

沙龙打破政治格局

导读:在他所领导的利库德集团内部,以色列总理沙龙遭遇到重重阻力,难以实现其同巴勒斯坦达成永久性和平的政治抱负。沙龙日前表示将退出利库德集团,另立新的中间派政党,希望在提前举行的大选中胜出。

Sharon breaks the political mould¹

Ariel Sharon has spent more of his life as a soldier than a politician, and it has often been said that he is better at tactics than strategy. This familiar point is highly relevant today because even he cannot foresee the outcome of his dramatic decision to resign as leader of the Likud and form a new party to fight early elections. Israel's complicated political system certainly now faces a massive realignment, with early indications that several other senior Likud ministers will join him in setting up a centrist party to be known as “*National Responsibility²”. So will some big Labour beasts, perhaps even Shimon Peres, at 82 just deposed as leader of his party by a younger man of Moroccan origin, more doveish bent³ and wider populist⁴ appeal. They will be an invaluable asset as the old warhorse gallops⁵ across Israel's great divide over land and peace in the Middle East.

The immediate context of this turmoil is last summer's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, bulldozed⁶ through by the pragmatic Mr Sharon in the face of furious protests by the ideological right wing of the Likud and its religious allies. Gaza, home to more than a million Palestinians living in squalor⁷ and despair, had been ruled by Israel since 1967. The withdrawal and the dismantling of the illegal settlements it built there was a highly significant event. Ultimately, though, its significance always depended on what happened next. Was it to be Gaza first and last, as some feared, or the beginning of a process that would lead to a withdrawal from the West Bank, the bulk of what remains of *Mandatory Palestine⁸ and the heartland of any Palestinian 'state'? That is no clearer after Mr Sharon's mould-breaking manoeuvre⁹. ▶

阿里埃勒·沙龙一生从军时间长于从政,因此人们往往说他对战术的精通甚于战略。这个为人熟知的说法今天也颇恰如其分,因为就连他本人也无法预见自己突然决定辞去利库德集团领袖一职另组新党迎战提前举行的选举的结果如何。现在以色列错综复杂的政治体系无疑面临大规模的重组,初步迹象显示,利库德集团另外几位资深部长将追随他成立一个中间派政党,即所谓的“国家责任党”。工党的一些具有影响力的强势人物也会跟进,甚至或许还有82岁的西蒙·佩雷斯,因为一位原籍摩洛哥、较为年轻且更加温和、更具平民色彩的男子刚刚取代他成为工党的领导人。在沙龙这匹老战驹飞奔着跨越以色列人在中东土地与和平问题上的巨大分歧时,他们的加入将是一笔无比宝贵的财富。

出现这次动荡的直接起因是以色列今年夏天单方面撤出了加沙地带。撤出加沙是务实的沙龙强力推动的结果,遭到了利库德集团思想右翼的人士及其宗教盟友的强烈抗议。加沙居住着100多万生活在贫穷和绝望中的巴勒斯坦人,1967年以来一直为以色列所统治。撤出并拆除以色列在那里非法建造的定居点意义重大。不过,其意义最终总是取决于接下来发生的事情。正如有人所担心的,撤离加沙是第一个也是最后一个举动吗?还是说这一举动开启了以色列从西岸撤出的进程?西岸是“(英国)托管的巴勒斯坦”现存的主要部分,也是将来成立的巴勒斯坦国的中心地区。在沙龙采取打破国内政治格局的行动后,这并未更加明朗。▶

Nothing so far suggests a radical departure. The abandonment, along with Gaza, of four isolated settlements in the West Bank was consistent with his view that the big settlement blocs with scores of thousands of inhabitants would stay put in any final peace deal, as would the Jewish "suburbs" encircling what was once *Arab East Jerusalem¹⁰. Under Mr Sharon the controversial *"security barrier"¹¹ ostensibly¹² built to keep out suicide bombers has come to look like the final border between Israel and Palestine.

Gaza may be back in Palestinian hands, but in the West Bank existing outposts¹³ have been expanded *in defiance of¹⁴ the internationally backed "road map" to peace. Mr Sharon has built bypass roads to provide security for Israelis and break up Palestinian areas into isolated enclaves¹⁵—even as he insists that the *Palestinian Authority¹⁶ disarm Islamist groups such as *Hamas and Islamic Jihad¹⁷. Nor has he given any sign that he will be prepared to swap the *Golan Heights¹⁸ for a peace treaty with Syria. Mr Sharon has often been compared to Charles de Gaulle, the strong national leader who knew France could win the war in Algeria but could not sustain the cost politically. The Israeli leader has not gone down that road. If he does, history is likely to judge him far more kindly.

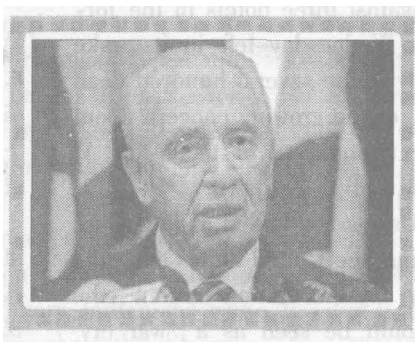
Still, the most striking thing about this move is that it marginalises¹⁹ the right and expands the space occupied by the centre. It makes no sense for Mr Sharon to have quit the Likud only to seek a new coalition with the rump²⁰ of the party, led by his hated rival Binyamin Netanyahu, ►

迄今为止还没有看到改弦更张的迹象。放弃加沙连同西岸四个孤立的定居点符合他的想法,他认为最终的那个和平协议要保留以色列拥有数万定居者的大型定居点,就像环绕从前的“阿拉伯东耶路撒冷”的犹太“郊区”。在沙龙的领导下,表面上为了阻止自杀性爆炸者而建、有争议的“安全屏障”看上去已经像是巴以之间的最终边界。

加沙可能回到了巴勒斯坦人手中,然而以色列却无视得到国际支持的和平“路线图”,扩建了西岸现有的前哨基地。沙龙修筑了用以保障以色列人安全的旁道又

路,而将巴勒斯坦地区分割成一块块孤零零的飞地——即使在他坚持要求巴勒斯坦民族权力机构解除哈马斯和伊斯兰圣战组织等伊斯兰组织武装的时候也是如此。他也没有表示过准备拿戈兰高地换取同叙利亚的和平条约。人们经常将沙龙比作戴高乐,戴高乐这位强有力的国家领导人知道法国能够赢得阿尔及利亚战争的胜利,但是无法承受其政治代价。沙龙这位以色列领导人尚未走上这条路。如果他走上了这条路,历史可能会对他作出好得多的评价。

然而,这一举措最明显的效果是它将使右翼被边缘化,从而扩展中间派的空间。对沙龙来说,如果退出利库德集团只是为了在大选后同他的仇敌本雅明·内塔尼亚胡领导的该党余部结成新的联盟, ►



Shimon Peres announces his departure from the opposition Labour.

1. mould [məʊld] n. 模式, 常规
2. 沙龙创建的新党于 11 月 24 日更名为前进党 (Kadima, 意即 "forward")。
3. bent [bent] n. (尤指气质使然的) 爱好, 才具; 倾向
4. populist ['pɒpjəlɪst] a. 平民主义的, 平民主义者的
5. gallop [ˈgæləp] vi. (马等) 疾驰, 飞奔
6. bulldoze [ˈbʊldəʊz] vt. 使强行通过
7. squalor [ˈskwɒlə(r)] n. 恶劣, 肮脏
8. Mandatory Palestine 英国托管的巴勒斯坦。第一次世界大战期间, 巴勒斯坦沦为英国的“委托统治地”。
9. manoeuvre [məˈnuːvə(r)] n. 调遣, 策略
10. Arab East Jerusalem 阿拉伯的东耶路撒冷。那里阿拉伯人居民占多数。第一次中东战争结束后, 原本被联合国指定为国际城市的耶路撒冷被阿以双方的停火线由北向南切割为东西两部分, 东区被约旦占领, 西区被以色列占领。

- 以色列建国前, 大量犹太移民居住在新开发的西耶路撒冷, 故西耶路撒冷又称犹太区。东耶路撒冷一直是阿拉伯居民占绝对优势, 被称为阿拉伯区。
11. security barrier 安全屏障, 安全隔离墙
12. ostensibly [ɒˈstensəbli] ad. 表面上地, 显然地, 明显地
13. outpost [ˈaʊtpəʊst] n. [军] 前哨基地; (设在国外的) 军事基地
14. in defiance of sth 无视某事物
15. enclave [ˈenkleɪv] n. 飞地 (指在本国境内的隶属另一国的一块领土); 孤立的小块地区
16. Palestine Authority 巴勒斯坦民族权力机构
17. Hamas and Islamic Jihad 哈马斯和伊斯兰圣战组织, 两个武装反抗以色列占领的巴勒斯坦组织
18. Golan Heights 戈兰高地, 以色列占领的叙利亚领土
19. marginalise [ˈmɑːdʒɪnəlaɪz] vt. 忽视, 排斥, 使边缘化
20. rump [rʌmp] n. 尾部, 余部, 残余

Is America to blame?

美国该受责备吗?

By Rami G. Khouri



精读



(1) The terror attack against three hotels in the Jordanian capital Amman last Wednesday left in its wake more than the human tragedy of the several hundred dead or injured innocent people, or the growing concern about how to stop the expanding regional terror tactics of Al Qaeda's man in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

(2) Just as 9/11 was Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda's declaration of war against the United States and others accused of encroaching¹ on the Islamic realm, the 11/9 attacks last week should be seen as a *war cry² within the narrower Arab realm.

(3) The Amman attack clarified the key protagonists³ of this regional and global ideological struggle, while also pointing out the contradictions and tensions in the arena of public opinion where it is being waged.

(4) The main point of 11/9 in Amman is not about the specific attack, but the wider war it portends⁴. Zarqawi's group planned, carried out and took credit for this attack ▶

上周三约旦首都安曼三处酒店遭遇恐怖袭击,其后果不只是数百名无辜者伤亡的人类惨剧,也不只是人们对如何阻止基地组织在伊拉克的领导人阿布·穆萨卜·扎卡维不断扩大的地域恐怖战术的日益关注。

正如“9·11”是奥萨玛·本·拉登和基地组织对被指控践踏了伊斯兰领地的美国与其他国家宣战一样,上周 11·9 袭击应该被视为是在阿拉伯这块稍小一点的伊斯兰领地上的战斗呐喊。

发生在安曼的袭击使这个地区与全球意识形态之争的领导者们变得清晰起来,同时也凸显了公众舆论被操纵的这一地区的矛盾和紧张局势。

安曼 11·9 袭击最大意图并非目标明确的袭击本身,而在于它所预示的更大范围的战争。扎卡维集团策划、执行并承认 ▶

after the elections. Mr Sharon must be hoping to win, but another possible outcome could be to join a coalition led by *Amir Peretz's²¹ revived Labour party on a platform of agreement with the Palestinians. Palestinians have every reason to be sceptical. But the election means a new Israeli government will be in place shortly after their elections in February, when the participation of Hamas could bring significant results. Israeli politics, like all politics, is first of all local, but as this extraordinary change sinks in, the stakes could hardly be higher. What really matters—and to the entire world—is whether the outcome can form the basis for a final peace settlement that enough Palestinians can accept. That remains the greatest prize. ■

这样做毫无意义。沙龙一定希望胜出,不过另一个可能的结局是加盟由阿米尔·佩雷茨所领导的复兴的工党联盟与巴勒斯坦达成协议的政纲。巴勒斯坦人有充分理由心存疑虑。但是以色列大选意味着以色列新政府将在巴勒斯坦人 2 月份选举后不久走马上任,到时候哈马斯的参政可能带来重大的影响。与所有政治一样,以色列的政治首先是地方性的,但是随着这种特殊变故被公众所理解,利害关系势必更为严重。真正重要的——对整个世界来说——是这个结果能否形成最终和平协议的基础以使足够多的巴勒斯坦人所能接受。这仍然是应当追求的最大目标。

(刘宗亚 译自 *The Guardian* Nov. 22, 2005)

21. Amir Peretz 阿米尔·佩雷茨,工党新领导人