



The contrast in western attitudes to Darfur and Congo shows how illiberal our concept of intervention really is

西方对达尔富尔和刚果局势的态度截然不同，表明我们的干预意识实际上是何等的狭隘

精读

## Where anti-Arab prejudice and oil make the difference

态度截然相反是因反阿拉伯偏见和石油两大因素使然

By Roger Howard

(1) In a remote corner of Africa, millions of civilians have been slaughtered in a conflict fuelled by an almost genocidal<sup>1</sup> ferocity<sup>2</sup> that has no end in sight. Victims have been targeted because of their ethnicity and entire ethnic groups destroyed—but the outside world has turned its back, doing little to save people from the wrath of the various government and rebel militias<sup>3</sup>. You could be forgiven for thinking that this is a depiction of the Sudanese province of Darfur, racked<sup>4</sup> by four years of bitter fighting. But it describes the Democratic Republic of Congo, which has received a fraction of the media attention devoted to Darfur.

(2) The UN estimates that 3 million to 4 million Congolese have been killed, compared with the estimated 200,000 civilian deaths in Darfur. A peace deal agreed in December 2002 has never been adhered to, and atrocities<sup>5</sup> have been particularly well documented in the province of Kivu—carried out by paramilitary<sup>6</sup> organisations with strong governmental links. In the last month alone, thousands of civilians have been killed in heavy fighting between rebel and government forces vying for control of an area north of Goma, and the UN reckons that another 50,000 have been made refugees. ►

在非洲一个遥远的角落，一场无望终止，且愈演愈烈的近乎种族灭绝的残暴冲突已使成百万平民惨遭杀戮。受害者因其种族成为攻击目标，一个个族群被整体消灭。然而，外部世界却对此视而不见，几乎没有为把人们从各色政府和反叛武装组织的怒火中拯救出来做任何努力。如果你认为这是在描述饱受4年战乱之苦的苏丹达尔富尔地区，是情有可原的。但是，这段文字描述的是刚果民主共和国的情况，该地区所得到的媒体关注与媒体对达尔富尔问题的关注相比微乎其微。

联合国估计，已有300万至400万刚果人被杀害，而达尔富尔被杀害的平民估计是20万人。2002年12月达成的一项和平协议从未被遵守，与政府有密切联系的准军事组织在基伍省犯下的暴行已有极其完备的记载。仅在过去的1个月里，在叛军和政府军争夺对戈马北部控制权的激战中有数以千计的平民被杀害，联合国估计另有5万平民已沦为难民。►

(3) How curious, then, that so much more attention has been focused on Darfur than Congo. There are no pressure groups \*of any note<sup>7</sup> that draw attention to the Congolese situation. In the media there is barely a word. The politicians are silent. Yet if ever there were a case for the outside world to intervene on humanitarian grounds alone—“liberal interventionism”—then surely this is it.

(4) The key difference between the two situations lies in the racial and ethnic composition of the perceived victims and perpetrators<sup>8</sup>. In Congo, black Africans are killing other black Africans in a way that is difficult for outsiders to identify with. The turmoil there can in that sense be regarded as a narrowly African affair.

(5) In Darfur the fighting is portrayed as a war between black Africans, rightly or wrongly regarded as the victims, and “Arabs”, widely regarded as the perpetrators of the killings. In practice these neat racial categories are highly indistinct, but it is through such a prism<sup>9</sup> that the conflict is generally viewed.

(6) It is not hard to imagine why some in the west have found this perception so alluring, for there are numerous people who want to portray “the Arabs” in these terms. In the United States and elsewhere those who have spearheaded<sup>10</sup> the case for foreign intervention in Darfur are largely the people who regard the Arabs as the root cause of the Israel-Palestine dispute. From this viewpoint, the events in Darfur form just one part of a much wider picture of Arab malice<sup>11</sup> and cruelty.

(7) Nor is it any coincidence that the moral frenzy about intervention in Sudan has coincided with the growing military debacle<sup>12</sup> in Iraq—for as allied casualties in Iraq have mounted, so has indignation about the situation in Darfur. It is always easier for a losing side to demonise<sup>13</sup> an enemy than to blame itself for a glaring military defeat, and the Darfur situation therefore offers some people a certain sense of catharsis<sup>14</sup>.

(8) Humanitarian concern among policymakers in Washington is ultimately self-interested. The United ▶

那么，对达尔富尔的关注比之刚果多得多，难道不令人奇怪吗？没有任何重要的压力集团引导人们关注刚果局势。媒体几乎只字不提。政治人物默不作声。然而，如果确有需要外部世界以人道主义理由（“自由干预主义”）加以干预的情况，那么，刚果确属此例。

两地局势的关键区别在于被视为受害者和施暴者的种族和族群的构成。在刚果，非洲黑人在屠杀其他非洲黑人，局外人难以分辨明白。从这个意义上说那里的混乱可以被看成是仅限于非洲的问题。

在达尔富尔的战斗被描绘成是被视为受害者的（对也罢，错也罢）非洲黑人和被普遍视为杀人凶手的“阿拉伯人”之间的战争。实际上，这些简单的种族归类极为模糊。然而，人们一般就是通过这个多棱镜看待这场冲突的。

不难想象，为何西方有些人觉得这种见解有那么大的吸引力，因为想用这些词汇描绘“阿拉伯人”的大有人在。在美国和其他地方，那些带头支持对达尔富尔进行外国干预的人大多是把阿拉伯人看成以巴争端根源的人。从这一观点来看，达尔富尔发生的种种事件正是构成反映阿拉伯人恶毒和残忍的更大画面的一部分。

对苏丹进行干预的道义上的强烈主张恰好与在伊拉克的军事行动日益溃败同时发生，这绝非巧合，因为随着联军在伊拉克伤亡的增加，对达尔富尔局势的愤怒也日益高涨。失败的一方将敌人妖魔化，总比让自己为明显的军事失败承担责任来得容易。而达尔富尔局势因此给了一些人某种宣泄感。

华盛顿的决策者对人道主义的关注归根结底是为了一己之私利。如果苏 ▶

1. genocidal [ˌdʒenəʊˈsaɪdəl] a. 种族灭绝的

2. ferocity [fəˈrɒsəti] n. 凶猛；凶恶；残忍；猛烈

3. militia [mɪˈlɪʃə] n. 民兵组织；国民卫队

4. rack [ræk] vt. 使痛苦不堪；使受折磨

5. atrocity [əˈtrɒsəti] n. (尤指战争中的) 残暴行为

6. paramilitary [ˌpærəˈmɪlɪ(ə)rɪ] a. 准军事的

7. of note 重要的；引人注目的

8. perpetrator [ˈpɜːpətreɪtə(r)] n. 作恶者；行凶者；犯罪者

9. prism [ˈprɪzəm] n. [物] 棱镜

10. spearhead [ˈspiːhəd] vt. 做...的先锋；带头做；领先突击

11. malice [ˈmælsɪs] n. 恶意；怨恨

12. debacle [deɪˈbɑːkl] n. 大败；崩溃；垮台；灾祸

13. demonise [ˈdiːmənaɪz] vt. <主英> = demonize 使成为魔鬼；使妖魔化

14. catharsis [kəˈθɑːsɪs] n. 情感宣泄，精神净化

States is willing to impose new sanctions on the Sudan government if the latter refuses to accept a United Nations peacekeeping force, but it is no coincidence that Sudan, unlike Congo, has oil—lots of it—and strong links with China, a country the US regards as a strategic rival in the struggle for Africa's natural resources; only last week Amnesty International reported that Beijing has illicitly supplied Khartoum with large quantities of arms.

(9) Nor has the bloodshed in Congo ever struck the same powerful chord<sup>15</sup> as recent events in Somalia, where a new round of bitter fighting has recently erupted. At the end of last year the US backed an Ethiopian invasion of Somalia to topple an Islamic regime that the White House perceived as a possible sponsor of anti-American "terrorists".

(10) The contrasting perceptions of events in Congo and Sudan are ultimately both cause and effect of particular prejudices. Those who argue for liberal intervention, to impose "rights, freedom and democracy", ultimately speak only of their own interests. To view their role in such altruistic<sup>16</sup> terms always leaves them open to well-founded accusations of double standards that damage the international standing of the intervening power and \*play into the hands<sup>17</sup> of its enemies.

(11) By seeing foreign conflicts through the prism of their own prejudices, interventionists also convince themselves that others see the world in the same terms. This allows them to obscure uncomfortable truths, such as the nationalist resentment that their interference can provoke. This was the case with the Washington hawks who once assured us that the Iraqi people would be "dancing on the rooftops" to welcome the US invasion force that would be bringing everyone "freedom".

(12) Highly seductive though the rhetoric of liberal interventionism may be, it is always towards hubris<sup>18</sup> and disaster that it leads its willing partners.



*Civilians in Congo live in constant fear of the militia groups, which carry out atrocities almost daily.*

丹政府拒绝接受联合国的维和部队,美国愿对其实施新的制裁。但绝非巧合的是,苏丹与刚果不同,苏丹有石油,大量的石油,并且与被美国视为争夺非洲自然资源的战略对手中国有牢固的关系。就在上周,大赦国际报告还说北京非法向喀土穆提供大量武器。

刚果的杀戮根本没有像最近在索马里爆发的新一轮激战那样引起人们同样强烈的感受。去年年底,美国支持了埃塞俄比亚对索马里的入侵,目的是要推翻白宫认为可能是支持反美“恐怖分子”的一个伊斯兰政权。

对发生在刚果和苏丹的事件有截然不同的

认识,从根本上说,既是特定偏见的成因,也是其结果。那些力争自由干预以强行实施“权利、自由和民主”的人从根本上讲只是为自己的利益说话而已。从这种利他主义的

角度来看他们的作用,他们总会遭到具有充分理由的谴责,即他们的双重标准损害了国际社会行使干预权的名声且正中敌人下怀。

干预主义者通过自身偏见的棱镜来观察外国冲突,还极力让自己相信其他人亦如此观察世界。这就使他们掩盖了其干涉行动会引起民族主义者的愤恨等令人不安的事实。华盛顿鹰派的情况正是如此,他们曾信誓旦旦地对我们说,伊拉克人民会“在房顶上跳舞”以欢迎会给每个人带来“自由”的美国入侵部队。

尽管自由干预主义的花言巧语或许十分动听,但它总是引导心甘情愿的伙伴走向狂妄和灾难。

15. chord [kɔ:d] n. 心弦

16. altruistic [æltru:'ɪstɪk] a. 利他主义的; 利他的, 无私的

17. play into sb's hands 干敌人(或对手等)所希望的事; 做有利于敌人(或对手等)的事; 授人以可乘之机

18. hubris ['hju:brɪs] n. 傲慢; 狂妄

## 背景知识:

为了更好地理解该文,我们需要了解在苏丹和刚果发生的种族屠杀事件的有关情况。

有关苏丹达尔富尔问题:

达尔富尔地区位于苏丹西部,面积 50 多万平方公里,人口 600 多万。该地区包括北、中和南三省,居住着阿拉伯人、富尔人和黑人等 80 多个部族。信奉伊斯兰教的阿拉伯人大多居住在北部,信奉基督教的土著黑人居住在南部。达尔富尔曾经是个风调雨顺的地方。上世纪 60 年代后,由于人口增长过快、放牧过度,荒漠化现象加剧,阿拉伯种族的牧民被迫南迁,并因争夺水草资源与当地黑人部落发生冲突,此后该地区长期处于无政府混乱状态。达尔富尔地区不少部落历史上曾被划归不同的国家,因而该地区的部族与周围邻国有着千丝万缕的联系。2003 年 2 月,达尔富尔地区黑人居民相继组成“苏丹解放军”和“正义与平等运动”两支武装力量,他们以政府未能保护土著黑人的权益为由要求实行地区自治,与政府分庭抗礼。联合国安理会和非盟一直为解决达尔富尔各方之间的冲突积极斡旋。2006 年 5 月 5 日,苏丹政府和达尔富尔两大反政府武装在尼日利亚首都阿布贾签署了和平协议。根据协议,反政府武装将被解散,支持政府的民兵亦将被解除武装。

有关刚果大屠杀:

在刚果发生的种族大屠杀要从卢旺达和布隆迪说起。在过去的半个多世纪里,卢旺达和布隆迪胡图族和图西族之间不断发生相互屠杀。1994 年在卢旺达发生的种族大屠杀导致在 100 天的时间里至少 80 万人惨遭屠戮。在西方世界看来,图西族人是这次大屠杀的受害者。他们后来推翻了实施种族屠杀的政府,建立了一个表面上多种族联合、实际上由图西族人主导的政府。为了巩固自己的政权,除镇压国内的叛乱外,卢旺达的卡加梅政府两次出兵入侵刚果,搜捕背负血债逃亡到那里的胡图族人,他们在刚果制造了屠杀约 20 万人的惨案,引发了一场残酷的内战,最终导致了一场错综复杂的战争,造成 300 万人丧生。

刚果位于非洲中西部,人口约 5300 万人,自然资源丰富,素有“世界原料仓库”、“中非宝石”和“地质奇迹”的美誉。殖民主义时期,刚果受比利时统治,1960 年独立后又遭到世界列强、邻国及本国军政势力的蹂躏。1965 年,刚果国民军总司令蒙博托在美国支持下发动政变,推翻了总统卡萨武布并自任总统,实行独裁统治。在 20 世纪 60 年代到 90 年代末蒙博托当政期间,美国提供了 4 多亿美元的军事及经济援助,蒙博托则帮助美国跨国公司获得了开采刚果丰沛的矿产资源的特权。

5 月 29 日,美国和英国考虑扩大联合国安理会对苏丹的制裁,中国、俄罗斯和南非质疑此行动能否制止达尔富尔的暴力。中国外交部发言人姜瑜 5 月 31 日在北京表示:近来,有关各方共同努力使达尔富尔问题取得了积极进展,苏丹政府与联合国、非盟就安南方案第二阶段计划达成一致。目前苏丹政府正在等待联合国和非盟就落实第三阶段计划提出方案。在当前形势下对苏丹实行新的制裁只能使问题复杂化,无助于达尔富尔问题的解决。中方呼吁有关各方保持克制与耐心,继续通过对话与协商,全面落实安南第三阶段维和方案,推进达尔富尔地区政治进程,继续改善达尔富尔地区的人道主义和安全状况,推动达尔富尔问题朝着政治解决方向发展。

## 语言点:

(引言) ... how illiberal our concept of intervention really is: “illiberal”是与“liberal”相对的形容词。西方政治常谈“liberal”。该词有几个意思,其中有“心胸开阔、开明、公允”,如“a man of liberal views”(“思想观点开明的人”);由此义可以引申出“不存偏见”的意思,如“be liberal on the race issue”(“在种族问题上不存偏见”)。那么“illiberal”就是“存偏见、不开明”,也就是“狭隘”的意思了。文中出现的“liberal intervention”和“liberal interventionism”,现在的公认的译法是“自由干预”和“自由干预主义”。

第(1)段: in a conflict fuelled by an almost genocidal ferocity that has no end in sight: 这是个从句中有从句的句式,译时需酌情处理。“fuelled”(“添加燃料”),就是“愈演愈烈”的意思。

第(1)段: Victims have been targeted because of their ethnicity: “ethnicity”是人类学术语,有“种族地位,种族特点、种族渊源”等意思。

第(7)段: allied casualties in Iraq: 联军在伊拉克的伤亡

第(11)段: the rhetoric of liberal interventionism: “rhetoric”有修辞、修辞技巧的意思;也有使用各种修辞手段讲一些不合实际的话语的意思,这里译成“自由干预主义的花言巧语”。

(范守义 译注自 The Guardian May 16, 2007)