

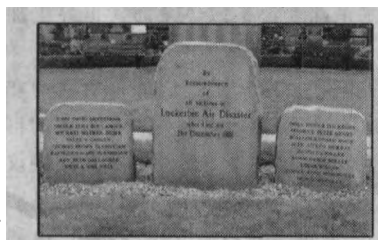
A Long Slog Led to Libya's Decision

— British Negotiators Spent Months Persuading Gaddafi to End Arms Program

促使利比亚作出决定的“漫长跋涉”

— 英国谈判代表花几个月的时间说服卡扎菲终止武器计划

By Glenn Frankel



译者点评:2003年12月19日晚,利比亚外长沙勒加姆、英国首相布莱尔和美国总统布什先后宣布,利比亚自愿放弃大规模杀伤性武器,并接受国际核查。这是变幻莫测的卡扎菲又一惊人之举,是个爆炸性新闻。利比亚此举意欲何为?为什么这消息由利比亚、英国和美国先后宣布,幕后有什么秘密的外交活动?2003年12月20日,《纽约时报》在题为《促使利比亚作出决定的“漫长跋涉”》的文章中详细披露了利比亚和美英两国秘密外交9个月的详情。下文主要选自这篇文章,其中我们加上了分析家们的种种评论及洛克比空难和利比亚受制裁的来龙去脉,为的是让读者对围绕利比亚的种种新闻事件有个大概的了解。有的评论家说,卡扎菲此举是为摆脱在国际上的孤立并为他儿子接班铺平道路;有的说,他同美英拉关系是出于经济上的考虑;还有的说他是在伊拉克战争之后看到萨达姆的下场才这样做的。众说纷纭,莫衷一是。这些分析可供参考,以开拓思路。我们在寰球人物中还对卡扎菲这个新闻人物作了专门介绍,读者可以联系起来看。

In a wood-paneled private room at the exclusive Travelers Club on *Pall Mall¹ in London, four British officials and three Libyan counterparts met on December 16, 2003 to put in writing Libya's commitment to dismantle its weapons of mass destruction and end the North African country's isolation from the international community.

It took six hours to close the deal, British officials recalled on December 20. The British team—two senior *Foreign Office² diplomats and two officials from the MI6³ intelligence agency—was looking for a clear statement that, contrary to its previous claims, Libya had indeed been pursuing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and was now prepared to go through a verifiable process in destroying those it had. The Libyans, led by intelligence chief Musa Kusa, sought to ensure that the statement would be clear and accurate but not humiliating.

“It was a long slog,” one official recalled. But ▶

2003年12月16日,在伦敦蓓尔美尔街不轻易吸收新会员的旅行者俱乐部一个嵌木板的秘密房间里,4名英国官员和3名利比亚官员一起书面敲定如下:利比亚承诺拆除大规模杀伤性武器,结束国际社会对这个北非国家的孤立。

英国官员12月20日回忆说,敲定协议花了6个小时。由英国外交部两名高级外交官和军情六处两名官员组成的英国代表团希望敲定一项明确的声明,指出同利比亚以前的说法相反,利比亚确实一直在寻求核、化学和生物武器,现在,利比亚准备通过可核实的程序销毁它所拥有的这些东西。由利比亚情报机构负责人穆萨·库萨率领的利比亚代表团则希望确保声明的措辞要明确、准确而不带着辱性。▶

1. 伦敦以俱乐部云集而闻名的一条大街

2. 英国外交部

3. MI6是military intelligence 6 section的缩写,(英国秘密情报局的)军情六处

the result was an agreement that officials in London hailed as a triumph for diplomacy and a possible precedent for future dealings with states such as Iran and North Korea. "This is as a result of painstaking diplomacy over many months," British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said. "We have said all the way along that we would prefer to see the world made more peaceful by a removal of illegal proliferation regimes to be done in an entirely peaceful way."

British officials are usually tight-lipped about their work behind closed doors. But their pride in this achievement was apparent in their willingness to disclose key details of the nine-month effort that resulted in the deal, which was announced in a carefully choreographed sequence of statements Friday evening by Libyan Foreign Minister Abdel-Rahman Shalgam in Tripoli, Prime Minister Tony Blair in London and President Bush in Washington.

According to the British account, Kusa, who is one of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi's most trusted aides, approached MI6 officials in March 2003 to say his government wanted to initiate talks with Britain and the United States about its weapons of mass destruction program. Kusa and his team—the Libyan ambassadors to Rome and London, Abdel Ati Obeidi and Mohammed al-Zuai, respectively—were the same group that successfully negotiated a compensation agreement with British officials for the victims of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing.

Britain restored diplomatic relations with Libya in 1999 after a 15-year break. It cosponsored⁴ the U.N. Security Council resolution that ended U.N. sanctions against Gaddafi's government last September. British officials said the level of personal trust built during its recent negotiations and contacts with Kusa and his team carried over into talks about the weapons programs. "They knew each other, and they knew they could trust each other," an official said. He said Britain immediately informed the Bush administration of Libya's request and Bush and Blair discussed the matter when they met at Camp David in March 2003, just after U.S. and British forces invaded Iraq. Condoleezza Rice, the U.S. national security adviser, and Nigel Sheinwald, Blair's new chief foreign policy adviser, helped coordinate the sessions.

British-American teams held secret sessions with the Libyans in Britain through the summer and visited Libya for three weeks in October and early December, trips that British officials said resulted in "significant disclosures of nuclear, chemical, biological and missile-re-▶

一位官员回忆说：“这是一场漫长的跋涉。”不过，其结果是达成了一项协议，伦敦的官员称之为外交上的胜利，可能为今后同伊朗和朝鲜之类的国家打交道开了先河。英国外交大臣杰克·斯特劳说：“这是数月来艰苦的外交活动的结果。我们一直在说，我们宁愿看到，以完全和平的方式消除非法扩散体系而使世界更加和平。”

英国官员通常对他们的幕后活动守口如瓶。但是，他们对取得这一成就的自豪溢于言表，愿意披露最终达成这项协议的9个月来所作的努力的重要细节。星期五晚上，通过事先精心安排的次序，由利比亚外长阿卜杜勒·拉赫曼·沙勒加姆在的黎波里、英国首相托尼·布莱尔在伦敦和布什总统在华盛顿先后发表声明宣布这项协议。

按照英国的说法，作为利比亚领导人卡扎菲最信任助手之一的库萨于2003年3月同英国军情六处的官员接触，说他的政府想同英国和美国就利比亚的大规模杀伤性武器计划举行会谈。同英国官员就向1988年洛克比爆炸的遇难者的赔偿问题成功达成协议的也是库萨和他的代表团成员——利比亚驻罗马和伦敦大使阿卜杜勒·阿提·奥贝迪和穆罕默德·阿尔祖埃。

在断交15年后，英国于1999年同利比亚恢复了外交关系。去年9月通过的取消联合国对卡扎菲政府制裁的联合国安理会决议就是由英国和其他国家联合提出的。英国官员说，在前不久同库萨及其代表团举行的谈判和彼此接触中所建立的个人信任贯穿到武器计划的会谈中。一位官员说：“他们彼此了解，而且他们知道他们能彼此信任。”他说，英国立即把利比亚的要求告知布什政府，布什和布莱尔2003年3月在戴维营会晤时讨论了这个问题，当时正好是美英联军入侵伊拉克之后。美国国家安全顾问康多莉扎·赖斯和布莱尔新的首席对外政策顾问奈杰尔·沙因沃尔德帮助协调双方的会谈。

美英代表团和利比亚的代表整个夏天在英国举行秘密会谈，随后，美英代表团成员于10月和12月初到利比亚访问3周，英国官员说，这些访问的结▶

lated activities.” They said their experts concluded that Libya “was close to developing” a nuclear weapons capability.

Shalqam told *al-Jazeera television⁵ that Libya had acted because its weapons program did not benefit its people. “We want to have ties with America and Britain because this is in the interest of our people,” he said. Analysts said that Libyan leader Gaddafi probably acted mainly for reasons particular to Libya—such as his desire to improve the domestic economy and pave the way for his son Saif al-Islam to succeed him. In Washington, Bush administration officials said they believed that an impetus for Gaddafi’s move was the brewing confrontation with Iraq, as well as mounting international pressure. Officials said they believed that another significant factor was that Libya knew U.S. and British intelligence had developed direct, verifiable knowledge of Libyan weapons materials.

Libya’s sudden admission of its past nuclear weapons ambitions and its agreement with the United States and Britain to dismantle all its unconventional weapons programs and submit to international inspections are part of a broader initiative by Gaddafi to rehabilitate his country’s standing in the international community. Gaddafi’s decision to *come clean⁶ is the latest in a series of moves to end his country’s international isolation and shed its reputation as a *rogue nation⁷. Hans Blix, former chief U.N. weapons inspector, said he imagined “Gaddafi could have been scared by what he saw happen in Iraq.”

The United Nations recently lifted sanctions after Libya acknowledged responsibility for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. But the United States has tied the lifting of other sanctions to the eradication of Libya’s unconventional weapons programs. Libya has agreed to pay as much as \$10 million in compensation for each of the 270 victims of the bombing, once all international sanctions are lifted. Pan Am Flight 103 from London to New York exploded over the Scottish town of Lockerbie on Dec. 21, 1988, killing 259 people on the plane and 11 on the ground. A former Libyan intelligence agent was found guilty of the bombing in 2001 and sentenced to life in prison.

Senior Libyan government officials have confirmed that Libya had been developing uranium en-

果是“在核、化学和生物武器以及与导弹有关的活动方面重要的透露”。他们说，他们的专家的结论是：利比亚“接近有研制”核武器的能力。

沙勒加姆对半岛电视台记者说，利比亚之所以采取行动是因为它的武器计划对它的人民没有好处。他说：“我们希望同美英两国建立关系，因为这是符合我们人民的利益的。”分析家们说，利比亚领导人卡扎菲之所以这样做主要是出于利比亚自身的考虑——诸如他渴望改善国内经济状况以及为他儿子赛义夫·伊斯兰继位铺平道路。在华盛顿，布什政府的官员说，他们认为，推动卡扎菲采取行动的动力是酝酿中的同伊拉克的冲突以及国际压力越来越大。官员们说，他们认为，另一个重要因素是，利比亚晓得，美英情报机构掌握了利比亚武器材料的直接和可核实的情况

利比亚突然承认过去在核武器方面的野心，并同美英两国达成取消所有非常规武器计划并接受国际核查的协议，这是卡扎菲要恢复他的国家在国际社会中的地位的行动的一部分。卡扎菲决定全盘招供是他想结束他的国家在国际上的孤立地位并摆脱无赖国家的名声的一系列行动中最新的一次。联合国前武器核查小组负责人汉斯·布利克斯说，他猜测，“卡扎菲看到的伊拉克所发生的情况把他给吓倒了”。

前不久，在利比亚承认对1988年在苏格兰的洛克比上空发生的泛美航空公司103班机的爆炸事件承担责任之后，联合国解除了对它的制裁。但是，美国把解除其他制裁同消除利比亚的非常规武器计划联系起来。利比亚已经同意，一旦所有国际制裁解除后，就向爆炸中的270名遇难者每人支付高达1000万美元的赔偿金。从伦敦飞往纽约的泛美航空公司103班机于1988年12月21日在苏格兰的洛克比镇上空爆炸，遇难的是机上的259人和地面上的11人。2001年，在对这次爆炸的审判中，一名前利比亚特工被裁定有罪，被判处无期徒刑。

利比亚政府高级官员证实，利比亚一直▶

4. cosponsor [kəʊˈspɒnsə(r)] n. 作为...的联合发起(主办)人
5. 半岛电视台总部设在卡塔尔，以播发阿拉伯新闻著称，在阿富汗和伊拉克战争期间名噪一时，经常播达基地组织及其领导人本·拉登以及萨达姆的录像带
6. 和盘托出，全盘招供，说实话
7. 无赖国家，以美国为首的西方国家对萨达姆统治下的前伊拉克等几个国家的叫法

richment technology to enable it to build nuclear bombs. The program included buying uranium from abroad, as well as centrifuge and conversion equipment that was used to build a small, now dismantled enrichment plant. Libya joined the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1963 and signed the *Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty⁸ in 1975. The country has agreed to sign an additional protocol that will give inspectors broader, more intrusive rights. "We agree to the commitment that we are taking from the International Atomic Energy Agency and we are willing to abide by its rules and honor our commitments," the Libyan prime minister, Shukri Ghanem, told the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Libya is one of just 14 countries that have neither signed nor ratified the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention prohibiting the production, storage and use of chemical weapons. The United States imposed sanctions in 1986, accusing Libya of supporting terrorist groups. Ten years later, America passed the *Iran and Libya Sanctions Act⁹, which threatened to penalize the U.S. partners of European companies that did significant business in Libya and Iran. ■

在研制浓缩铀技术,以便能够制造核弹。这项计划包括从国外购买铀以及建造如今已拆除的一个小型浓缩铀工厂所使用的离心机 and 转换设备。利比亚于1963年加入国际原子能机构并于1975年签署了《不扩散核武器条约》。利比亚已同意签署《不扩散核武器条约》附加议定书,允许核查人员进入利比亚进行更广泛、更深入核查的权利。利比亚总理舒凯里·加奈姆对英国广播公司记者说:“我们同意我们对国际原子能机构所作出的承诺,我们愿意遵守它的规定并信守我们的承诺。”

利比亚是既没有签署也没有批准禁止生产、储存和使用化学武器的1993年《化学武器公约》的14个国家之一。美国指控利比亚支持恐怖组织,所以于1986年对它实施制裁。10年后,美国通过了“对伊朗和利比亚制裁法”,扬言要惩罚在利比亚和伊朗做大宗生意的欧洲公司的美国伙伴。

(星文 译自《纽约时报》及外电外报综合)

8. 《不扩散核武器条约》,像这种条约之类的正式专名必须严格按照正式译名翻译,决不能随便译。

9. 这是美国专门作出的对伊朗和利比亚制裁的规定



Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to a controversial shrine honoring Japan's war dead on January 1, 2004 prompted howls of condemnation from South Korea and China. The visit Thursday was Koizumi's fourth pilgrimage to the shrine since he took office in April 2001. 2004年1月1日,日本首相小泉纯一郎参拜了颇受争议的供奉日本战犯的靖国神社,进而招致韩国和中国民众的强烈谴责。这是小泉自2001年4月上台以来第四次参拜靖国神社。(Reuters Jan. 2, 2004)



A Flash Air Boeing 737 carrying 148 people, mostly French tourists, crashed on January 3, 2004 into the Red Sea shortly after taking off. 2004年1月3日,埃及“闪电”航空公司一架波音737客机满载148名乘客起飞后不久坠入红海。遇难者中大部分为法国游客。(AFP Jan. 3, 2004)



U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Ann Veneman speaks to the press at the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington, January 7, 2004. Dozens of nations banned U.S. beef after the December 23 discovery of mad cow disease on a Washington state dairy farm. The U.S. Agriculture Department said on January 6 that DNA test results showed with a 'high degree of certainty' that the cow was from an Alberta ranch, Canada. 2004年1月7日,美国农业部长安·维尼曼在华盛顿美国农业部对媒体发言。自从12月23日在华盛顿州一奶牛场发现疯牛病病例后,许多国家都禁止从美国进口牛肉。1月6日,美国农业部称基因测试结果表明病牛“非常有可能”来自加拿大阿尔伯达省的一个牧场。(Reuters Jan. 7, 2003)



Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and his Pakistani counterpart Jamali listen to national anthems at Islamabad airport, Pakistan, on Jan. 3, 2004. Nuclear rivals India and Pakistan have met for the first time since coming to the brink of war in 2002. 2004年1月3日,印度总理瓦杰帕伊和巴基斯坦总理贾瓦利在巴基斯坦首都伊斯兰堡机场听奏国歌。这是核对手印巴两国自2002年濒临交战边缘以来的第一次会晤。(AP Jan. 3, 2004) (学琼 摘译)