



导读 本刊今年第4期刊有“奥巴马下令增兵——以‘是的，我们能’面对阿富汗战争”一文，分析了2月17日奥巴马下令阿富汗增兵所显现的美国新政府反恐战争焦点的转移。不足3个月，5月11日美国国防部长罗伯特·盖茨宣布，提名斯坦利·麦克里斯特尔将军接替戴维·麦基尔南，为驻阿富汗美军最高指挥官。这一继1951年麦克阿瑟遭杜鲁门解职后的又一战时司令遭革职的行动，既反映出美军在阿富汗战争进入关键阶段重大战略的调整，又表明一种时不我待的紧迫。

It's Obama's War Now

By Fred Kaplan

The ouster¹ of Afghanistan commander David McKiernan could make—or break—the Obama presidency.
将美军驻阿富汗指挥官戴维·麦基尔南撤职既可能使奥巴马总统任期圆满亦可能使其中断。

Defense Secretary Robert Gates announced this afternoon that he has “asked for the resignation” of Gen. David McKiernan, commander of NATO forces in Afghanistan, and that he plans to replace him with Gen. Stanley McChrystal. It’s *a very big deal² now.

McKiernan’s ouster signals a dramatic shift in U.S. strategy for the war in Afghanistan. And it means that the war is now, unequivocally³, “Obama’s war.” The president has decided to set a new course, not merely to *muddle through⁴ the next six months or so.

First, let’s clarify a few things. When a Cabinet officer asks for a subordinate’s⁵ resignation, it means that he’s firing the guy. This doesn’t happen very often in the U.S. military. McKiernan had another year to go as commander. (When Gen. George Casey’s strategy clearly wasn’t working in Iraq, President George W. Bush let him serve out his term, then promoted him to Army *chief of staff⁶.) Gates also made it clear he wasn’t acting on a personal whim⁷. He said that he took the step after consulting ►

国防部长罗伯特·盖茨今天(5月11日)下午宣布，他已要求北约驻阿富汗部队司令戴维·麦基尔南将军辞职，他计划让斯坦利·麦克里斯托尔将军取而代之。这可是当前一桩非同小可的大事。

麦基尔南被革职标志着美国在阿富汗战争中战略的重大转变，也意味着至此，这场战争已毫无疑问地成为“奥巴马的战争”。总统已决定采取新的行动，而不只是对付过今后6个月左右的时间。

让我们首先澄清一些事情。当一个内阁官员要求下属辞职，就意味着他开除了这个家伙。这样的事情在美国军方并不常见。麦基尔南的司令任期还剩1年时间。(当乔治·凯西将军的战略在伊拉克显然不起作用时，乔治·W.布什总统让他做到任职期满，然后提升他为陆军参谋长。)盖茨也明确表示其此举并非个人心血来潮。►

1. ouster [ˈaʊstə(r)] n. 驱逐 撤职 罢黜
2. a big deal <非正式> 重要事件
3. unequivocally [ˌɪnɪˈkwɪvəkli] ad. 毫不含糊地 清楚明白地 明确地 不会弄错地
4. muddle through <口> 胡乱应付过去 混过(困难时

期等)
5. subordinate [səˈbɔːdɪnət] n. 部属 部下; 下级
6. chief of staff (部队)参谋长
7. whim [hwɪm] n. 突然产生的念头, 一闪而过的念头; 异想天开的念头 怪念头 冲动

with Gen. David Petraeus, commander of U.S. Central Command; Adm⁸. Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and President Barack Obama. According to one senior official, Gates went over to Afghanistan last week for the sole purpose of giving McKiernan the news face-to-face.

Gates emphasized at a press conference today that McKiernan didn't do anything specifically wrong but that "fresh thinking" was needed urgently. The United States couldn't just wait until the current commander's term ran out.

An intellectual battle is now raging⁹ within the Army between an "old guard"¹⁰ that thinks about war in conventional¹¹, force-on-force terms and a "new guard" that focuses more on "asymmetric"¹¹ conflicts and counterinsurgency¹².

McKiernan is an excellent general in the old mold. McChrystal, who *rose through the ranks¹³ as a special-forces officer, is an excellent general in the new mold. He has also worked closely with Gates and Petraeus. (In his press conference, Gates referred to McChrystal's "unique skill set in counterinsurgency.") For the past year, McChrystal has been director of the Pentagon's Joint Staff. More pertinently¹⁴, for five years before that, he was commander of the Joint Special Operations Command, a highly secretive operation that *hunted down¹⁵ and killed key jihadist¹⁶ fighters, including, most sensationally¹⁷, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaida in Iraq.

Last fall, Bob Woodward reported in *the Washington Post* that JSOC played a crucial, unsung¹⁸ role in the tactical¹⁹ success of the Iraqi "surge." Using techniques of what McChrystal called "collaborative warfare," JSOC combined intelligence intercepts²⁰ with quick, precision strikes to "eliminate" large numbers of key insurgent leaders.

This appointment will not be without controversy. McChrystal's command also provided the personnel for *Task Force²¹ 6-26, an elite unit of 1,000 special-ops forces that engaged in harsh²² interrogation²³ of detainees²⁴ in Camp Nama as far back as 2003. The interrogations were so harsh that five Army officers were convicted²⁵ on charges of abuse. ►

他说他是在同美军中央司令部司令戴维·彼得雷乌斯将军、参谋长联席会议主席、海军上将迈克尔·马伦和总统巴拉克·奥巴马磋商后采取的行动。据一位高级官员称，盖茨上周前往阿富汗，唯一的目的是当面向麦基尔南通报这一消息。

盖茨今天在新闻发布会上强调，麦基尔南并没有做错什么事情，而是亟需“新思维”。美国只是不能坐等现任司令任期届满。

陆军内部正在进行一场激烈的智力角逐。角逐的双方分别是以传统的军力对军力方式考虑战争的“保守派”和更侧重“非对称冲突”与反暴乱战的“新生派”。

麦基尔南是旧模式下的优秀将军。在特种部队连续升职的麦克里斯托尔是新模式下的出色将军。他也一直与盖茨和彼得雷乌斯密切共事。(在新闻发布会上，盖茨提到了麦克里斯托尔在“反暴力武装方面的独特技术”。)麦克里斯托尔过去1年任五角大楼参谋长联席会议主任。更为相关的是，在此之前的5



年里，他曾任联合特种作战指挥部司令，指挥一场高度保密的行动，即搜捕并剿灭重要伊斯兰圣战分子，其中最轰动的是击毙“基地”组织伊拉克分支头目阿布·穆萨卜·扎卡维。

鲍勃·伍德沃德去年秋季在《华盛顿邮报》上报道称，联合特种作战指挥部在伊拉克“增兵”计划取得战术成功中扮演了关键的不为人知的作用。联合特种作战指挥部运用了麦克里斯托尔所称的“协作战”，将情报拦截和快速、精准打击相结合，以“清除”大批重要的武装叛军头目。

这一任命并非没有争议。麦克里斯托尔的指挥部同时向“6-26 特遣部队”提供人员支持。这是由 1000 名特种作战士兵组成的精英部队，早在 2003 年就曾对关押在纳玛营的囚犯进行严酷审讯。审讯如此严酷以 ►

(McChrystal himself was not implicated²⁶ in the excesses²⁷, but the unit's slogan, which *set the tone for²⁸ its practices, was "If you don't make them bleed, they can't prosecute²⁹ for it.")

Gates also announced yesterday that he would nominate Gen. David Rodriguez to be the deputy commander in Afghanistan, a newly created position. Rodriguez is currently Gates' military assistant and, before that, was commander of U.S.

forces in eastern Afghanistan. These forces, which are separate from those under NATO command, spend most of the time going after Taliban fighters. McChrystal and Rodriguez are close friends. They have both been in Washington for more than a year. And Geoff Morrell, Gates' press secretary, said in a phone interview this afternoon that they're both "*chomping at the bit³⁰" to get back on the front lines. "They're rested and *raring to go³¹," he said. "They understand the strategy. They're determined to win. They will do what is necessary to win."

We've heard this kind of talk before, of course. Fresh, new, and determined don't necessarily *add up to³² victory. But the shift in command does mark a dramatic change from the uncertain muddle we've seen up to now. And Obama's whole presidency may *rise or fall³³ on whether it succeeds. ■



U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates (L) and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. Michael Mullen (R) brief the media at the Pentagon May 11, 2009. The Pentagon has announced that Lt. Gen. Stanley McChrystal will replace Gen. David McKiernan as U.S. Commander and Commander of NATO Forces in Afghanistan.

致 5 名陆军军官被判犯有虐待罪。(麦克里斯托尔本人并未涉入暴行,但是小组“如果不让他们流血,他们就不能告发”的口号为其行为定了调。)

盖茨昨天同时宣布,将提名戴维·罗德里格斯将军为驻阿富汗副司令,这是一个新设立的职位。罗德里格斯现任盖茨的军事助理,之前是美军驻

阿富汗东部指挥官。这些部队独立于北约指挥下的部队,大多时日是在追踪塔利班武装分子。麦克里斯托尔和罗德里格斯是好朋友,都在华盛顿工作过一年多。盖茨的新闻官杰夫·莫雷尔下午在接受电话采访时说,两人“迫不及待”,急于回到前线。他说:“他们已经休整过,盼着出发。他们理解新的战略。他们决心要赢。他们将尽力去赢。”

我们此前当然听过这类话。精神饱满、富有新意、只有决心总括起来并不意味着胜利。但指挥权的变更的确标志着到目前为止我们所见的变化无常的混乱局面要发生巨大的变化。奥巴马的整个总统任期也许要随其成功与否而兴衰。

(高建正 译自 *Slate* May 11, 2009)

8. Adm. *abbr.* Admiral [ˈædɪməɹəl] *n.* 海军上将 海军将军
9. rage [reɪdʒ] *vi.* 猛烈持续 激烈进行
10. old guard (组织内的)保守派
11. asymmetric [ˌæsɪˈmetrɪk] *a.* 不对称的 不匀称的
12. counterinsurgency [ˌkaʊntərɪnˈsɜːdʒənsɪ] *n.* 反(游击队或革命派)暴力的军事(或政治)行动
13. rise through the ranks 连续升职
14. pertinently [ˌpɜːtɪnəntli] *ad.* 有关系地 相关地
15. hunt down 搜寻 搜捕(团队的所有成员)
16. jihadist [dʒɪˈhɑːdɪst] *n.* 伊斯兰圣战战士
17. sensationally [senˈseɪʃənəli] *ad.* 引起轰动地
18. unsung [ʌnˈsʌŋ] *a.* 未受到颂扬的
19. tactical [ˈtæktɪkl] *a.* 战术的
20. intercept [ˌɪntəˈsept] *n.* 侦听,窃听(通过侦听、窃听)

截获的情报资料

21. task force [军] 特遣部队 特混舰队
22. harsh [hɑːʃ] *a.* 严厉的 严酷的
23. interrogation [ˌɪntərˈeɪʃən] *n.* 讯问 审问
24. detainee [ˌdɪteɪˈniː] *n.* 被拘留者 被扣押者
25. convict [kənˈvɪkt] *vt.* 宣判(某人)有罪
26. implicate [ˌɪmˈplɪkeɪt] *vt.* 使牵连其中(*in*) 涉及
27. excess [ɪkˈses] *n.* [~es] (尤指政府、军队或警察犯下的)不人道行为 暴行
28. set the tone for 为...定下基调
29. prosecute [ˌprɒsɪˈkjʊːt] *vi.* 起诉 告发
30. chomp at the bit 烦躁不安地急欲挣脱束缚
31. raring to go 巴不得马上开始
32. add up to 总括起来意味着
33. rise and fall 兴衰