



Why Syria Won't Get The Libya Treatment From The West

叙利亚为何不会像利比亚那样被西方修理

By Vivienne Walt

One year ago, on March 19, 2011, Western leaders, alarmed by the disaster unfolding¹ in Libya, voted in the U.N. Security Council to intervene militarily with “all necessary means,” arguing that they could not *stand by² and watch civilians get massacred. As a result of the U.N. resolution, NATO launched a bombing campaign, led by Britain, France and the U.S., and flew about 10,000 bombing sorties³ over Libya, helping to obliterate⁴ Muammar Gaddafi's 42-year dictatorship in just seven months.

So, could it happen in Syria? Probably not, according to two reports out on Monday. Both suggest that the Western powers would face significantly bigger challenges in intervening against President Bashar Assad, both politically and militarily, than they did in Libya. Says the British military think tank *Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI)⁵ in a report marking the anniversary of the U.N. vote: “The Libya intervention took place in a singularly⁶ unique moment where the international stars, *as it were⁷, were aligned⁸ in a set of propitious⁹ circumstances.”

Unlike Gaddafi, Assad has hugely upgraded his air-and-sea-attack capabilities since the revolt¹⁰ against him erupted▶

一年前，即 2011 年 3 月 19 日，西方领导人对于利比亚所呈现的灾难大为吃惊，他们在联合国安理会投票决定“采取一切必要手段”进行军事干预，理由是他们对于平民遭到屠杀不能坐视不管。鉴于联合国的这一决议，以英国、法国和美国为首的北约发动了轰炸行动，出动大约一万架次飞机飞到利比亚上空进行轰炸，仅用 7 个月就帮助摧毁了穆阿迈尔·卡扎菲 42 年的独裁统治。

那么，这会在叙利亚发生吗？据周一（3 月 19 日）将出炉的两份报告所言，很可能不会。两份报告均认为，无论在政治上还是军事上，西方列强针对巴沙尔·阿萨德总统采取干预行动将面临的挑战大大超过对利比亚的干预。英国军事智库皇家联合军种国防研究所在纪念联合国投票一周年的报告中说：“对利比亚的干预是在异乎寻常的特殊时刻采取的，可以说当时世界上的主导国家是在一系列有利条件下结成了联盟。”

据对不透明防务行业进行跟踪研究的斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所说，与卡扎菲不▶

1. unfold [ʌn'fəʊld] *vi.* 逐渐展现;展示;透露

2. stand by 袖手旁观;无动于衷

3. sortie [sɔ:ti] *n.* (在军事行动中飞机的) 出动架次;(军队的) 出击

4. obliterate [ə'blɪtəreɪt] *vt.* 毁掉;覆盖;清除

5. Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies: 英国皇家联合军种国防研究所, 缩写 RUSI, 是英国一家建于 1831 年的军事机构, 其职能是分析和研

究有可能影响国防和国际安全的问题。《RUSI》杂志、《世界防御系统》为该机构所有。

6. singularly ['sɪŋgjələli] *ad.* 非常;特别;异常地

7. as it were 可以说;在一定程度上

8. align [ə'leɪn] *vt.* 使结盟, 使一致, 支持

9. propitious [prəu'pɪʃəs] *a.* 顺利的;有利的;合适的

10. revolt [rɪ'veʊlt] *n.* 造反;起义;反叛;叛乱

a year ago, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which tracks the opaque¹¹ defense industry. In its yearly report on global arms transfers, also to be published on Monday, SIPRI lists billions spent by Assad on state-of-the-art¹² Russian systems, much of which has been delivered¹³ during the past year. “This is a major upgrade,” says Paul Holtom, SIPRI senior researcher on arms transfers. “Any discussions about an air attack on Syria would be more challenging than it would have been previously.”

Last year, Russia delivered as many as 36 Pantsyr-SI antiaircraft missiles to Syria, according to SIPRI. Lightweight and mobile, the medium-range missiles can be mounted on the back of trucks, making them difficult for combat jets to target. In addition, the organization believes Russia has recently delivered upgraded versions of the MiG-29 combat aircraft to Syria. And it has upgraded hundreds of T-72 tanks every year since 2007, fitting them with far more modern weapons; in recent weeks, opposition activists in the besieged¹⁴ city of Homs filmed video footage¹⁵ showing T-72 tanks in action during the assault on the city.

Aside from the Pantsyr, Russia also sent Syria other modern antiaircraft missiles last year, including about 40 SA-17 Grizzly missiles and two medium-range SA-17 Buk systems, according to SIPRI. And despite the world's outrage over Assad's crackdown¹⁶, Assad announced a \$550 million deal with Russia in January for 36 light training and combat aircraft called Yak-130.

Indeed, if Gaddafi had taken delivery of the weapons, which Assad now has, he would have proved a more formidable¹⁷ foe against NATO forces, according to Holtom; Gaddafi's order for six Yak-130s had not been delivered by the time the Libyan revolt erupted in February last year, and he lacked new-generation antiaircraft weapons. “These are systems Gaddafi did not have,” Holtom tells *TIME*. “He was in advance discussions about buying a number of air defense and combat aircraft from the Russians, but he never bought them.”

That turned out to be a lucky break¹⁸ for NATO, according to RUSI. It says the Libya campaign was much more difficult than Western leaders revealed publicly at the time, making the prospect of a Syria campaign much more worrisome for politicians with the Libya experience behind them. When NATO began bombing Libya last March, Gaddafi was a much tougher enemy than the coalition's leaders, British Prime Minister David Cameron and French President Nicolas Sarkozy, had calculated. Having been argued at the U.N.▶

一样，自一年前爆发针对阿萨德的反叛以来，他就大幅度提高了其空中与海上的攻击能力。在也将于周一发表的有关全球武器转让的年度报告中，斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所列举了阿萨德花费数十亿美元购买俄罗斯最先进武器系统的情况，其中很大部分已在过去一年交货。该研究所武器转让高级研究员保罗·霍尔托姆说：“这是一次重要的升级。现在讨论有关对叙利亚进行空袭较之先前所难度更大。”

据斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所称，去年，俄罗斯向叙利亚交付了多达 36 枚“铠甲-SI”防空导弹。这种轻型机动中程导弹可以装载在卡车上面，让作战飞机难以锁定。此外，该机构认为，俄罗斯最近向叙利亚交付了升级版米格-29 战机。而且自 2007 年以来，叙利亚每年都对数百辆 T-72 坦克进行升级改造，给它们配备极其现代化的武器；最近几周，被困在霍姆斯市的反对派人士拍摄的录像证明，T-72 坦克在对该城的攻击中派上了用场。

据斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所称，除了“铠甲”导弹，俄罗斯去年还向叙利亚输送了其他现代化防空导弹，包括大约 40 枚 SA-17 “灰熊”导弹和两个中程 SA-17 布克系统。而且尽管阿盟诸国对于阿萨德的镇压行径义愤填膺，然而阿萨德 1 月份宣布与俄罗斯达成了一项价值 5.5 亿美元的交易，购买 36 架雅克-130 轻型训练和作战飞机。

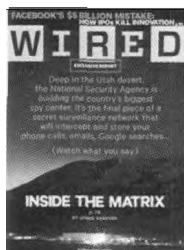
的确，据霍尔托姆说，如果卡扎菲当时订购的那些阿萨德现在拥有的武器交货的话，他就会成为北约部队更可怕的敌人。去年 2 月份利比亚起义爆发时，卡扎菲订购的 6 架雅克-130 飞机尚未交货，而且他缺少新一代的防空武器。霍尔托姆对《时代》周刊说：“卡扎菲没有这些系统。他先前说过要从俄罗斯购买大批防空和作战飞机，却没有买。”

据皇家联合军种国防研究所称，结果证明这对北约来说是一件幸事。它称，利比亚战役比西方领导人当时公开披露的艰难得多，因此对叙利亚动武的设想让有过利比亚经历的政治人物更为担心。去年 3 月份，北约开始轰炸利比亚，卡扎菲这个对手比联盟领导人、英国首相戴维·卡梅伦和法国总统尼古拉·萨科齐预估的要强▶

Time (Apr.9, 2012) 有关石油的实情

Extreme oil—from the deep Atlantic to the Arctic, from fracking in the U.S. to sands in Canada—is replacing dwindling supplies. But it comes at a heavy economic and environmental cost.

以极端方式开采的石油——从大西洋深处到北极地区，从美国的水力压裂法到加拿大的油砂矿开采——正在替代日趋萎缩的能源供给。但这样做要付出高昂的经济和环境代价。



Wired (Apr., 2012) “骇客帝国” 内部

Deep in the Utah desert, the National Security Agency is building the country's biggest spy center. It's the final piece of a secret surveillance network that will intercept and store your phone calls, emails, Google searches...

犹他州沙漠深处，美国国家安全局正在兴建该国最大的间谍中心。它是一个秘密监视网络的终极部分，该网能够对用户的手机接拨、电子邮件及谷歌搜索等应用进行截查和存储。

(赵昆仑 摘译)

that it was only to protect civilians in eastern Libya, “the operation was conceived at the lowest level and for the shortest period of time,” writes RUSI director of international security studies Jonathan Eyal in the report.

Instead, it quickly morphed¹⁹ into an all-out²⁰ war. That severely strained European militaries, which flew 90% of the attack sorties. “European stockpiles²¹ struggled to cope,” writes Elizabeth Quintana, a RUSI air-power senior research fellow, adding that the U.S. ultimately had to “*plug the gaps²².” And since Britain's Tornado and Typhoon jets were flying daily sorties over Libya, Britain's own airspace was left dangerously vulnerable. In addition, she says, European militaries were relying on aging aircraft ill equipped for the intensity and fast pace of Libya's war.

As Libya's war dragged on for months, the strain on NATO forces grew more evident. Indeed, Cameron and Sarkozy must have breathed a sigh of relief when Libyan rebels finally killed Gaddafi on Oct. 20, ending the NATO campaign. “The armed forces were lucky the rebels toppled the Gaddafi regime when they did,” Quintana writes.

Ironically, the Libyan war now makes it more difficult for Western leaders to win U.N. approval for military intervention against Assad, even though Syria looks worse than Libya did last March: U.N. officials estimate that more than 8,000 people have been killed in Syria's yearlong revolt, including many civilians in assaults against Homs, Idlib▶

硬得多。皇家联合军种国防研究所国际安全研究部主任乔纳森·埃亚勒在报告中写道，在联合国讨论这个问题时提出的理由只是为了保护利比亚东部平民，“当时设想的行动限于最低程度和最短时间。”

然而，这一行动很快演变一场全面战争。这使严重牵制了欧洲军队疲于应对，在飞机攻击利比亚的行动中它们出动了 90% 的架次。皇家联合军种国防研究所空中力量高级研究员伊丽莎白·昆塔纳写道：“欧洲的储备艰难应对。”她指出，美国最终不得不“弥补缺口”。而且自从英国的“旋风”和“阵风”战机每天飞临利比亚上空以来，英国自己的领空就面临易受攻击的危险。另外，她说，欧洲军队所依赖的老化飞机不适合利比亚战争的强度和快节奏。

随着利比亚战争拖延数月，北约部队受到的压力日趋明显。当利比亚叛军 10 月 20 日最终打死卡扎菲，从而让北约的行动宣告结束，卡梅伦和萨科齐一定松了一口气。昆塔纳写道：“这些部队很幸运，因为叛军推翻了卡扎菲政权。”

具有讽刺意味的是，利比亚战争使得西方领导人如今更难以获得联合国批准对阿萨德进行军事干预，尽管叙利亚的情况看上去比去年 3 月份的利比亚还糟。联合国官员们估计，在叙利亚一年来的暴动中，有 8000 多人丧生，▶

11. opaque [əu'peik] *a.* 不透明的;难理解的;晦涩的;含糊的
12. state-of-the-art *a.* 应用最先进技术(或方法)的;最先进的
13. deliver [di'livə(r)] *vt.* 递送;传送;交付;运载
14. besiege [bi'si:dʒ] *vt.* 围困;包围
15. footage ['fʊtɪdʒ] *n.* (影片中的)连续镜头;片段
16. crackdown ['krækdəʊn] *n.* ~ (on sth) 严厉的打击;镇压

17. formidable ['fɔ:mɪdəbl] *a.* 可怕的;令人敬畏的;难对付的
18. break [breɪk] *n.* 机会;机遇
19. morph [mɔ:f] *vi.* 变化;改变
20. all-out *a.* 全力以赴的; ~ war 全面战争
21. stockpile ['stɒkpai] *n.* 囤聚的物资
22. plug the gap 填补空缺

Hungary's president, former Olympic gold medalist Pal Schmitt, said Monday that he would resign after being accused of plagiarism and stripped of his doctorate. 周一(4月2日),奥林匹克运动会前金牌得主、匈牙利总统施米特·帕尔在被指控博士论文剽窃且被剥夺学位后表示他将辞职。(MSN Apr. 2, 2012)



Mike Wallace, the CBS reporter who became one of America's best-known broadcast journalists as an interrogator of the famous and infamous on "60 Minutes," died on Saturday. He was 93. 美国哥伦比亚广播公司记者迈克·华莱士周日(4月8日)去世,享年93岁。他在《60分钟》电视节目中质询过众多名人,既有声名卓著者,亦有声名狼藉者,凭此步入美国最著名广播新闻业者之列。(The New York Times Apr. 8, 2012)

and other opposition enclaves²³.

This time around, however, Russia with *veto powers²⁴ at the U.N. Security Council has made it clear it will not ditch²⁵ its longtime ally; it maintains its only naval base in the region in Syria's port of Tartus. Russian officials have said repeatedly they believe Western leaders misled them at the U.N. in March 2011 by saying NATO attacks were only to protect civilians, rather than to overthrow Gaddafi; China which also has veto powers at the Security Council has expressed similar views.

In truth, Gaddafi did critical damage to his own cause — a mistake from which Assad seems to have learned. In firebrand²⁶ speeches in Tripoli last February and March, Gaddafi dared²⁷ Western leaders to attack his country and scorned²⁸ several overtures²⁹ by them and the Arab League to negotiate a political settlement or exile deal. The RUSI report says Gaddafi "virtually invited military action upon himself. What dictator would now ever risk announcing to the world's media his intention to butcher³⁰ an entire city like rats," a phrase Gaddafi used frequently to describe his opposition.

Notwithstanding³¹ the assault on Syria's opposition, there are differences: U.N. envoy Kofi Annan flew to Damascus last week to discuss possible negotiations with Assad. "Gaddafi had no powerful friends and was isolated in a way that Bashar al-Assad, for example, is not," says the RUSI report. And so far those friends are standing by their mana³² leader who now has other weapons *at hand³³. ■

其中很多平民死于(政府军)对霍姆斯、伊德利卜和反对派其他据点的攻击中。

然而,这一次,在联合国安理会拥有否决权的俄罗斯明确表示,它不会放弃自己长期的盟友;它在该地区的唯一海军基地就设在叙利亚的港口塔尔图斯。俄罗斯官员多次表示,他们认为,2011年3月,西方领导人在联合国误导了他们,说北约出击只是为了保护平民,而不是要推翻卡扎菲;同样在安理会拥有否决权的中国也发表了类似的说法。

事实上,卡扎菲对自己的事业造成了重大危害——阿萨德似乎从这个错误中吸取了教训。去年二三月份,卡扎菲在黎波里发表了煽动性讲话,他说西方领导人没有胆量攻击他的国家,并对西方领导人和阿拉伯联盟提议通过谈判政治解决问题或达成流亡协议的几次建议不屑一顾。皇家联合军种国防研究所报告说,卡扎菲“实际上自己招致了军事行动。现在哪个独裁者胆敢向世界媒体宣布他打算像杀老鼠一样进行屠城,”卡扎菲经常用这个词称呼他的反对派。

尽管叙利亚反对派受到攻击,然而情况却不同:联合国特使科菲·安南上周飞赴大马士革,与阿萨德讨论可能进行的谈判。皇家联合军种国防研究所的报告说:“卡扎菲没有有权有势力的朋友,孤立无助,而在这一点上,比如说,巴沙尔·阿萨德却不是这样。”而且到目前为止,那些朋友现在还支持他们这位强势领导人,他现在手上还有其他武器可用。

(王锦燕 译注自 Time Mar. 18, 2012)

23. enclave ['enkleiv] *n.* 存在于大团体中的独立小团体;孤立的小块地区

24. veto power 否决权

25. ditch [dɪtʃ] *vt.* 摆脱;抛弃;丢弃

26. firebrand ['faɪəbrænd] *n.* 挑动政治争端者;煽动动乱者

27. dare [deə(r)] *vt.* 激(某人做某事);问(某人)有没有胆量(做某事);谅(某人)没胆量(做某事)

28. scorn [skɔ:n] *vt.* 不屑于(接受或做);轻蔑地拒绝

29. overture ['əʊvətʃuə(r)] *n.* 友好姿态;建议

30. butcher ['bʊtʃə] *vt.* 屠杀;残杀;猎杀

31. notwithstanding [ˌnɒtwɪð'stændɪŋ] *prep.* (亦用于其所指名词之后) 虽然;尽管

32. mana ['mɑ:nə] *n.* 权威;威望

33. at hand 在手边;在附近