



## 美以争端凸显美国影响力的局限 盟友关系正在改变

导读：尽管以色列鹰派总理内塔尼亚胡受到强势的美国犹太人的支持，但其推动的定居点计划对奥巴马政府而言，不仅削弱了奥巴马推动中东和谈的努力，而且会由此刺激伊斯兰极端主义行为，进而威胁美国士兵的生命。由于这个强硬的以色列现政府所追求的本国利益与美国国家利益相矛盾，美以关系便呈现了现在的态势。

# Dispute with Israel Underscores Limits of U.S. Power, a Shifting Alliance

By Glenn Kessler

The two-week-old dispute between Israel and the United States over housing construction in East Jerusalem has exposed the limits of American power to pressure Israeli leaders to make decisions they consider politically untenable<sup>1</sup>. But the blowup<sup>2</sup> also shows that the relationship between the two allies is changing, in ways that are unsettling<sup>3</sup> for Israel's supporters.

President Obama and his aides have cast the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, not just the relationship with Israel, as a core U.S. national security interest. Gen. David H. Petraeus, the head of the military's Central Command, put it starkly<sup>4</sup> in recent testimony on Capitol Hill: "The conflict foments<sup>5</sup> anti-American sentiment due to a perception of U.S. favoritism<sup>6</sup> toward Israel." His comments raised eyebrows in official Washington—and overseas—because they suggested that U.S. military officials were embracing the idea that failure to resolve the conflict had begun to imperil American lives.

Visiting Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu received warm applause at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) conference on Monday night when he bluntly dismissed U.S. demands to end housing construction ►

以色列与美国就以东耶路撒冷修建住宅区问题发生争端。这一持续了两周的争端，表明美在迫使以领导人做出他们认为政治上站不住脚的决定方面影响力有限。但这次争端也体现出这两个盟友之间的关系正在发生变化，这种变化令以色列的支持者感到不安。

美国总统奥巴马及其助手们已将解决以色列-巴勒斯坦冲突，而非只是美以关系列为美国国家安全利益的核心。美国中央司令部司令戴维·H.彼得雷乌斯最近在国会作证时直白地表示：“以巴冲突激起反美情绪是由于人们认为美国在偏袒以色列。”他的言论令美国政府及国外吃惊——因为这表明美国军方官员正在接受这一观点，即以巴冲突未能解决，已开始危及美国人的生命安全。

正在美国访问的以色列总理本雅明·内塔尼亚胡周一(3月19日)晚出席了美国以色列公共事务委员会(AIPAC)举行的会议。当他直截了当地驳回了美国关于让以停 ►

1. untenable [ˌʌnˈtenəbl̩] *a.* (理论、地位等)难以捍卫的;站不住脚的;不堪一击的

2. blowup [ˈbləʊʌp] *n.* 发脾气;发怒

3. unsettling [ˌʌnˈsetlɪŋ] *a.* 令人不安(或紧张、担忧)的

4. starkly [stɑːkli] *ad.* 无掩饰地;无修饰地

5. foment [ˈfəʊmənt] *vt.* 挑起;激起;煽动(事端或暴力)

6. favoritism [ˈfeɪvərɪtɪzəm] *n.* 偏爱;偏袒

in the disputed part of Jerusalem. He was greeted as a hero when he visited Capitol Hill on Tuesday.

But the administration has been strikingly muted<sup>7</sup> in its reception. No reporters, or even photographers, were invited when Netanyahu met with Secretary of State Clinton Hillary Rodham Clinton and Vice President Biden on Monday or when he met with Obama on Tuesday night. There was no grand Rose Garden ceremony. Official spokesmen issued only the blandest<sup>8</sup> of statements.

The cooling in the U.S.-Israel relationship coincides with an apparent deepening of Israel's diplomatic isolation. Anger has grown in Europe \*in the wake of<sup>9</sup> Israel's suspected misuse of European passports to kill a Palestinian militant in Dubai, the United Arab Emirates. On Tuesday, British Foreign Secretary David Miliband announced the expulsion<sup>10</sup> of a senior diplomat over the incident, an unusually drastic step for an ally. Relations with Turkey, a rare Muslim friend of Israel for decades, have hit a new low.

Obama and his aides have strongly pledged support for Israel's security—including a reiteration by Clinton when she addressed AIPAC on Monday—but they have continued to criticize its settlement policies in tough terms. Clinton notably did not \*pull her punches<sup>11</sup> on the issue when she addressed the pro-Israel group, warning that whether Israelis like it or not, “the \*status quo<sup>12</sup>” is not sustainable. The drawing of such lines by the administration has been noticed in the Middle East.

“Israeli policies have transcended personal affront<sup>13</sup> or embarrassment to American officials and are causing the United States real pain beyond the Arab-Israeli arena<sup>14</sup>. This is something new, and therefore the U.S. is reacting with unusually strong, public and repeated criticisms of Israel's settlement policies and its general peace-negotiating posture,” Rami Khouri, editor at large of Beirut's *Daily Star*, wrote this week. “At the same time Washington repeats its ironclad<sup>15</sup> commitment to Israel's basic security in its 1967 borders, suggesting that the U.S. is finally clarifying that its support for Israel does not include unconditional support for Israel's colonization policies.” ▶

止在耶路撒冷争议地区修建住宅区的要求时，被报以热烈掌声。周二访问国会时，他受到英雄般的欢迎。

但美政府对内塔尼亚胡的接待却一直异乎寻常地低调。无论是他周一与国务卿希拉里·罗德姆·克林顿及副总统拜登会见，还是周二晚上会见奥巴马，美方都没有邀请任何记者甚至摄影师到场。美方也没有在玫瑰园举行盛大欢迎仪式。官方发言人也仅发表了最为平淡的声明。

美以关系变冷恰逢以色列在外交上显而易见日渐孤立之际。以色列涉嫌盗用欧洲国民的身份，并持假护照入境阿联酋迪拜刺杀巴勒斯坦好战分子事发后，欧洲的愤怒情绪不断上升。周二，英国外交大臣大卫·米利班德宣布，

就此事件驱逐一名以色列高级外交官——对一个盟友来说，这一严厉举措非同寻常。而以色列同土耳其这一数十年难得的穆斯林朋友的关系也跌至新低。

奥巴马及其助手们承诺要对以色列的安全给予坚定的支持——克林顿周一在美国以色列公共事务委员会演讲时也重申了这一立场——但是他们继续以严厉措辞批评以色列的定居点政策。克林顿国务卿在对这一亲以团体发表演讲时，对此问题尤其毫不留情。她警告说，不管

以色列人爱不爱听，“现状”肯定是不能持续的。美国政府对此坚决反对的态度受到了中东各国的关注。

贝鲁特《每日星报》自由编辑拉米·扈利本周撰文：“以色列的政策已经不仅是给美国官员个人带来侮辱或尴尬，且正在给美国带来阿拉伯-以色列关系外的大麻烦。这是个新问题，美国对此做出的回应非同寻常，对以色列修建住宅区的政策和泛泛的和谈姿态进行强烈、公开和反复的批评。与此同时，华盛顿方面重申其保障以在1967年划定的边境内基本安全的绝对承诺，这表明美国终于阐明其支持以色列，但不包括对以移居政策无条件支持的态度。” ▶



Israeli, Palestinian and international peace activists protest in the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood of east Jerusalem against Israeli settlements and occupation on March 26, 2010. Israel vowed policy on Jerusalem would not change as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu discussed with his security cabinet US demands for peace-promoting concessions.

## Problems from the start

The Obama administration has struggled from the start to find its footing<sup>16</sup> with Israel and the Palestinians. Obama took office soon after Israel's three-week offensive in the Gaza Strip, which had ruptured<sup>17</sup> peace talks nurtured by the George W. Bush administration. Obama appointed a special envoy, former Sen. George J. Mitchell, on his second day in office. But then the administration attempted to pressure Israel to freeze all settlement expansion—and failed. The United States further lost credibility when Clinton embraced Netanyahu's compromise proposal, which \*fell short of<sup>18</sup> Palestinian expectations, as “unprecedented.”

U.S. pressure at the time also backfired because it appeared to let the Palestinians \*off the hook<sup>19</sup>. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas refused to enter into direct talks before a settlement freeze, even though he had done so before. The administration had to \*settle for<sup>20</sup> indirect talks, with Mitchell shuttling<sup>21</sup> back and forth. The recent disagreement has \*set back<sup>22</sup> that effort.

Administration officials have been careful to turn down \*the heat<sup>23</sup> in their latest exchanges with Netanyahu over Jerusalem, even as they continue to express their displeasure. State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley spoke in clipped<sup>24</sup> sentences Tuesday when asked to describe the hours of private conversations with Netanyahu this week: “We have outlined some concerns to the Israeli government. They have responded to our concerns. That conversation continues. This is a dynamic process. There's a lot of \*give-and-take<sup>25</sup> involved in these conversations.”

Crowley argued that “the only way to ultimately resolve competing claims, on the future of Jerusalem, is to get to direct negotiations.” He said the administration faces a series of “pass/fail” tests: Can it get the two parties to join direct talks? Can it persuade them to address the vexing<sup>26</sup> issues surrounding the final status of Jerusalem? And ultimately, “do we get to an agreement that is in the Israeli interest, in the ►

## 从一开始就有问题

奥巴马政府从一开始就努力寻求在与以色列和巴勒斯坦协调中的立足点。以色列对加沙地带发动为期三周的袭击，破坏了乔治·W.布什政府一手培育的和平谈判。此后不久奥巴马上任，就任第二天就任命前参议员乔治·J.米切尔为中东问题特使。不过美政府试图迫使以冻结其所有定居点扩建计划，却未成功。内塔尼亚胡提出的妥协协议未能满足巴勒斯坦人的预期，但克林顿国务卿欣然接受并称之“前所未有”——这使美国信誉进一步受损。

美国那时对以色列施压也产生事与愿违的后果，因为这似乎让巴勒斯坦人摆脱困境。巴勒斯坦权力机构主席马哈茂德·阿巴斯拒绝在冻结犹太人定居点建设前进行直接对话——即使他以前曾参加过这种对话。美国政府不得不无奈地接受间接对话，米切尔则在各方之间来回穿梭。最近出现的分歧则使这一努力延宕。

美国官员虽然继续表达他们不快，但最近在与内塔尼亚胡就耶路撒冷问题交换意见时，却一直谨慎地避免使双方矛盾升级。国务院发言人P.J.克劳利周二在应要求介绍美方与内塔尼亚胡本周几个小时的私下会晤情况时，用简短的语句表示：“我们已向以色列政府扼要地表达了一些关切。他们对我们的关切已作出回应。会谈将继续下去。这是一个发展变化的过程。在这些会谈中，双方都做出了许多让步。”

克劳利提出“最终解决耶路撒冷未来领土争端的唯一办法是进行直接谈判”。他指出，美国政府面临一系列的“通过/不通过”的测试：能否推动巴以双方进行直接对话？能否说服双方解决与耶路撒冷最终地位相关的令人烦心的问题？还有，最终“能否推动达成 ►

7. muted [ˈmjuːtɪd] *a.* (感情等)被抑制的 淡漠的
8. bland [blænd] *a.* 沉稳的 无动于衷的 讲话枯燥的
9. in the wake of 随...之后而来 跟随在...后
10. expulsion [ɪkˈspʌlʃn] *n.* 驱逐 逐出
11. pull (one's) punch(es) 故意不猛烈攻击(或批评等) 谨慎(或婉转)地行动(或讲话)
12. *status quo* [ˌsteɪtəsˈkwəʊ] <拉> 现状 原来的状况
13. affront [əˈfrʌnt] *n.* 公开侮辱 轻蔑
14. arena [əˈriːnə] *n.* 斗争场所 竞争舞台 活动场所
15. ironclad [ˈaɪənklaed] *a.* 不能改变的 取消不了的 打不破

16. footing [ˈfʊtɪŋ] *n.* 立足点 基础
17. rupture [ˈrʌptʃə(r)] *vt.* 使(友好关系)破裂 使绝交 毁掉(协议)
18. fall short of 未达到 不符合
19. off the hook <口> 摆脱责任 脱离困境(或危险)
20. settle for 勉强接受 将就
21. shuttle [ˈʃʌtl] *vi.* 穿梭般来回移动
22. set back 使推迟 耽误 使延误
23. the heat <非正式> (尤指源于官方的)紧张感(或责难)



Euro zone leaders agreed on Thursday to create a joint financial safety net with the IMF to help debt-ridden Greece and to try to restore confidence in their common currency after weeks of wrangling. 在数周的争论后,周四(3月25日)欧元区各国领导人同意与国际货币基金组织一起创建一个联合金融安全网以帮助深陷债务危机的希腊并力图恢复人们对欧元区共同货币的信心。(Reuters Mar. 25, 2010)

Military divers plunged into the waters near South Korea's tense maritime border with North Korea on Saturday, searching in vain for 46 missing marines from a naval ship that exploded and sank, officials said. 韩国官员称,周六(3月27日)韩军潜水员跳入韩国和朝鲜之间关系紧张的海上分界线水域,寻找因一艘海军军舰爆炸并沉没而失踪的46名水手,但以失败告终。(AP Mar. 27, 2010)



The Kyrgyz opposition said on Thursday it had forced the Central Asian country's government to resign and was demanding the president quit after troops shot at protesters besieging government buildings, killing dozens. 周四(4月8日)吉尔吉斯斯坦反对派称,他们已迫使这个中亚国家政府辞职并在军队向包围政府大楼的示威者开枪射杀众人后要求总统下台。(Reuters Apr. 8, 2010)

President Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev on Thursday in Prague, Czech Republic signed a major nuclear arms control agreement that reduces the nuclear stockpiles of both nations. 周四(4月8日)美国总统奥巴马和俄罗斯总统德米特里·梅德韦杰夫在捷克首都布拉格签署了一项削减两国核武储备的重要核武器控制协议。(CNN Apr. 8, 2010) (吴景超 摘译)



Palestinian interest, in the interest of the rest of the region and clearly in the interest of the United States?"

Arab leaders have long said that a peace deal would be possible if the United States pressured Israel. But many experts say such hope is often misplaced. In the case of East Jerusalem, Netanyahu believes that a halt to construction represents political suicide for his coalition, so no amount of U.S. pressure will lead him to impose a freeze—at least until he is in the final throes of peace talks.

"U.S. pressure can work, but it needs to be at the right time, on the right issue and in the right political context," said Robert Malley, a peace negotiator in the Clinton White House. "The latest episode<sup>27</sup> was an apt illustration. The administration is ready for a fight, but it realized the issue, timing and context were wrong. The crisis has been deferred, not resolved." ■

符合以色列、巴勒斯坦、本地区其他各方以及显然还有美国利益的协议"?

阿拉伯国家领导人一直表示,若美国向以色列施压,和平协议是有可能达成的。但许多专家称,这种期望不切实际。就拿东耶路撒冷问题来说,内塔尼亚胡认为停止修建住宅区意味着其联合政府在进行政治自杀。所以不管美国施加多大压力,他都不会冻结修建计划——除非他在和谈中面临绝境。

克林顿政府时期的和谈代表罗伯特·马利指出:"美国施压可以奏效,但需要在合适的时间、就合适的问题并在合适的政治背景下进行。最近发生的情况正体现了这一点。美国政府做好了战斗的准备,但它认识到,不管是问题、时机还是政治背景,各方面的情况都不适宜。这一危机被推迟了,但并未解决。"

(郭文松 译注自 *The Washington Post* Mar. 24, 2010)

24. clipped [ˈklipt] *a.* (说话方式)清脆快速但不太友好的

25. give and take 双方迁就 相互让步 互相忍让

26. vexing [ˈveksɪŋ] *a.* 令人烦恼的

27. episode [ˈepɪsəʊd] *n.* (一系列事件中的)一个事件