

导读：突尼斯政变催化埃及动荡。1月25日，埃及爆发大规模反政府示威。2月11日，在历经民众18天抗议高压后，埃及总统穆巴拉克最终宣布辞职。这位执政30年的政治强人顷刻间势如山倒，尽失民意当为主因。但埃及敏感的地缘位置及以往中东事务“带头大哥”的角色，却在剧变中产生着荡及世界的影响。美国在其“民主”价值观与国家利益的选择中拿捏平衡，其新的中东布局会有何种效果？中国与阿拉伯国家达成的“全面合作、共同发展”的战略又将面临怎样的挑战？

# And Free Flows The Nile

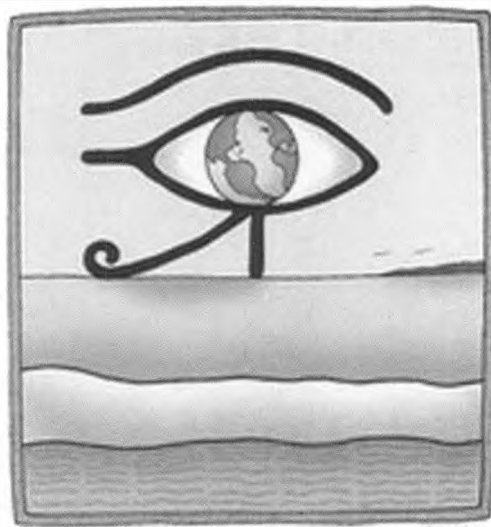
## 尼罗河自由流淌

For 18 days, during \*the ebb and flow<sup>1</sup> of protest, it did not seem possible that the end of the Egyptian Revolution would come so suddenly, in a terse<sup>2</sup> announcement that lasted no more than a half-minute: “President Hosni Mubarak has relinquished<sup>3</sup> office....” With that, amidst<sup>4</sup> roars of victory, an era was ended, reaffirming<sup>5</sup> the old saying that “the graveyards of the world are full of those who considered themselves indispensable to their nations.”

In the days and weeks ahead, there could arise occasions when the news from Cairo is not uplifting<sup>6</sup>, but let us never forget that Egypt has taken a giant step, which \*in reality<sup>7</sup> is a giant step for all Arabs. After all, Egypt is the heart, brain, and \*nerve center<sup>8</sup> of the Arab world. True, it once spawned the radical \*Muslim Brotherhood<sup>9</sup>, but it also gave birth to Islamic socialism and anti-colonialism, Arab unity, and now a democratic affirmation of the people’s will. Pernicious<sup>10</sup> talk that Arabs do not want democracy has been exposed as the big lie it is.

Egypt, in the great Bengali<sup>11</sup> poet \*Rabindranath Tagore’s<sup>12</sup> memorable words, is the land “where the head is (now) held high and the mind is (now) without fear...” The consequences will be vast. Ancient Arab lands are bestirred<sup>13</sup>. Decades-old, apparently immovable autocracies<sup>14</sup> are finding their hold on power unhinged<sup>15</sup>; change is invading their static environs<sup>16</sup>. Yesterday’s treaties, particularly those with the United States and Israel, will no longer inspire the same type of confidence they have long had as instruments of state policy.

Memory of these 18 days is so crowded that it is difficult to separate one event from another, one phase from the►



By Jaswant Singh

18天来，在时起时落的抗议活动中，埃及和革命看似不可能如此突然地结束，仅以一句不过半分钟的简短声明收尾：“胡斯尼·穆巴拉克总统已经辞职……”就这样，伴随着胜利的欢呼，一个时代划上了句号，再次印证了那句老话：“全世界的墓地里满是自以为对其国家不可或缺的人。”

未来的日子里，也许有时从开罗传来的消息并不令人振奋，但我们永远别忘了埃及已经迈出了一大步，事实上这是为所有阿拉伯国家迈出的的一大步。毕竟，埃及是阿拉伯世界的心脏、大脑和神经中枢。的确，这里曾滋生激进组织穆斯林兄弟会，但这里也诞生了伊斯兰社会主义和反殖民主义、阿拉伯统一思想，现在又通过民主方式认可了人民的意愿。事实已经证明，关于阿拉伯人不要民主的居心叵测的言论是弥天大谎。

用伟大的孟加拉语诗人拉宾德拉纳特·泰戈尔令人难忘的诗句来形容，埃及这个国度“心（现在）是无畏的，头（现在）也抬得高昂”。它产生的影响将是巨大的。古老的阿拉伯土地沸腾起来了。存在了数十年之久、看似不可撼动的独裁政权发现自己对权力的掌控不再是四平八稳；一成不变的周遭环境正在出现变化。过去的条约，特别是与美国和以色列签署的条约不再能像长久以来的那样，作为国家政策工具激起他们以往的那种信心。

这18天给人留下了太多的记忆，很难将一个事件与另一个事件、一个阶段与另一个阶段区分开来：将充满戏剧性的、令人感动的、►

next: the dramatic, the moving, the bizarre<sup>17</sup>, and the unreal from the bathetic<sup>18</sup>. But the thread that united all, the theme that remained unerringly<sup>19</sup> constant, was the yearning for “change” – immediate, real, and tangible<sup>20</sup>, not a promise or a tantalizing<sup>21</sup>, unreachable mirage<sup>22</sup>.

Will this yearning travel beyond the Nile, as it did from Tunis to Cairo? This question haunts<sup>23</sup> other Arab portals<sup>24</sup> of power. And not just Arab; globally, foreign policies are being hurriedly — and somewhat confusedly — revised and rewritten. This is why US policy oscillated<sup>25</sup> so disconcertingly<sup>26</sup> from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s “Do not rush the pace or else the pro-democracy movement could well be hijacked” to President Barack Obama’s emphatic<sup>27</sup> call for “change now.”

Of course, a grave question arises about the now-ruling Supreme Council of the Military High Command in Egypt: How can the enforcers of the \*status quo<sup>28</sup> become the agents of change? But, then, military rule is only a temporary measure, or so we reason.



An Egyptian flag is carried through the crowd in the opposition stronghold in Tahrir Square in Cairo February 8, 2011.

The great Tunisian poet Abul-Qasim Al Shabi has captured poignantly<sup>29</sup> the spirit of Egypt’s saga<sup>30</sup>: “If one day the people want life, then fate will arise...night fade away,▶

荒诞离奇的、虚幻不实的与陈词滥调的区分开来。但是将这一切串起来的那根线，还有那恒久不变的主题是对“变革”的渴望——刻不容缓、真真切切、实实在在的变革，而不是一句承诺或一道可望而不可即的幻景。

这种渴望会像它从突尼斯来到开罗那样，超越尼罗河的范围吗？这个问题困扰着阿拉伯世界其他权力之门。而且不只是阿拉伯世界；全球各地都在匆忙——并且有些稀里糊涂地——修订和改写外交政策。正因为如此，美国的政策出现了令人不知所措的摇摆，从国务卿希拉里·克林顿所说的“步子不要迈得过快，否则支持民主的运动很可能遭到胁迫”变成贝拉克·奥巴马总统明确呼吁的“现在就变革”。

当然，围绕埃及目前执政的武装部队最高委员会出现了一个严峻的问题：现状的维持者如何能够成为推动变革的力量？但另一方面，军方的统治只是临时之举，或者

说我们是这样推断的。

伟大的突尼斯诗人阿布—卡西姆·沙比一针见血地抓住了埃及传奇的精髓：“如果有朝▶

1. the ebb and flow (of sth/sb) 涨落;盛衰;起伏;消长
2. terse [tɜ:s] a. 简要的;简洁的
3. relinquish [rɪ'liŋkwɪʃ] vt. (尤指不情愿地) 放弃
4. amidst [ə'mɪdst] prep. 在...过程中,在...中
5. reaffirm [ri:ə'fɜ:m] vt. 重申;再次确定
6. uplifting [ʌp'liftɪŋ] a. 令人振奋的;鼓舞人心的
7. in reality 实际上;事实上
8. nerve center 神经中枢;控制中心
9. Muslim Brotherhood 穆斯林兄弟会 (1928年在埃及成立的一个伊斯兰教宗教和政治组织,致力于建立一个基于伊斯兰原则的国家)
10. pernicious [pə'nɪʃəs] a. 有害的,恶性的 (尤指潜移默化地);险恶的
11. Bengali [ben'gɑ:lɪ] a. 孟加拉的;孟加拉(国)人的;孟加拉语的
12. Rabindranath Tagore 拉宾德拉纳特·泰戈尔 (1861-1941, 印度诗人、作家、艺术家,一生创作丰富,在印度文学史上占有重要地位,主要作品有诗集《吉檀迦利》和《奉献集》、长篇小说《戈拉》、剧本《邮局》等,获1913年诺贝尔文学奖)
13. bestir [bɪ'stɜ:(r)] vt. 发奋;振作起来
14. autocracy [ɔ:ɪtkrəsi] n. 独裁政体;专制制度

15. un hinge [ʌn'hɪndʒ] vt. 使不稳;扰乱
16. environs [ɪn'vaɪrənz] n. 周围地区;环境
17. bizarre [bɪ'zɑ:(r)] a. 极其怪诞的;异乎寻常的
18. bathetic [bə'θetɪk] a. 陈腐的;老一套的
19. unerringly [ʌn'ɜ:rɪŋli] ad. 一贯正确地;可靠地;确信地
20. tangible ['tændʒəbl] a. 有形的,真实的;实际的
21. tantalizing ['tæntə,lɑɪzɪŋ] a. 诱人的;惹弄人的;使倍尝可望而不可即之苦的
22. mirage ['mɪrɑ:ʒ] n. 幻景;海市蜃楼
23. haunt [hɔ:nt] vt. 长期不断地缠扰(某人)
24. portal ['pɔ:təl] n. 壮观的大门;豪华的入口;〈喻〉门,入门
25. oscillate ['ɒsɪleɪt] vi. (情感或行为) 摇摆,波动,变化
26. disconcertingly [dɪskən'sɜ:tɪŋli] ad. 使人窘迫地;令人吃惊地;令人不安地
27. emphatic [ɪm'fætɪk] a. 强调的;明确表示的
28. status quo [ˌsteɪtəs'kwəʊ] n. 现状,原来的状况
29. poignantly ['pɔɪnjəntli] ad. 尖刻地;切中要害地,切当地
30. saga [ˈsɑ:gə] n. 英雄传奇;〈口〉长篇记叙;长篇故事;一串串事件

chains broken...” That, in essence, is what the young in Egypt have done. Their idiom is current; their instruments of change are today’s electronic media. They — and we — are very far from the world that Mubarak, or the great \*Gamal Abdel Nasser<sup>31</sup>, knew and understood.

The Egyptian revolution now faces the exacting<sup>32</sup> task that confronts all successful revolutions: how to define the future. Like the \*Ottoman Empire’s<sup>33</sup> fragmentation<sup>34</sup> in 1922 or Nasser’s overthrow of King Farouk’s<sup>35</sup> regime in 1952, the current transformation, too, must be shaped. And how that future is shaped will determine whether or not Mubarak’s end marks the beginning of political transformation throughout the Middle East.

That is the possibility that is shaking governments from Washington to Beijing. It is not just the reliability of the Suez Canal and oil exports that are now in doubt; decades of fixed strategic certainties must now be reexamined.

Consider Israel, which has watched the events in Cairo with a degree of worry unfelt since January 1979, when \*Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini<sup>36</sup> unseated the Shah of Iran. That strategic nightmare cost Israel and the US their closest ally in the region, one that was soon transformed into an implacable<sup>37</sup> enemy.

Israel’s two most recent wars — against Hezbollah<sup>38</sup> in Lebanon in 2006, and against Hamas in Gaza in 2009 — were fought against groups sponsored, supplied, and trained by Iran. Clearly, Israeli-Palestinian negotiations will also now lie unattended<sup>39</sup> as Israel concentrates on developments in Egypt. Above all, Israel must wonder if the peace treaty with Egypt will hold<sup>40</sup>, and, if not, how to carry out the massive restructuring of its defense posture that will be required.

But it is not only the fate of Israel that has now shocked US policy, in particular, to its core. Egypt, after all, has been the cornerstone of America’s balancing act in the Middle East — and the Islamic world — for three decades. The Egypt-Israel peace treaty has kept Egypt comfortably neutralized, freeing the US to commit its strategic resources elsewhere. In turn, Egypt, \*propped up<sup>41</sup> by massive US aid, has secured the region from a larger conflagration<sup>42</sup>, even though the Israel-Palestine conflict has continued to smolder<sup>43</sup>.

Herein lies the core of the dilemma for the US: it wants Egypt’s basic state apparatus<sup>44</sup> to survive, so that the levers<sup>45</sup> of power do not fall into the wrong hands. This requires the US to be seen as siding with the public’s demand for change, yet to avoid being identified with political immobility. ▶

一日人民想要活得有生气，命中注定的事情就会发生……夜晚褪去，枷锁被打破……”从本质上讲，这正是埃及年轻人所做的。他们的语言正在流行，他们的变革工具是当今的电子媒体。他们——以及我们——与穆巴拉克或者伟大的加麦尔·阿卜杜勒·纳赛尔知道并了解的那个世界相去甚远。

埃及革命现在面临着一切成功的革命都会面对的艰巨任务：如何定义未来。和奥斯曼帝国 1922 年土崩瓦解或纳赛尔 1952 年推翻法鲁克一世国王政权一样，当前的这次转型也必须去筹划。而怎样筹划未来将决定穆巴拉克时代的终结是否标志着整个中东地区政治转型的开始。

正是这样的可能性在让从华盛顿到北京的各国政府受到震动。现在变得不确定的不只是苏伊士运河的可靠性以及石油的出口，几十年来不曾改变的战略定局现在也必须重新审视。

看看以色列，它一直在忧心忡忡地关注着开罗的事态，自 1979 年 1 月，也就是阿亚图拉·鲁霍拉·霍梅尼将伊朗国王赶下台以来，它一直没有体会过这样的感觉。那场战略噩梦让以色列和美国失去了在该地区最亲密的盟友，这个昔日盟友很快变成了势不两立的敌人。

以色列最近的两场战争——2006 年与黎巴嫩真主党，2009 年与加沙哈马斯——都是与伊朗资助、供养并训练的组织作战。显然，在以色列关注埃及事态进展的时候，以色列与巴勒斯坦的谈判如今将无人理会。以色列肯定首先要琢磨它与埃及的和平协议将是否有效，如果无效，如何大规模重建防御布局，这将是它需要做的。

但现在让美国的政策受到震动，特别是让其出现根本性改变的不仅仅是以色列的命运。毕竟，埃及 30 年来一直是美国在中东——以及整个伊斯兰世界——采取平衡行动的基石。埃及与以色列的和平协议让埃及自如地保持着中立状态，让美国得以将战略资源投到其他地方。反过来，埃及在美国巨额援助的支持下，让该地区没有出现较大的战事，尽管以巴冲突一直都在悄悄进行着。

这正是美国所面临困境的根本所在：它希望埃及基本的政府机构能够保全下来，这样权力手段不会落入歹人之手。这要求美国既要在外界看来是支持埃及的变革要求，又要避免与政治上的墨守陈规扯上关系。▶

There is reason to feel reassured by Obama's reactions. He termed Mubarak's departure a display of "the power of human dignity," adding that "the people of Egypt have spoken, their voices have been heard, and Egypt will never be the same."

But nothing that Obama, or anyone else, says can answer the question now occupying the attention of senior US officials: Will the coming of popular sovereignty to Egypt inevitably lead to anti-Americanism?

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有理由对奥巴马的反应感到放心。他说穆巴拉克的离职显示了“人类尊严的力量”，并说“埃及人民已经表达了心声，他们的声音为外界所听到，埃及从此将会不同”。

不过奥巴马或其他人的话没能回答美国高官现在所关注的问题：埃及人民权力至上论的到来会不会无法避免地导致反美主义？

贾斯万特·辛格，印度前财长、外交部长和国防部长，著有《真纳：印度一分割一独立》一书。

(李凤芹译自 *Project Syndicate* Feb. 17, 2011)

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31. Gamal Abdel Nasser 加麦尔·阿卜杜勒·纳赛尔 (1918-1970, 埃及总统 [1956-1970], 领导“自由军官组织”发动起义 [1952], 废除君主制, 成立埃及共和国 [1953], 宣布苏伊士河国有化 [1956], 提倡不结盟, 著有《革命哲学》等)
  32. exacting [ɪg'zæktɪŋ] *a.* 需要付出很大努力的; 需要小心仔细的; 要求严格的
  33. Ottoman Empire [史] 奥斯曼帝国 (亦称奥托曼帝国、鄂斯曼帝国, 系奥斯曼土耳其人建立的军事封建帝国 [1290-1922])
  34. fragmentation [frægmən'teɪʃn] *n.* (使) 分裂, 破裂
  35. Farouk 法鲁克一世 (1920-1965, 埃及国王 [1936-1952], 腐败无能, 争当阿拉伯国家联盟盟主, 埃以战争中大败, 被由纳赛尔领导的埃及自由军官组织发动的七月革命所推翻)
  36. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini 阿亚图拉·鲁霍拉·霍梅尼 (1900-1989, 伊朗伊斯兰教什叶派领袖, 有很多关于伊斯兰哲学、法律和道德观的著作, 曾领导伊朗伊斯兰革命, 推翻了巴列维国王的统治, 在伊朗建立了伊斯兰共和国 [1979] 成为伊朗政治和宗教终身领袖)
  37. implacable [ɪm'plækəbl] *a.* 不愿和解的, 不饶人的
  38. Hezbollah [hez'bə'lɑ:] 黎巴嫩真主党
  39. unattended [ʌnə'tendɪd] *a.* 不被注意的, 被忽视的; 无人理会的
  40. hold [həʊld] *vi.* 有效, 适用
  41. prop up 帮助; 扶持; 救济
  42. conflagration [kɒnflə'greɪʃn] *n.* 战火, 战争
  43. smolder ['sməʊldə(r)] *vi.* <美> (=smoulder) (无明火地) 闷烧, 阴燃
  44. apparatus [æpə'reɪtəs] *n.* (尤指政党或政府的) 机构, 组织, 机关
  45. lever ['li:və(r)] *n.* (用作施加压力等的) 手段, 方法

Group of 20 finance officials in Paris agreed to closer monitoring of global economic



imbalances, in a step toward smoothing the trade and investment distortions that plunged the world into crisis. 20国集团财政官员在巴黎同意对世界经济失衡实行更严密的监控，这在走向纠正将世界推入金融危机的贸易和投资扭曲的路上向前迈进一步。( *Business Times* Feb. 21, 2011 )

New Zealand's quake-ravaged Christchurch city was struck by a strong earthquake causing further damage after a strong quake hit



the city last year, local media reported on Tuesday. 周二 (2月22日), 据当地媒体报道, 在去年一次强烈地震袭击新西兰的克赖斯特彻奇后, 被地震损毁的该市又遭遇了一次强震, 造成更大的损失。( *Reuters* Feb. 22, 2011 )

Libyan helicopter gunships fired on a rebel force advancing west toward the capital Tripoli along the



country's Mediterranean coastline Sunday and forces loyal to leader Moammar Gadhafi engaged in intense ground battles with the rival fighters. 周日 (3月6日), 利比亚政府武装直升机对该国地中海沿岸向首都的黎波里西进的反政府力量开火。忠于领导人穆阿迈尔·卡扎菲的军队与敌对力量在陆地上激烈交火。( *MSNBC* Mar 6, 2011 )

(吴景超 摘译)