

导读：黎巴嫩工业部长遇刺表明黎巴嫩的局势既深受国外事件的影响，又对国外局势产生深远影响。黎巴嫩向来是外国利益集团争权夺利的战场，随着有关国家在这里影响的消长，各种势力之间的冲突有愈演愈烈之势。埃及和沙特阿拉伯等逊尼派调停力量以及支持黎巴嫩政府的美国的影响力不断减小，什叶派的影响则不断壮大。美国在伊拉克陷入困境及真主党打击以色列的事实使伊朗更加有恃无恐。一些黎巴嫩人担心孤注一掷的美国有可能出卖黎巴嫩。不管是谁策划了这次暗杀，伊朗和叙利亚都将从这次事件中长久获得好处。

黎巴嫩部长遇刺在全球产生影响

Killing of minister in Lebanon **to have worldwide impact**

By Michael Slackman

The former longtime speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Thomas O'Neill, once famously said, "All politics is local." In Lebanon, it might be said that all politics is regional.

On Tuesday, when Pierre Gemayel, a government minister and scion¹ of a prominent Christian family, was assassinated, it was a reminder just how much this small country is affected by—and can effect—events and powers far beyond its own shores.

"Everything is connected," said Simon Karam, a former Lebanese ambassador to the United States shortly after visiting the Gemayel family to pay his respects.

It is not new that Lebanon is a proxy² battlefield for foreign interests. That reality helped spark and fuel a 15-year civil war that devastated the country. What is new, or at least re-energized, is the intensity of the dynamics, largely a result of the changing power relationships throughout the Middle East.

As the traditional Sunni Muslim powerbrokers of Cairo and Riyadh see their influence wane, Shi'ite Muslim Iran has seen its influence grow. That change regionally has reinforced a similar dynamic in Lebanon, which in turn has fed the regional alteration in the balance of power.

Hezbollah, the militia and political force in ►

曾长期担任美国众议院议长的托马斯·奥尼尔有句名言：“一切政治都是地方性的。”而在黎巴嫩，也许应该这样说：一切政治都是地区性的。

黎巴嫩政府的一位部长、出身于基督教名门望族的皮埃尔·杰马耶勒本周二遇刺，它提醒人们，黎巴嫩这个小国受远在海外的事件及大国的影响——以及它可能对这些事件和大国构成的影响——多么巨大。

前黎巴嫩驻美国大使西蒙·卡拉姆在向杰马耶勒的家人表示哀悼后即说：“所有的事情之间都有关联。”

黎巴嫩是外国利益集团打代理战争的战场，这并不是什么新鲜事。这个现实在黎巴嫩引发并加剧了长达15年的内战，使该国遭受重创。当前出现的新情况，或者至少可以说卷土重来的是，局势发展到了极其紧张的程度，这主要是由于整个中东地区的实力关系正在发生着变化。

开罗和利雅得这些传统的逊尼派穆斯林调停者的影响力日渐式微，而以什叶派穆斯林为主的伊朗的影响力却在不断扩大。该地区发生的这种变化加强了黎巴嫩国内出现的类似发展势头，黎巴嫩的局势反过来又助长了该地区力量对比发生变化。

伊朗支持的黎巴嫩民兵和政治力量真主 ►

1. scion[ˈsi:ən] n. (尤指贵族的)子孙、后裔

2. proxy[ˈprɒksi] n. 代理(人)的；代表的；代替的

Lebanon backed by Iran, is stronger than ever, and the Sunni-led, American backed government is so weak it was considered by many here to be moribund³, at best. The assassination may have briefly altered the equation⁴, but did not permanently change it, political analysts here said.

The effect of events in Lebanon on regional capitals *played itself out⁵ following the Gemayel killing, said Oussama Safa, general director of the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies. Before the assassination, he said, there were negotiations taking place he believed would have resolved the political crisis that had crippled⁶ Lebanon's government and threatened to bring it down. He said that Egypt and Saudi Arabia had worked hard behind the scenes to end the crisis, and that, had a deal been struck, it would have not only helped stabilize Lebanon but would have elevated the regional standing of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, too.

And that would have been a plus for Washington, which increasingly relies on both—especially Cairo—to help navigate⁷ crises in the region.

But the killing derailed the deal, Safa said, and so regardless of who was behind the assassination, Syria and Iran come out the long-term beneficiaries.

"While Lebanon has always been an arena for international conflicts in the past, it has now served as a more direct arena for such international conflicts and disputes," said Emad Gad, a senior researcher at the Ahram Center for Strategic and Political Studies in Cairo.

This strategic crossfire is not always done in the open; in fact it is most often carried out by proxies. So while one group of Lebanese may be aware of who is *pulling the strings⁸, as Hezbollah is allied with Iran and Syria, and the Druse leader Walid Jumblatt is close to Washington, to the rest of the Lebanese it is often mystery, an exhausting mystery with clues but never any certainty. Hezbollah opponents blame Syria for assassinating former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005, and for the murder of five other anti-Syrian personalities since, including Gemayel. ►

党的势力比以往任何时候都更加强大,而美国支持的、由逊尼派领导的黎巴嫩政府则软弱无力,在许多黎巴嫩人看来,它至多只是在苟延残喘。此间政治分析人士说,这次暗杀事件也许已在短期内改变了黎巴嫩的政治力量平衡,但并没有永久地改变这种平衡。

黎巴嫩政策研究中心主任奥萨玛·萨法说,在杰马耶勒遇刺后,黎巴嫩局势对本地区国家的影响在逐渐消失。他说,暗杀事件发生前,各方还在谈判,而且他认为这种谈判本来会解决让黎巴嫩政府举步维艰且有可能导致

它彻底垮台的政治危机。他说,埃及和沙特阿拉伯此前一直在幕后为结束危机而努力,如果当时能够达成协议,不仅有助于稳定黎巴嫩局势,而且能提升埃及和沙特阿拉伯在本地区的威望。



A girl attends the funeral of Pierre Gemayel, Lebanon's assassinated industry minister.

这对华盛顿来说本来也是一件好事,因为它越来越依赖这两个国家——特别是开罗方面——帮助化解该地区的危机。

萨法说,但是暗杀事件让达成协议的愿望落空,因此不管是谁在幕后指使了这次暗杀,叙利亚和伊朗都是这次事件的长期获益者。

开罗金字塔政治和战略研究中心的资深研究员伊马德·贾德说:“黎巴嫩过去就一直是国际冲突之地,不过它现在成了上演这类国际冲突与纠纷的更直接的舞台。”

这样的战略交锋并不总是公开进行的;事实上,最常见的情况是利益集团通过代理者来展开较量。因此,也许有一部分黎巴嫩人可能知道幕后操纵者是谁,因为真主党与伊朗及叙利亚结盟,而德鲁兹教派领袖瓦利德·琼布拉特则与华盛顿关系密切。不过对于其他黎巴嫩人来说,这往往是一个谜,一个费解的谜,虽然有一些线索,但总是不能肯定。反对真主党的人指责叙利亚在幕后操纵,制造了2005年2月黎巴嫩前总理拉菲克·哈里里以及此后对包括杰马耶勒在内的另外5名反叙人士的暗杀事件。►

On Wednesday, thousands of people poured into the small Christian village of Bikfeiya, the home to Gemayel. With a heavy military presence, they wound their way down narrow streets; past stout⁹ stonewalls into the Gemayel home, where the coffin sat wrapped in the flag of the Phalange party.

Gemayel's grandfather was the founder of the party, a Christian organization that fielded¹⁰ the largest militia during the civil war and fought to force Palestinians to leave Lebanon. Once allied with Israel, the party is now small, but still deeply resented by Hezbollah and Lebanon's Palestinians.

"We have to wait for tomorrow, to see how the cards fall," said Jumana Nasser, as she sat on a cold bench outside the Gemayel family home. "We are waiting and we are living in a state of no war and no peace. Worry, worry, worry. Every time we think we are safe and it's over, something bad happens again."

Lebanon is a place where the geopolitical steps and missteps of countries, become personal for the people of Lebanon.

The country has been affected by the diminished regional influence of the United States, driven in large measure by the chaos in Iraq—but also because of Washington's refusal to press Israel to stop its bombing attacks last summer.

When the White House, for example, recently issued a statement accusing Iran, Syria and its allies of planning violence to topple the government, a prediction that now appears eerily¹¹ prescient¹², at least in terms of the violence, the statement was received as a *kiss of death¹³ by America's allies in the government. In Lebanon these days, public support from America is not seen as support, not at all.

"Arab reformer can't shake hands with the regimes, but we can no longer talk to the West," Safa said. "Democrats here were so galvanized¹⁴ so *hyped up¹⁵ only to see the international community approve the methodical pulverization¹⁶ of our infrastructure."

At the same time, some people here are saying ►

周三,成千上万的人涌入杰马耶勒的家乡,一个名叫比克费亚的信仰基督教的小村庄。这里重兵把守,人们在狭窄的街道上蜿蜒前行;经过坚固的石墙,进入杰马耶勒的家,这里摆放着杰马耶勒的棺木,上面覆盖着长枪党的党旗。

杰马耶勒的祖父是长枪党的创始人,这个基督教组织在黎巴嫩内战期间派出参战的民兵人数最多,他们为迫使巴勒斯坦人退出黎巴嫩而战。在和以色列结盟后,该党的规模现在已经缩小,但仍然是真主党及在黎的巴勒斯坦人的眼中钉。

朱玛娜·纳赛尔坐在杰马耶勒家外面一条冰冷的长凳上,她说:“我们只能等待明天的到来,看局势到底会怎样发展。我们在等待,我们生活在既没有战争也没有和平的状态中。整天都在提心吊胆。每次我们刚觉得安全了、一切都结束了,就还会有坏事发生。”

在黎巴嫩这个地方,各国的地缘政治举措及失策都会影响到黎巴嫩人民的个人生活。

美国在该地区影响力的下降影响到了黎巴嫩,而美国的影响之所以下降,很大程度上是由于伊拉克局势的混乱,同时也是因为今年夏天华盛顿拒绝为迫使以色列停止轰炸而向其施压。

比如,白宫最近发表声明,指责伊朗、叙利亚及其盟友在策划推翻黎巴嫩政府的暴力行动,现在看来美国的预言竟如此准确,至少从暴力行动的角度来看是这样。在黎巴嫩政府内的美国同盟者看来,这个声明就是死神之吻。在如今的黎巴嫩,美国的公开支持并不被视为支持,完全不是。

萨法说:“阿拉伯改革派不能和那些政权和解,不过我们也不能再和西方对话了。”“我们这里的民主党人曾经是如此的激动、振奋,可是最终他们看到的却是国际社会认可对我们的基础设施按部就班地实施破坏。”

与此同时,一些黎巴嫩人在说,他们►

3. moribund[ˈmɒrɪbʌnd] a. 垂死的;行将消亡的

4. equation[ɪˈkweɪʃən] n. (涉及平衡的)关系状态

5. play out (使)筋疲力尽,(使)逐渐减弱(或消失)

6. cripple[ˈkrɪpl] vt. 使丧失活动能力;严重影响;使瘫痪;削弱(经济等)

7. navigate[ˈnævɪgeɪt] vt. 找到正确方法(对付困难复杂的情况)

8. pull the strings 在幕后牵线,幕后操纵

9. stout[staut] a. 结实的,牢固的

10. field[fi:ld] vt. 把...投入战场

11. eerily[ˈɪərɪli] ad. 怪异地,神秘地;令人迷惑不解地

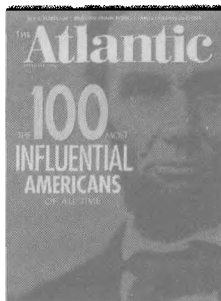
12. prescient[ˈpresɪənt] a. 有预知能力的,有先见之明的

13. kiss of death 导致死亡的接吻;看上去出于好心,实际上必然会导致严重后果的行为

14. galvanize[ˈgælvənaɪz] vt. 使振奋,使激动

15. hype up 使兴奋,使活跃

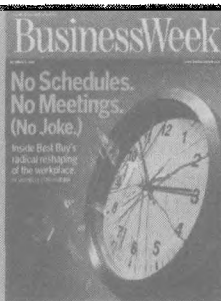
16. pulverization[ˌpʌlvəraɪˈzeɪʃən] n. 摧毁,毁灭



The Atlantic
(Dec. 2006) 100
位最有影响的美国
人

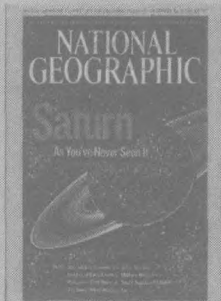
Who are the
most influential
figures in Amer-
ican history? The
Atlantic recently

asked ten eminent historians. The re-
sult was The Atlantic's Top 100—and
some insight into the nature of influ-
ence and the contingency of history.谁
是美国历史上最有影响的美国人?《大西洋
月刊》近来征询了10位著名历史学家的看
法。结果便有了本期的“百位名人榜”——
同时也深入分析了影响的性质以及历史的
偶然性。



BusinessWeek (Dec. 11, 2006) 打破
时间的桎梏

No schedules. No mandatory
meetings. Inside Best Buy's radical
reshaping of the workplace. 没有上下
班时间表。没有强制性会议。在 Best Buy
公司内,实行的是一种对工作管理的全新
的改革。



National Geographic (Dec., 2006)
你所不曾了解的土星

As the Cassini probe reveals the
secrets of the ringed giant, it is
finding clues to the very beginnings
of the solar system. 随着卡西尼探测器
揭示出这一环绕着光环的巨星的秘密,它
也为探索太阳系形成之初的情况提供了
线索。
(仲剑波 摘译)

they are increasingly fearful that a desperate Wash-
ington will sell out Beirut, and allow Syria to once a-
gain dominate Lebanese affairs, in return for Syria
helping stabilize Iraq.

And the converse of the overall dynamic is true,
too, with events in Lebanon increasingly reverberating
in capitals beyond its shores. In immediate terms
driven by specific event, for example, Gemayel's
murder—and the suspicion expressed by the White
House that Damascus was involved—could complicate
American efforts to enlist Syria to help calm Iraq,
even while Syria denies any involvement. At the same
time, Hezbollah's perceived victory over Israel last
summer complicated the United States' efforts to trim
Iranian influence in the region by emboldening
Tehran's proxy force in Lebanon.

When Hariri was killed in a massive car bomb-
ing in February 2005, many fingers pointed at Damas-
cus. That led many Arab capitals to shun Damas-
cus, the United States moved to isolate Syria and the
United Nation's ordered an investigation into the
killing. Preliminary reports implicated Syrian officials.

And in response, Damascus strengthened its own
strategic relationship with Iran, signing economic and
military pacts that in turn have helped spread
Tehran's influence in Syria, and strengthened it in
Lebanon as well. ■

越来越担心孤注一掷的华盛顿会出卖贝鲁
特,允许叙利亚再次主导黎巴嫩事务,以换取
叙利亚帮助稳定伊拉克局势。

黎巴嫩发生的一些事件在海外产生的反
响越来越大,在这种情况下,整体局势出现的
逆转也是确切无疑的。从当前形势看,在像杰
马耶勒遇刺——以及白宫怀疑大马士革参与
此事——这种具体事件的影响下,尽管叙利
亚否认与这次暗杀事件有任何关系,但美国
争取让叙利亚帮助稳定伊拉克局势的行动会
难上加难。与此同时,真主党自认为今年夏天
打败了以色列,让黎巴嫩境内代表德黑兰的
势力变得有恃无恐,使美国愈发难以削弱伊
朗在该地区的影响力。

哈里里 2005 年 2 月在一次严重的汽车
炸弹爆炸事件中丧生,当时许多人指责大马
士革是幕后元凶。这使得许多阿拉伯国家对
大马士革惟恐避之不及,美国采取行动孤立
叙利亚,联合国也下令调查哈里里遇刺事件。
调查委员会公布的初步报告表明一些叙利亚
官员与此事有牵连。

作为回应,大马士革加强了与伊朗之间
的战略关系,双方签署了一系列经济和军事
协议,这反过来又帮助德黑兰扩大了在叙利
亚的影响,也加强了其在黎巴嫩的影响。

(李凤芹 译自 *International Herald Tribune*
Nov. 22, 2006)