



A congressional<sup>1</sup> vote in Washington that could jeopardise<sup>2</sup> Turkey's path westwards

华盛顿的一次国会投票可能危及土耳其亲西方的路线

## 一份走得太远的决议

# A resolution too far

导读: 近来,土耳其与西方国家的关系发生了微妙变化。土作为北约成员,地处欧亚交界处,地缘位置十分重要,是美军在伊拉克行动的重要后勤基地。而加入欧盟也是土耳其外交的优先目标之一。但在饱受库尔德工人党武装袭击后,土议会日前批准政府有权进入伊拉克境内打击库尔德工人党武装,引起土伊关系紧张。西方对土人权状况颇有微词,欧盟民众也大都反对土加入欧盟。恰逢此时,美国会外交事务委员会通过的一项决议中,重提 90 多年前奥斯曼帝国旧事,激起土强烈抗议。尽管土总理埃尔多安奉行亲西方政策,但他面临与西方关系不断紧张以及国内民族主义情绪高涨的内外压力。本文作者主张西方应减少对土的干预,帮助土奉行亲西方的政策,同时土也需要在处理库尔德人和历史问题上展现灵活政策。

The Turks are a proud, prickly<sup>3</sup> people, easily offended by criticism. That much is clear from the row<sup>4</sup> over a resolution, passed by a committee of the United States House of Representatives on October 10th, calling the slaughter of Armenians by Ottoman Turks in 1915 genocide<sup>5</sup>. The full House has yet to vote on the resolution. But Turkey has reacted angrily, recalling its ambassador. It is talking of cutting military ties and even denying the Americans use of the Incirlik airbase that is vital for the supply of their troops in Iraq.

As such threats demonstrate, Turkey is not just an angry ally. It is also a vital one, with a population of 75m and the world's 19th-biggest economy. It is a strategically important hinge<sup>6</sup> between Europe and Asia; it has the biggest army in NATO after America's; it forms a crucial energy corridor to the West; and it borders on such awkward<sup>7</sup> places as Iran and Syria as well as Iraq. Moreover, it is a rare example in the Muslim world of a lively, secular<sup>8</sup> democracy. Yet internal tensions are exacerbated<sup>9</sup> when clumsy<sup>10</sup> outsiders intervene.

This year has seen a series of clashes between the army and secularists on one side and the mildly Islamist Justice and Development (AK) government led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan on the other, culminating<sup>11</sup> in a big ▶

自尊而又敏感的土耳其民族很容易被外界的指责触怒。这从对一项决议案的纷争可见一斑。美国众议院一个委员会在 10 月 10 日通过的一项决议将奥斯曼土耳其人在 1915 年对亚美尼亚人的屠杀称为种族灭绝。众议院尚未对该决议进行全体投票。但是土耳其已作出了愤怒的回应,召回了它的大使。它还提到要切断军事联系,甚至拒绝美国使用其因切利克空军基地。该基地对美国向在伊拉克的美军提供补给十分重要。

正如上述威胁所表明的那样,土耳其不仅仅是一个生气的盟友,而且还是一个至关重要的盟友。它拥有 7500 万人口,是世界上第 19 大经济体,是连接欧亚的重要战略枢纽。它在北约拥有仅次于美国的最庞大的军队,又是通往西方的重要能源走廊,还与伊朗、叙利亚以及伊拉克等难对付的国家接壤。不仅如此,它还是穆斯林世界里一个少有的、充满生机和世俗的民主国家的范例。然而,一旦有冒犯的外来者介入,它的内部紧张局势就恶化。

今年已发生了以军队和世俗主义者为一方,以总理雷杰普·塔伊普·埃尔多安领导的温和的伊斯兰正义与发展党(AK)政府为另一方的一系列冲突,最终以伊斯兰正义 ▶

AK win in the election in July. Mr Erdogan is trying manfully<sup>12</sup> to keep Turkey on the path towards membership of the European Union, even though many Europeans have become openly hostile. He also wants to preserve good relations with America despite renewed fighting with guerrillas<sup>13</sup> of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), some based in the Kurdish region of northern Iraq. This is a bad moment for America to pick a fight over something that happened 90 years ago, before modern Turkey even existed.

That is not to deny it is a good idea for countries to face up to their past, especially when it was as violent as that of the Ottomans in the early 20th century. Germany has been admirably open about admitting the sins of the Nazi period; Japan has been less candid<sup>14</sup>. It would be good for modern, democratic Turkey to \*come to terms with<sup>15</sup> the terrible treatment of Armenians in the first world war (as also, in later times, of other minorities, including Greeks, Alevis<sup>16</sup> and Kurds). In recent years, there have been encouraging signs: a few historians' conferences, an attempt to improve relations with Armenia, growing acceptance of the Kurdish language and occasional talk of amending Article 301 of the \*penal code<sup>17</sup>. This makes "insulting Turkishness" a \*criminal offence<sup>18</sup> and is used to \*shut down<sup>19</sup> discussion of the Armenian genocide.

But the adoption of a highly political resolution in America's Congress is the worst possible<sup>20</sup> way to encourage more steps in the right direction. Rather, it would serve only to \*fan the flames of<sup>21</sup> Turkish nationalism and leave liberals within Turkey who want more open debate about the past even more exposed<sup>22</sup>. Those in Congress who are pushing this resolution have little interest in Turkey or even Armenia, but a lot in the wealthy Armenian-American constituents<sup>23</sup> who are lobbying them. It is telling<sup>24</sup> that many Turkish

与发展党在7月选举中的大获全胜而告终。尽管许多欧洲人公开表示反对，但埃尔多安先生仍坚定地努力要使土耳其继续沿着加入欧盟的道路前进。尽管与库尔德工人党游击队之间的战事又起，其中一些游击队员就盘踞在伊拉克北部的库尔德人区，但他还是想保持与美国的良好关系。对美国来说，此时就90年前现代意义上的土耳其还不存在时发生的事情，挑起争斗，实在不是什么好时机。

无可否认，如果能让一些国家正视其历史，特别是像20世纪初奥斯曼帝国那样残暴的历史，那确是件好事。德国在承认纳粹时期的罪行方面表现出了令人钦佩的坦率，日本则一直不那么坦诚。对现代的民主土耳其而言，如果能走出一战期间残忍对待亚美尼亚人（以及后来对待包括希腊人、阿雷维斯人、库尔德人等少数民族）的阴影，则善莫大焉。近年来，土出现了一些令人鼓舞的迹象：如举办了几次旨在改善与亚美尼亚关系的历史学家会议，对库尔德语言的逐步接受和偶尔提及修改刑法中的第301条款。该条款将“亵渎土耳其民族特性”定为刑事犯罪并被用来压制对亚美尼亚种族灭绝问题的讨论。

但是，如果美国国会通过一项高度政治性的决议，将是激励土耳其沿着正确方向进一步前行的最糟糕的方式，结果只会事与愿违。更确切地说，它只会煽起土耳其民族主义情绪，并进一步使土国内希望对历史进行更公开争论的自由人士处于更加孤立无援的境地。推动该议案的（美）国会议员们其实对土耳其或亚美尼亚并无多大兴趣，他们只是对向其游说的、富有的美籍亚美尼亚裔选民兴趣浓厚。许

1. congressional[ kən'grɛʃənəl] a. 国会的  
 2. jeopardise[ 'dʒepədaɪz] vt. 使处于危险境地，危及，损害  
 3. prickly[ 'prɪkli] a. (人) 易生气的，易动怒的；敏感的  
 4. row[ raʊ] n. 吵嚷；吵闹；吵架，争吵  
 5. genocide[ 'dʒenəʊsaɪd] n. 种族灭绝；灭绝种族的大屠杀  
 6. hinge[ 'hɪndʒ] n. 枢纽，关键，中心点  
 7. awkward[ 'ɔ:kwəd] a. 难处理的，棘手的；难对付的；危险的  
 8. secular[ 'sekjələ(r)] a. 现世的；尘世的，世俗的  
 9. exacerbate[ ek'sæsəbeɪt] vt. 使恶化，使加剧  
 10. clumsy[ 'klʌmzi] a. (行动和陈述) 无技巧的；冒犯人的；不得体的  
 11. culminate[ 'kʌlmɪneɪt] vi. 达到顶点 或最后关头；到达高潮 in  
 12. manfully[ 'mænfuli] ad. 大丈夫气概地；勇敢地；坚定地；果敢地

13. guerrilla[ gə'rɪlə] n. 游击队员  
 14. candid[ 'kændɪd] a. 坦率的，直率而诚恳的  
 15. come to terms with sth 迁就顺从；接受 令人不快的(事物)；适应 困难的处境  
 16. Alevis 阿雷维斯人(土耳其境内的什叶派少数民族)  
 17. penal code [律]刑法典  
 18. criminal offence 刑事犯罪  
 19. shut down 阻止(某人)做某事  
 20. possible[ 'pɒsəbl] a. [与最高级连用，表示强调]最  
 21. fan the flames of sth 煽风点火；煽动(情绪)  
 22. exposed[ ɪk'spəʊzd] a. 易受攻击的，无保护的  
 23. constituent[ kən'stɪtjuənt] n. 选区的选民  
 24. telling[ 'telɪŋ] a. 透露真相的；说明问题的

Armenians, and even the Patriarch<sup>25</sup> of the Armenian church of Istanbul, have not welcomed the House resolution.

One blunder<sup>26</sup> after another

Recognising the damaging repercussions in Turkey as well as for Turkish-American relations, the Bush administration has been fighting to stop the resolution's passage. It has mustered<sup>27</sup> all eight living former secretaries of state, both Democrat and Republican, to argue against it. This is testimony to the strategic importance of Turkey. But it also reflects the especially sensitive time. This week the Turkish parliament gave its approval for a possible cross-border military incursion<sup>28</sup> into northern Iraq to \*root out<sup>29</sup> PKK terrorists based there.

That would be another blunder. The Turks' frustration over northern Iraq is understandable. In the past two weeks alone, some 20 Turkish soldiers have been killed by the PKK. Repeated requests to the Iraqis and local Kurdish authorities to \*clamp down on<sup>30</sup> the group have been ignored. Yet an invasion would not only upset the most stable region of Iraq but also be unlikely to work, as even some Turkish generals recognise. It would be better for the Americans to do more to counter the PKK in northern Iraq—and for Turkey to renew its earlier efforts to improve the lot<sup>31</sup> of Kurds in its south-east.

Keeping Turkey on its pro-Western course is vital, not just for Iraq, but \*for the sake of<sup>32</sup> all Turks, including the country's own big Kurdish population. Recent rows have helped to turn Turkish public opinion sharply against both the European Union and the United States, a situation that countries such as Iran and Russia are all too ready to exploit. Pressure to scrap<sup>33</sup> Article 301 and allow open debate in Turkey should continue. But the House resolution is not the way to do it.

多土耳其的亚美尼亚人,甚至伊斯坦布尔的亚美尼亚教会大主教都不欢迎美国众议院的决议就很能说明问题。

一个接一个的失误

意识到该决议在土国内和对土美关系产生的破坏性影响后,布什政府一直在努力阻止它通过。布什政府动员了在世的所有8位民主党和共和党前国务卿,据理力争地反对。这证明了土耳其的战略重要性,但也反映时机极其敏感。本周,土耳其议会批准了对伊拉克北部可能采取的越境军事袭击,以铲除盘踞在那里的库尔德工人党恐怖分子。



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice says the resolution is interfering with Middle East policy.

这将会是另一个错误。土耳其人对伊拉克北部的懊恼可以理解。仅在过去两周,就有约20名土耳其士兵被库尔德工人党杀害。多次向伊拉克人和库尔德地方政权提出严厉打击该组织的要求一直被置之不理。然而,连一些土耳其将军也认为,入境袭击不仅将搞乱伊拉克最稳定的地区,而且不大可能奏

效。或许让美国人在对付伊拉克北部的库尔德工人党方面多做一些,让土耳其像以前那样努力改善处在东南的库尔德人的境遇,效果会更好一些。

无论是对伊拉克,还是对所有土耳其人,包括这个国家数量庞大的库尔德人来说,保持土耳其亲西方的进程至关重要。近来的纷争使得土耳其的公众舆论突然转向反对欧盟和美国,伊朗和俄罗斯这样的国家对这一局面求之不得地想要利用。应该继续对土耳其施压,使其删除301条款并允许公开辩论。但是众议院的决议不是达到这一目的的办法。(高建正译自 The Economist Oct. 20, 2007)

25. patriarch [ˈpeɪtriɑ:k] n. (东正教教堂中的) 大主教

26. blunder [ˈblʌndə(r)] n. 大错, 失误

27. muster [ˈmʌstə(r)] vt. 集合, 召集

28. incursion [ɪnˈkɜ:ʃən] n. 袭击; 侵入

29. root out 找到并去除 (祸根); 根除

30. clamp down on sb/sth 严厉打击 (犯罪等)

31. lot [lɒt] n. 命运, 运气; 遭际

32. for the sake of 由于, 为了; 为了...的利益

33. scrap [skræp] vt. 废弃; 取消, 抛弃