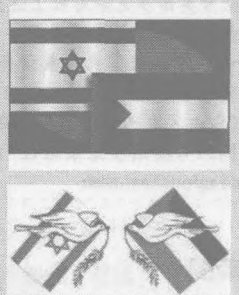
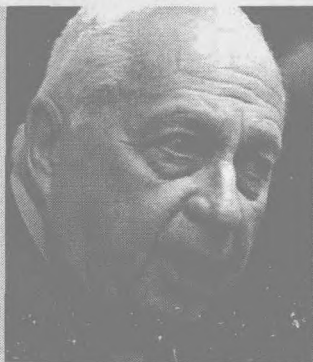


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A fresh start for the Middle East?

By Claude Salhani

(1) Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon departs the political scene leaving a legacy of war and peace, having fought for both with equal vigor.

(2) For peace to take a foothold in the long-standing Middle East dispute it was long argued that the two principal actors—Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat—had to first exit the stage of politics. Only then could concrete steps toward a lasting peace be seriously undertaken.

(3) Many Middle East observers believed that Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Sharon needed to take a final bow and retire, leaving their places to a younger generation of leaders, ones hopefully with less political luggage than Sharon and Arafat came with.

(4) The long-standing feud between the two leaders that traced its origins back decades prevented a “business-like” relationship between the men. There was simply too much ‘bad blood’ between the two. There was too much blood, period².

(5) There was so much bad blood and bitter history between the two giants of Palestinian and Israeli politics that only death would finally put an end to their decades-old dispute. For nearly half a century, Sharon chased Arafat around the Middle East and North Africa, trying to eliminate him and those close to him, while Arafat plotted attacks on Israel.

(6) Arafat died in November 2004 in a suburban Paris hospital following a brief, but unexplained illness leaving the leadership of the Palestinian Authority to the much more moderate Mahmoud Abbas, who is also known as Abu Mazen.

(7) Sharon succeeded in 1982 in having Arafat ►

以色列总理阿里埃勒·沙龙离开政治舞台,留下了战争与和平的遗产,他一直以同等精力为此二者而战。

为了使和平在旷日持久的中东争斗中得以立足,人们长久以来认为:两个主要角色,即阿里埃勒·沙龙和亚西尔·阿拉法特,必须首先退出政治舞台;只有到那时才有可能认真采取走向持久和平的具体步骤。

许多中东问题观察家相信,阿拉法特、巴解组织以及沙龙最终需要揖让以退,将位置留给更年轻一代的领导人——这些人的政治包袱有望比沙龙和阿拉法特登上这个舞台时少一些。

这两位领导人之间存在已久的仇隙可以回溯到数十年前。这种仇隙阻碍了在他们之间建立起“务实而有效的”关系。他们两人之间的积怨确实太深了。一句话,血仇太深了。

在巴勒斯坦和以色列这两大政治巨人之间有如此的深仇大恨,如此令人痛心疾首的历史,只有死亡才会最终了结他们长达数十年的纠纷。差不多有半个世纪的时间,沙龙在中东和北非追击阿拉法特,企图将他及其追随者赶尽杀绝,阿拉法特则密谋袭击以色列。

2004年11月,在经历了短暂的、原因不明的疾病之后,阿拉法特在巴黎郊区的一所医院去世,将巴勒斯坦民族权力机构的领导权留给了温和得多的马哈茂德·阿巴斯(又称阿布·马赞)。

沙龙于1982年策划了对黎巴嫩的►

along with thousands of his fighters expelled from Beirut after he engineered the invasion of Lebanon. Arafat and his fighters were scattered to a number of Arab countries, some as far away as Morocco and Yemen. Sharon thought he had distanced the PLO and won the war.

(8) But destiny decreed otherwise and *saw to it that³ the two enemy soldiers-turned-politicians were to end up living as neighbors. Well practically neighbors. As a result of the 1993 Oslo Accords, Arafat was allowed to rebase in the Palestinian territories. He established his headquarters in Ramallah, just a few miles from the prime minister's office in Jerusalem.

(9) If the two old antagonists⁴ became neighbors, they never became good neighbors. As violence escalated with suicide bombers targeting Israel, and Israel retaliating⁵, Israel, much *to the detriment of⁶ the Palestinians, began to erect a wall-barrier-fence between them and the Palestinians.

(10) With Sharon now about to exit the political scene, chances for a fresh start between the Palestinians and Israelis could be better than ever, depending of course on who replaces Sharon in next March's elections. In the last year or so Sharon had veered politically from the far right to the center in his politics regarding the Palestinians.

(11) His views changed radically since his days as Housing minister when he expanded Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, to unilaterally withdrawing from Gaza and two West Bank settlements late last year.

(12) If his newly formed Kadima (Forward) Party manages to win next March's elections, chances for peace with the Palestinians might survive. However, a victory by the more hawkish Likud, with Binyamin Netanyahu as prime minister, could set the peace process on a hiatus⁷. Netanyahu has said he would make no concessions to the Palestinians.

(13) If on the other hand, Sharon's legacy for peace carries through and his political heirs win the election, and if the Palestinian Authority succeeds in convincing Hamas from resorting to violence, (that's a lot of ifs) there might still be a chance for peace, and Sharon the old hawk will *go down⁸ in the history books as somewhat of a dove.►

入侵,成功地将阿拉法特及其数千名战士驱逐出贝鲁特。阿拉法特及其战士被驱散到若干阿拉伯国家,有些人甚至被驱逐到远至摩洛哥和也门这样的国家。沙龙以为,他已把巴解组织撵得远远的了,这场战争也打赢了。

但是命运却做出了出人意料的安排,有意让这两位士兵出身的政治人物最终成了邻居——差不多就是左邻右舍了。根据1993年《奥斯陆协议》的决定,阿拉法特被允许在巴勒斯坦土地上重建基地。他把总部设在拉马拉,离位于耶路撒冷的以色列总理官邸仅数英里之遥。

如果说这两个宿敌成了邻居,他们却从来不曾成为好邻居。随着针对以色列的自杀炸弹袭击和以色列的报复性反击,暴力不断升级,以色列开始在以巴之间竖立起一道隔离墙,这对巴勒斯坦人是极为不利的。

既然沙龙现在即将退出政治舞台,巴以之间从头开始的机会可能比过去大多了。当然,这还取决于在即将到来的3月份的选举中由谁来替代沙龙。在过去的一年左右时间里,沙龙对巴勒斯坦人的政治主张已由极右转变为持中间立场。

从沙龙出任住房和建设部长期间扩展犹太人在被占领土上的定居点,到去年底单方面从加沙和两个西岸定居点撤出,他的观点发生了根本性的转变。

如果他新组建的前进党(Kadima)在即将到来的3月份的选举中能够胜出的话,与巴媾和的机会或许可以继续存在。然而,如果更为强硬的鹰派利库德集团获胜,本雅明·内塔尼亚胡出任总理,和平进程可能会中断。内塔尼亚胡已经表态,他不会向巴勒斯坦人做出任何让步。

另一方面,假如沙龙的和平遗产能够传承下去,他的政治继承人赢得选举,假如巴勒斯坦民族权力机构成功说服哈马斯不再诉诸暴力(太多的“假如”),那么和平可能还有机会,沙龙这位昔日的鹰派人物将以些许鸽派形象被载入史册。►

1. bad blood (相互之间的)恶感,仇恨

2. period ['piəriəd] *int.* <美口> 常用于叙述事实或看法后表示强调) 就是这话;就是这么回事

3. see to it that 注意;务必做到,保证

4. antagonist [æn'tæɡənɪst] *n.* 对抗者,对手;敌手

5. retaliate [ri'tæliet] *vi.* 报复;以牙还牙

6. detriment ['detrɪmənt] *n.* 损害;不利;伤害 to the ~ of 有损于... (或对...不利)

7. hiatus [hai'eɪtəs] *n.* 间隙;间断

8. go down 被写下,被记下

(14) Throughout his military career, Sharon fought hard to defend Israel. He proved to be one of the brightest and most daring generals in the Israeli army. During the October 1973 War when the situation looked bleak for Israel as Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal and captured the Bar Lev Line, Sharon cut through the Sinai with a division of tanks, crossed the Canal and encircled the entire Egyptian Third Army a mere 63 miles from Cairo.

(15) As minister of Defense in Menachem Begin's government, Sharon planned and executed the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent siege of Beirut. It was while the Israeli army was in control of Beirut that Christian Phalangist militiamen entered the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila and massacred several thousand Palestinians.

(16) Sharon was found to be "indirectly responsible" by the Kahane Commission, but he was never tried in Israel. He resigned his position as Defense minister saying it was the first time in history that a Jewish minister was held responsible for Christians killing Muslims.

(17) Sharon's exit from Israel's political arena, much like Arafat's, puts an end to the era of warrior politicians in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Maybe the new generation will be able to bring about the long-awaited peace to the region. But then again, there are a lot of "ifs." ■

在其整个军旅生涯中,沙龙为捍卫以色列艰苦奋斗。他真正是以色列军队中最睿智、最骁勇的将领之一。在1973年“十月战争”期间,埃及部队越过苏伊士运河占领了巴列夫防线,以色列面临着似乎无望的情势;沙龙率领一个坦克师穿过西奈半岛,跨越苏伊士运河,在距开罗仅有63英里处包围了整个埃及第三军。

作为梅纳赫姆·贝京政府的国防部长,沙龙策划并实施了1982年对黎巴嫩的人侵以及后来对贝鲁特的围困。正是在以色列军队控制贝鲁特期间,基督教长枪党民兵进入了萨布拉和夏蒂拉的巴勒斯坦难民营,屠杀了数千名巴勒斯坦人。

沙龙被卡汉调查委员会认定“负有间接责任”,但是在以色列他从未受到审判。他辞去了国防部长的职务,称一位犹太人部长因基督徒杀害穆斯林承担责任在历史上是头一回。

沙龙从以色列政坛退出的情形,与阿拉法特十分相似,将以巴争端中行伍出身的政治人物的时代划上了一个句号。或许新一代领导人能为该地区带来期盼已久的和平,但是话又说回来了——还是有许多的“假如”。

背景知识:这篇800多字的短文从沙龙病倒离开政坛谈起,概括了沙龙这位行伍出身的政治人物为以色列的民族利益奋斗的一生,他从鹰派向鸽派的转变为可能出现的巴以和平做了铺垫。在巴以双方两个强势人物阿拉法特和沙龙相继退出政坛之时,中东局势面临新的契机,年轻一代的领导人似乎有望开启和平之门,这就是本文标题取名为“中东的新开端?”的理由。但作者在标题之后加上了一个问号,表明对所希望的前景并无十足把握。文中也历数了其中的缘由。本文虽短,但把巴以之间的仇恨史勾勒得十分清楚。

本文作者 Claude Salhani 是 UPI(合众国际社)的国际部编辑和政治评论家,是中东和恐怖主义问题专家。

本文中提及的沙龙、阿拉法特、阿巴斯以及巴勒斯坦最大、最有影响力的穆斯林原教旨主义运动哈马斯分别在我刊2005年10期、2005年1期、2005年3期以及2004年5期和2004年6期中做过专题介绍,读者可作参考。以下对文中各自然段中的背景知识逐一介绍。

第(3)自然段:Palestine Liberation Organization: 始建于1964年,旨在创建独立的巴勒斯坦国。1969年2月在开罗举行了巴勒斯坦民族大会,阿拉法特作为法塔赫组织的领导人被任命为巴解组织的执行委员会主席,直至2004年11月去世,他一直没有放弃这一权力。

第(8)自然段:1993 Oslo Accords: 1993年9月13日,以色列和巴解组织的代表在华盛顿签署了《巴以关于巴勒斯坦临时自治安排原则宣言》,即《奥斯陆协议》。仪式由时任美国总统克林顿主持,阿拉法特主席和拉宾总理首次握手。

第(12)自然段:Kadima (Forward) Party: 沙龙于2005年11月退出了他帮助建立的利库德党,创建了新党Kadima。该党成立后迅速地从利库德党和工党吸引过来许多人。

Likud(Union): 即利库德集团,又称联合党。1973年以色列大选时,哈尔集团、自由中心、拉姆党、人民党、国土完整运动等党联合组成利库德集团,成为以色列最大的保守党。此后,利库德集团或是执政或是在野。

Binyamin Netanyahu, 即 Benjamin Netanyahu, 1949年10月出生于以色列的特拉维夫。曾在美国接受教育,1967年回国服兵役,后在以色列驻美使馆和联合国工作。1988年被选入议会(Knesset),1996-1999年任以色列

总理。

第(14)自然段:Bar Lev Line: 1967年战争之后,以色列为有一个安全的边界,以沙石沿苏伊士运河的东部沿海构筑了沙堤道,长达160多公里,每10~12公里设哨所,约15人驻守。从此,以色列开始在西奈半岛开采石油。这就是巴列夫防线。但是在1973年10月进行的“赎罪日战争”(Yom Kippur)(阿拉伯世界称之为“斋月战争”或“十月战争”)期间,埃及军队突破了这道防线。

第(15)自然段:Menachem Begin: 梅纳赫姆·贝京,1913年出生于波兰。第一次世界大战期间,为逃避德俄战争,背井离乡,离开了波兰。在青少年时,即参加Betar青年运动,其全称是“Berit Joseph Trumpeldor Alliance”,这是个参加犹太复国活动的组织,始创于1923年,在全球都有分支机构,贝京先后负责捷克斯洛伐克Betar组织和波兰Betar组织。1940年曾被苏联的NKVD(苏联秘密警察和国外情报机构,隶属苏联内务部)逮捕入狱,1941年德国侵入俄国,贝京被释放,加入自由波兰军。1948年至1977年他是以色列的反对党领导人。1965年他的自由党(Herut Party 希伯来文,1948年)与自由党(Liberal Party, 1961)合并成立了贾哈尔党(Gahal),成为利库德党的前身。1967年加入民族团结政府任不管部部长。1977年成为利库德主席,并成为以色列总理,1982年辞去总理职务,开始隐居生活。

语言点:关于本篇文章中的翻译方面要注意的问题是组织名称的翻译。这些组织译称虽已有定译,但我们要知其然,还要知其所以然。

Fatah: 法塔赫,即“Palestine National Liberation Movement”(巴勒斯坦民族解放运动)的缩略词,这是个有意思的缩略词,其意为“征服”(Conquest)。

Hamas: 哈马斯,全称是“Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya,”即“Islamic Resistance Movement”(伊斯兰抵抗运动)的首字母组成,其意为“热情”(Zeal)。

Likud: 即利库德集团,其缩合词有“联合”(Union)之意。

Kadima (Forward) Party: Kadima 在希伯来文中是“前进”之意。

总之,这些组织名词的翻译所遵循的规则是,其缩合词或简称多是使用音译,其全称则使用“意”译。(范守义 译注自

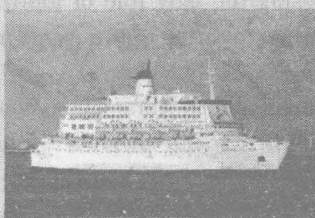
World Peace Herald Jan. 6, 2006)



Hamas supporters celebrate the victory of the Islamic group in Palestinian parliamentary elections Jan. 26, 2006. Hamas won a huge majority in parliamentary elections as Palestinian voters rejected the longtime rule of the Fatah Party. 2006年1月26日,哈马斯支持者庆祝该伊斯兰组织在巴勒斯坦议会选举中获胜。由于巴勒斯坦选民抵制法塔赫的长期领导,哈马斯在此次议会选举中赢得绝大多数席位。(AP Jan. 26, 2006)



Iranian Foreign Minister, Manouchehr Mottaki, speaks with media during a press conference in Tehran, Iran, Feb. 5, 2006. Iran has ended all voluntary cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mottaki announced Sunday. 2006年2月5日,伊朗外交部长马努切赫尔·穆塔基在伊朗首都德黑兰举行的记者招待会上对媒体发表讲话。穆塔基周日宣布,伊朗已中止所有同国际原子能机构的自愿合作。(AP Feb. 5, 2006)



An Egyptian passenger ferry carrying nearly 1,500 people sank in the Red Sea. Rescuers were making a last-ditch effort to save more passengers, leaving up to 1,000 people feared drowned. 一艘载有近1500名乘客的埃及客轮在红海沉没。救援人员正尽最后的努力以营救更多的乘客,多达1000人恐怕已溺水身亡。(AFP Feb. 5, 2006)



Thousands of demonstrators protest in Beirut against the publication of cartoons depicting Prophet Mohammad. Furious crowds stormed and set ablaze the building housing the Danish consulate in Beirut. 数千名示威者在贝鲁特抗议刊登描绘先知穆罕默德的漫画。愤怒的示威者冲击并纵火焚烧了丹麦驻贝鲁特的领馆大楼。(AFP Feb. 5, 2006)

(刘春晓 摘译)