



The conference promoted the legitimacy of Iraq's government and got Iran and US talking.

本次会议加强了伊拉克政府的合法性，促成了伊朗与美国的对话

伊拉克邻国开始小步迈出合作步伐

Iraq's neighbors take first small steps toward working together

By Howard LaFranchi and Scott Peterson

导读:3月10日,由联合国安理会五个常任理事国、伊朗、叙利亚以及伊拉克周边国家代表参加的“伊拉克地区安全会议”在巴格达召开。会议引起了全球关注,一方面因为伊拉克问题事关国际安全大局,另一方面则是美国 and 伊朗在多年交恶后同台出场。会上,两国代表仅限于言辞上的激烈交锋,但接触本身已说明美伊双方有进一步对话的愿望。对美国而言,同伊朗接触是积极争取伊拉克局势好转的努力之一。而伊朗也希望借此改善多年来与美敌视、近年来更因核计划而遭受国际社会制裁的被动局面。然而,美伊关系既有1979年伊朗人质危机之旧恨,又有近年伊拉克问题和核问题等新仇,各种矛盾交织,双方的解冻之旅恐怕不会一帆风顺。中东问题牵动全球神经,美国与伊朗的关系发展值得密切关注。

The weekend's regional conference in Baghdad was modest, but it nevertheless accomplished two things: It promoted the legitimacy of Iraq's new government among reluctant neighbors, and it heralded the Bush administration's evolving conversion from unilateralism to hard-nosed¹ diplomacy under Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

A second, ministerial-level meeting in the weeks ahead will draw together an even larger assembly to keep regional players involved in Iraq, the conference decided. And even though the weekend meeting was mostly limited to an exchange of accusations, US officials did speak to the Iranians present—paving the way for Secretary Rice to sit at the same table with her counterpart from Tehran as early as next month.

The last time a meeting of Iraq's neighbors was held in Baghdad, it ended in a brawl². Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait followed.

This time, mortars³ fell as Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari spoke to the representatives of neighboring countries, the United States, and other foreign powers.

It was a reminder of the security void⁴ that the ►

本周末在巴格达举行的地区会议影响有限,但却成就了两件事:加强了伊拉克新政府在那不情愿接受它的邻国当中的合法性,同时预示了布什政府正从单边主义向国务卿康多莉扎·赖斯领导下的讲求实效外交的逐步转变。

会议决定,几星期之后将举行第二次的部长级会议,并将召集与伊拉克问题有关的更多地区各派势力与会。尽管本周末的会议主要限于相互指责,但美国官员倒的确与出席会议的伊朗人进行了对话,这为国务卿赖斯最早下月与伊朗外长同坐一张谈判桌铺平了道路。

上一次伊拉克邻国在巴格达举行的会议最终以争吵而收场。随后萨达姆·侯赛因入侵了科威特。

这一次,就在伊拉克外长霍希亚尔·兹巴里向邻国、美国及其他大国代表致辞时,迫击炮弹就落在附近。

这倒提醒了与会官员们聚集在 ►

officials were assembled to discuss. Yet by affirming plans for a larger ministerial meeting, forming *working groups⁵ to *take up⁶ issues like border security, and simply assembling representatives of increasingly antagonistic⁷ and suspicious regional players, the conference did allow the new Iraqi government to take a step toward establishing its legitimacy in the neighborhood.

"This has a lot of symbolic value for the Iraqis, because it puts them out there at least on the surface as in the driver's seat of their own affairs in the region," says Wayne White, a former Iraq expert at the State Department who is now at the Middle East Institute in Washington. "The Iraqis are very sensitive about that."

At the same time, contacts between American and Iranian officials, even if they remained at the level of trading barbs⁸, cracked open the door to more substantive⁹ contacts, says Mr. White.

"It begins the process of doing what the *Iraq Study Group¹⁰ suggested from the beginning, which is engaging Syria and Iran," adds White, who was an adviser to the panel headed by former Secretary of State James Baker III and former congressman Lee Hamilton.

The panel's conclusion last December that the US should deepen diplomatic efforts with all Iraq's neighbors was initially rebuffed¹¹ by President Bush. But Rice has moved in the direction of talks—not just with Iran and Syria, but with North Korea as well—after first *tightening the screws¹² aimed at these countries so as to enter talks from "a position of strength," State Department officials say.

At the Baghdad conference, all eyes were open for signs of a US-Iran defrosting¹³. Both sides have reasons beyond Iraq to test the diplomatic waters, even if with only a big toe at this stage.

Analysts in Tehran say that, despite stern anti-US rhetoric from some officials, Iran has been searching for a way to engage Washington. By doing so, it wants to ►

一起要讨论的安全真空问题。然而,除了申明计划召开更大规模的部长级会议,成立了处理诸如边境安全等问题的工作组,且仅将越来越充满敌意和相互猜忌的地区各派势力召集在一起外,会议确实让伊拉克新政府朝着在本地区确立其合法性方面迈出了一步。

前美国国务院伊拉克问题专家、现任职华盛顿中东研究所的韦恩·怀特说:"对伊拉克人来说,这具有众多的象征意义,因为它至少在表面上将他们置于在本地区自我掌控本国事务的位置上。伊拉克人对此非常敏感。"

不过,怀特称,美国与伊朗官员的接触,尽管还只停留在相互攻击的层面,却已经为更加实质性的接触打开了大门。

作为前国务卿詹姆斯·贝克和前国会议员李·汉密尔顿领导的伊拉克问题研究小组的顾问,怀特补充道:"会议启动了该小组自一开始就建议采取的行动进程,即使叙利亚和伊朗参与进来。"

该小组去年12月份得出结论称,美国应加大与伊拉克所有邻国的外交努力,但此建议一开始即遭到布什总统的拒绝。然而赖斯已朝着会谈的方向前进,不仅仅是与伊朗和叙利亚,而且还与朝鲜。用国务院官员的话说,就是对这些国家先"拧螺丝般地施压",占据"优势地位"后再进行对话。

在巴格达会议上,所有的眼睛都注视着美国和伊朗关系解冻的迹象。双方都有理由在伊拉克问题之外试探外交水温,即使现在还处于只是伸进去一个大脚趾的阶段。

德黑兰的分析人士说,尽管一些官员反美言辞强硬,但伊朗一直在寻求与华盛顿接触的途径。它希望通过此举 ►

1. hard-nosed [ˈhɑːdnəʊzɪd] a. <美俚> 精明而讲究实际的
2. brawl [braʊl] n. (乱哄哄的) 争吵; 打架
3. mortar [ˈmɔːtə(r)] n. [军] 迫击炮
4. void [vɔɪd] n. 真空; 空白
5. working group (对某一问题或情况进行调查并提出解决办法的) 工作队, 工作组
6. take up 继续(谈论或处理某事)
7. antagonistic [æntəˈɡɒnɪstɪk] a. 对抗(性)的; 敌对(性)的; 不相容的

8. barb [bɑːb] n. 尖刺伤人的话, 讽刺
9. substantive [ˈsʌbstəntɪv] a. 实质的; 根本性的
10. Iraq Study Group 伊拉克研究小组(美国国会2006年3月授权成立的两党联合小组, 就越来越恶化的伊拉克局势向布什和国会建言。该小组于当年12月提出报告, 但立即遭到布什拒绝)
11. rebuff [rɪˈbʌf] vt. 断然拒绝; 回绝; 冷落
12. tighten the screws 拧紧螺丝; 增加压力
13. defrost [ˌdiːˈfrɒst] vi. 解冻, 融化

address a wider range of issues, including Iran's controversial nuclear program, that have kept the two countries estranged¹⁴ since 1979.

"For Iran, this is not only about Iraq or even security guarantees [from the US that it will not attack]," says Mohammed Hadi Semati, a Tehran University political scientist who has just returned from a three-year period at think tanks in Washington. "Iran is looking for a strategic opening to be treated as an equal player in the region," says Mr. Semati. "Iran wants to get the US to the same table, but they don't think the US is genuine and willing to expand talks beyond Iraq."

One reason the US is now willing to try the diplomatic waters with Tehran is that it recognizes the Iranians have been both helpful and troublesome for Iraq, some US analysts say. "The Iranians have been quite helpful in some respects, in terms of the economy and some political areas, and I think the idea is to see where that can go," says Patrick Clawson, deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

By contrast, most of Iraq's Arab neighbors especially "have been real laggards¹⁵ in working with the Iraqi government," he notes. The US and the Iraqis will be watching to see if the Baghdad meeting marked a "turning point" in those relations, he adds.

Another explanation for the initial opening between Washington and Tehran is that both sides are coming from a perceived position of strength, others say. The US "feels its pressure on Iran has worked, and so is in a better position, and Iran feels it has significant influence in Iraq," notes Semati.

Still, both sides have so far stuck to barbs and counterbarbs. Washington pursued the accusations it has made against Iran in recent months, over alleged weapons and roadside bomb shipments across the border.

At one point in the meeting, David Satterfield, State Department Iraq envoy, pointed to his briefcase and said it contained evidence of Iran's meddling in Iraq. Iranian officials shot back that the US is "suffering from intelligence failure" and trying to blame others for its problems in Iraq.

The hard-line *Kayhan* newspaper—whose director is an official representative of Iran's supreme religious leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei—was unrelenting¹⁶ in its criticism of the Baghdad meeting. The paper blamed Washington for recent "provocations" against Iran, ▶

解决更广泛的问题,包括伊朗备受争议的核计划,该问题已使两国自1979年以来一直关系疏远。

在华盛顿几家智库工作三年后刚刚回国的德黑兰大学政治学家穆罕默德·哈迪·色玛迪称:"对伊朗而言,这不仅关乎伊拉克或甚至是安全保证(即美国不会对伊朗发动攻击)问题。伊朗正在寻找一种战略通道以期被视为该地区的一个平等的角逐者。伊朗希望和美国坐到同一张谈判桌上,但是他们认为美国不够真诚,不愿意将会谈扩大至伊拉克议题之外。"

一些美国分析家说,美国现在愿意试探与德黑兰的外交水温,其中一个原因是它认识到伊朗人对伊拉克既有帮助又是个麻烦。华盛顿近东政策研究所副主任帕特里克·克劳森称:"伊朗人在某些方面相当有帮助,比如经济和某些政治领域。我认为重要的是看其会朝什么方向发展。"

他指出,相比之下,伊拉克的大多数阿拉伯邻国"在与伊拉克政府合作方面真的非常迟缓"。他还补充道,美国和伊拉克人将观察此次巴格达会议是否会成为这些关系"转折点"的标志。

另有一些人士称,华盛顿和德黑兰初启关系的另一种解释是,双方都认为自己占据了优势地位。色玛迪指出:"美国认为其对伊朗的施压起了作用,因而处于较有利位置,而伊朗觉得自己在伊拉克具有重大影响。"

双方到目前为止仍胶着于言辞上的攻击和反击。华盛顿最近几个月围绕据称伊朗涉嫌跨界运送武器和路边炸弹一事持续对伊朗进行谴责。

会议当中,国务院伊拉克特使戴维·萨特菲尔德一度指着自己的公文包,称里面装着伊朗插手伊拉克事务的证据。伊朗官员反唇相讥称,美国正"经历情报误判之苦",却试图为自己在伊拉克的问题责备别人。

奉行强硬路线的伊朗《世界报》——该报社长是伊朗最高宗教领袖阿亚图拉阿里·哈梅内伊的官方代表——对此次巴格达会议进行了严厉的批评。该报 ▶



The UN Security Council Saturday slapped new sanctions on Iran over its suspect nuclear program. The council's 15 members unanimously adopted Resolution 1747, broadening UN sanctions imposed on Iran in December. The resolution blocks all Iranian arms exports and freezes the overseas assets of 28 additional officials and institutions linked to Iran's nuclear and ballistic missile programs. 联合国安理会周六(2007年3月24日)针对伊朗所进行的备受怀疑的核项目通过了新的制裁措施。安理会15个成员国一致通过了1747号决议,从而扩大了去年12月联合国对伊朗实施制裁的范围。决议全面禁止伊朗的武器出口,并对与伊朗核项目和弹道导弹项目有联系的另外28个官员和机构的海外资产实行冻结。(AFP Mar. 25, 2007)

Visiting Chinese President Hu Jintao and Russian leader Vladimir Putin called on Monday for peaceful solutions to the crises over Iran and North Korea's nuclear programmes and pledged to stop an arms race in space. The two leaders said in a joint declaration that they shared a common position on big global issues. The leaders pledged to increase "bilateral, long-term strategic cooperation". Putin and Hu then presided over a ceremony in a Kremlin hall formally opening the Year of China in Russia. 出访俄罗斯的中国国家主席胡锦涛与俄罗斯领导人弗拉基米尔·普京周一(2007年3月26日)呼吁以和平方式解决伊朗和朝鲜核计划危机,并承诺遏止太空军备竞赛。在一份联合宣言中两国领导人说他们在重大的国际问题上具有相同的立场,两国领导人还保证增强“双边和长期的战略性合作”。普京与胡锦涛随后还在克里姆林宫主持仪式,正式开启了俄罗斯的“中国年”活动。(Reuters Mar. 26, 2007)



An Iranian official said Saturday that allegations of mistreatment from a British naval team seized last month in the Persian Gulf were unfounded and stage-managed. Iran, which contends that the crew had crossed into Iranian waters, released the group Wednesday in a gesture President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad called a gift to the British people. In a news conference Friday, six of the crew members said they were psychologically intimidated during their 13 days of captivity. 一名伊朗官员周六(2007年4月7日)表示,上月在波斯湾水域被扣押的英国水兵声称遭到虐待的言论是没有事实根据的,而且受到了幕后操纵。伊朗坚称这些水兵进入了伊朗水域,但在周三将他们予以释放,以此作为伊朗总统内贾德所称的送给美国人的一份礼物。在周五举行的新闻发布会上,被释放的水兵中的6名成员表示,在13天的被囚期间他们受到了心理上的胁迫。(The Washington Post Apr. 7, 2007)

而且受到了幕后操纵。伊朗坚称这些水兵进入了伊朗水域,但在周三将他们予以释放,以此作为伊朗总统内贾德所称的送给美国人的一份礼物。在周五举行的新闻发布会上,被释放的水兵中的6名成员表示,在13天的被囚期间他们受到了心理上的胁迫。(The Washington Post Apr. 7, 2007) (仲剑波 摘译)

including the "US troops raid on the Iranian consulate in Arbil and their kidnapping of Iranian diplomats."

Still, the Baghdad contacts underscore a new US willingness to talk with Iran, some analysts say—even if the hopes for accomplishing much through them are not very high.

"The US has vacillated¹⁷ over the last year as to whether it should *open up¹⁸ to a functional relationship with Iran, and what this meeting says is the US has decided to try to have that cooperation," says Mr. Clawson, whose think tank is often close to the thinking of the Bush administration.

That said, he adds, the thaw¹⁹ between the two antagonists "really can't go very far," largely because "the Iranians are going to want things that the US is going to find unacceptable." ■

谴责了华盛顿近来对伊朗的“挑衅行为”,包括“美国军队袭击埃尔比勒的伊朗领事馆,并绑架了伊朗外交官”。

不过,一些分析人士说,巴格达会议的接触彰显了美国与伊朗对话的新意愿——即使通过这些接触来取得多大成就的希望并不太高。

所在智库常与布什政府思维相近的克劳森表示:“美国过去一年在是否应与伊朗开启工作关系问题上犹豫不定,这次会议说明了美国已决定试行这种合作。”

他补充道,那也说明,两个对手之间关系的缓和“真的走不了多远”,主要是因为“伊朗人想得到的东西,美国人将感到接受不了”。

(高建正译自 The Christian Science Monitor Mar. 12, 2007)

14. estranged [ɪ'streɪndʒd] a. 疏远的

15. laggard ['læɡəd] n. 迟钝者,落后者

16. unrelenting [ˌʌnrɪ'leɪntɪŋ] a. 严厉的;坚定不移的;不退让的

17. vacillate ['væsileɪt] vi. 动摇,犹豫,踌躇

18. open up 开始;开始发展

19. thaw [θɔː] n. (态度、关系等的)缓和