纪 90 年代以来，随着中国改革开放后国力上升，国际社会掀起了一股“中国威胁论”，认为中国强大会导致新旧体系大国的冲突。中国政府因此阐明自己的发展战略，提出中国是一个“和平崛起” (peaceful rise) 的大国，指出中国首要的大问题是国内问题。2004 年博鳌论坛上，胡锦涛主席使用了“和平发展”这一表述。
- 2** 信息化社会 (information society): 当前社会中，信息的创建、传输、散布、整合和应用已经成为经济、政治和文化活动的重要组成部分。中文中常出现的“化”的说法表示过程，例如“现代化” (modernization)、“工业化” (industrialization)、“政治化” (politicize)、“妖魔化” (demonize)，但是并不是所有的“化”都僵化地使用 -ization 或 -ize。“信息化”常见译法有 informatization，强调动作性，例如原国务院信息化办公室 (Informatization Office，现已并入工业和信息化部)；或者简单使用名词 Information Technology，例如国家工业和信息化部就译成 Ministry of Industry and Information Technology。杨洁篪外长在十一届全国人大三次会议的记者招待会上谈到：“世界正朝着多极化、多边主义和国际关系民主化的方向发展。”我们可以学习以下现场翻译的处理方式：The world is moving towards multi-polarity, multilateralism and greater democracy in international relations.
- 3** 和合而谐 (peace and cooperation bring harmony): “和谐社会”是中国先秦时期的思想家们讨论最为激烈、影响也最为深远的命题。而这当中，又

以齐国思想家们的讨论最具有代表性。齐文化中有“和合而谐”的理想追求。和谐、和合是指人与自然、社会、人、心灵、文明之间的多样性的差别及冲突的协调、平衡、融合，是天地万物之间千差万别的冲突融合而和合的模式或状态。翻译这类表述，重在理解其含义，具体表现形式比较灵活，例如 peace and cooperation for harmony 或 peace, cooperation and then harmony。

2. Interpret the following passage from English into Chinese.

...

Our approach to foreign policy must reflect the world as it is, not as it used to be. It does not make sense to adapt a 19th century concert of powers, or a 20th century balance of power strategy. We cannot go back to Cold War containment or to unilateralism.¹

Today, we must acknowledge two inescapable facts that define our world: First, no nation can meet the world's challenges alone. The issues are too complex. Too many players are competing for influence, from rising powers to corporations to criminal cartels; from NGOs to al-Qaeda²; from state-controlled media to individuals using Twitter³.

Second, most nations worry about the same global threats, from non-proliferation to fighting disease to counter-terrorism, but also face very real obstacles—for reasons of history, geography, ideology, and inertia. They face these obstacles and they stand in the way of turning commonality of interest into common action.

So these two facts demand a different global architecture—one in which states have clear incentives to cooperate and live up to their responsibilities, as well as strong disincentives to sit on the sidelines or sow discord and division.

...

Building the architecture of global cooperation requires us to devise the right policies and use the right tools. I speak often of smart power⁴ because it is so central to our thinking and our decision-making. It means the intelligent use of all means at our disposal, including our ability to convene and connect. It means our economic and military strength; our capacity for entrepreneurship and innovation; and the ability and credibility of our new President and his team. It also means the application of old-fashioned common sense in policymaking. It's a blend of principle and pragmatism.⁵

Smart power translates into specific policy approaches in five areas. First, we intend to update and create vehicles for cooperation with our partners; second, we will pursue principled engagement with those who disagree with us; third, we will elevate development as a core pillar of American power; fourth, we will integrate civilian and military action in conflict areas; and fifth, we will leverage key sources of American power, including our economic strength and the power of our example.

...

(Adapted from remarks by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at the Council on Foreign Relations, 15 July 2009)

Notes:

- 1** 外交政策翻译的一个难点就是对翻译的准确性要求很高。本文中出现了很多专门的术语，例如：concert of powers，一般译作“大国协调”，源于19世纪的“欧洲协调”(Concert of Europe)，指大国对于发生的问题采取协商的办法解决；balance of power，一般译作“权力平衡”或者“均势”，指的是国际关系中行为体势均力敌的一种格局；containment(遏制)和下文出现的engagement(接触)是国家外交政策的手段；而 unilateralism(单边主义)指举足轻重的特定大国，不考虑大多数国家和民众的愿望，单独或带头退出或挑战已制订或商议好了的维护国际性、地区性、集体性、和平、发展、进步的规则和制度，并对全局或局部的和平、发展、进步有破坏性的影响和后果的行为与倾向。
- 2** al-Qaeda(基地组织)：在1988年苏联攻打阿富汗后期创立。成立初期的宗旨是抵抗入侵阿富汗的苏联部队。1991年苏联撤出阿富汗以后，其宗旨已改为消灭全世界入侵伊斯兰世界的西方国家，以建立一个纯正的伊斯兰国家。它公开使用暴力手段对西方的军事以及平民目标采取大规模的杀伤性恐怖袭击行动。联合国安全理事会已把基地组织列为世界恐怖组织之一。
- 3** Twitter：该词很少按照字面意思译作“叽喳网”，建议翻译时直接使用Twitter一词，可加以解释，如“使用叽喳网Twitter”或者“使用社交网络Twitter微博”。
- 4** smart power：现在普遍接受的中文翻译是“巧实力”。2009年奥巴马政府上台后，推出了smart power的外交新理念，意在为重振美国经济创造良好的国际环境，并在这一过程中修复美国的国际形象，捍卫美国在国际体系中的主导地位，确保相对于其他大国的优势。这是哈佛大学教授、国际

关系领域专家约瑟夫·奈 (Joseph Nye) 提出的 soft power (软实力) 概念的延伸。至于将 smart 译成“巧”一词, 译界总有质疑。虽然这个译法看似短小精要, 但总不够传神, 而且“巧”在中文中略有贬义, 如“巧言令色, 鲜矣仁”, 和英语中 smart 的褒义语境并不相应。也有人提出“智慧大国”等译法, 但在形似上又略显功力不足。

5 笔记技巧: 这一段都是在定义奥巴马政府推出的“巧实力”外交。在听和笔记过程中, 我们不难抓住 It means... It means... It also means... It is... 这一平行句型, 因此, 笔记中也应当表现出其并列的性质, 并迅速抓住核心信息。示例:

: 用 all means at disposal e.g. convene and connect

: 经 + 政、进取 + 创新、Pre's 能力 + 可靠

: common sense → 政策制定

: mix of 原则 + 务实

这样的笔记方式可以帮助我们省去动词部分对照的麻烦, 在译成中文的过程中, 可以灵活添加动词。

Part IV Aspects of Diplomatic Interpreting

掌握政策 (I)

外交口译作为开展外交工作的重要组成部分, 除了具有口译工作的普遍特点外, 还有其自身的鲜明特点。其中最突出的一个特点便是外交口译带有很强的政策性。简单地说, 搞外交就是通过外交手段处理国家间的关系, 那么, 外交口译的服务对象是中国以及其他国家的领导人和各级政府官员。作为国家大政方针的制定者、执行者、维护者, 他们各自代表本国政府参与会谈、会见、交涉、谈判等双边或多边正式外交活动, 就共同关心的问题或相互间的分歧, 表述本国的态度和立场, 交换意见, 进行谈判协商。因此, 外交口译的内容直接关系到国家的主权, 如有不慎会酿成大错, 损害国家的核心利益。

资深外交口译专家们反复强调三个例子来充分说明这一特点。其一, 台湾问题本是我国的内政, 但是由于美国的涉入以及“台独”分子的分裂企图, 在翻译中涉及台湾的用语必须十分慎重, 必须严格掌握“一个中国”的原则, 注意避免可能产生“两个中国”或“一中一台”误解的任何用语。口译时需要特别注意台湾和大陆的正确提法。台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分, 所以绝

对不能相对于台湾把大陆译成“mainland China”或者“the mainland China”，这样会造成“一中一台”、“两个中国”的误解，损害国家的主权和领土完整。“中国大陆”必须准确地译成 the mainland of China, China's mainland 或者 Chinese mainland。“台湾和大陆”在上下文非常清楚的情况下可以译成 Taiwan and the mainland，也就是中国的台湾和大陆部分。同样，对于台湾的正确称谓应该是“Taiwan, China”，Chinese Taiwan, Chinese Taipei。例如在国际奥委会中，台湾的称谓是 Chinese Taipei；在亚洲开发银行中其称谓是“Taiwan, China”。“台湾问题”应译为 Taiwan question，不宜译为“Taiwan issue”。台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分，台湾作为一个问题是历史遗留下来的，解决台湾问题是中国的内政，不容任何外人干涉。而 issue 这一词的意思是几方均有争议的事情。

其二，在统称亚太经合组织成员时，有人会想当然地说“APEC 国家”或“APEC 成员国”，但是由于在 APEC 组织中有中国的三个成员，中国大陆、中国香港、中国台湾，所以谈到 APEC 时只能说“成员”，不能用“成员国”，译成英文时应该用 APEC members，对于香港和台湾，作为地区成员，应该称之为“经济体”或者“地区”，英文要译为 economies 或 regions。因此，谈到 APEC 成员间发展差距时，要英译为 the development gap between member economies；反之，遇到外国人士使用“APEC countries”或者“APEC member countries”时，译员一定要有政治敏感性，要在口译时纠正其说法，译成“APEC 成员”。另外，台湾在亚太经合组织中作为地区成员使用的称谓是 Chinese Taipei。而对于亚欧会议成员，应该称为 ASEM partners。

第三个例子是香港回归的表述。首先是有关中国恢复对香港地区行使主权的英译。香港回归前不是英国殖民地，而是租给英国的，是清政府腐败的恶果，因此，中国始终对香港地区拥有主权。所以，谈到香港回归，英译时一定要译出中国恢复对香港地区行使主权的意思，即 resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong，不能简单地译成“resume sovereignty of Hong Kong”。再有，中央政府在回归后，对香港特别行政区的政策是“一国两制”、“港人治港”、“高度自治”。口译“香港特区将会保留自己的政府、自己的社会、自己的经济、自己的生活方式”这样的表述时，特别要注意“香港特区将会保留自己的政府”这部分。由于回归前香港原来的政府是英国人做总督的港英政府，那么，回归后组建的“港人治港”的特区政府就不可能是保留下来的原政府。因此，这部分的意思是香港将会有香港人自己组建的政府，充分体现了中央政府对香港特区的政策。译员有了这种对政策的理解和把握，

就不会不假思索地照字面把“保留自己的政府”译成“the HKSAR will retain its own government”，而会基于正确的理解译成 the HKSAR will have its own government...。此外，香港特别行政区在行政、立法、司法等方面享有高度自治权，但是象征国家主权的外交和国防属于中央政府，所以，译员如果听到“香港拥有行政、立法、司法、外交权……”这样的口误，一定不能译出“外交”，这就是外交口译政策性的体现。

对于我国与其他国家的外交关系的定位，也要准确了解并掌握相应的固定表述。例如，中国与美国是建设“积极全面的合作关系” (positive, cooperative and comprehensive relations)，与俄罗斯是“战略协作伙伴关系” (a strategic partnership of coordination)，与日本是“战略互惠关系” (strategic relations of mutual benefit)，与欧盟是“全面战略伙伴关系” (comprehensive strategic partnership)。这些固定表述在文字上的区别表明了两国通过谈判或协商，对双方关系达成的共同认识，是不能在口译时随意改动的。

此外，我国与一些邻国现在仍存在着领土争议，如涉及我们叫做“钓鱼岛”、“南沙群岛”、“西沙群岛”的地域。我们对这些地域的英译分别是 the Diaoyu Islands, the Nansha Islands, the Xisha Islands，而有关国家则使用着不同的名字，例如他们称“南沙群岛”为“Spratly Islands”，称“西沙群岛”为“Parasol Islands”，称“钓鱼岛”为“Senkaku Islands”（即日语中的“尖阁群岛”）。在口译我国领导人谈话时，我们要坚持使用我方的名字，例如听到“西沙群岛”，要译成 the Xisha Islands，酌情可解释对方称之为“Parasol Islands”。口译对方提法时，要直接译为“西沙群岛”。

在翻译中涉及朝鲜和韩国时也要特别注意用语的准确性。西方社会很自然地将朝鲜称为“North Korea”，把韩国称为“South Korea”，但是中国的官方说法则是称朝鲜为 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 或其缩写 the DPRK，称韩国为 the Republic of Korea 或其缩写 the ROK。

总之，外交口译的高度政策性要求译员必须精准地译出我国政府的立场和态度，自觉维护国家主权和领土完整等核心利益，稍有差错都可能会对国家的政治和经济利益、声誉、形象、地位、对外关系，甚至国际关系的大局等造成影响，其损失可能是无可挽回的。

Part V Consolidation & Extension

Directions: Interpret the following passages, focusing on both the positions and views of the Chinese government and the perspectives of other parties concerned.

1. Interpret the following passage from Chinese into English.

女士们，先生们，同志们，朋友们：

新年的钟声就要敲响，2010年的帷幕即将拉开。在这辞旧迎新的美好时刻，我很高兴通过中国国际广播电台、中央人民广播电台和中央电视台，向全国各族人民，向香港特别行政区同胞、澳门特别行政区同胞、台湾同胞和海外侨胞，向世界各国的朋友们，致以新年的祝福！

2009年是中华人民共和国历史上十分重要的一年。中国各族人民隆重庆祝新中国成立60周年，为伟大祖国的发展进步感到无比自豪，决心在新的起点上把中国特色社会主义事业继续推向前进。面对国际金融危机的严重冲击，中国各族人民坚定信心、迎难而上、万众一心、共克时艰，坚持把保持经济平稳较快发展作为经济工作的首要任务，统筹做好保增长、保民生、保稳定各项工作，实现了经济总体回升向好。中国改革开放和社会主义现代化建设取得新的显著成就，人民生活继续改善，社会保持和谐稳定。中国积极参加应对国际金融危机、气候变化等问题国际合作，扩大同世界各国交流合作，为世界和平与发展作出了新的贡献。

2010年是中国实施“十一五”规划的最后一年。在新的一年里，我们将坚定不移高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，以邓小平理论和“三个代表”重要思想为指导，深入贯彻落实科学发展观，保持宏观经济政策的连续性和稳定性，继续实施积极的财政政策和适度宽松的货币政策，根据新形势新情况着力提高政策的针对性和灵活性，更加注重提高经济增长的质量和效益，更加注重推动经济发展方式转变和经济结构调整，更加注重推进改革开放和自主创新、增强经济增长活力和动力，更加注重改善民生、保持社会和谐稳定，更加注重统筹国内国际两个大局，努力实现经济平稳较快发展，继续推进全面建设小康社会进程。

我们将坚持“一国两制”、“港人治港”、“澳人治澳”、高度自治的方针，同广大香港同胞、澳门同胞携手努力，保持香港、澳门长期繁荣稳定。我们将坚持“和平统一、一国两制”的方针，牢牢把握两岸关系和平发展的主题，加强两岸交流合作，更好造福两岸同胞。

当今世界正处在大发展大变革大调整时期。世界多极化和经济全球化深入发展，国际金融危机影响继续显现，气候变化、能源资源、公共卫生安全等全球性问题突出，国际和地区热点问题此起彼伏。继续推进人类和平与发展的崇高事业，需要世界各国人民加强合作、同舟共济。借此机会，我愿郑重重申，中国将高举和平、发展、合作旗帜，恪守维护世界和平、促进共同发展的外交政策宗旨，始终不渝走和平发展道路，始终不渝奉行互利共赢的开放战略，坚持在和平共处五项原则的基础上同所有国家发展友好合作，继续积极参加应对国际金融危机、气候变化等问题国际合作，同各国人民一道推动建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。

此时此刻，在我们共同生活的这个地球上，还有不少民众正蒙受着战争、贫穷、疾病、自然灾害等苦难的煎熬。中国人民深切同情他们的不幸境遇，将一如既往向他们提供力所能及的帮助。我相信，经过世界各国人民不懈努力，世界文明必将不断发展，人类福祉必将不断增进。

2010年，以“城市，让生活更美好”为主题的世界博览会将在中国上海举行。我们热忱欢迎五大洲的朋友们共襄这一盛举，共同谱写增进相互了解和友谊的新篇章。

最后，我从北京祝大家在新的一年里幸福安康！

(Speech by Chinese President Hu Jintao in the 2010 New Year Address, 31 December 2009)

2. Interpret the following passage from English into Chinese.

...

Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress information about the state of our union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty. They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility. And they've done so in the midst of war and depression; at moments of great strife and great struggle.

...

We need more production, more efficiency and more incentives in clean energy. And that means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power plants in this country. It means making tough decisions about opening new offshore areas for oil and gas development. It means continued investment in advanced biofuels and clean coal technologies. And, yes, it means passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America.

...

We need to export more of our goods. Because the more products we make and sell to other countries, the more jobs we support right here in America. So tonight, we set a new goal: We will double our exports over the next five years, an increase that will support two million jobs in America. To help meet this goal, we're launching a National Export Initiative that will help farmers and small businesses increase their exports, and reform export controls consistent with national security.

We have to seek new markets aggressively, just as our competitors are. If America sits on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create jobs on our shores. But realizing those benefits also means enforcing those agreements so our trading partners play by the rules. And that's why we'll continue to shape a Doha trade agreement that opens global markets, and why we will strengthen our trade relations in Asia and with key partners like the Republic of Korea and Panama and Colombia.

...

Since the day I took office, we've renewed our focus on the terrorists who threaten our nation. We've made substantial investments in our homeland security and disrupted plots that threatened to take American lives. We are filling unacceptable gaps revealed by the failed Christmas attack, with better airline security and swifter action on our intelligence. We've prohibited torture and strengthened partnerships from the Pacific to South Asia to the Arabian Peninsula.

...

And in Afghanistan, we're increasing our troops and training Afghan security forces so they can begin to take the lead in July of 2011, and our troops can begin to come home.

We will reward good governance, work to reduce corruption, and support the rights of all Afghans—men and women alike. We're joined by allies and partners who have increased their own commitments, and who will come together tomorrow in London to reaffirm our common purpose. There will be difficult days ahead. But I am absolutely confident we will succeed.

As we take the fight to al Qaeda, we are responsibly leaving Iraq to its people. We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August. We will support the Iraqi government—we will support the Iraqi government as they hold elections, and we will continue to partner with the Iraqi people to promote regional

peace and prosperity. But make no mistake: This war is ending, and all of our troops are coming home.

...

Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people—the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them. To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest-reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades. And at April's Nuclear Security Summit, we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, D.C. behind a clear goal: securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world in four years, so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists.

Now, these diplomatic efforts have also strengthened our hand in dealing with those nations that insist on violating international agreements in pursuit of nuclear weapons. That's why the Democratic People's Republic of Korea now faces increased isolation, and stronger sanctions—sanctions that are being vigorously enforced. That's why the international community is more united, and the Islamic Republic of Iran is more isolated. And as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their obligations, there should be no doubt: They, too, will face growing consequences. That is a promise.

That's the leadership that we are providing—engagement that advances the common security and prosperity of all people. We're working through the G20 to sustain a lasting global recovery. We're working with Islamic communities around the world to promote science and education and innovation. We have gone from a bystander to a leader in the fight against climate change. We're helping developing countries to feed themselves, and continuing the fight against HIV/AIDS. And we are launching a new initiative that will give us the capacity to respond faster and more effectively to bioterrorism or an infectious disease—a plan that will counter threats at home and strengthen public health abroad.

...

(Adapted from remarks by US President Barack Obama in State of the Union Address, US Capitol, 27 January 2010)