

Not the 90,000 Iraqi civilians or the 4,200 US and UK troops killed since 2003. The big winners are the *money men¹ who have made billions.

不是 2003 年以来丧生的 9 万伊拉克平民或 4200 名美英士兵。那些赚得数十亿美元的后台老板们才是大赢家。

Iraq: Who won the war?

谁是伊战 赢家?

By Raymond Whitaker and Stephen Foley

Five years ago today, Britain stood on the brink² of war. On 16 March 2003, United Nations weapons inspectors were advised to leave Iraq within 48 hours, and the “shock and awe” bombing campaign began less than 100 hours later, on 20 March. The moment the neocons³ around President George Bush had worked so long for, aided by the moral fervour⁴ of Tony Blair, was about to arrive.

“I believe demolishing⁵ Hussein’s military power and liberating Iraq would be a cakewalk⁶,” Kenneth Adelman, a leading neocon, had said a few weeks before, and so it proved. Within barely a month, Saddam’s bronze statue in Baghdad’s Firdaus Square was scrap⁷ metal. But *every other⁸ prediction by the Bush administration’s hawks proved wrong.

No *weapons of mass destruction⁹—Britain’s key justification¹⁰ for war—have been found. The Pentagon acknowledged last week that a review of more than 600,000 captured Iraqi documents showed “no evidence that Saddam Hussein’s regime had any operational links with Osama bin Laden’s al-Qa’ida terrorist network”.

In 2008, there are still more American troops in Iraq than during the invasion, with no exit yet *in sight¹¹. Britain’s Ministry of Defence has just admitted that it has been unable to withdraw as many British troops as it planned—there are ►



5 年前的今天，英国处于战争边缘。2003 年 3 月 16 日，联合国武器核查人员被告知 48 小时内离开伊拉克。随后不到 100 小时，即 3 月 20 日，“震慑”轰炸行动开始了。在托尼·布莱尔道义热情的催生下，乔治·布什总统周围那帮新保守派为此运作的时刻即将来临。

在这之前几周，新保守派要员肯尼思·阿德尔曼曾说：“我认为，不费吹灰之力就可以摧毁萨达姆的军事力量，解放伊拉克。”事实证明的确如此。不出 1 个月，巴格达菲尔杜斯广场上的萨达姆铜像就成了一堆破铜烂铁。然而，事实证明，布什政府鹰派做出的所有其他预测全都错了。

大规模杀伤性武器，也就是英国打这场战争的关键理由，并未被发现。五角大楼上周承认，对 60 多万份缴获的伊拉克文件所做的审查显示，“没有迹象表明萨达姆·侯赛因政权与乌萨马·本·拉丹的‘基地’恐怖组织有任何军事行动上的联系”。

2008 年，驻伊美军人数比入侵伊拉克时还多，而撤离之日依然无望。英国国防部刚刚承认未能按预计人数撤出部队。目前，仅在巴士拉郊外驻守的英军还有 4000 人，而非预 ►

1. money man <口> 经济后台，后台老板

2. brink['brɪŋk] n. 始发点，边缘；战争边缘

3. neocon['ni:əukən] n. = neoconservative <美> (前自由派在政治上转向保守的) 新保守主义者，新保守派

4. fervour['fɜ:və(r)] n. <英> 热情，热诚

5. demolish[dɪ'mɒlɪʃ] vt. 毁坏；推翻；打败；废除（制度等）

6. cakewalk['keɪkwɔ:k] n. 易如反掌的事情

7. scrap[skræp] n. 废料，废物 尤指废金属

8. every other 所有其他的 人或事物

9. weapons of mass destruction (WMD) 大规模杀伤性武器

10. justification[ɪdʒə'stɪfɪ'keɪʃən] n. 正当的理由；借口

11. in sight 在望，在即，临近

4,000 still based just outside Basra, instead of the projected 2,500. So far 3,987 American soldiers and 197 British troops have died in Iraq.

So, five years on, who can be said to have won the war? Certainly not Iraqi civilians, at least 90,000 of whom have died violently since 2003, at the most conservative estimate. Other studies have multiplied¹² that figure by five or six. Two million Iraqis have fled the country, and at least as many again are internally displaced. Baghdad households suffered power cuts of up to eight hours a day in Saddam's time; now they can expect less than eight hours of electricity a day on average.

Nor have the eager promoters of the war, such as Mr Adelman, fared well. (By October 2006 he was admitting: "We're losing in Iraq.") The most arrogant of them all, Donald Rumsfeld, the ex-secretary of defence, was reluctantly dropped by Mr Bush in his second term. His former deputy, Paul Wolfowitz, who famously said that WMD had been used as the excuse for war because it was the only topic Washington's bureaucracy¹³ could agree on, was forced to resign as president of the World Bank after arranging a pay rise for his girlfriend. The Senate refused to confirm John Bolton as US ambassador to the UN.

George Bush is the most unpopular President since *opinion polls¹⁴ began, mainly because of Iraq. Tony Blair, his partner in the reckless venture, has already gone; those *in a position to¹⁵ know believe he would still be Prime Minister had it not been for the war. The standing¹⁶ of both Britain and the US has suffered immeasurably¹⁷.

The main winners of the war are not the ones its instigators¹⁸ planned: Iran and al-Qa'ida. No one in Washington appeared to have calculated that to unseat Saddam, whom the US once supported as a bulwark¹⁹ against the Iranians, would empower the majority community in Iraq, the Shias, or that many of them would look to the world's only Shia nation, Iran. The US insists that Tehran retains nuclear ambitions, despite its own intelligence estimate that work on a weapon has stopped, but its occupation of Iraq ►

计的 2500 人。到目前为止已经有 3987 名美军士兵和 197 名英军死在伊拉克。

因而, 5 年来, 谁能说赢得了这场战争? 肯定不是伊拉克平民: 自 2003 年以来, 至少有 9 万人死于暴力, 这还是最保守的估计。另有调查表明死亡数目是这一数字的 5 倍或 6 倍。200 万伊拉克人已逃到国外; 至少还有同样多的人在境内流离失所。萨达姆统治时期, 巴格达的住户们每天最多只要忍受 8 小时停电; 现在他们能指望的每天有电的时间平均不足 8 小时。

伊拉克战争的积极倡导者们, 比如阿德尔曼先生, 日子也过得不大好(2006 年 10 月他就承认: "我们正在输掉伊拉克战争。") 他们当中最傲慢的、前国防部长唐纳德·拉姆斯菲尔德被布什在其第二任期中不情愿地解

职。他的前副手保罗·沃尔福威茨因为给女友安排加薪被迫辞去世行行长的职务。他的一句话说得对: 大规模杀伤性武器被用作战争的借口, 因为这是华盛顿官僚机构可以达成一致的唯—话题。参议院拒绝批准约翰·博尔顿担任美国驻联合国大使。

乔治·布什是自有民意测验以来最不得人心的总统, 主要原因就是伊拉克。他这次不

计后果的冒险行动的搭档托尼·布莱尔已经下台。那些了解内幕的人认为, 如果不是伊拉克战争, 布莱尔这会儿还是首相。英国和美国的声誉都严重受损。

这场战争的主要赢家不在战争煽动者的计划之列, 它们是伊朗和"基地"组织。在华盛顿似乎没有哪个人想到, 推翻萨达姆——美国曾把他看作是对抗伊朗人的保障而加以支持——会使占伊拉克绝大多数的什叶派掌权, 以及他们当中的很多人会把目光投向全世界唯一的什叶派国家: 伊朗。美国坚持认为, 德黑兰有核野心, 尽管美国自己掌握的情报判断核武器的研制工作已经停止, 但美国对伊拉克 ►



Iraqi president Jalal Talabani [right] offered Mr Ahmadinejad a warm ceremonial welcome in Baghdad.

has given Iran a hostage it could never have imagined having.

As for al-Qa'ida, it never had a foothold in Iraq until the chaos created by the invasion gave it the opportunity to establish one. And while the US is preoccupied in Iraq, the conflict it neglected, in Afghanistan, is getting worse. Al-Qa'ida has re-established itself in the lawless tribal areas of Pakistan, while its old host, the Taliban, regains ground on the other side of the Afghan border.

In early 2003, Mr Rumsfeld mused²⁰ on what might be the cost of the war to come: \$50bn (£25bn) or \$60bn, he and White House planners thought. Five years on, the bill is already 10 times that, while here the Commons Defence Committee has just warned of a “surprising” 52 per cent increase in the cost of operations in Iraq to nearly £1.45bn in the current financial year, despite the reductions in troop levels. An unprecedented²¹ amount has been funnelled²² to the private sector. The big winners have been the money men.

Another army of private security guards escorts²³, convoys, protects infrastructure projects and ferries²⁴ military equipment around Iraq. These have been followed by business consultants, building project planners and government advisers, many of whom have put their lives at risk in the pursuit of a reconstructed Iraq while their companies earn billions.

An estimate last October put the number of private contractors working in Iraq at 160,000 from up to 300 separate companies. About 50,000 were private security guards from companies such as Blackwater—whose killing of 17 Iraqi civilians last September in a gun battle shone a spotlight on the US military's reliance on poorly controlled private armies. Each Blackwater guard in Iraq, of whom there have been up to 900, costs the US government \$445,000 per year.

*At one point²⁵, ArmorGroup, chaired by the former foreign secretary Sir Malcolm Rifkind, was getting half its revenues from Iraq. It carried out convoy protection at rates²⁶ estimated at between \$8,000 and \$12,000 a day, and helped ►

的占领给伊朗一个自己可能做梦也没想到的可乘之机。

至于“基地”组织,他们过去从未在伊拉克立足,直到美国的入侵导致混乱他们才有机会建基立业。而美国因为把精力放在伊拉克忽视了阿富汗的冲突,使那里的情况日益恶化。“基地”组织在巴基斯坦不受法律控制的部落地区重新建立,而最早开始收留他们的“塔利班”也在阿富汗边境的另一边重新夺得地盘。

2003年初,拉姆斯菲尔德仔细考过开战的成本有多大。他和白宫的一些规划人员认为,这场战争大概需要500亿(250亿英镑)或许600亿美元。5年后,费用已经是估算数字的10倍。而英国下院防务委员会刚刚警告说,这个财政年度,尽管英军驻伊人数减少,在伊拉克的费用还是要增加“惊人”的52%,达到近14.5亿英镑。流入私营部门的钱已达到前所未有的程度。最大的赢家是那些后台老板。

还有承担护卫运输及保护基础设施项目,把军事设备运送到伊拉克各地的一大批私营保安。随后是大批企业顾问、工程规划人员及政府顾问,他们当中有很多人冒着生命危险参加伊拉克重建,他们所属的公司则赚到数十亿美元。

去年10月的一份估算表明有16万私营承包人员在伊拉克工作,他们来自多达300家不同的公司,其中大约有5万人是来自黑水这类公司的私营保安。去年9月,该公司保安在一场枪战中打死17名伊拉克平民,集中体现出美国军队对缺乏控制的私营部队的依赖性。在伊拉克的每个黑水保安每年要花掉美国政府44.5万美元,目前该公司在伊拉克多达900名保安。

(英国)前外交大臣马尔科姆·里夫金德爵士担任董事长的阿莫尔集团曾一度有一半收入来自伊拉克。这家公司估计每天以8000至1.2万美元的收费执行护卫任务,在伊拉克 ►

12. multiply[ˈmʌltɪplaɪ] vt. 乘,使相乘

13. bureaucracy[bjuəˈrɒkrəsi] n. 官僚政治;[总称]官僚,政府官员

14. opinion poll 民意测验

15. (be) in a position to do sth (由于客观或主观条件)可(能)做某事

16. standing[ˈstændɪŋ] n. 级别;地位,身份;名声

17. immeasurably[ɪˈmeɪʒərəbli] ad. 不可计量地;无边无际地,无限地

18. instigator[ˈɪnstɪɡeɪtə(r)] n. 煽动者;挑动者

19. bulwark[ˈbʊlwɜ:k] n. 保障,支柱

20. muse[mju:z] vi. 沉思,默想,冥想 about, on, upon, over

21. unprecedented[ˌʌnˈpresɪdɪntɪd] a. 无前例的,空前的,前所未有的

22. funnel[ˈfʌnəl] vt. (尤指通过狭窄通道)传送;使集中

23. escort[ɪˈskɔ:t] vt. 护送;为...护航

24. ferry[ˈferi] vt. 运送(越海)空运

25. at one point 在某一时刻;一度

26. rate[reɪt] n. 价格;费用



Time (Apr. 7, 2008) 清洁能源的荒诞之说

Ethanol increases global warming, destroys forests and inflates food prices. So why are we subsidizing it? 乙醇燃料的生产加剧了全球变暖,破坏了森林,还使食品价格上涨。那我们为什么还在对此提供补贴?



Nature (Mar. 27, 2008) 第一位欧洲人?

Spanish palaeontologists have dug up the remains of a 1.2-million-year-old humanlike inhabitant of Western Europe. 西班牙古生物学家已发掘出距今 120 万年前的西欧类人居民的化石。

BusinessWeek (Apr. 7, 2008) 《商业周刊》50 强

Management vision that spurns conventional wisdom is one trait many companies on our list share. This year's rankings are also our most international to date. 摒弃一般常见看法的经营眼光 是众多位居 我们排行榜 的公司共具 的特点。今 年的排名企 业也是我们 迄今评选中 最具国际化的。



(赵昆仑 摘译)

to guard polling stations during the country's elections. By far the biggest winner of contracts in Iraq, though, is Halliburton, the oil and related services company run by Dick Cheney before he became US vice-president and a key architect of the war. The connections between the company and the Bush administration helped to generate \$16bn in contracts in Iraq and Afghanistan in the three years from the start of 2004—nine times as much as any other company.

So far, major companies such as Shell, BP and ExxonMobil have held back on investing directly in the country while the violence continues—but the war has still contributed handsomely to their record-breaking profits because of sky-high oil prices. As the US prepared to march into Iraq, crude soared to what then seemed an impossibly high \$37 a barrel. Last week it reached a record \$110.

The Nobel prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz estimates that the war has added between \$5 and \$10 a barrel to the price of oil. The figure could be higher, if one believes that the rise also reflects a big additional premium²⁷ for the threat of future supply disruptions that might be caused by geopolitical²⁸ tensions or increased terrorist activity in oil-producing regions—any of which might be traced back to the passions inflamed²⁹ by the war.

大选时曾帮助保护投票点。但是,在伊拉克拿到的合同额远远超过其他公司的最大赢家是迪克·切尼成为美国副总统和伊战关键策划者之前经营的哈利伯顿公司。凭着与布什政府的关系,这家经营石油和相关业务的公司 2004 年之后的 3 年在伊拉克和阿富汗签订了价值 160 亿美元的合同——至少是其他任一家公司的 9 倍。

由于暴力事件不断,到目前为止,壳牌、BP 和埃克森美孚等大公司已经停止直接向伊拉克投资,但因为高涨的油价,这场战争仍然为他们创纪录的利润做出了巨大贡献。美国准备进军伊拉克时,原油猛涨到当时看来不可思议的每桶 37 美元。上周,油价已经创下 110 美元的新纪录。

获得过诺贝尔奖的经济学家约瑟夫·施蒂格利茨估计,这场战争使每桶石油的价格上升了 5 至 10 美元。如果你认为油价上涨也全因地缘政治紧张局势或产油区恐怖活动加剧可能导致未来石油供应中断这种威胁而造成一大笔追加溢价,这个数字还可能更高。这些情况都可以追溯到由伊拉克战争引发的怒火。

(赵菲菲 摘译自 The Independent Mar. 16, 2008)

27. premium['pri:mɪəm] n. 加付款;加价,溢价

28. geopolitical ['dʒi:əpə'litikəl] a. 地缘政治学的,地理政治学的

29. inflame[in'fleɪm] vt. 使极度激动;引起...的热情;使愤怒