

A half-victory

文章导读：法国总统马克龙计划推进法国养老金制度的改革，预计法国的退休年龄将从 62 岁提高至 65 岁。目前，马克龙的改革计划遭到工会、反对党和法国公众的强烈反对。据报道，法国总理马克龙将于当地时间 10 日公布养老金改革细节，包括政府将把退休年龄提高至多少岁，以及可能对有资格获得全额养老金的最低缴费期进行修改。养老金改革很可能决定马克龙政府在接下来剩余任期内的走向。



【1】Emmanuel Macron's sensible pension reform came **at a heavy political cost**¹

埃马纽埃尔·马克龙明智的养老金改革付出了沉重的政治代价

【2】Any French president who asks his fellow citizens to retire later does so at his **peril**². When Jacques Chirac tried in 1995, **crippling**³ strikes made him **shelve**⁴ the project; 18 months later voters **sacked**⁵ his government. Piles of rubbish were left to rot on the streets, as they are today on the **boulevards**⁶ of Paris. Bin collectors have joined strikes against the decision by the current president, Emmanuel Macron, to raise the minimum pension age from 62 to 64. So it was with some relief that on March 20th his minority government narrowly survived two no-confidence votes, opening the way for his reform to enter the statute books.

任何一位法国总统如果要求他的同胞延迟退休，后果自负。当雅克·希拉克在 1995 年尝试时，严重的罢工使他搁置了该项目；18 个月后，选民罢免了他的政府。成堆的垃圾在街上腐烂，就像今天在巴黎的林荫大道上一样。垃圾桶收集者加入了反对现任总统埃马纽埃尔·马克龙将最低养老金年龄从 62 岁提高到 64 岁的决定的罢工。因此，令人松了一口气的是，3 月 20 日，他的少数党政府在两次不信任投票中险胜，为他的改革进入法规开辟了道路。

【3】The French president is not yet in the clear. The law must be approved by the constitutional council. And the French still know better than most how to deploy the force of the mob when all else fails. In 2006 countrywide protests forced Dominique de

¹ **At a heavy cost** 付出沉重代价

² **Peril** /'perəl/ n. 巨大的危险，危难；（某活动或行为的）危险，问题

³ **Crippling** /'kriplɪŋ/ adj. 造成严重后果的 v. 削弱（cripple 的 ing 形式）；使受损

⁴ **Shelve** /ʃelv/ vt. 将（书等）放置在架子上；搁置，将某事放到一旁不予考虑；

⁵ **Sacked** /sækt/ v. 解雇；洗劫；

⁶ **Boulevards** /'buləvɑ:rd/ n. 林荫大道；（美）大马路 adj. 娱乐性的

Villepin, then prime minister, to **revoke** new labour rules for young people even after they had been written into law. Now, once again, opposition leaders are **agitating**⁷ in the streets to overturn a reform that they could not get rid of in parliament. Do not **rule out**⁸ the risk of an uprising, like the one France witnessed during the gilets jaunes movement. 法国总统还不清楚。这项法律必须得到宪法委员会的批准。法国人仍然比大多数人更清楚如何在其他一切都失败的情况下部署暴徒的力量。2006年，全国范围内的抗议活动迫使时任总理多米尼克·德维尔潘撤销了针对年轻人的新劳动规定，即使这些规定已被写入法律。现在，反对派领导人再次在街头煽动，推翻他们在议会中无法摆脱的改革。不要排除起义的风险，就像法国在马甲运动中目睹的那样。

【4】Mr Macron seems determined not to **be pushed around**⁹ by the protesters—and rightly so. His pension reform is imperfect, but essential. France spends 14% of its GDP on public pensions, nearly double the OECD average. This burden is rising as the population ages. France is home to 17m pensioners, 4m more than in 2004. Raising the retirement age is **the soundest way**¹⁰ to close the financing gap, as other European countries have proved.

马克龙似乎决心不被抗议者左右，这是正确的。他的养老金改革并不完美，但至关重要。法国将其国内生产总值的14%用于公共养老金，几乎是经合组织平均水平的两倍。随着人口老龄化，这种负担正在增加。法国有1700万养老金领取者，比2004年增加了400万。正如其他欧洲国家所证明的那样，提高退休年龄是缩小融资缺口的最明智方法。

【5】Yet the president's narrow escape has come at a high political cost. After failing to persuade the public, trade unions or the opposition of the need for his reform, Mr Macron judged that he could not risk a normal parliamentary vote. Instead he resorted to a constitutional provision that put his government's survival on the line. This is perfectly legal: it has been used 100 times since Charles de Gaulle introduced it, including to build France's nuclear deterrent. But it is increasingly seen as a way to impose a decision against the will of the people. For Mr Macron, whose **haughty**¹¹ top-down governing style irks many, its use reinforces the impression that he will not listen.

然而，总统的死里逃生付出了高昂的政治代价。在未能说服公众、工会或反对派相信他改革的必要性后，马克龙判断他不能冒险进行正常的议会投票。相反，他诉诸于一项宪法条款，该条款将他的政府的生存置于危险之中。这是完全合法的：自戴高乐引入以来，它已经被使用了100次，包括用于建立法国的核威慑力量。但它越来越被视为一种违背人民意愿做出决定的方式。马克龙傲慢的自上而下的执政风格惹恼了许多人，对他来说，这种使用强化了他不会倾听的印象。

【6】This is dangerous, because Mr Macron's narrow escape should not be the end of his ambitions to reform France. Much is still to be done, from the pursuit of net-zero emissions and full employment, to better schooling in tough and remote areas. The

⁷ **Agitating** /'ædʒɪteɪŋ/ adj. 搅动的；不安的；鼓动的 v. 搅动；煽动；使焦虑（agitate 的现在分词）

⁸ **Rule out** 排除；取消；划去；反对；阻止

⁹ **Be pushed around** 听任摆布；被左右

¹⁰ **The soundest way** 最稳妥的方法

¹¹ **Haughty** /'hɔ:ti/ adj. 傲慢的；自大的

45-year-old president is still in the first year of his second term, **fizzing**¹² with energy and ideas. But minds are already wandering to 2027, and the dark threat that he may have to hand over the keys to the Elysée Palace to someone from the extremes, such as Marine Le Pen. Unless Mr Macron can improve the lives of his fellow citizens, he will not **contain** the morosité that **turbocharges**¹³ populism.

这是危险的，因为马克龙的死里逃生不应该是他改革法国野心的终结。从追求净零排放和充分就业，到在艰苦和偏远地区改善教育，还有很多工作要做。这位 45 岁的总统仍处于第二任期的第一年，充满活力和想法。但人们已经在思考 2027 年，以及他可能不得不将爱丽舍宫的钥匙交给极端人士的黑暗威胁，比如马琳·勒庞。除非马克龙能够改善其同胞的生活，否则他将无法遏制助长民粹主义的白痴。

【7】Even then, a record of reform may not be enough. Democratic leadership requires the constant and careful forging of consent. Now, more than ever, Mr Macron needs to correct his solitary manner, and show the French that he disrespects neither parliament nor the people. With war raging in Ukraine, Europe benefits from a strong, stable France, the EU's second-biggest economy and only military heavyweight. For France, imposing the pension reform was always going to be the second-best outcome. For Mr Macron, it is a reminder that in politics it is not always enough to be right.

即便如此，一份改革记录也可能不够。民主领导需要不断、谨慎地达成一致意见。现在，马克龙比以往任何时候都更需要纠正他的孤独态度，向法国人表明他既不尊重议会，也不尊重人民。随着乌克兰战争的肆虐，欧洲受益于强大、稳定的法国，法国是欧盟第二大经济体，也是唯一的军事重量级国家。对法国来说，实施养老金改革总是第二好的结果。对马克龙来说，这是一个提醒，在政治上，仅仅正确是不够的。

【8】The lesson goes wider than this. Those in France who want their next president to come from the democratic centre, not the far right, cannot afford to stay silent. Mr Macron alone is not to blame for this mess. A chunk of legislators from the centre-right Republicans, many of whom support reform, withheld their backing. The silence of those in politics, business and beyond, who know well that France needed change, was short-sighted and craven. They could end up paying a steep price.

教训远不止于此。法国那些希望下一任总统来自民主中间派，而不是极右翼的人，不得不保持沉默。这场混乱不应归咎于马克龙一个人。来自中右翼共和党人的大部分立法者（其中许多人支持改革）拒绝支持。那些深知法国需要变革的政界、商界和其他领域人士的沉默是短视和懦弱的。他们最终可能会付出高昂的代价。

¹² **fizzing** /'fɪzɪŋ/ v. (液体) 起泡并发嘶嘶声；劈啪作响；升腾 (fizz 的现在分词)

¹³ **turbocharges** /'tɜːrbəʊtʃɑːrdʒ/ v. 用涡轮增压；助长

一、表达积累

1.表达“付出了沉重的代价”本文中用 at a heavy cost, 此外以下也是一些常见的表达

(1) Pay a heavy price

The company **paid a heavy price** for ignoring safety regulations.

该公司因无视安全规定而付出了沉重的代价。

(2) Bear a heavy cost

The pandemic has caused many families to **bear a heavy cost** in terms of health and finances.

疫情使许多家庭在健康和经济方面付出了沉重代价。

(3) Suffer a heavy loss

The business **suffered a heavy loss** when their factory burned down.

当他们的工厂被烧毁时，他们损失惨重。

(4) Come at a great expense

The luxurious lifestyle he leads **comes at a great expense** to his financial stability.

他奢侈的生活方式使他的经济稳定付出了巨大的代价。

(5) Exact a high toll

The prolonged lockdown **exacted a high toll** on people's mental health.

长期封锁给人们的心理健康造成了严重损害。

2.表达“听任摆布，被左右”本文中用 **be pushed around**, 此外以下也是一些常见的表达

(1) To be at someone's mercy

Without her passport, she was **at the mercy of** the immigration officials.

由于没有护照，她只能任由移民局官员摆布。

(2) To be under someone's thumb

He always has to be in control; he can't bear the thought of being **under someone's thumb**.

他总是要掌控一切；一想到要受人控制，他就受不了。

(3) To be at the beck and call of someone

As a personal assistant, she was constantly at the beck and **call of her boss**.

作为一名私人助理，她随时听命于老板。

(4) To dance to someone's tune

He may be the boss, but I refuse to **dance to his tune**.

他也许是老板，但我拒绝对他唯命是从。