

**导读：**中东乱局，其中繁杂的历史因素、民族与宗派纷争、经济社会秩序在现代化进程中的剧烈变动与威权政治传统的长期延续本以剪不断、理还乱；而掺杂着利益谋算和推行价值观的外来势力的参与，使时局更为纠结。西方在阿拉伯民主问题上厚此薄彼只是现象，实质则是如何在该地区保护自己的利益。阿拉伯国家对此肯定也了然于心。日后政局的走向、作用和反作用的互动、西方与伊斯兰世界的关系将是一个长期演变的过程。



# The West Likes Democracy For Some Arabs, But Not Others

## 西方在阿拉伯民主问题上厚此薄彼

*Syrians and Bahrainis chafe<sup>1</sup> under minority rule, but their ties to Iran matter most.*

叙利亚人和巴林人因受少数族群统治而忿忿不平，但他们与伊朗的关系最为关键。

By Dilip Hiro

Like Themis<sup>2</sup>, the Greek goddess of justice, the Arab awakening has proved to be blindingly evenhanded<sup>3</sup>—treating republican and royal rulers alike, making no distinction between Sunnis<sup>4</sup> and Shias<sup>5</sup>. The anti-authoritarian storm brewing in the Middle East has opened an ethnic and sectarian<sup>6</sup> \*Pandora's box<sup>7</sup>, blurring the long-existing geopolitical divide and complicating ideological choices for Washington. The cases of protest in monarchical<sup>8</sup> Bahrain and republican Syria where the rulers do not share the religious sect of the majority illustrate the dilemma<sup>9</sup> for Western powers.

For different reasons these countries mean much to Washington. Manama, capital of Bahrain, has been the headquarters of the US Fifth Fleet, consisting of 30 warships, since 1996—a constraint<sup>10</sup> for the US State Department when commenting on the repression of peaceful demonstrations►

像希腊正义女神西弥斯，阿拉伯的觉醒已经证明是盲目的公正——对共和国和王国的统治者一视同仁，对逊尼派和什叶派不加区分。中东风起云涌的反独裁运动打开了民族与宗派的潘多拉盒子，模糊了长期存在的地缘政治分野，增加了华盛顿按意识形态作出抉择的难度。君主制国家巴林和共和制国家叙利亚的抗议活动昭示着西方列强面临的两难境地，而这两个国家的统治者跟多数族群不属于同一个宗教派别。

这两个国家对华盛顿来说意义重大，原因却不同。自1996年以来，巴林首都麦纳麦一直是拥有30艘战舰的美国第五舰队大本营——当美国国务院对这个逊尼派统治的国家镇压和平示威发表评论时，这是一个►

1. chafe [tʃeɪf] vi. 恼怒;不满

2. Themis [θeɪmɪs] n. 西弥斯 (希腊神话中司法律与正义之女神)

3. evenhanded ['i:vən'hændɪd] a. 公正的;不偏不倚的;不带成见的

4. Sunni ['sʌni] n. 逊尼派 (指伊斯兰教的正统派,与什叶派对立);逊尼派教徒

5. Shias ['ʃi:ə] n. 什叶派 (伊斯兰教的一派,同逊尼派相对);什叶派教徒

6. sectarian [sek'teəriən] n. (宗教) 教派的,派性的

7. Pandora's box [希神] 潘多拉的盒子 (内装各种灾难和祸患,被潘多拉亲自拉开);灾祸之源

8. monarchical [mə'nɑ:kɪkəl] a. 君主政体的;君主的;帝王的

9. dilemma [dɪ'lemə] a. (进退两难的) 窘境,困境

10. constraint [kən'streɪnt] n. 约束;限制;强制或约束性的事物

in the Sunni-ruled state. And given its location and Arab ethnicity, Syria is the lynchpin<sup>11</sup> of Shia Iran's ties with the militant Hezbollah<sup>12</sup> in Lebanon and Hamas<sup>13</sup> in Palestine, all of import for American policymakers.

The Arab upheaval<sup>14</sup> has pushed \*to the fore<sup>15</sup> certain contradictions in the established order that had hitherto<sup>16</sup> remained suppressed or subdued<sup>17</sup>. In Bahrain, ruled by the al Khalifa dynasty since 1820, the population is 70 percent Shia, but King Hamad ibn Isa II al Khalifa is Sunni. This dichotomy<sup>18</sup> is accentuated<sup>19</sup> as the government has excluded Shias from its security and intelligence services while conferring<sup>20</sup> Bahraini citizenship on Sunni South Asian workers before recruiting them into these agencies.

In Syria the population is 68 percent Sunni, but the republic's presidents since 1970 — Hafiz Assad and son Bashar — are Alawis, a sub-sect within Shia Islam. The ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party, being secular<sup>21</sup> and pan-Arabist, has endeavored<sup>22</sup> to \*play down<sup>23</sup> religious differences. Yet the reality is that Alawis, forming only 14 percent of the population, occupy top positions in the military, police and intelligence services. Little wonder that the Sunni majority feels resentful.

After the accession<sup>24</sup> of Shaikh Isa II al Khalifa in 1961, there were demonstrations for political reform. A decade of oppositional agitation<sup>25</sup> led to a constitution providing an elected parliament in 1973. But in 1975, when the parliament refused to ratify the government-sponsored State Security Law, sanctifying<sup>26</sup> the detention of a suspect for up to three years without charges, the ruler dissolved the legislature and suspended the constitution.

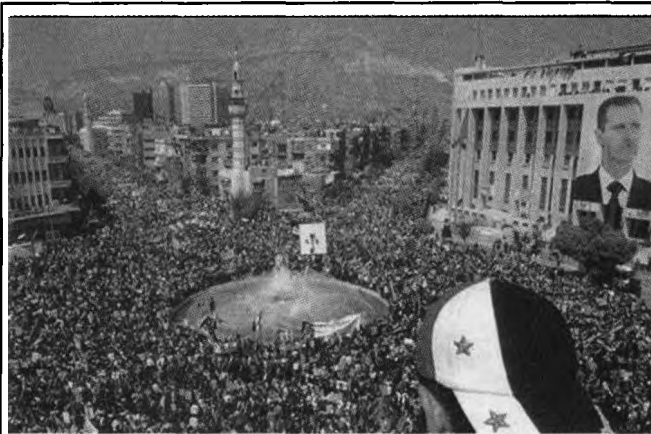
The 1979 Islamic Revolution in the predominantly Shia Iran, which overthrew the pro-Western, secular shah<sup>27</sup>, emboldened<sup>28</sup> Shias in Bahrain. In 1981, when the opposition demanded that Bahrain be declared an Islamic republic, Shaikh Isa II acted with a \*heavy hand<sup>29</sup>. In January 1992 his government arrested 60 people, most Bahrainis, alleging they plotted a coup, guided by expelled Shia leader Sayed Hadi al Modaressi, then living in Iran. ►

顾忌。鉴于其地理位置和阿拉伯民族属性，叙利亚是什叶派统治的伊朗与好战的黎巴嫩真主党和巴勒斯坦哈马斯运动发展关系的关键环节，对美国决策者来说至关重要。

阿拉伯剧变让已建立的秩序中迄今为止被压住或威慑住的矛盾浮现出来。巴林自1820年以来就为哈利法王朝所统治，其人口70%为什叶派，然而国王哈马德·本·伊萨·阿勒哈利法却属于逊尼派。由于政府不

让什叶派教徒进入其安全与情报机构，却招收南亚工人中的逊尼派教徒进入这些机构，之前还授予他们巴林公民资格，这种对立日趋加重。

叙利亚人口68%是逊尼派，但是该共和国1970年以来的两位总统——哈菲



*Tens of thousands of Syrians gather for a pro-government rally at the central bank square in Damascus March 29, 2011.*

兹·阿萨德和他的儿子巴希尔——都是阿拉维派，即伊斯兰教什叶派的一个支派。执政的阿拉伯复兴社会党是奉行泛阿拉伯主义的非宗教政党，曾努力淡化宗教分歧。然而现实是，阿拉维派仅占叙利亚总人口的14%，但在军队、警察和情报机关身居高位。难怪占多数的逊尼派心怀不满。

1961年，谢赫·伊萨·阿勒哈利法即位后，爆发了要求政治改革的游行示威。反对派长达10年的鼓动，促成了一部宪法的问世，宪法规定1973年选举议会。但在1975年，议会拒绝批准政府支持的《国家安全法》，因为该法案规定嫌疑犯不经指控可拘留最多3年，统治者因此解散了议会，中止了宪法。

1979年，什叶派为主的伊朗爆发了伊斯兰革命，推翻了亲西方的世俗国王，给巴林的什叶派壮了胆。1981年，反对派要求巴林宣布为伊斯兰共和国，于是谢赫·伊萨重拳出击。1992年，他的政府逮捕了60人，多数是巴林人，指责他们受被逐后流亡伊朗的什叶派领袖赛义德·哈迪·穆达雷西指使，阴谋发动政变。►

These events added urgency to the plan for constructing a causeway<sup>30</sup> to connect the tiny island of Bahrain, measuring 560 square kilometers, to Saudi Arabia. Completed in 1986, this 16-mile long link turned the State of Bahrain, an archipelago<sup>31</sup>, literally into an appendage<sup>32</sup> of the Saudi kingdom.

The influence of Saudi Arabia in Manama, already high, expanded. As followers of the puritanical<sup>33</sup> Wahhabi sub-sect within Sunni Islam, the Saudi royal family openly \*discriminates against<sup>34</sup> Shias. The Shias, 10 percent of the national population, are concentrated in the oil-rich Eastern Province, where they form one-third of the population. So the emergence of a popularly elected Shia government in Manama functioning under a constitutional monarch is an anathema<sup>35</sup> to the autocratic<sup>36</sup> House of Saud. It fears that such an entity would encourage Saudi Shias to demand a representative<sup>37</sup> government in the Eastern Province.

Unsurprisingly, King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia urged the White House to \*tone down<sup>38</sup> criticism of the Bahraini government for violent suppression of peaceful protestors, who demand abolition of the fully nominated upper house of the parliament with veto powers and the dismissal of hardliner<sup>39</sup> Prime Minister Khalifah ibn ▶

这些事件使建造一条堤道将巴林与沙特阿拉伯相连的计划愈加紧迫。巴林是一个弹丸岛国,面积只有560平方公里。1986年完工后,这条长16英里的纽带实际上将群岛之国巴林变成了沙特王国的附庸。

沙特阿拉伯对麦纳麦已然不小的影响更为扩大了。作为伊斯兰教逊尼派中严守教规的瓦哈比支派的信徒,沙特王室公然歧视什叶派。占全国人口10%的什叶派聚居在盛产石油的东部省,他们的人口在那里占1/3。因此,麦纳麦出现一个立宪君主统治下的民选什叶派政府,为实行独裁统治的沙特王室所不容。它担心出现这样一个政权会鼓舞沙特的什叶派要求在东部省成立代议制政府。

沙特国王阿卜杜拉敦促白宫缓和对巴林政府暴力镇压和平抗议者的批评,这并不奇怪。抗议者要求废除完全任命的具有否决权的议会上院,解除当政40年▶



A Syrian boy carries a banner during a demonstration in the coastal city of Banias.

11. lynchpin ['lɪntʃpɪn] *n.* =linchpin 关键;关键性人物或(事物),支柱
12. Hezbollah [ˌhezbəˈlɑː] 黎巴嫩真主党
13. Hamas: 哈马斯(巴勒斯坦伊斯兰原教旨主义组织,是由伊斯兰抵抗运动的阿拉伯文的字首拼写而成,自称是穆斯林兄弟会的武装组织)
14. upheaval [ʌpˈhiːvəl] *n.* 剧变;突变;动乱
15. to the fore 在(或进入)显著的地位
16. hitherto [hɪðəˈtuː] *ad.* 至今,迄今为止
17. subdue [səbˈdjuː] *vt.* 制服;屈服;征服
18. dichotomy [daɪˈkɒtəmi] *n.* 二分法;一分为二;对立
19. accentuate [əkˈsentʃueɪt] *vt.* 强调;加强;使突出
20. confer [kənˈfɜː(r)] *vt.* ~sth (on/upon sb) 授予(奖项、学位、荣誉或权利)
21. secular ['sekjələ(r)] *a.* 现世的;世俗的;非宗教的
22. endeavor [ɪnˈdevə(r)] *vi.* 努力;尽力;竭力
23. play down 淡化处理;降低;减少
24. accession [ækˈseɪʃn] *n.* 登基;上台;即位;就职
25. agitation [ˌædʒɪˈteɪʃn] *n.* 鼓动;煽动;骚动

26. sanctify ['sæŋktɪfaɪ] *vt.* 使正当化;认可;批准;使合法化
27. shah [ʃɑː] *n.* 沙(旧时伊朗国王的称号)
28. embolden [ɪmˈbəʊldən] *vt.* 使更有信心;使更有胆量
29. heavy hand 严厉手段;粗暴方式;暴虐方式
30. causeway ['kɔːzweɪ] *n.* 堤道,砌道,公路
31. archipelago [ˌɑːkɪˈpeləɡəʊ] *n.* 列岛;群岛
32. appendage [əˈpendɪdʒ] *n.* 附加物;附属物
33. puritanical [ˌpjʊərɪˈtænɪkəl] *a.* 清教徒式的;严格遵守教规的
34. discriminate against sb 歧视
35. anathema [əˈnæθəmə] *n.* 受诅咒的对象;令人讨厌的人(或事物)
36. autocratic [ˌɔːtəˈkrætɪk] *a.* 独裁的,专制的
37. representative [ˌreprɪˈzentətɪv] *a.* (政治体制等)由代表组成的;代议制的
38. tone down 使(讲话、意见等)缓和;使温和
39. hardliner ['hɑːdˈlaɪnə(r)] *n.* (主张)强硬路线者,不妥协者

Salman al Khalifah, in office for the past 40 years. Abdullah earlier warned the Obama administration of the perils of abandoning long-term allies like Hosni Mubarak or risk raising Iran's influence in the Arab world.

Between 14 February, the first day of the protest and mid-April, Bahraini security forces, bolstered<sup>40</sup> by 1,200 Saudi troops, had killed 31 protestors and jailed more than 600 citizens, including some Sunnis.

Events in Bahrain led to sympathy demonstrations by Shias not only in Iran but also Iraq. The Bahraini regime accuses the Iranian regime of instigating<sup>41</sup> the protest movement without providing credible evidence.

Nonetheless, Iran figures prominently in the regional alliance against the US-Israel nexus<sup>42</sup>. Tehran has allied with Damascus since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 when Hafiz Assad was Syria's president. With \*Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini<sup>43</sup>, the founder of the Islamic Republic, he shared anti-imperialism and an affinity<sup>44</sup> with Shia Islam.

His son Bashar, president since 2000, has continued the long-established policy of allowing radical secular Palestinian parties as well as Hamas to maintain headquarters in Damascus.

The two-month-old Arab upheaval originating in Tunisia in mid-December, resulting in the resignations of the pro-American Tunisian and Egyptian

presidents, left Syria unperturbed<sup>45</sup>. Bashar Assad offered a rationale<sup>46</sup>. His regime was the epitome<sup>47</sup> of the "ideology, belief and cause" for Arabs and Syrians — engaged in a struggle against Israel and America. It possessed "patriotic legitimacy" that others in the Arab world lacked.

With street protests swelling<sup>48</sup> since mid-March, Bashar Assad turned to repression, the tactic used by his father against Sunni militants of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1980s. But when demonstrations continued to spread — with demands for lifting the 48-year emergency law, releasing political prisoners, ending pervasive<sup>49</sup> corruption — he managed to rally his supporters in the streets of many cities. Earlier his government▶

的强硬派首相哈利法·本·萨尔曼·阿勒哈利法的职务。阿卜杜拉早些时候就警告说，奥巴马政府放弃像胡斯尼·穆巴拉克这样的长期盟友很危险，这样做有导致伊朗在阿拉伯世界影响扩大化的风险。

从2月14日抗议的第一天到4月中

旬，巴林安全部队在1200名沙特士兵的增援下，杀害了31名抗议者，并将600多人，包括一些逊尼派教徒，关进了监狱。

巴林发生的事件不仅在伊朗而且在伊拉克引起了什叶派的声援示威。巴林的政权指责伊朗政权煽动抗议运动，但没有提供可靠证据。

然而，在反对美国-以色列这对盟友的地区联盟中，伊朗地位显赫。自1979年伊斯兰革命，当时哈菲兹·阿萨德担任叙利亚总统，德黑兰就与大马士革联手结盟。与伊朗伊斯兰共和国的开创者阿亚图拉鲁霍拉·霍梅尼一样，他也力主反帝国主义，同伊斯兰教什叶派关系密切。

他的儿子巴沙尔自2000年出任总统以来，继续奉行确立已久的政策，即允许激进的世俗的巴勒斯坦政党以及哈马斯在大马士革保留办事处。

已历时两个月的阿拉伯剧变去年12月始于突尼斯，结果造成亲美的突尼斯和埃及总统辞职，而叙利亚却未受骚扰。巴希尔·阿萨德提出了一种解释。他的政权是与以色列和美国进行斗争的阿拉伯人和叙利亚人的“意识形态、信仰和理想”的化身。它具有阿拉伯世界其他国家所缺乏的“爱国的合法性”。

自3月中旬以来，随着街头抗议高涨，巴沙尔·阿萨德开始镇压，这是他父亲在20世纪80年代对穆斯林兄弟会的逊尼派好战分子采用的手段。但是当▶



*Friends and relatives chant anti-government slogans during the funeral of Mahmoud Maki Abu Taki, 22, who died during clashes between Bahraini anti-government protesters and riot police on early Thursday, in Sitra village, Bahrain, Friday, Feb. 18, 2011.*

had banished<sup>50</sup> foreign journalists and disrupted social networks on the internet.

Assad gained breathing space from the sectarian and ethnic divide that prevents the anti-regime opposition from coalescing<sup>51</sup> and staging an uprising. That allowed him to reverse course. After claiming in his 30 March speech that reforms were already in motion for Syria, he sacked<sup>52</sup> his cabinet. And on 19 April he lifted the emergency law and \*set the scene for<sup>53</sup> allowing peaceful public meetings. Whether these measures will be sufficient to end protests remains to be seen.

But, unlike in Bahrain, no external force has been at work in Syria. Unconfirmed reports suggest that the Iranian government had lent Assad expert advice as to how to cope with massive demonstrations — an unprecedented task for Syria's security forces.

Analysts agree that the collapse of the Assad regime in Syria would radically alter geopolitics of the Middle East. But any resulting rejoicing<sup>54</sup> in Israel and the US would quickly give way to foreboding<sup>55</sup> as their leaders try to figure out how to deal with a Sunni Islamist regime that would most likely follow the rule of the secular Baathist Party. And since, for all practical purposes, Bahrain is an extension of Saudi Arabia, it's hard to see Shaikh Hamad ibn Isa II accepting the role of a constitutional monarch. At most he might agree to replace his hard-line prime minister with the young moderate Crown Prince Salman ibn Hamad al Khalifah. That might pacify<sup>56</sup> the Shias and satisfy Washington.

*Dilip Hiro is the author of "The Essential Middle East: A Comprehensive Guide" and his latest book is "After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World," both published by Nation Books in New York and London. ■*

示威活动继续蔓延——要求取消 48 年的紧急状态法，释放政治犯，根除遍布的贪腐——他成功地号召了自己的支持者走上很多城市的街头。早些时候，他的政府驱逐外国记者，干扰互联网上的社交网络。

教派和民族分歧妨碍了反政府的反对派联合起来，揭竿而起。阿萨德因此赢得了喘息的机会。这让他得以扭转局面。他在 3 月 30 日的讲话中宣称，改革已经启动。随后，他解散了内阁。4 月 19 日，他废除了紧急状态法，为允许和平集会做好了准备。这些举措是否足以结束抗议活动还有待观察。

但是，与巴林不同，叙利亚没有外来势力的参与。未经证实的报道指出，伊朗政府给阿萨德提供专家建议，教它如何对付大规模游行示威——这对叙利亚的安全部队来说是一项全新的任务。

分析家们一致认为，叙利亚阿萨德政权崩溃将显著改变中东的地缘政治。但是以色列和美国油然而生的欣喜很快将让位于不祥预感，因为他们的领导人要思考如何与伊斯兰教逊尼派政权打交道，这个政权很可能效仿世俗的复兴党。而且，出于各种实际目的，巴林是沙特阿拉伯的附属国，因此难以看到谢赫·哈马德·本·伊萨接受立宪君主这个角色。充其量他可能同意用年轻温和的王储萨勒曼·本·哈马德·阿勒哈利法取代强硬的首相。这可能既安抚了什叶派，又满足了华盛顿的要求。

迪利普·希罗是《中东精要综合指南》一书的作者，他的新书《帝国之后：多极世界的诞生》，由民族图书出版社在纽约和伦敦出版。

(刘宗亚 译注自 *Yale Global* Apr. 22, 2011)

40. bolster ['bəʊlstə(r)] vt. 增强;增援;支持

41. instigate ['instigert] vt. 鼓动,教唆,煽动

42. nexus ['neksəs] n. 连结,关系,联系

43. 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, 领导推翻国王并建立伊斯兰共和国 [1979], 成为伊朗政治和宗教终身领袖)

44. affinity [ə'fɪnəti] n. 密切关系, 亲和

45. unperturbed [ʌnpə'tɜ:bd] a. 不受扰乱的; 未受骚扰的; 平静的, 镇定的

46. rationale [ræʃə'nɑ:l] n. 根本原因, 解释

47. epitome [i'pitəmi] n. 象征; 典型; 缩影

48. swell [swel] vi. (在数量、力量、程度等方面) 逐渐增加; 逐渐扩大

49. pervasive [pɜ:'veɪsɪv] a. 遍布的; 普遍的; 弥漫性的

50. banish ['bæniʃ] vt. 把...驱逐出境, 消除, 赶走

51. coalesce [kəʊə'les] vi. 联合; 结合; 合并

52. sack [sæk] vt. <口> 开除, 解雇

53. set the scene for <口> 准备

54. rejoicing [ri'dʒɔɪsɪŋ] n. 喜悦, 高兴, 祝贺

55. foreboding [fɔ:'bəʊdɪŋ] n. (对不祥之事的) 预感; 不祥之兆; 凶兆

56. pacify ['pæsɪfaɪ] vt. 安抚; 抚慰; 使平静