

导读 2005年9月,以色列国防军在原加沙定居点附近的以军总部举行告别仪式,以色列对加沙长达38年的占领结束。2007年6月,极端的巴勒斯坦伊斯兰抵抗运动(哈马斯)取代温和的法塔赫在加沙独掌大权。哈马斯否认以色列在中东的存在,以武装暴力“解放家园”为己任,用火箭弹一轮又一轮地袭击以色列平民。2008年12月27日,以色列以此为由展开了名为“铸铅行动”的迅猛攻势。这场不对称的军事行动历时22天。2009年1月18日以军攻势结束。以色列和哈马斯未就伤亡数字达成一致,尤其是对平民所占比例争议较大。2月2日旨在实现加沙地带长期停火的谈判在埃及首都开罗举行。

解决巴以战事概述



The Outlines of a Settlement

How the Israelis might end their assault on Hamas

以色列人可能会怎样结束其对哈马斯的攻击

In wars the fighting often intensifies¹ on the eve of a ceasefire², as each side jostles³ for last-minute advantage. That may explain the step-up⁴ in fighting on January 15th, as Israeli ground forces thrust⁵ deeper into Gaza City, at one point shelling the main United Nations compound⁶ and reportedly setting a hospital on fire. For the escalating⁷ violence also coincided with a quickening of diplomatic efforts to end the devastating three-week war.

The focus of the diplomacy is in Cairo, where the Egyptian government has been receiving emissaries⁸ from both Israel and Hamas. Speculation⁹ from Israel suggested that there might soon be a ceasefire *in place¹⁰: Israel would not immediately pull its troops out of the battered¹¹ Gaza Strip but would stop shooting, in return for Hamas ending completely its already faltering¹² rocket bombardment¹³ of Israel.

Israel's preference is a truce¹⁴ that keeps maximum pressure on Hamas. The Israeli army would *stay on¹⁵ the outskirts¹⁶ of Gaza City and reserve¹⁷ soldiers would remain mobilised¹⁸, the better to persuade Hamas to accept a longer-lasting ceasefire that would also include arrangements to cut the flow of weaponry¹⁹ smuggled to its fighters through the tunnel system beneath Gaza's border with Egypt. Only then would the Israeli army withdraw and Israel lift its economic blockade²⁰.

It remained to be seen, as *The Economist* *went to press²¹, whether Hamas could bring itself to cease firing with the ►

战争中,战斗在停战前夕通常更加激烈,因为双方都在争夺最后一刻的优势。这也许能解释1月15日战事吃紧——以色列地面部队进一步进攻加沙城,一度向联合国重要建筑区开炮,并据报道引燃了一家医院。不断升级的暴力也与旨在结束这场毁灭性的、为期3周的战争而加紧进行的外交努力同步。

外交斡旋的中心在开罗,埃及政府在此接待了以色列和哈马斯的代表。来自以色列的推测称,可能很快就会适时停火——以色列不会立即从遭受重创的加沙地带撤军,但会停止射击,作为回应,哈马斯将完全停止其对以色列的业已式微的火箭弹袭击。

以色列更希望一种能对哈马斯保持最大压力的休战。以军将继续留在加沙城外,后备役也将保持动员状态。最好能说服哈马斯接受一个更为长期的停火期,其中还将包括签订协议,以切断通过加沙与埃及边境将武器走私给哈马斯武装人员的地下通道系统。只有那时,以色列才会撤军并解除其经济封锁。

就在《经济学家》付印之时,哈马斯是否会与仍在加沙地带的以军实现停 ►

Israeli troops still inside the Strip. That could look perilously²² like a defeat. Hamas has failed to inflict²³ significant casualties²⁴ on the Israeli invaders and is showing signs of stress and division. The Palestinian death toll exceeds 1,000, including hundreds of civilians. Many of its installations²⁵—and many other buildings in Gaza—have been *reduced to rubble²⁶.

Israel is *bracing itself for²⁷ a new wave of global opprobrium²⁸ once the world's press is finally allowed into Gaza and reports first-hand from the ruins. But support for the war among the Israeli public has remained broad (barring²⁹ the Israeli-Arab minority) and solid.

When the guns fall silent Israel can also turn back to its elections, due on February 10th. In fact the campaign never really stopped. Inter-party and interpersonal rivalries seeped³⁰ into the cabinet war-room³¹ despite the ostensible³² suspension of political hostilities³³. Ehud Olmert, who resigned over corruption charges and will step down as prime minister once a new government is formed, has been the most gung-ho³⁴ of the senior ministers. On January 12th, in rocket-stricken Ashkelon, he vowed that Israel's "iron fist" would keep smiting³⁵ the enemy. "It's a test of willpower, us against them," he told a gathering of local mayors. His critics say his eye is really on his legacy, and above all on the opportunity to erase the memory of the inconclusive³⁶ war against Hizbullah³⁷ in south Lebanon in 2006.

Mr Olmert and Tzipi Livni, the foreign minister and his successor as leader of the centrist³⁸ Kadima party, have ►

火还有待观察。这可能看上去危险地如同一场失败。哈马斯未能给以色列入侵者造成重大伤亡且正在显现压力和分裂迹象。巴勒斯坦死亡人数已超过 1000, 包括数百名平民。哈马斯的许多军事设施以及加沙诸多其他建筑都已被毁成瓦砾。

以色列正准备应对世界媒体一旦最终获准进入加沙并在废墟上发送第一手报道时,可能引发的新一波全球责难。但是除少数以色列籍的阿拉伯人外,以色列公众对战争的支持仍是广泛和坚定的。

随着枪声沉寂,以色列也得以回归其定于 2 月 10 日举行的选举。事实上,竞选活动从未真正停止过。尽管政治争斗貌似中止了,但党派间和个人间的勾心斗角仍渗透进了内阁作战室。埃胡德·奥尔默特因为贪污指控辞职并将在新政府组阁后辞去总理职务,他是资深部长中最卖力的一位。1 月 12 日在被火箭弹袭击的阿什克伦,他发誓以色列的“铁拳”将继续猛击敌人。他在当地市长的集会上说:“这是我们同他们之间的一场意志的考验。”他的批评者称,他的眼睛真正盯着的是他留下的成果,尤其是抹去人们对 2006 年以色列向黎巴嫩南部真主党发动的无果战争记忆的机会。

奥尔默特先生及其继任者、中间派前进党领袖、外长齐皮·利夫尼,在战争过程中 ►

1. intensify [ɪn'tensɪfaɪ] *vi.* 加剧,加强,增强
2. ceasefire ['sɪsɪfəɪə] *n.* (通常指永久性的)停火,停战
3. jostle ['dʒɒsl] *vi.* 竞争,争夺
4. step-up ['stepʌp] *n.* (数量等的)增加, (强度等的)增大
5. thrust [θrʌst] *vi.* (用力)推,插,挤
6. compound ['kɒmpaʊnd] *n.* 有围墙(或篱笆等)的房群,大院
7. escalate [ɪ'skæləleɪt] *vi.* 加剧,不断恶化
8. emissary [ɪ'mɪsəri] *n.* 使者
9. speculation [ˌspekju'leɪʃn] *n.* 推测,猜测
10. in place 适当的,适时的
11. battered ['bætəd] *a.* 遭受重创的
12. faltering ['fɔ:lɪt(ə)rɪŋ] *a.* 衰退的,举步维艰的
13. bombardment [bɒm'bɑ:dmənt] *n.* 轰炸,炮击
14. truce [tru:s] *n.* 休战,停战
15. stay on 继续停留
16. outskirts ['aʊtˌskɜ:t] *n.* 郊外,市郊
17. reserve [rɪ'zɜ:v] *n.* 替补队员,预备队员
18. mobilise [ˌmɒbɪlaɪz] *vt.* 动员,召集
19. weaponry ['wepənri] *n.* [总称]武器, (国家或军队)的所有武器装备
20. blockade [blɒ'keɪd] *n.* 封锁

21. go to (the) press 付印,开印,出版,发表
22. perilously [ˌperɪləsli] *ad.* (充满)危险地,濒临毁灭地
23. inflict [ɪn'flɪkt] *vt.* 造成(不快之事),使发生
24. casualty [ˌkæʒjuəlti] *n.* [常作 casualties] (军队的)伤亡人员(包括伤、亡、病、失踪、被俘等)
25. installation [ˌɪnstə'leɪʃən] *n.* (尤指)军事设施,工业设施,政府建筑物
26. reduce sth to rubble 将某物毁成瓦砾
27. brace yourself for sth (为困难或坏事)作准备,防备
28. opprobrium [ə'prɒbrɪəm] *n.* (众人的)谴责,责难,抨击
29. bar [bɑ:(r)] *vt.* 把...排除在外不予考虑
30. seep [si:p] *vi.* 渗出,渗漏,渐渐消失(或消耗)
31. war room [军] (司令部内的)作战室
32. ostensible [ɒ'stensəbl] *a.* 表面上的,貌似真实的,假装的,诡称的
33. hostility [hɒ'stɪləti] *n.* (hostilities)战争行为
34. gung-ho [ˌgʌŋ'həʊ] <美俚> 卖力的,起劲的,热心的,狂热的,协力的,有事业心的
35. smite [smaɪt] *vt.* 重打,猛击
36. inconclusive [ɪn'kɒn'klu:sɪv] *a.* 无最后结果的,无效果的
37. Hizbullah [ˌhɪzbʊ'lɑ:] *n.* (黎巴嫩)真主党
38. centrist [ˌsentrɪst] *n.* (政治上的)中间派,温和派

been overshadowed in the running of the war by the defence minister and Labour Party leader, Ehud Barak. A former army chief of staff, he is back *in his element³⁹, in the field with the troops, speaking their language, with cameras and microphones in attendance. His ratings, deep *in the doldrums⁴⁰ before the war, have surged back almost to respectability⁴¹. He is not *on a par with⁴² Ms Livni and the Likud's Binyamin Netanyahu, who remain neck-and-neck⁴³ in the polls. But whichever of them wins the prime ministership will probably be keen now to keep Mr Barak at defence.

Mr Olmert and Ms Livni, by contrast, *came to grief⁴⁴ over a UN Security Council resolution on January 8th that called for a ceasefire. For Israel it was premature⁴⁵ (Hamas rejected it too) and Ms Livni was blamed for failing to get it deferred⁴⁶. Mr Olmert then got into trouble by boasting that his own last-minute phone call to George Bush resulted in America abstaining⁴⁷ instead of voting in favour, as the American secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, had intended. She was “embarrassed”, he asserted. “One hundred percent totally, completely untrue,” the State Department spokesman shot back next day.

Mr Barak, on the other hand, projects prudence⁴⁸. Having had a good war so far, he seems keen to stop while Israel is still ahead. The next phase of the war, he said on January 14th, would oblige⁴⁹ the army to reoccupy the so-called “Philadelphi Route”, a narrow tract⁵⁰ of land on the Gaza side of the strip's⁵¹ border with Egypt. Why, he asked, confront the incoming Barack Obama with this destabilising prospect?

Israeli aircraft have pounded the latticework⁵² of tunnels under the border. But even as the air force bombed them, Hamas was digging new ones. Israel wants international involvement to staunch⁵³ this traffic⁵⁴. America and Germany have offered Egypt technical help, but Egypt has refused in the past to have any foreign forces monitoring its side of the Gaza border, and Hamas says that foreign troops on the Gaza side would be more “occupation”. Neither Egypt nor Israel is keen on revisiting their 1979 peace treaty, which limits the number of troops Egypt can deploy in the border zone. But there are signs that both sides might accept Turkish troops.

The outcome of the border negotiations will determine the long-term success of “Operation Cast⁵⁵ Lead” for Israel. In the short term, the government claims already to have restored its deterrent⁵⁶ power. Favourable sentiment in the southern towns under rocket fire and among the reservists massed along the border *bears this out⁵⁷. The atmosphere is very different from the despondent⁵⁸ one during the month-long Lebanon war ▶

与国防部长、工党领袖埃胡德·巴拉克相比黯然失色。作为前陆军参谋长，埃胡德·巴拉克又找回了感觉，在野外和部队一道，说他们的语言，身边总有摄像机和话筒。他的支持度战前曾一度深陷低迷，如今已跃居到近乎可敬的地步。与利夫尼女士和利库德集团的本雅明·内塔尼亚胡在民调中齐头并进相比，他还处于落后。但无论这两位谁当选总理，可能现在都会热衷于让巴拉克留任国防部长。

相比之下，奥尔默特先生和利夫尼女士则因联合国安理会1月8日通过要求停火的决议而麻烦临头。对以色列而言，决议是草率的（哈马斯也拒绝接受）。利夫尼女士因未能使该决议推迟而饱受批评。奥尔默特先生随即陷入麻烦。他吹嘘自己紧急关头给乔治·布什打电话使美国在投票中弃权而不是像美国国务卿康多莉扎·赖斯打算的那样投支持票。他宣称，这令她“尴尬”。次日，美国国务院发言人就回击称，这是“百分之百的、完全的、彻底的假话”。

相反，巴拉克先生则表现出远见。尽管截至目前他打了场漂亮仗，但在以色列还处于上风时，他似乎渴望停战。1月14日他说，战争下一阶段将要求部队重新占领所谓的“费城走廊”——加沙地带紧邻埃及的一块狭长地带。他问道：为什么要用这种破坏稳定的前景去迎接即将上任的巴拉克·奥巴马呢？

以色列战机对位于边境地区地下的网格状地道进行了猛烈轰炸。但就在空军轰炸时，哈马斯仍在挖掘新的地道。以色列希望国际社会介入阻止武器非法买卖。美国和德国已表示愿向埃及提供技术支持，但埃及以前曾拒绝过任何外国部队监视其靠近加沙一侧的边境，而哈马斯称在加沙一侧的外国部队更像是“占领”。埃及和以色列双方都无心重新考虑其1979年签订的和平协议。该协议对埃及部署在边境地区的部队数量做了限制。但有迹象显示双方可能都接受土耳其部队。

边境谈判的结果将决定以色列“铸铅行动”的长期成败。短期看，以色列政府宣称已经恢复其威慑力。在火箭弹炮火笼罩下的南方城镇和在边境集结的预备役军人中弥漫的支持情绪证实了这一点。这次气氛与2006年长达1个月的黎巴嫩战争的沮丧气氛非常不同。当然，哈马斯的火箭弹与真主党的相 ▶

Hundreds of thousands of strikers marched through French cities on Thursday to demand pay rises and protection for jobs, challenging President Nicolas Sarkozy to do more for ordinary workers. 周四(1月29日)数十万罢工者在法国各城市游行示威,要求增加工资和保障就业,要求总统尼古拉·萨科奇更多地考虑普通劳动者的利益。(Reuters Jan. 29, 2009)



Founder Klaus Schwab announced a “global redesign initiative” to reform banking, regulation and corporate governance. For five days, more than 2,000 business and political leaders discussed what some here called the “crisis of capitalism”. 世界经济论坛创办人克劳斯·施瓦布宣布针对银行业、监管条例和公司治理方面的改革启动“全球重新设计倡议”。在5天里,2000多名工商界和政界领导人就参加论坛的一些人士称为“资本主义危机”的问题展开了讨论。(BBC Feb. 1, 2009)

Madagascar's opposition leader vowed on Sunday to continue protests against President Marc Ravalomanana a day after security forces killed at least 25 anti-government demonstrators. 在安全部队枪杀了至少25名反政府示威者1天后,马达加斯加反对派领导人周日(2月8日)誓言继续进行反对总统马克·拉瓦卢马纳纳的抗议活动。(Reuters Feb. 8, 2009) (吴景超 摘译)



of 2006. Of course, Hamas's rockets have been less lethal⁵⁹ and far less numerous than Hizbullah's. But Israelis ascribe⁶⁰ their low civilian casualties to a sustained investment in *reinforced concrete⁶¹ shelters and to the public's disciplined⁶² response to the Home Command's instructions, as well as to some lucky escapes.

This feeds into a defiant⁶³ rejection of international condemnation. Years of missiles on their towns, the Palestinian intifada⁶⁴ with its lethal suicide-bombings, the unrequited⁶⁵—as Israelis see it—withdrawal from Gaza in 2005, all these have created a collective sense among Israelis that they are right, whatever the world may say. ■

比没那么致命,数量也远没那么多。但以色列将平民的低伤亡率归功于对钢筋混凝土庇护所的持续投资和公众严守国内防卫司令部的指令,以及一些人的侥幸逃脱。

这助长了以色列对国际谴责的公然蔑视和拒绝。多年来他们的城镇受到导弹袭击,巴勒斯坦人携带致命的自杀式炸弹进行的暴动,以及在以色列看来没有获得回报的2005年加沙撤军,所有这些在以色列人中产生了一种集体意识,即他们是对的,不管世界可能会说什么。

(高建正 译注自 *The Economist* Jan. 15, 2009)

39. in one's element 处于适宜的环境,得其所
 40. doldrums [ˈdɒldrəmz] [复] n. (工商业、创造活动等的)停滞; 低潮,萧条时期; in the ~ 无进展,不活跃
 41. respectability [ˌrɪspɛktəˈbɪləti] n. 可敬,受尊敬,体面
 42. on a par (with) (与...相同(或相似)) (与...同价)
 43. neck-and-neck 并驾齐驱,不分上下,难分高低
 44. come to grief 遭受不幸,失败,遭到灾难,倒霉
 45. premature [ˌpreməˈtʃʊə] a. (做法等)不成熟的,草率的
 46. defer [dɪˈfɜː(r)] vt. 使(某事)延期,推迟
 47. abstain [əbˈsteɪn] vi. 弃权
 48. prudence [ˈpruːdəns] n. 精明,深谋远虑
 49. oblige [əˈblaɪdʒ] vt. 使(行为、政策等)成为必要
 50. tract [trækt] n. (土地等的)大片,大片土地,地带
 51. strip [stri:p] n. 带状地带
 52. latticework [ˈlæti:swɜ:k] n. 斜条格构,格子

53. staunch [stɔːntʃ] vt. = stanch 制止
 54. traffic [ˈtræfɪk] n. 贸易,交易,非法买卖
 55. cast [kɑːst] vt. 铸造(某物)
 56. deterrent [dɪˈterənt] a. 威慑的,遏制的,制止的
 57. bear out 证实(报道等),证实(某人)的话(或报道等)
 58. despondent [dɪˈspɒndənt] n. 沮丧的,泄气的,失望的
 59. lethal [ˈli:θl] a. 能致命的
 60. ascribe [əˈskraɪb] vt. 把...归因(于)(to)
 61. reinforced concrete 钢筋混凝土
 62. disciplined [ˈdɪsɪplɪnd] a. 受过训练的,遵守纪律的
 63. defiant [dɪˈfaɪənt] a. 违抗的,反抗的,蔑视的,藐视的
 64. intifada [ˌɪntɪˈfɑ:də] n. (始于1987年的巴勒斯坦人反对以色列人占领约旦河西岸和加沙地带的)起义,暴动
 65. unrequited [ˌʌnrɪˈkwaɪtɪd] a. 得不到报答(或报酬)的,无回报的,没有受到报复的