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Option: Translation

Cultural Translation of Euphemistic Expressions from English into Arabic With Reference to Political Texts

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture

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Dedication

All praise be to Allah and most thanks for the guidance, strength and protection.

This dissertation is wholeheartedly dedicated to my beloved parents “Mohammed” and “Fadila Bahri” from whom I received all the caring and encouragement throughout this challenging and stressful period and who have been my sources of inspiration and strength whenever I thought of giving up, and who provided me with moral, emotional, and financial support.

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Abstract

Euphemisms and language have a strong relationship in which the former is used as an artistic tool in order to beautify the latter. Euphemisms as a word or expression are used as a replacement for some dispreferred words which may cause harm for the receivers. That's why people opt for applying these words to avoid harshness and aggressiveness. As it is the case for politicians, they tend to use such euphemistic words or expressions in order to hide some of the horrific reality of words. Also, they apply it in a way of saving their public image. The purpose of this study is made upon investigating the cultural translation of euphemistic words or expressions from English into Arabic with reference to political texts; in which the main focus is on analyzing EUPH(s) that are used in the political context and how they are translated into Arabic. Also, this study attempts to examine how political euphemisms are created in accordance to the application of Warren's modal to deduce the strategy used for forming each PE, then analyzing the translation of each euphemism and how they rendered it following which of translation strategies. Finally, the study comes out with the results that political euphemisms are used in attempt to keep a polite public image and to minimize some of the harsh and offensive effect on the target receivers, also the results reveal that politicians intended to hide the original meaning that is disfavored by one that is soft and polite in which a number of PE(s) are applied than those EUPH(s) are translated into Arabic using different strategies in order to render them whether with the same EUPH(s), different one(s) or non-euphemistic expression with an application of Warren's modal which helped in identifying the type of the applied political euphemism.

Keywords: Translation, Political Euphemisms, English, Arabic.

List of Abbreviations

%: Percentage.

BC: Before Christ.

EUPH(s): Euphemism(s).

PE(s): Political Euphemism.

SC: Source Culture.

SL: Source Language.

SLT: Source Language Text.

ST: Source Text.

TC: Target Culture.

TL: Target Language.

TLC: Target Language Culture.

TLR: Target Language Receptor.

TLT: Target Language Text.

Tr.: Translation.

TR: Target Receiver.

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General Introduction

Introduction

The translation of euphemisms is said to be neglected in the field of translation though these taboo expressions are considered as important constituents of communication. As the editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, Robert Burchfield claims that “a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication” (Burchfield, as cited in Murphy, 1996, p. 16-18). So, such euphemistic expressions are with higher level of interest in different areas as: society, politics, religion, business and health communication.

The process of translation is becoming much more difficult especially when translating harsh topics from one different culture to another such as: divorce, sex, genitals, excretory functions and death. Expressions related to these topics should be softened for the reader of the target language following different strategies as euphemism.

Euphemism is considered as a universal linguistic phenomenon; Fromkin and Rodman define a euphemism as “a word or phrase that replaces a taboo word or serves to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects” (1993, p. 304). So, the use of euphemistic expressions will be as a replacement of private, harsh, and dirty words. They are considered as a need which has arose in recent times in order to effectively discuss harsh topics (such as sex, personal appearances, or religion) without being engaged in outraging or upsetting other people.

More comprehensively, Allan and Burrige offered this definition “Euphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions, and are used to avoid possible loss of face. Those expressions may be taboo, fearsome, distasteful, or for some other reason has too many negative connotations to felicitously execute speaker’s communicative intention on a given occasion”

(Allan & Burridge, 1993, 14). Thus, euphemisms are used as a linguistic strategy to avoid different offensive, unpleasant, or harsh expressions.

The writer in the target language opts for utilizing euphemistic expressions, since he or she is aware of the real meaning of a given harsh word. So, opting for replacement will be as a useful way in order not to show aggressiveness for the targeted reader, hence the latter will not receive any negative connotations about the source language context.

The translation of euphemistic expressions in political discourses from English into Arabic is a debatable topic that should be shed light on it and to be subjected to research in order to classify different strategies used in such translation as well as finding ways of expressing utterances in a soften or hidden way far from negative utterances of insulting or harassment.

1. Statement of the problem

The problems of this study are stated in the following questions:

- What is a euphemistic word or expression?
- What are the different strategies used to translate the meaning of a euphemistic expression?
- What is the aim behind translating euphemistic expressions?
- How can the translator realize a positive effect in the target culture?

2. Objectives of the study

This study aims at:

- Giving definitions to the concept of euphemism.
- Identifying the different functions of a given euphemistic expression.

- Listing the euphemistic categories and classifications.
- Examining the translatability of euphemisms in political contexts from English into Arabic.
- Stating the different strategies and procedures of translation followed by many translators of the field.
- Identifying the successfulness of the selected translations used in translating euphemisms from English into Arabic in reference to political texts.

3. Research Hypothesis

This research tries to prove the following:

- 1- If translators use euphemisms accurately, this would enhance its function in translation.
- 2- If euphemistic expressions are rendered correctly in the exact context, the translatability of euphemisms in political discourses would be effective.

4. Research Methodology and Design

4.1 Research Method

In order to confirm the research hypothesis, this study is conducted through qualitative descriptive method. This method will help us to make comparison between the different functions of euphemisms in political discourses and how they are rendered into Arabic.

4.2 Data Gathering Tools

In order to collect data, political texts are selected. They are analyzed to provide us with the valuable information about the process of translating taboo words in political discourses from English into Arabic, and the strategies adopted by translators to render the meaning in political texts.

5. Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three chapters. Chapter one, it sets out the introduction to the process of translation and outlines its methods, strategies and problems. Chapter two provides definitions of: the concept euphemism; as well as the classifications and categories of euphemisms, its different functions, and its usage in the political language. Examples of some euphemisms translated from English into Arabic will be mentioned to illustrate whenever they are needed. Chapter three is devoted to the specific analysis of the selected political euphemisms taken from political texts and the translation of those euphemistic expressions in these political texts according to different procedures of translation with an application of Warren's modal on each euphemism.

Conclusion

This study is conducted to examine how euphemistic words or expressions are translated in political texts in order to see the functions of such expressions when rendering them from one language of a different culture to another one. The analyses of the texts help us comparing the different employments of euphemisms in both languages, and to investigate translators strategies adopted in translating these euphemistic expressions.

Chapter One:

Translation Process

Introduction

This chapter discusses the various definitions of translation and cultural translation, in addition to the process of translating, types and strategies of translation and the problems that the translator may confront when translating which make the process difficult and prevent translators from performing their works.

1.1 Translation

Generally speaking, the process of translation is the way of rendering and transferring various ideas, meanings or any information from one language (source language) to another (target language). There are a number of definitions about translation proposed by dictionaries and by experts of the field. So, the etymology ‘translation’ is derived from the Latin word ‘trans’ and ‘latus’ that is meant to it ‘carried across’. Then, Newmark (1988) defines translation as follows: “often, though not by any means always, it is rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the way that the author intended in the text” (p. 5).

Also, Meetham and Hudson (1972) stressed out that “Translation is the replacement of a text in one language by replacement of an equivalent text in a second language” (p. 713) and Cartford (1965) on the same range stated that “Translation is the replacement of textual material in one language (ST) by equivalent textual material in another language” (p. 20). The stated definitions entail that when translating, one would transfer a text from any language that is

totally different in many aspects; a language that differs in values, beliefs, ideas, religion, customs and traditions.

A detailed definition is given by Ghazala (2008) in which he claims that: “Translation is generally used to refer to all the process and methods used to convey the meaning of the source language in to the target language.” (p. 1)

Moreover, Cartford (1965) pointed out, in his work *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, that “Translation is an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another. Clearly, then, any theory of translation must draw upon a theory of language a general linguistic theory” (p. 1).

Roger T. Bell (1991) in his work *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice* made a clear distinction for the word ‘translation’ by which he proposed three different meanings stated as follows:

1. translating: the process (to translate; the activity rather than the tangible object);
2. a translation: the product of the process of translating (i.e. the translated text);
3. translation: the abstract concept which encompasses both the process of translating and the product of that process (p. 13).

1.2 Culture

Newmark (1988) defines culture as “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression”. Thus, each social group has its own cultural features which differentiate it from the other groups.

Edward Burnet Tylor (1871), a British Anthropologist, made a clear definition of ‘Culture’ in which he stated that: “culture... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.

Alfred Krober and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952), in their work *A critical review of concepts and definitions*, pointed out that

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the other hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other hand as considering elements of further action.

Vermeer (1989) stated that “language is part of a culture” by which language and culture can’t be separated since they are considered as two faces of one paper and no one can separate them. Language is used as a medium in order to transmit different cultures to the foreign communities, because culture is referred to as a social phenomenon that defines the different and specific aspects of a given social group (p. 222).

1.3 Cultural Translation

Cultural translation is defined by Nida and Taber (1982) as “a translation in which the content of the message is changed to conform to the receptor culture in some way, and/or in which information is introduced which is not linguistically implicit in the original; opposed to LINGUISTIC TRANSLATION” (p. 199).

According to Nida, translators while exceeding in the process of translating a source language, they have to focus their attention and give importance to the target language reader in order to make them able to “understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression”. (Nida, as cited in Pishkar & Nasery, 2015, p.31)

1.4 The Process of Translation

Ghazala (2008) in his work *Translation as problems and solutions* referred to ‘the process of translation’ as it gives a description of “how we proceed at translating something in practice, when we put pen to paper to start translating. It is the organized stages of translating in application” (p. 16).

In addition, Newmark (1982) regarded the process of translation as “a craft consisting in the attempt to replace a written message and/or statement in one language by the same message and/or statement in another language” (p. 7).

Also, Robinson (2003) implied that translators, who are beginners in the domain of translation, when they start their first experience with rendering texts from one language to another they, have an idea in their minds that they will enjoy the process of translation and they will come over it with satisfaction; thus they don’t know that they are interfering in what is said to be a process by which they follow their minds and according to their knowledge about the process of translating they will succeed or fail on it, they will make errors that will teach them how to come across some obstacles they would face. Then, by time their trials on translation whether they are aware of them or not will be a “habit or second nature” for them. (pp. 90-91)

Meetham and Hudson (1972) and Cartford (1965) stated that the process of translation is realized when the author changes a given message or text in a source language by another one that is equivalent to it in the target language on the emphasis of equivalence.

Douglas Robinson in his work entitled *Becoming a Translator: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation* in its second edition suggested three stages of the translation process: ‘translate’, ‘edit’, ‘sublimate’:

1 Translate: jump into the text feet first; translate intuitively.

2 Edit: think about you’ve done; test your intuitive responses against everything you know; but edit intuitively too, allowing an intuitive first translation to challenge (even successfully) a well-reasoned principle that you believe in deeply; let yourself feel the tension between intuitive certainty and cognitive doubt, and don’t automatically choose one over the other; use the act-response-adjustment cycle rather than rigid rules.

3 Sublimate: internalize what you’ve learned through this give-and-take process for later use; make it second nature; make it part of your intuitive repertoire; but sublimate it flexibly, as a directionality that can be redirected in conflictual circumstances; never, however, let subliminal patterns bind your flexibility; always be ready if needed “to doubt, argue, contradict, disbelieve, counter, challenge, question, vacillate, and *even act hypocritically* (*be willing to break your own rules*). (Robinson, 2003, p. 91)

1.5 Methods of Translation

Peter Newmark (1988) in his book *A Text Book of Translation* stated a number of translation methods as an attempt to find ways for translators to transmit any text or message in an accurate and successful way.

Before moving to talk about the methods of translation, we need at first to identify the meaning of a method. The definition was stated by Ghazala (2008), he defined it as

A method of translation can be defined as ‘the way we translate’, whether we translate literally or freely, the words or the meaning, the form or the content, the letter or the spirit, the manner or the matter, the form or the message, the direct meaning or the implied meaning, in context or out context, and so on. (p. 3)

Newmark (1988) maintains that translating stands as an obstacle for translators in opting whether the literal or the free translation. This issue goes back to the first century BC in which various discussions were directed to this issue and it was and still a huge problem to many authors while translating a given text from a source to a target language.

He divided the methods into two phases as ‘a form of a flattened diagram’, in which he grouped methods that are concerned with the SL and those concerned with the TL. From one side, he brought together methods as follows in which the SL is the main emphasis as: Literal translation, Faithful translation and Semantic translation. On the other side, we find: Free translation, Idiomatic translation and Communicative translation, by which the emphasis is on the TL.

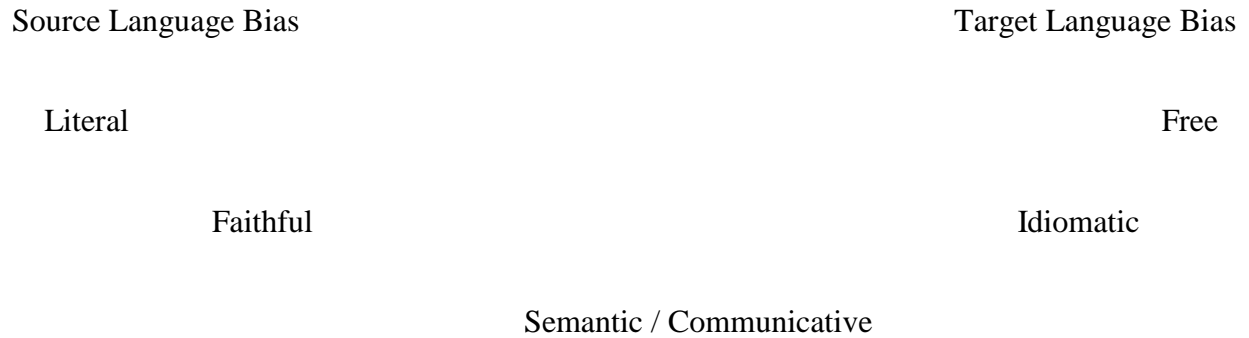


Figure 1. Newmarks’s Approaches to Translation (1982)

1.5.1 Literal Translation

Zoya Proshina (2008) claims that “Literal translation is the translation that reproduces communicatively irrelevant elements of the source text; this usually happens when the translator copies the source language form on this or that level of the language” (p. 23).

According to Newmark (1988), the main focus here is on the transferred grammatical elements which are translated by the most suitable and similar ones from the source language to the target one; while the lexical elements of the SLT are translated without looking at their contexts in which they exist.

Literal translation method can be distinguished from three distinct manners proposed by Ghazala (pp. 4-10):

1.5.1.1 Word-for-word Translation

Newmark (1988) considered this method as an ‘interlinear translation’. In this method the SL text is kept as it is following the order of words in order to produce mostly a similar text with words that are equivalent in meaning in the TL. Ghazala (2008) defined literal translation of words as: “Each English word is translated into an equivalent word in Arabic which is kept the

same as, and in line with that of English” (p. 4). The following list of examples proposed by Ghazala (p. 4) better illustrates how English sentences were translated into Arabic following the word-for-word method: e.g.

- a. That child is intelligent
ذاك الطفل يكون ذكي
(ذاك الطفل يكون ذكيا)
- b. Mary wanted to take tea
ماري أرادت أن تأخذ شاي
(ماري أرادت أن تأخذ شاي)
- c. This man is a big shot
هذا الرجل يكون كبيرة رمية
(هذا الرجل كبيرة رمية)

According to Ghazala (2008), literal translation seeks to look for each English word in each sentence its nearest and similar word that exists in Arabic in order to produce a full sentence in the Arabic language. So, whenever found a word translating it by giving the equivalent word in the author language than combining them together to make a sentence that is equivalent to that in the source language without giving attention to, how words are ordered, whether the sentence are grammatically correct, and whether they were put in the correct context in which they existed. The source language is the main emphasis in this method in which it has given much of importance while transferring a given sentence, message or text. (p. 5)

1.5.1.2 One-to-one Literal Translation

According to Newmark, One-to-one translation is “a broader form of translation, each SL word has a corresponding TL word”. So, all the different parts of speech of the source language are translated using the similar ones that exist in the target language in the right context, and here is the example:

E.g. Sara loves reading wholly and heartedly.

سارة تحب المطالعة كلية و من قلبها

1.5.1.3 Literal Translation of Meaning (Direct Translation)

Ghazala (2008) claims that the direct translation, or as he called it ‘close translation’, is one kind of translation in which the process of translating meaning is done successfully by looking to the context of a word or a sentence in the source text, than trying to find the most equivalent or nearest word or sentence in the target language in order to produce a translated meaning “as closely, accurately and completely as possible” (p. 9).

Also, the metaphorical sentences used in the source text are transferred and changed by their equivalent metaphors found in the target language to have by the end a correct and successful translation, for instance the English expression ‘tall order’ is rendered to Arabic as ‘مهمة شاقة’ and the translator can only render it in this way since it is the only solution for him. Sometimes, the same word in the source language may have various meanings depending on the context in which the word is put on. Thus, the translation of a given word is limited by the words that are related to it in a given context, as it is the case for the word ‘run’ in English that has different meanings according to the surrounding words that exist in the sentence or the phrase, when it is translated into Arabic the translator have to take into consideration the context in each sentence. The word ‘run’ is a ‘polysemous word’, as Ghazala called it, has numerous meanings “each of which is its literal (or real, precise or contextual) meaning in a certain context. The

following examples were given in order to illustrate the different cases of translating the word ‘run’ from English onto Arabic:

- “to run in the race” is translated to “يجري /يركض في السباق”
- “to run a company” is rendered to “يدير شركة”
- “to run round” is transferred to “يطوف/يقوم بزيارة خاطفة”

1.5.2 Free Translation

Newmark claims that “Free translation produces the matter without the manner, or the content without the form of the original. Usually it is a paraphrase much longer than the original” (1988, p. 46). In other words, the translator while transferring following this method he/she is not limited by the source text to render it as it is however, he/she is going to transfer the source text sense for sense rather than word for word. So, the translator produces a target text keeping the original meaning of the source text without restricting him/herself by changing each word of the original text with another equivalent word in the target language.

Ghazala (2008), also, argues that the translator can easily translate a message or a text according to his way of understanding, looking to the general meaning of the source text than rendering it in relation to what he grasps from the original text in which he says that “The translator is not strictly constrained by the type of text or context, or the direct and available meaning of words and phrases...He can translate something the way he understands it” (p.12).

1.5.3 Faithful Translation

Newmark (1988) noted that faithful translation tends to keep the source text original message than rendering it to the target language regarding the constituents of the text in relation to correct grammar and exact context in which he says: “A faithful translation attempts to

produce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures” (p. 46).

1.5.4 Idiomatic Translation

Larson defines idioms as “a string of words whose meaning is different from the meaning conveyed by the individual words” (1984, p.20). Also, he adds saying that an idiom “carries certain emotive connotations not expressed in the other lexical items” (p. 142). So, idioms are special items that are related to each language and can’t be translated literally since they have a meaning that is different from the meaning of its constituent words when they are gathered together, they have an artistic meaning. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, an idiom is defined as “a group of words whose meaning considered as a unit is different from the meanings of each word considered separately”, for instance, “shoot yourself in the foot” as an idiom has the meaning of behaving or doing things that bring hurt to oneself.

Moving to the translation of idioms, it is limited by the context in which they are used and they created a huge problem for translators when rendering them from the source to the target language. Idioms can be classified into five groups in order to simplify for translators distinguishing their classification and understanding their meanings. They are classified into colloquialisms, allusions, proverbs, slang and phrasal verbs.

Newmark (1988) said that “Idiomatic translation reproduces the ‘message’ of the original but tends to distort nuances of meaning by preferring colloquialisms and idioms where these do not exist in the original” (p. 41). Moreover, Dastjerdi and Adelnia (2011) noted that when translating idiomatic expressions, one have to take into consideration the meaning of each idiom in the original text in order to keep the effect of that idiom in the source language than rendering it to the target language.

1.5.5 Semantic Translation

Newmark (1988) believed that ‘Semantic translation’ “must take more account of the aesthetic value” in which he also adds that it “is more flexible, admits the creative exception to 100% fidelity and allows for the translator’s intuitive empathy with the original”. (p. 46)

To better understand it, Newmark maintained that “Semantic translation is personal and individual, follows the thought processes of the author, tends to over-translate nuances of meaning, yet aims at concision in order to reproduce pragmatic impact” (p. 47).

1.5.6 Communicative Translation

According to Newmark, ‘Communicative translation’ “attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership” (1988, p. 47).

To sum up, Newmark gave a brief concluding comments on the stated methods above, he noted that “only semantic and communicative translation fulfill the two main aims of translation, which are first, accuracy, and second, economy” (1988, p. 47).

1.6 Strategies of Translation

Translation is the process of rendering words, sentences, messages or texts from source to target languages. Newmark noted that “the words of all languages overlap and leave gaps of meaning: there are unnamed, and perhaps unnamable, parts of a hand or a cloud”. Benjamin, in the same vein, argued that “translation goes beyond enriching the language and culture of a country which it contributes ... beyond expressing and analyzing the most intimate relationships of languages with each other and becomes a way of entry into a universal language” (as cited in Newmark, 1982, p.18) . That’s why strategies are suggested for translators to make the process easier in some ways, and this will lead to a successful and correct translation. So, before

commencing talking about the different strategies, we need at first to identify the term 'strategy'. It was stated by Séguinot (1991) that the term 'strategy' "is a term which has been used to refer to both conscious and unconscious procedures, to both tactics and mental processes" (Séguinot, as cited in Beeby, Ensinger, & Presas, 2000, p. 132).

Also, Lorsch (1991) claimed that "A translation strategy is potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language to another" (p.76). This definition entails that a strategy is concerned with finding ways and solutions for translators when confronting some difficulties and problems while rendering a given source text to a target language.

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), in their work entitled *Comparative Stylistics of French and English. A Methodology for Translation*, suggested various strategies for translation as a solution for translators who face some difficulties while rendering a text from one language to another in which they said that "translators may also notice gaps" and they referred to the gaps by 'lacunae'. The strategies are listed as follows:

1.6.1 Borrowing

According to Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), Borrowing is a translation method used as a solution for translators when they face an obstacle while transferring a text from a language to another, they may find some words that can't be translated easily to the target language, i.e. they exist only in the source language and the author can't find an equivalent word in the target language in order to convey the exact meaning as it is stated in the original text. Thus, Borrowing is suggested as a strategy whenever found a word that is considered foreign for the target language and there is no word that would replace it and make the meaning understood by receivers, the only solution is to take the word as it is and use it in the target text in order to

arrive at a successful translation and to fill in the gaps or the ‘lacunae’ found in the text, a word may be “a new technical process, an unknown concept” (p. 31).

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) noted that borrowing is used “in order to introduce the flavor of the SL culture into a translation, foreign terms may be used” (p. 32). Also, they added maintaining that “The decision to borrow a SL word or expression for introducing an element of local color is a matter of style and consequently of the message” (p. 32).

1.6.2 Calque

As an another type of translation strategies or ‘procedures’, calque appears when the translator makes use of an expression that exists in the source language then renders it to the target language without any replacement in the grammatical structures of the source expression, it occurs at the sentence level. This is stated by Vinay and Darbelnet that “A calque is a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements” (1995, p. 32).

1.6.3 Literal Translation

According to Vinay and Darbelnet, “Literal, or word for word, translation is the direct transfer of a SL text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate TL text” (1995, p. 33). This strategy is preferable to be used for languages that came from one family.

1.6.4 Adaptation

This strategy is used as a solution when translators face a case of finding terms that are unknown and unfamiliar, and exist in the source language. So, in this case they have to come up with another terms and expressions from the target language, though both languages have a different culture. In order to fit the exact situation found in the source language, translators have to bring a new situation from the target language that is equivalent to it in which Vinay and

Darbelnet commented that “it is used in those cases where the type of situation being referred to by the SL message is unknown in the TL culture” (1995, p. 39).

1.6.5 Transposition

It occurs at the grammatical level of a sentence. It is pointed out by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) that transposition “involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message” (p. 36). They divided transposition into two different types referred to the first as ‘obligatory transposition’ and the second as ‘optional transposition’.

1.6.6 Modulation

According to Vinay and Darbelnet, Modulation is concerned with transferring a given idea or point of view that existed in the source language (SL) into the target language (TL) in a totally different way. But, the translator is obliged to preserve the exact meaning of the source language text (SLT) in an accurate way. Moreover, modulation is of two types as the case for transposition “As with transposition, we distinguish between free or optional modulations” (1995, p.37).

1.6.7 Equivalence

According to Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), equivalence is mostly used when transferring proverbs, idioms, nominal or adjectival phrases and clichés. As stated by them that “We have repeatedly stressed that one and the same situation can be rendered by two texts using completely different stylistic and structural methods. In such cases we are dealing with the method which produces equivalent texts” (p. 38).

1.7 Translation Problems

Translating from one language to another is not an easy task for everyone to select a text then start rendering all the components of that text. Rather, it is a hard task to translate since the

process involves translation of languages and each language has its own culture and other specific elements that are related only to it and they are different from the other languages. In one hand, while rendering texts from a language means that one will render the culture as well. Oualif (2017) claimed that “words which have various connotations in one language may not have the same emotive associations in another. Different languages frequently reflect different connotations and associations of feeling because of the differences in cultural roots” (p. 26).

From the other hand, translators may face various problems or difficulties when exceeding to the process of translation. Problems are related to different features that stand as an obstacle for translators. Ghazala (1995) defines a problem as “any difficulty we come across at translating, that invites us to stop translating in order to check...use a dictionary, or a reference of some kind to help us overcome it and make sense of it” (p.17). Moreover, He stated different four genres of problems as: grammatical, lexical, stylistic, and phonological ones, starting by discussing each of the problems.

1.7.1 Grammatical Problems

Both Arabic and English are languages but they belong to different families, one is of the Semitic and the other is of Germanic one, thus the problem appears that created numerous obstacles for translators since the two languages are far from each other in a lot of ways. Ghazala (1995) maintains that grammatical problems can be summarized in the following points: ‘complicated SL grammar’, ‘different TL grammar’ and ‘different TL word order’ (p. 18).

1.7.2 Lexical Problems

According to Ghazala (1995), lexical problems “occur when a word, a phrase, or an expression is not understood clearly and directly, misunderstood, not known at all to students, or not found in standard dictionaries” (p. 19).

1.7.3 Stylistic Problems

The relationship between style and meaning was and still as a debatable subject in which different points of view are directed to it from the past till the present; some people stresses the view that meaning and style can't be separated and that each one of them complete the other, so they are inseparable. No one can separate them and if so this will create a problem while transferring a given text from one language to another. This is highly stressed by Ghazala (1995) who pointed out that "The style of the SL text may pose problems for the translator. They are important and strongly relevant to meaning, and can sometimes affect it heavily" (p.20).

1.7.4 Phonological Problems

Such phonological problems are again concerned with the relationship of meaning and sounds not with style. Translators give more importance to this relationship, because they notice that sounds help much more in conveying the meaning of the source language text. Especially for those who are interested with translating advertising, poetical or literary text, they contain rhythm that can enable translators to render correctly and successfully or not any poetical text. So, translating sounds stands as an obstacle to many translators despite "their significance to meaning as well as the beauty of language, especially in poetry and certain texts of rhythmical language" (Ghazala, 1995, p. 23).

Finally, each of the stated problems by Ghazala are discussed in order to shed light on such translation problems and to help novice translators who are new in the domain of translating to come over their weaknesses when facing one of the problems above and to arrive at a successful and accurate translation.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, translation, as it is a process of transferring various texts from different languages, received much of importance since it helped people to understand different kinds of languages which are considered as mirrors of nations' culture all over the world. Accurate, correct and successful translation is a result of translators caring about putting the target receiver (TR) in the right image that existed in the source language text.

This chapter discussed the various definitions of translation, then moved to speak about the process of translating a given source text (ST). After that, the chapter dealt with different types of translation methods, strategies and concluded by the problems occurred while the process of translation.

The coming chapter will tackle the phenomenon of euphemisms in order to enable the readers to have a clear image about them as investigating classifications, types and strategies of rendering euphemisms from English into Arabic language or vice versa in relation to political texts.

Chapter Two:

Introduction to Euphemism

Introduction

This chapter examines the different usage of euphemisms especially in politics where politicians need to make use of euphemistic expressions in order to have a positive effect on the society. Firstly, it starts with defining euphemisms. Then, it discusses euphemisms in both English and Arabic, the different classifications, its functions, reasons behind its use. After that, it tackles the various challenges posed by euphemisms and by the end speaking about the translation of euphemisms in both English and Arabic.

2.1 Definition of Euphemism

The word euphemism originated from the Greek word ‘euphemia’ which refers to the use of ‘words of good omen’, it is derived from the combination of “eu” meaning ‘good, well’ and “pheme” which means ‘prophetic speech; rumour, talk’

It is defined by Wikipedia as “A euphemism is an innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant”. In the same vein, the Merriam Webster dictionary referred to euphemism as “the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant”.

Fowler (as cited in Holder, 2002) commented on euphemism defining it as “Euphemism means the use of a mild or vague or periphrastic expression as a substitute for blunt precision or disagreeable us” (p.vi).

Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2011) argued that “A euphemism is a word or phrase that replaces a taboo word or serves to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects” (p. 473).

In the Cambridge Dictionary, a euphemism is “a word or phrase used to avoid saying an unpleasant or offensive word”.

According to Rawson (1981), euphemisms are defined as “powerful linguistic tools that are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves being plainspoken, never get through a day without using them” (p.1). Also, Sanderson (1999) noted that euphemism “can be used as a way of being vague and unclear, or to cover up the truth or reality of a situation” (p. 259). On the other hand, a detailed definition of the term euphemism is stated by Allan and Burridge (1991) that

Euphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions, and are used to avoid possible loss of face. The dispreferred expression may be taboo, fearsome, distasteful or for other reason has too many negative connotations to felicitously execute speaker’s communicative intention on a given occasion. (p. 14)

Euphemisms are strongly related to taboos in a way that the former makes the latter somehow smooth and preferred to someone discussing a certain taboo subject. From this perspective, Holder (2002) pointed out that “In speech and writing, we use euphemism when dealing with taboo or sensitive subjects. It is therefore also the language of evasion, of hypocrisy, of prudery, and of deceit” (p. vi). According to Leech (1981), euphemism is “[t]he practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant or becoming than it really is” (as cited in Alhussaini, 2007, p. 328). So, this definition entails that euphemism is used whenever one confronts a word that can’t be uttered

publically in front of all or may be harmful to the public, thus s/he opts to use a euphemistic word or expression in order not to cause harm to the receptors or the public.

2.2 Euphemism in English and in Arabic

On one hand, euphemism in English is defined by Kate Burridge (2012) as “[e]uphemisms are sweet-sounding, or at least inoffensive, alternatives for expressions that speakers or writers prefer not to use in executing a particular communicative intention on a given occasion” (p. 66).

On the other hand, euphemism is known in Arabic as ‘التلطيف’ that is referred to as “تعبير المتكلم عن المعنى القبيح باللفظ الحسن، و عن النجس بالطاهر، وعن الفاحش بالعفيف، هذا و اذا قصد المتكلم نزاهة كلامه من العيب” بدوي (1955) و مطلوب والبصير (1999) واخرون.

So, ‘التلطيف’ or what is known as ‘euphemism’ in Arabic occurs in different contexts in this language specifically in the Qur’an as an index of the beauty of language, since it is considered as an important constituent of the Arabic language.

Furthermore, both ancient and modern Arab linguists referred to euphemism in different ways in which we find Al-Jirjani (1908), Al-Qurtubi (2003) and Al-Zarkashi (1922) calling it Metonymy الكناية and others called it ‘التلطف’ (euphemism), ‘تلطيف العبارة’ (softening the expression), ‘تحسين اللفظ’ (beautification of expressions) or ‘التورية’ (equivocation). According to Al-Tarabulsi (1981), the term euphemism ‘التلطيف’ is considered as one kind of metonymy ‘الكناية’ and he defined it as

“التلطيف هذا النوع من الكناية يتمثل في استعمال اللفظ أو العبارة لغاية التخفيف من وطأة المعنى الموحش أو الحدث المرعب، وقد يصل حتى الى استعمال الضد”.

2.3 Functions of Euphemisms

By nature human beings try to avoid saying things or naming objects that may seem unpleasant or harsh when they are communicating in order to keep that conversation goes smoothly causing no harsh consequences on the addressee. When they find a way of avoiding saying dispreferred things, they are going to use euphemisms that would make the unpleasant or offensive thing appear in a soft way better than the original one, and this usage might be in a conscious or an unconscious way. So, the word or expression would be replaced by one that prevail a positive effect on the addressee. Accordingly, these euphemisms are used in accordance to their functions at a given context. In the same vein, Holder (2002) noted that “The subjects about which we tend to use euphemisms change along with our social attitudes, although euphemisms associated with sexual behavior and defecation have shown remarkable staying powers” (p. vii).

Kate Burridge (2012) in his article *Euphemism and language change: the sixth and seventh ages* pointed out a number of various functions of euphemistic expressions in different contexts, they are stated as follows:

2.3.1 The Protective Euphemism

Kate Burridge claimed that this function of euphemism appears whenever one is at point where s/he obliged to interfere in a conversation that tackles an issue that s/he would not want to discuss it with the addressee, such topics would be private parts, bodily functions, sex, death, disease, God...etc. So, this function is to be used in case that “social sanctions placed on behavior that is regarded as distasteful or at least impolite within a given social context” (2012, p. 67). In other words, people may have a problem of speaking about certain subjects in public

because of the undesirable effect that may cause harm to the addressee in a way or another whether the addresser intended to do so or not, for instance talking about social taboos as: age, sex, education, social status and others. So, euphemism here would be the best solution to go beyond the social parameters and taboos which are considered as a prohibition to discuss them in the society within all the public. In addition, Burrige (2012) pointed out that “Since the 1980s, gender, sexuality, disability and race have become so highly-charged that speakers will shun anything that may be interpreted as discriminatory or pejorative” (p. 67).

2.3.2 The Underhand Euphemism

According to Burrige (2012), euphemistic expressions that are used in a political, military and medical context tend to give a contrary connotation of what really the original word or expressions means, its objective is to bluff the receiver or to mystify and to misrepresent him despite its offensive meaning, in which he said that “No euphemism says it how it is- in a given context, something tabooed can be acceptably spoken of using a euphemism but not using a direct term” (p. 68). For instance when talking about one of the stated topics, in this case euphemisms will befuddle the receiver rather than hide its harmful or offensive meaning.

Burrige (2012) suggested a list of examples related to euphemisms used in the streets which refer to a given original term, the following terms, as stated by Burrige, indicate different types of drugs. They are taken from a glossary compiled by the white House Office of National Drug Control Policy: “*get snotty* ‘to use heroin’, *lemonade* ‘poor quality drugs’ and Klingons ‘crack addicts’ ” (p. 68).

2.3.3 The Uplifting Euphemism

This kind of euphemisms is used in specific occasions and with special languages as words and expressions in a trade or a profession or any others, it is used to ‘talk up and to

inflate'. As maintained by Burrige, in the case of euphemisms used in industry is something specific to it and couldn't be found in any other field, for instance "The hamburger industry's use of the term *autocondimentation* as opposed to precondimentation is an economical way of distinguishing a client's right to salt his/her own burger" (2012, p. 69).

2.3.4 The Provocative Euphemism

According to Burrige, the provocative euphemism "aims not to disguise or conceal unpleasant reality, but help to remove the stigma of negative social stereotypes by compelling its audience to go beyond the simple content of the message and challenge prejudices embodied in language" (2012, p. 70). In other words, this kind of euphemisms does not tend to hide any type of aggressive or harmful connotations; rather it tends to move across any barriers when talking about certain topics that may be considered as an image of stereotypes or prejudice in a given society. Also, Burrige (2012) added saying that "Clearly, with provocative euphemisms there is more involved than straightforward politeness and the maintenance of face" (p. 70)

2.3.5 The Cohesive Euphemism

As euphemisms are much related to dispreferred subjects, taboos are the main concern for euphemisms to make them sound in a smoothly way, since the former are considered as constituents of societies. For some people who live inside a given society even out of it, these taboos may occur as strange things for them and they don't know about the reasons of establishing them. Thus, Burrige (2012) pointed out that "There is another sense in which euphemisms can work as in-group trademarks" (p. 70). In this function, euphemisms are used to 'show solidarity' as in the case of talking about diseases, death and dying in hospitals, the euphemistic words or expressions tend to hide the harsh reality when one want to tell the reality about someone's disease or death.

2.3.6 The Ludic Euphemism

The main objective behind the ludic euphemism is to ‘have fun and to entertain’, Burridge (2012) considers ludic euphemisms as “a part of our everyday verbal play”, also he adds saying that “the manipulation of language that speakers display is remarkably inventive at times- ordinary speakers take ordinary sounds and letters, words and phrases and put them to extraordinary uses in the expressions they construct” (p. 71). In other words, people may come to a case where they have to create some euphemistic expressions according to the context in order to make some sort of entertainment.

2.4 Categories of Euphemism

The term euphemism is defined by Pyles and Algeo (1970) as “Euphemism is any term that replaces a taboo word in a language” (pp. 201-202). One can classify it into different categories regarded to the standard that is concerned to investigate. According to Rawson (1981), euphemism is divided into positive and negative euphemisms when looking to its meaning.

On one hand, the positive euphemisms, as they would be referred to as ‘stylistic euphemisms’ or ‘exaggerating euphemisms’, are defined by Rawson as “The positive ones inflate and magnify, making the euphemized items seem altogether grander and more important than they really are” (1981, p. 1). So, this type of euphemism is used in order to make the harsh language more polite and soft on the listeners’ ear and also to show some sort of social solidarity with the one who is addressed when talking about subjects or discussions of low-level. Rawson also adds that “Positive euphemisms include the many fancy occupational titles, which salve the egos of workers by elevating their job status”, for instance the word *counsel* for lawyer and *custodian* for janitor and many other euphemisms that tend to make the speech positive we find

mental hospitals for madhouses, *universities* for colleges and *shoppes* or *salons* for small business establishments.

On the other hand, as stated by Rawson that “The negative euphemisms deflate and diminish. They are defensive in nature, offsetting the power of tabooed terms and otherwise eradicating from the language everything people prefer not to deal with directly” (Rawson, 1981, p. 1). According to him, these euphemisms go back to the Greeks where they used the euphemistic word *Eumenides* as a replacement for the word ‘Furies’. So, negative euphemisms are expressions which may refer to words that cannot be discussed publically, words that may seem prohibited to discuss them such as taboos since they are much related to them. Guo Qi (2010) maintained that the negative euphemisms or the so-called traditional euphemisms are created in order to tackle topics as life, death and sex (p. 136).

Here follows two tables which state a randomly selected list of positive and negative euphemisms taken from Holder’s (2002) dictionary: *How not to say what you mean: A dictionary of euphemisms*.

Table1

Examples of Positive Euphemisms

Euphemism	Meaning
Domestic	A servant in the home A shortened form of domestic servant or domestic help

Exterminating engineer	(American) A controller of pets or vermin
Make an honest women of	To marry a woman you have Impregnated
Magic word (the)	Please
Sanitary man	A cleaner of lavatories
Social housing	Accommodation built for poor people
Working people	(British) industrial workers not self-employed or in management

Table2

Examples of Negative Euphemisms

Euphemism	Meaning
Absorption	A military conquest
Conflict	War
Country in transition	A poor and backward country

Come to the attention of the police	To be a habitual criminal
Third world	Poor
Payoff	A bribe or illegal reward
Working girl	A prostitute

2.5 Classifications of Euphemism

The usage of a euphemistic word or expression is limited by the context in which one will make use of it, thus a number of euphemism classes are created in order to be used and to minimize the harmful effect of a given harsh word that is related to a given context. There are a number of euphemism classifications; they are discussed in the following:

2.5.1 Euphemism Related to Disease

According to Allan and Burridge (2006), talking about disease is considered as a taboo for many social communities since it is so hard to speak about someone's illness. That's why people tend to talk about diseases using euphemistic words or expressions as he suggested that "the verbal taboos surrounding disease and sickness can have other motivations, too. Some euphemisms seem to reflect the cooperative desire not to impose one's troubles on others and to be seen to whinge" (p. 203). So, from this perspective, some people may show some sort of shyness when talking about their diseases in public with others or even telling it loudly, rather they euphemize them in order not to have a bad effect on the listener and not to be regarded as one who complains all time.

Allan and Burrige (2006) Claimed that the term disease is in itself “a euphemism, as its constituent morphemes reveal –*dis-* ‘cease to’ and *ease* ‘be comfortable’” (p. 204). Also, doctors, for instance, make use of euphemistic words or expressions when talking with patients following a smoothly method when asking them about their status as ‘*Do you experience any discomfort?*’ rather than saying ‘*Do you have any pain?*’, as it is the case also when speaking about someone who died after a long sufferance from cancer, people may say someone ‘died after a prolonged illness’ or ‘a long battle against illness’ instead of saying directly that he died because of cancer. (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 204-220)

2.5.2 Euphemism Related to Death

Allan & Burrige (2006) highlighted that death as well is a taboo that is based on fear in which people become afraid of missing their beloved ones definitely and never seeing them again, also fearing from what comes after death when life come to an end. Also, they stated that “Death has become the great taboo subject, smothered in prudery” (p. 223).

Moreover, Mohammed Farfgal (1995) in his article *Euphemism in Arabic: A Gricean interpretation* suggested different ways of speaking about someone’s death in accordance to the context in which one can choose to use one of the following euphemisms . So, instead of uttering the word died or ‘mata’ one can say ‘*intaqala ila rahmat-i-l-ah*’ (he transferred to the mercy of God), ‘*intaqala ila jiwari rabbi-h*’ (he transferred to the neighborhood of his Lord) or ‘*intaqala ila dar-i-l-baqa*’ (he transferred to the home of eternity). (p. 370)

The employed expressions tend to protect the face of the speaker in order not to appear as harsh and not to speak in an offensive way with the listener that’s why s/he may say *انتقل الى رحمة* instead of saying it directly *مات فلان* *ربه أو انتقل الى الرفيق الاعلى*

2.5.3 Euphemism Related to Sex

Shehab, Abdul-Rahman and Hussein (2014) pointed out that sex is treated differently from one culture to another in which one considers it as a shameful and harsh topic to speak about publically, but the other discusses it without any feeling of pudency. Sex is defined by Allan and Burrige as it “is anatomical, and most people are born to one or the other sex (though a few are born sexually ambiguous and must be surgically altered to one of the sexes if they are not to remain that way)” (2006, p. 144).

On the other hand, Shehab, Abdul-Rahman and Hussein argued that “While Arabic finds it rude and offensive to talk about sex freely, English perceives it as an untaboo subject in most cases” (p. 194). As cited by Shehab et al. (2014), *rape* as an offensive act is referred to it in English using a euphemistic expression as a *criminal sexual assault* or as a *serious offense against a woman*. Also, the term adultery, as it is a shameful term that can't be discussed with everyone in public, is euphemized in English as *extra-marital sex*, *abusing the bed*, *having an affair*, or *an act of shame*. While, in Arabic the same word الزنا is referred to it as *خيانة زوجية*, and as *بقيم علاقة غير شرعية أو علاقة حميمة* (Abdulhafeeth, 2009)

So, with the help of euphemisms people can discuss some of the harsh topics in front of others with regard to the context in which one would make use of one of the euphemistic words or expressions specifically with topics that are considered as a violation of the social norms.

2.5.4 Euphemism Related to Politics

Politicians have to choose their language accurately to convey their messages to the listeners in a perfect and successful way. As it is cited by Allan and Burrige (2006, p. 239) that “Not all euphemisms are in response to taboo” rather they are used to make the speech sounds

more smoothly and sweeter than it is, for example they may say *community charges*, *levies*, or *voluntary contributions* instead of saying *taxes* or *tolls*.

2.5.5 Euphemism Related to Profession

According to Althawabeyeh (2017), professions are also euphemized in order to make a given ordinary profession seem with a good level and with importance. For instance, the expression *cleaning operative* is used as a euphemism for road sweeper or dustman, as well as for garbage man is replaced by the expression *sanitation engineer*, also for the job hairdresser that is changed by *beautician*, and finally with the expression *meat technologist* as a euphemism for butcher.

In addition, as it is stated by Alhussaini (2015) that professional euphemisms “can be used to protect worker’s egos by elevating their job status such as “*access controller*” instead of “*doorman*”. (p. 333)

2.6 Formation of Euphemisms

Beatrice Warren (1992) in her article *What euphemisms tell us about the interpretation of words* introduced a diagram that indicates the different strategies of forming euphemized words or expressions on the basis of the context in which they will occur. So, the main purpose behind creating a given euphemism is to protect one’s face when speaking in public about certain social issues or about taboos; in this perspective, Al-Khasawneh (2018) pointed out that “It is apparent that both politeness and face are important notions for most cultures that must be taken into consideration in daily conversation. Essentially, there are different strategies that people use to maintain face and politeness” (p. 219).

Warren (1992) maintained that euphemisms are formed following two ways in which there is the formal innovation and the semantic innovation and each one as well is divided into other sub-categories. The first category that is formal innovation is divided into three sub-categories. Firstly, starting with word formation devices, according to Warren these devices include:

- Compounding: is the combination of words to create a new and one whole word as home added to work gives *homework*.
- Derivation: is the process of modifying some loaned words from a given native language as Latin or Greek, for instance *celibatus* modified to *celibacy*.
- Acronyms: the combination of the initial letters of words put together to pronounce it as one word as *WC* for water closet.
- Onomatopoeia: is the formation of words in relation to the sounds that are associated with a given act.

Secondly, phonemic modification strategies are the alteration of some words that may occur to the receiver as offensive and aggressive ones and they are of three kinds:

- Back slang: is the spelling of words backward and in a reverse way unlike the way they are uttered, for example *epar* for rape.
- Rhyming slang: is the creation of euphemisms following a rhyme as *fragrant* for “those who are too embarrassed to say pregnant” (Rawson, 1981, p. 108).
- Phonemic replacement: i.e. the rendering of one sound in the offensive word or taboo, for instance *shoot* is considered by Rawson as “it is a euphemistic mispronunciation of ‘shit’” (Rawson, 1981, p. 254).

- Abbreviation: e.g. NYR is a “second world war usage, an abbreviation of *not yet returned* from a mission over enemy territory” (Holder, 2002, p. 274).

Thirdly and finally, a loan word is “a word (or lexeme) imported into one language from another language”.

Moreover, the second kind of strategies is the semantic innovation which includes various sub-categories and they are stated as follows:

- Particularization: the process of particularizing a given word in accordance to a context in order to hold a meaning as the term *innocent* is particularized for virginal.
- Implication: in order to arrive at the needed meaning, various steps are required as for the word *loose* that means ‘unattached’ and that is the interpretation of ‘sexually available’.
- Metaphor: as for the focus on the color ‘red’ when speaking about menstruation as *it’s a red letter day*.
- Metonymy: another form of euphemisms.
- Reversal: or ‘irony’ is the usage of opposites to refer to a bad thing as for *blessed* which refers to ‘damned’.
- Understatement: or ‘litotes’ as the following expressions are examples of understatement, for instance *sleep* is used for die and *not very bright* for stupid.
- Overstatement: or hyperbole, expressions which may fall under this sub-category are like *personal assistant* for secretary and *visual engineer* for window cleaner.

2.7 Political Euphemisms in Political Language

Before we move to talk about “political euphemisms” and how they are applied in the political language from English into Arabic or vice versa, we need at first to identify “politics”

and “political language” as a term than to see how the political speech or language is euphemized. The Oxford English Dictionary defines politics as “The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power”. Also, Murray Edelman had a different view on politics that it “creates a way of living with social problems by defining them as inevitable or as equitable” (Edelman, 1977, p. 141).

On the other hand, a detailed definition about political language is given by Edelman in his book *Political language words that succeed and policies that fail* (1977) in which he stated that

If political language both excites and mollifies fears, language is an integral facet of the political scene: not simply an instrument for describing events but itself a part of events, shaping their meaning and helping to shape the political roles officials and the general public play. (Edelman, 1977, p. 4)

So, political euphemisms are created in relation to the context in which they are needed to hide some of the dispreferred talks and to mask some of the truths when speaking of events or problems that may occur in the society. Politicians try to select their words effectively to realize the wanted effect on the public, that’s why they make use of the euphemisms in order to save their faces and to appear more politely with a given social issue, this what is maintained by Eric Grillo (2005) that “In order to maintain a good image, the speaker shows great care in discourse, which is not concerned so much with the image of the anonymous mass hearer as it is with saying one’s own face” (p. 91). In the same page, he added saying that “the use of euphemism in the official public discourse of the press can be motivated by the need for a balance between the

emotional impact of certain news subjects and the concern with rigorous objective information” (p. 91).

Here follows a table which summarizes the most useful euphemistic words or expressions applied in political language used by politicians in different contexts.

Table3

Different Euphemisms in the Political Context Taken from Nouri (2015)

Political euphemism	Meaning
Air campaign	Refers to bombing
Armed intervention	Expression used to replace war
Black market	A euphemistic expression given to the market which deals with illegal (stolen) articles
Cloudy outlook	Refers to an impasse in the field of unemployment
Coercive interrogation	Polite expression to describe torture
Correctional facility	Refers to prison
Extreme prejudice	Refers to the merciless killing during war

	which may seem cruel and criminal
Friendly fire	A description given to the incidental and the unintended killing of an allied force
Impact fees	Refers to taxes
Long road to recovery	A euphemistic expression for the continuation of the financial crisis
Peace-keeping force	References to particular forces in the army sent to another country to assure peace in their own country
Public sector borrowing	A reference to the governmental exploitation of the finances earned from taxes or from other payments
Regime change	A polite expression for toppling a government or for a planned assassination
Revenue enhancement	A connotation for the increase of taxes
Special operation group	Reference to a particular group which is ordered to accomplish illegal missions or secret tasks

The charged issue of race	The prevention of some people from the right to elect
To neutralize	Means to kill. This term is extensively used by politicians to describe military operations

So, the politicians’ intention behind the use of euphemisms is to save their image clean and to have great support when discussing harsh topics, as Zhao and Dong (2010) in the same line claimed that euphemisms are considered as “a tool for political participants to hide scandals, disguise the truth, and guide public thoughts when discussing social issues or events” (p. 118).

Conclusion

Since there are a number of tabooed subjects that can’t be discussed publically in front of many listeners, people tried their best efforts to find a way which may help them to soften their speech and to not harm the others when discussing such harsh and offensive topics. Thus, euphemisms are created as a solution to save people’s face and to appear as polite as they can specifically for politicians to save their image in public.

This chapter presented a number of definitions for the term euphemism, in both English and Arabic, as a brief and clear image about the basis of the discussed subject. Then, it provided a list of detailed information in relation to the concept of euphemism.

Chapter Three:

Translating Political Euphemisms from English into Arabic: Functions, Formations and Strategies

Introduction

This chapter will be the analytical part of the study in which the suggested hypotheses are to be analyzed in order to check their validity according to the used research tools. The current research firstly hypothesizes that if translators use euphemisms accurately, this would enhance its function in translation and secondly it hypothesizes that if euphemistic expressions are rendered correctly in the exact context, the translatability of euphemisms in political discourses would be effective.

The methodology of the research is made of by an investigation on different political articles taken from different sources in order to analyze the various euphemistic expressions when discussing different topics related to the political issues. So, this chapter aims at analyzing the different translations of political euphemisms in political texts and the way those euphemisms are created in regard to Warren's modal of strategies of creating euphemistic expressions and applying them on the political euphemisms.

3.1 Description of the Methodology

This part analyzes the various political euphemisms used by the previous American presidents Barak Obama and George W. Bush and how the media received and translated them from English into Arabic, also articles which deal with the issue of Taliban. These articles are taken from different sources and they are translated by Alaa Ghazala the Arabic Translator and

Journalist and other translators. The other articles are taken from other different sources which provide English news about different political issues and then the same news are translated and published in the Arabic version. The articles will be analyzed with an emphasis on the euphemistic expressions that are used by journalists in the original text than to see how those euphemistic words or expressions are translated into the Arabic language with an application of Warren's modal on the political euphemisms in order to decide about which strategy the translator opted for and applied when rendering the euphemistic words or expression from English into Arabic.

3.2 Analysis

The first article is published in Chicago Tribune and translated into Arabic by Alaa Ghazala who is an Arabic Analyst, Translator/Interpreter and Journalist. This article deals with the issue of terror regarding the two previous American presidents' view on this issue. Barak Obama and George W. Bush used terms related to the issue differently. The following are two euphemistic examples in which is used by Bush when talking about the issue of terror and the other is used by Obama regarding the same issue. Then, both euphemisms are analyzed to see how they are created according to the application of Warren's modal and to see which translation strategy is followed when translating them into Arabic.

ST1: Obama generally avoided the George W. Bush term “**global war on terror**”.

Translation1: . كما تجنب اوباما عموما استخدام مصطلح جورج دبليو بوش القائل "الحرب العالمية على الارهاب".

The previous American president Bush used the euphemistic expression in one of his speeches about the events that appeared in America from the 9/11 and after. He intended to use the expression “global war on terror” when speaking about the issue of terror that is mostly

directed and related to al-Qaeda's attacks. Bush used the expression "global war on terror" addressing all the public that a war will begin against the terrorists who directed their offensive attacks to America, and in order to save his image in front of all the universal public, he selected the expression and summarized it as "war on terror". The expression is translated literally by Ghazala as "الحرب العالمية على الارهاب" in which the translator's responsibility here is to keep the same effect on the listeners when speaking about terror publically by rendering the original euphemism with the same one in the TT.

When looking to the expression, we try to see it from the perspective of whether it is under the formal innovation sub-categories or under the semantic innovation sub-categories which are proposed by Warren (1992). "war on terror" as an expression summarizes all the actions that will take place when fighting the terrorist groups from all over the world since Bush added saying the term "global" which means universal, and here we notice that the war will concern all the nations in all the world in order to fight against terrorism and terrorists. Thus, the strategy used here to create a euphemistic expression is "implication" in which this expression "war on terror" summarizes all the actions that may take place when starting fights against terrorists; and when Bush uses the expression, the listener will understand all its interpretation that America will reply harshly if someone threatens its internal security.

ST2: Team Obama preferred "overseas contingency operations".

Translation2: "فقد فضل فريق اوباما استخدام مصطلح يقول: عمليات مكافحة التمرد خارج الولايات المتحدة".

On the other hand, Obama used a more euphemized word to occur more politely when talking about terrorism and to protect his public' image, he used the expression "overseas contingency operation" that is translated by Ghazala and with the same euphemistic expression

as “عمليات مكافحة التمرد خارج الولايات المتحدة” following the translation strategy that is literal translation. Obama focused his attention on the public when addressing the terrorists and their actions in order not to appear to the public as a harsh and offensive president, rather he used in purpose “overseas contingency operations” instead of uttering the word war directly. So, he referred to war as operations to fight against terrorists from the outside world. Obama and its administration changed the previous term and used this term since they considered it as a harsh one. Warren (1992) proposed a strategy to create a euphemistic word or expression that is “compounding” in which words are compounded together to have a new word or expression and new meaning as the expression “overseas contingency operations”.

Furthermore, on the same article in the Chicago Tribune, one journalist stated that Obama as well continued using a strategy that was used by Bush previously and they referred to it as “rendition”. This term is originated from the French language. The term “Rendition” refers to the act of transmitting terrorists to other countries in order to be questioned and interrogated for any terror actions that are related to them. The term is translated literally into Arabic as “الاناطة” by the Arabic translator Ghazala in which the same euphemism is rendered with the same one as it is applied in the original text.

ST3: Obama has continued the Bush practice known as **rendition**.

Translation3: بالاناطة المعروفة بممارسات بوش

The term “rendition” comes from the French language and adapted to the English language and used by Bush and Obama to refer to the process of interrogating terrorists who are suspected for any action. Warren claimed that a word that is borrowed from any other language

is put under the sub-category loanword that is a type of the euphemistic strategy formal innovation.

As it is discussed in the second chapter that political euphemisms or euphemisms in general are used in regard to specific purposes in which politicians or people of this field use the euphemistic words or expressions in order to mystify or to misrepresent the listener about a certain political issue. As for the case of the expression “shadow governor” that is used by a journalist in an article of the Washington Post Foreign Service. The expression is used to refer to the Taliban groups in Iran, though it was firstly used by the British government to refer back to a secret or unelected government, from that time the term is adapted to speak about groups and unelected governments that work underground. The expression is translated literally into Arabic by Ghazala as “حكومة الظل” keeping the same euphemistic expression, and the media kept calling any secret or unelected government as “shadow government” and it is expressed as follows:

ST4: the Taliban’s “shadow governor” in Herat called Wahab.

Translation4: اتصلت "حكومة الظل" في هيرات التابعة لطالبان بوهاب.

When applying Warren’s modal on the expression to see whether the writer used the semantic or formal innovation when he created this euphemistic expression, we noticed that he used two different words in order to come out with a new word; so he compounded “shadow” and “governor” to come out with “shadow governor”. Thus, the used strategy is the formal innovation strategy that is “compounding”. The translator translated the expression “shadow governor” following the literal translation to keep the significance of the original message, so that the word wouldn’t lose its effect on the listeners and they can grasp its meaning easily.

ST5: the Syrian regime sought to exploit the international hesitancy to have **a bloody showdown** with its opposition.

Translation5: في تصعيد غير مسبوق يستغل النظام السوري فيه التردد الدولي **لحسم دموي** ضد شعبه.

Moreover, in one of the articles published by Wadah Khanfar in which it speaks about the massacres in Syria, the journalist used a euphemistic expression in an intention to hide some the horrific reality of the events occurring in Syria. The used expression that is written in bold “a bloody showdown” replaced the exact reality that is a mortal conflict or war which may appear harsh and may frighten the listeners more when hearing that a war is happening in Syria; rather he used this expression, which means that there is an offensive conflict or war which needs to come to an end and to finish between the conflicted parts at Syria, in order to minimize the aggressiveness of the word “mortal conflict” or “war”.

The expression is translated literally by the same euphemistic expression into Arabic since it is the translator’s responsibility to convey the same message stated in the original text to the target receivers. The term “Bloody showdown” is translated as “حسم دموي”. This expression is applied as a metaphoric language to refer to the real situation that is happening in Syria. When one reads or hears a “bloody showdown” s/he directly understands that a conflict is taking place in which there is bloodshed which needs to come over in Syria. According to Warren, metaphor is one strategy that is used in order to create a euphemistic expression and it is the case for the journalist when he used “bloody showdown” to refer to the end of the horrific conflict or war in Syria.

In addition, in the same article there is another use of euphemism which occurs in the sentence below:

ST6: the thousands who were swallowed in the prisons.

Translation6: الالاف اللذين ابتلعتهم سجون السلطة.

The writer when he used the word “swallowed” had an intention from this use in which he aimed to replace the word “died”, “killed”, “executed” with “swallowed” in order to be in solidarity with the families of the victims who are jailed and no one knows about their situation in the prison whether they are alive or died. So, he used the word “swallowed” since there is no news about them if they still alive or they passed away. The writer tried to beautify the harsh language which may add harm to the listeners by applying this euphemistic expression in relation to the context. Then, the word is translated as “ابتلعتهم”. It is a literal translation which helped the translator in conveying the meaning of the original message to the target receiver by preserving the same euphemistic word.

The semantic strategy has been properly applied in this use of political euphemism that is metaphor as a sub-category of this strategy type. It is as figure of speech used under this category to hide some of the offensive and harsh reality about the real destiny of the thousands of victims who were in the prison and who are prisoned because of the existing status at that time while their families know nothing about them if they are still alive or not.

Generally speaking, the issue of violence is considered as an inhumanly act in which some of the social communities consider it as a tabooed subject to speak about it in public since violence is an unpleasant social issue that is disfavored for the most of the community members. That’s why the writer of the article made use of euphemistic word to make the harshness of its meaning somehow less than it is. The euphemistic term that has been used in this case is “repression” and it is used as follows:

ST7: Despite severe repression.

Translation7: ورغم البطش الشديد.

The writer in this article put the word “repression” instead of writing the direct expression “severe violence” as an attempt to go beyond this issue and to discuss it freely with little offense. No one accepts seeing or hearing about other people being urged violently and in front of all the people, for this reason the writer did his best to make the harsh effect of using the term “violence” smaller than it is. Thus, the euphemistic expression appeared as “repression”.

The translator followed the same way as the original writer did, in which he rendered the term “repression” with another word that is near in meaning with the one of the SL using the literal translation and he didn’t keep the same intention of the original writer that is to reduce the aggressiveness of the language when discussing the subject of violence that is directed to the Syrian people. Rather, the translator looked for the real word that conveyed the meaning of “repression” as “البطش” rather than using another equivalent euphemistic word or expression.

Warren’s view on selecting which euphemistic strategy is appropriate for each context is summarized in his modal which perfectly gave a clear way of forming any euphemistic word or expression depending on the context. As it is the case for the writer in this usage when he opted for applying the “understatement” strategy; it belongs to the semantic innovation which helps in formatting euphemistic words or expressions.

Furthermore, when dealing with the same political article, we noticed that the writer used euphemistic terms twice for one word when talking about it. Firstly, he used the euphemism “specter” referring to the phenomenon or the ideology of ‘Sectarianism’ in the Syrian society. He introduced it as:

ST8: the specter of Sectarianism.

Translation8: شبح الطائفية.

The writer used the term “specter” beside sectarianism in order to take the receiver far away from its real meaning by which the TR wouldn’t focus more on the ideology of sectarianism which is an index of a divided society in which groups are gathered together to follow the ideology or the belief which better suits them, rather the writer intended to use a sense of humor by stating this term “specter” so as to camouflage and to remove the undesirable reality of the term sectarianism as it is one purpose of using euphemistic words especially concerning political texts, in which peoples’ interest with this field and their main focus is to preserve the good public image. After that, the term is translated literally into Arabic as “شبح” so that keeping the significance of the original meaning that is “specter” and here the translator used the same euphemistic word to make the same effect of the SLT.

When trying to apply the modal of Warren into our analyzed euphemism, we found that the term “specter” is of French origins. In this case, the term is to be considered as a borrowed one and according to Warren the strategy followed to form the euphemistic word is a sub-category of formal innovation that is a loan word in which words “are imported to one language from another language”.

Secondly, the writer expressed the same phenomenon in another way continuing in the same aim to hide the disliked reality by naming it as a “virus”, deviating from the real context of the term, that is totally political, to one that is scientific by which the target reader would accept it in this case as an issue which will be solved and cured as for “virus”. It is as well translated following the translation strategy that is modulation; one that is concerned with keeping the

original idea and meaning of the SLT than expressing it in a different way in which the original euphemistic word is rendered with another different euphemistic word, as for “virus” that is rendered as “احتقان” instead of using the strategy of borrowing the word as it is to the Arabic language and stating it as “فيروس”. The translator expressed differently the euphemism “virus” with another euphemistic word, it is expressed as an injection that is injected to many people which leads to the spread of the virus that is Sectarianism. The translation comes as follows:

ST9: The Syrian popular consciousness has been able to protect the revolution from the virus of sectarianism.

Translation9: استطاع الوعي الشعبي السوري خلال الشهور الماضية أن يحصن الثورة ضد الاحتقان الطائفي.

Also, the applied strategy for this euphemistic word is a loan word since “virus” is of Latin origins and it is borrowed to the English language to be considered as loan one as Warren proposed in his modal when dividing the strategies of formatting a euphemistic word or expression. So, for the euphemistic words, the writer employed the formal innovation that is a loan word.

The writer continues making use of euphemistic expressions in order to soften at least some of the offensiveness of the discussed topic that is related to the Syrian massacres. This time, he applied the euphemistic expression “the main players” in the context as:

ST10: this is another problem confronting the main players in the region.

Translation10: أما البديل فمشكلة أخرى تورق معظم اللاعبين الأساسيين في المنطقة.

Rather than stating directly that both conflicting sides are confronting a problem in the region, the writer played with words and came with a euphemistic expression which better

identifies the main parts of the conflict at Syria as “main players” in an attempt to help the receiver to understand that there are numerous sides who are conflicting over specific issues by which they are expressed as many players who are playing at a specific place in order to see who wins by the end who realizes the victory. Thus, the situation is for the fighting parts at Syria who have different goals to reach them whether in a peaceful or warlike way. The so used euphemistic expression “the main players” replaced the main conflicting or fighting parts over the region.

Then, the appropriate strategy for this euphemistic expression is represented in the translator’s use of literal translation in which s/he kept the word class and the meaning of the SLT then rendered it into the TL producing a meaningful TLT and keeping the same euphemistic expression that is shown in the above.

The writer, when creating a euphemistic expression concerning the two conflicting sides, opted for applying the metaphoric sense of making the meaning less offensive to the TR when speaking about them. Metaphor here is used in order to refer to the fighting sides as players who have a common goal to that is victory.

ST11: A US or Israeli attack on Iran would turn that **regional maelstrom** into **a global firestorm**.

Translation11: عاصفة عالمية الى الدوامة الاقليمية تلك تلك احول ان يران على اسرائيلي او امريكي اى هجوم امريكي او اسرائيلي على ايران ان يحول تلك الدوامة الاقليمية الى عاصفة عالمية.

In another article with the same journalist who is Seumas Milne, we are concerned this time with the issue of a possible war between Iran, US and Israeli under the issue of nuclear weapons. The writer of this article made use of political euphemism in which he applied two euphemistic expressions in the same sentence. From one side, he used “regional maelstrom” as

an attempt to refer to the insider conflict between the three countries the US and Israeli as a collided parts which have the same interest and goals, and Iran as the second side in which they have a conflict with over the same interests. Instead of saying it directly ‘the inside conflict between US, Israeli and Iran, he replaced it by “regional maelstrom” so that to hide the exact reality of the conflict that is happening between the allied countries US and Israeli and their enemy Iran.

On the other hand, he referred to a global war which concerns the whole world countries by applying the euphemistic expression “global firestorm”; they will be involved in this war in a way or another. So, the used euphemism entails that the war would be a big storm which will destroy the whole components of the world, that’s why he selected using “global firestorm” as a replacement for a global war.

The translator, Amal Al-Maqi, rendered both euphemistic expressions using the translation strategy which focuses on translating the SL words into the TL preserving the original meaning and the strategy being used is literal translation which kept the same political euphemism of the ST. In which “regional maelstrom” is translated to “الدوامة الاقليمية” and “a global firestorm” to “عاصفة عالمية”.

Going to the application of Warren’s modal on the euphemistic expressions to see under which category they belong to, we noticed that both euphemisms are of the second category by which the writer used the strategy of implication that needs various steps to reach the wanted meaning that is the interpretation of an insider conflict using “regional maelstrom” and interpretation of a global war in the whole world by making use of the expression “global firestorm”.

Carrying on in the same website, looking for the applied euphemistic words or expressions by the journalist; and this time the discussion is about the used euphemism that is “the Arab spring” which is used multiple times by the writer. We find it at first in the headline as:

ST12: The ‘Arab spring’ and the west: seven lessons from history.

Translation12: « الربيع العربي » والغرب: سبعة دروس من التاريخ.

The writer’s intention in using such euphemism this way is to misrepresent and to mystify the reality which the words reveal. When one reads or hears the expression, s/he would understand that the Arabic countries are witnessing and living a period of development and flourishing, but they were living a contrary status at that period. The expression “Arab spring” refers to the protesting events that occurred in the Arab countries starting with Tunisia from 2011 and then moved to the other ones protesting against their leaders and against the unjustly governments; the Arabic countries recognized different uprising events in order to have a change against the former governments, that’s why the term was created to refer back to those uprising events which occurred from 2011. The euphemism “Arab spring” summarized all the series that took place at that time.

The expression is translated into Arabic by finding the equivalent words which best render the meaning of the original expression. The “Arab spring” is translated as “الربيع العربي” in which the translator applied the strategy that is literal translation to render the meaning of the original text s without any change and this helped in preserving the same political euphemism as it appeared in the ST.

Moreover, when going to apply the modal of Warren on the euphemistic expression “Arabic spring” to see of which category is, we found that the writer exaggerated when using it to refer back to the uprising events in the Arabic countries. So, the writer made use of a semantic innovation strategy by which he overstated and exaggerated in his use of this euphemism; the strategy is overstatement.

ST13: Under **the watchful eyes** of the US and British ambassadors.

Translation13: وتحت مراقبة السفراء الأمريكيين و البريطانيين.

The mentioned expression written in bold above are to be the supposed euphemistic expression applied by the writer in the same article where he used it as a reference for control. The writer used to beautify the text by implying the euphemistic expression “the watchful eyes” in order to replace the word control and to minimize its effect on the receivers by stating the US and British control as the watchful eyes. Also, he referred to the same word that is control in another way in which he applied the euphemism “to keep an eye” in another sentence. Thus, the euphemism used as the replacement for controlling or focusing on their recent past. It is applied as follows:

ST14: they’ll need to have **to keep an eye** on their past.

Translation14: فهي بحاجة الى مراقبة ماضيها القريب.

Both euphemistic expressions are translated into Arabic using the strategy which is transposition where the translator translated the euphemisms “the watchful eye” and “to keep an eye” by one word in Arabic as “مراقبة” and here the real meaning of the used euphemisms comes out of its beautified context in the original text to be rendered according to the real meaning that

is control translated as “مراقبة” in both cases. So, here the translator rendered the euphemism into Arabic with a non-euphemistic word that is “مراقبة”.

In addition, the euphemistic expressions are analyzed to see to which of the strategies they belong to. For the first expression, the writer created it according the strategy that is under the semantic innovation. Metaphor is applied successfully concerning the replacement of the term control by “the watchful eye”, in accordance to Warren’s modal that she proposed indicating the different strategies of formatting and creating euphemistic words or expressions. Also for the second one, compounding appears here as a strategy under the same category but differs in a way that he compounded words to arrive at a euphemistic expression which refer to control as well.

Here follows a table that summarizes all the analyzed political euphemisms in the study in which we find the euphemistic word or expression and the type of strategy used in forming each political euphemism according to Warren’s modal, than the translation of each euphemism by indicating which type of translation strategy being used.

Table3

Political Euphemisms, Real Meaning, Euphemistic strategies, Translation of Euphemisms and Translation Strategies

Political EUPH(s)	Real Meaning	Euphemistic strategy	Translation	Tr. strategy
Global war on terror	The issue of terrorism	Implication	الحرب العالمية على الارهاب	Literal tr.

	in relation to Al-Qaeda			
Overseas contingency Operations	war against terrorism	Compounding	عمليات مكافحة التمرد خارج الولايات المتحدة	Literal tr.
Rendition	Interrogation of terrorists	loan word	الاناطة	Direct Equivalence (synonymy)
Shadow Governor	Taliban groups	Compounding	حكومة الظل	Literal tr.
A bloody Showdown	Mortal conflict	Compounding	حسم دموي	Literal tr.
Swallowed	Killed or died	Metaphor	ابتلعتهم	Literal tr.
Repression	Violence	Understatement	بطش	Direct Equivalence
Specter	Ideology	Loan word	شبح	Literal tr.
Virus	Ideology	Loan word	الاحتقان	Omission
The main players	Conflicting sides	Metaphor	اللاعبين الاساسيين	Literal tr.
Regional maelstrom	Insider conflict	Implication	الدوامة الاقليمية	Literal tr.
A global	Global	Implication	عاصفة	Literal tr.

firestorm	war		عالمية	
Arab	Protesting	Overstatement	الربيع	Literal tr.
spring	events		العربي	
To keep	US & British	Metaphor	مراقبة	Transposition
an eye	control			
The watchful	Control	Compounding	مراقبة	Transposition
eye				

3.3 Discussion of the Results

One should bear in mind that the speech during any conversation in front of other people should be selected appropriately and carefully in order to be polite and to preserve his or her face, also in order not to cause harm and offense to the receivers during the conversation because some of the topics may seem harsh and difficult to be discussed in front of others. Whenever one confronts a disliked or disfavored word or expression which may be harmful and offensive when uttering it publically, s/he would opt for changing that word or expression to be polite and to save his public image, for this reason they created what is being called euphemisms.

Moreover, different subjects are concerned in this case of using euphemistic words or expressions as: sex and body organs, religion and politics. The latter is the main concern of our study. Mainly politicians try to choose a beautiful language with strong words so that they may have a positive effect on the receivers and to deliver their messages successfully. Especially when dealing with sensitive topics in politics, people of this field whether politicians or journalists tend to use euphemized words or expressions to appear polite and to protect their

faces from being harsh or offensive when tackling dispreferred topics publically. Thus, the solution is to replace the disliked words or expressions with more acceptable ones that is the creation of political euphemisms.

Our study sheds light on the various uses of political euphemisms which were applied in the field of politics whether by politicians or by journalists who tackle different topics that may appear harsh to the public; so they make use of some euphemized words in order to hide the offensive reality of some words. The study pointed out numerous political euphemisms that are taken from different sources in which we find the first ones are articles published in various journals than they were translated into Arabic by the Arabic journalist and translator Alaa Ghazala. The other articles were published in other sources in which we find the English version of the news article and its translation into Arabic.

Hence, our investigation on the articles is an intention to find the used political euphemisms in different contexts with an application of Warren’s modal on those EUPH(s) to see under which strategy type they belong to than to analyze each translation strategy used when rendering the EUPH(s) into Arabic.

Table3

Types of Euphemistic Strategies

Strategy	Number	Percentage
Compounding	4	27%
Implication	3	20%
Loan word	3	20%

Metaphor	3	20%
Understatement	1	6.5 %
Overstatement	1	6.5%
Total	15	100%

As it is shown in the above table, the results provides us with a deep analysis on the stated political euphemisms and this helped us in reaching the attended results for our hypothesis in which the study hypothesized that the accurate use of euphemisms by translators would enhance its function in translation also for the correct translation of euphemistic which would make their translatability effective in the discourses. So, the selected articles from which we took the euphemistic expressions and the provided translation helped us to analyze each euphemistic word or expression alone to see it from various perspectives and to understand its real context that is hidden via using those EUPH(s).

The selected articles provided us with fifteen EUPH(s) grouped into small categories following the division of Warren’s modal by which we found the first category is used four times in the articles and in different contexts that is compounding. It is under the first sub-category “word formation devices” which belongs to the second category formal innovation. Thus, the writer in this case used to compound words together to come out with a new word or expression that is the creation of a political euphemism. Examples of compounding from the results above can be as: “Overseas contingency operations”, “Shadow governor”, “A bloody showdown” and “The watchful eye” in which the writer applied them intentionally to hide some the horrific reality and minimize the negative effects on the receivers.

In addition, the other used type of EUPH(s) is implication which is applied in three political euphemisms. It belongs to the second category of euphemisms according to the division of Warren. So, in order to form or create a political euphemism, one would take through different steps to arrive at the attended meaning as for the examples: “Global war on terror”, “Regional maelstrom” and “A global firestorm” and here the writer intended to make use of such political EUPH(s) to take the receiver far away from the original meaning in order not to cause harm in their relationships and to save his or her public image.

Moreover, three out of fifteen euphemisms are said to be applied on them one type of euphemistic strategy when forming them that is loan word. It is put under the first category formal innovation and it is a sort of borrowing words from other languages; as they appear in the following example “rendition” that is from French origins and it is imported into English to be used as a political euphemism in this context also for the other ones as “specter” and “virus” that are classified under loan words with reference to Warren’s modal.

Furthermore, the writer made use of metaphorical figures as a strategy which falls under the second category semantic innovation in which s/he state something to refer to another thing that share a common and similar thing between them. Looking to the used euphemism “the main players” in a context that tackles war between conflicting sides would be the best metaphor for them since in both contexts the main conflicting sides or main players have a common and similar goal to be achieved that is victory. That’s why the writer applied this type of euphemistic strategy in order to misrepresent the reality for the receivers and to show some sort of politeness. It the same case for the other examples “Swallowed” and “To keep an eye”.

After that, from the analysis above we found that the writer made use of only one understatement and one overstatement out of fifteen. The former is considered as a litotes as Warren proposed in her modal and it is stated in the euphemistic word “repression”, while the latter is stated by Warren that it is a hyperbole as mentioned in the expression “Arab spring” in which s/he overstated in the use of this expression.

Moving to the analysis of the translation of the political EUPH(s) in which we noticed that the translators opted for the application of different strategy types while translating the EUPH(s) from English into Arabic. As it is shown in the table above, we found that there are four types of translation strategies out of the fifteen translated political euphemisms. The translators in the four strategy types that are analyzed in the study gave more attention on the target receiver or reader while rendering the different political euphemisms in which we numbered them under the four types namely: literal translation, transposition, omission and modulation. The translator opted for rendering the following political euphemisms literally:

- “الحرب العالمية على الارهاب” as a translation for “global war on terror”.
- “عمليات مكافحة التمرد خارج الولايات المتحدة” as a translation for “overseas contingency operations”.
- “حكومة الظل” is translation for “shadow governor”.
- “لحسم دموي” is translation for “bloody showdown”.
- “ابتلعتهم” is translation for “swallowed”.
- “البطش” is translation for “repression”.
- “شبح” as a translation for “specter”.
- “اللاعبين الاساسيين” as a translation for “the main players”.
- “الدوامة الاقليمية” as a translation for “the regional maelstrom”.

- “عاصفة عالمية” as a translation for “global firestorm”.
- The last one “الربيع العربي” as a translation for “Arab spring”.

Moreover, the translator as well made use of the strategy that is transposition. It is concerned with translating word classes at the grammatical level with its equivalent ones in the TL and this use is illustrated in the following examples:

- “الاناطة” which is translation for “rendition”.
- “To keep an eye” that is translated into “مراقبة”.
- “The watchful eye” is translated into “مراقبة”.

The translation “مراقبة” is used twice for two different euphemistic expressions in which they have the same context but expressed in English differently and translated into Arabic using a non-euphemistic word; it is a translation of the original meaning which is hidden using a euphemistic expression.

Furthermore, the last applied strategy concerning our study is said to be omission that is found in except one political euphemism. Omission is the process of omitting some words found in the SL when rendering them into the TL; in which the translator in this case continues to make the original meaning masked to the receivers as it is shown in the following example which better illustrates the use of this strategy by which “الاحتقان” is used as a translation for “virus”.

Finally, political euphemisms play a pivotal role in the field of politics where politicians and who are concerned in this field give them more importance since they beautify the language and help in minimizing the harshness of some offensive words. For this reason, we find most of the politicians select soften words and create ones in order to be polite and to preserve the public image. Also, the translation of such political euphemisms appropriately would enhance its

effectiveness in the TLT, thus the translator should opt for the appropriate strategy when rendering the political euphemisms so that they would fit the original context.

Conclusion

This last chapter is the practical part of the present study which investigated the different uses of political euphemisms in accordance to various political articles taken from many sources as an attempt to prove the variability of the proposed hypothesis under which the study is based on. The chapter provides a deep analysis about the investigated political euphemisms with an application of Warren's modal to point out under which categories those political euphemisms belong to, also it focuses on the translation of those EUPH(s) into Arabic and the strategy type of each euphemism and ending by a discussion of the findings of the study.

General Conclusion

In politics, the speech or language is the most important component in which it plays a pivotal role in the delivering of messages to the targeted receivers. Politicians give their speech all their attention in order to choose the powerful and needed words to realize the attended effect on the receivers or readers so that they prepare for a powerful and strong one to have a positive effect and to make their discourse gets smoothly and one of the ways and strategies politicians use in order to realize what they want according to their message is political EUPH(s), they help them more in hiding some of the offensive words which may cause harm on the receivers in a way or another. So, the use of different political euphemisms would beautify the political language and minimize the harshness of the original meaning by replacing it by another word or expression to hide that harsh meaning which may cause harm for them.

The present study attempted to shed light on the various uses of political euphemisms and how the translators undertaken the process of rendering some of the political EUPH(s) into Arabic basing the work on some of the political articles taken from different sources with the provided translation of each English article.

The study is divided into three chapters in which we find the first chapter that is intended to discuss the different definitions of translation, culture and cultural translation. Then, it gave a clarification for the process of translation, methods of translation, strategies of translation and by the end problems of translation. Also for the second chapter, it was devoted firstly to give a detailed definition for the concept of euphemism and a clarification of euphemisms in both English and Arabic. Then, it dealt with the different function of EUPH(s) and its categories, classifications and the formation of euphemistic words or expressions with reference to Warren's modal which best clarifies the various strategy types

to create or form a euphemism. Finally, it provided a clear discussion on political EUPH(s) in the political language.

Moving to the last chapter that was the practical part of the study in which we find a deep analysis for the political euphemisms under investigation in order to come out with the attended results that are discussed after the founding results from the study. The results revealed that political euphemisms play a pivotal role in the delivering of messages which help more politicians and specialists of the field in making the language appear soften and the main concern of applying such words or expressions is to keep their public image beautiful, because when using euphemistic word the user appear more polite by which receiver will understand that the speaker or the writer is showing some sort of solidarity by hiding the harsh reality of some words. After the analysis of the euphemistic words there was an application of Warren's modal on the EUPH(s) so that to deduce which strategy used to create a given political euphemism then providing the translation of each EUPH(s) into Arabic and to indicate as well the type of translation strategy used in rendering those words or expressions.

In conclusion, this study attempted to give a new image on the use of euphemisms in relation to the field of politics since it is a more sensitive subject which needs to put more attention on the used language when delivering a given message to the public. Politicians are aware of their need of applying euphemistic words or expressions to preserve their face and to reach the attended effect on the receivers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Wednesday, May 19, 2010

Obama, Bush and terror

President Barack Obama took office 16 months ago with a clear anti-terror mission: Don't be Bush. Obama generally avoided the George W. Bush term "**global war on terror.**" Team Obama preferred "**overseas contingency operation.**"

But after two failed attacks on America, and an ill-conceived attempt at a terror show trial near ground zero in Manhattan, the Obama administration is embracing many Bushian anti-terror stances as its own. A White House faced with the same threats the Bush administration faced has matured into what must be a sobering realization: Protecting America's national security demands sterner stuff than Obama & Co. realized when they were critics on the outside, looking in. Five examples:

Early this year, Obama extended three key provisions of the Bush anti-terror centerpiece, the Patriot Act. One provision authorized "roving wiretaps" of suspects who switch cell phones to elude detection; another allowed federal agents to subpoena data such as library records.

Obama has continued the Bush practice known as **rendition**, sending terrorism suspects to third countries for detention and interrogation. Even though Obama had strongly suggested he would end the practice, he settled for better monitoring of the treatment of prisoners sent to other countries to ensure they weren't tortured.

Obama was forced to reverse Attorney General Eric Holder's decision to try accused 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in a Manhattan federal court. Holder had portrayed his decision as moral and legal: The Obama administration would set itself apart from its predecessor by showing its commitment to the rule of law. But Holder's call proved to be a boneheaded idea because of onerous security problems and costs posed by the location.

The Obama administration has found itself in court defending terror-related presidential powers

asserted by the Bush administration. On warrantless surveillance, for instance, Obama officials tried and failed to halt a lawsuit charging that Bush broke the law when he authorized warrantless spying on terrorism suspects. Obama officials argued, as Bush had, that the presidential "state secrets privilege" trumped federal law in national security matters.

On questioning terror suspects, the administration now is backing off its by-the-book instinct to quickly charge terrorists and let them lawyer up, as it did with the Nigerian suspect in the attempted Christmas Day bombing of a Detroit-bound airliner. The suspect, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, was grilled for a scant 50 minutes before being advised of his right to keep silent - which he then did. On Sunday, Holder said the administration would seek a new law allowing investigators to interrogate terror suspects without first informing them of their rights. Good move.

Obama administration officials have had the luxury of two dry runs — two failed terror assaults in five months: the Christmas Day airplane incident and the May 1 attempted car bomb attack in Times Square by Faisal Shahzad, a naturalized American citizen from Pakistan. Now it appears he had help in this country. On Thursday, federal agents arrested three Pakistani men suspected of providing Shahzad money.

These failed assaults have raised significant new questions about our preparedness. So it was encouraging to hear a different tone from Holder on Sunday. The attorney general now - finally - acknowledges that the U.S. faces a relentless enemy who doesn't play by the book.

Holder said the administration would seek legislation giving interrogators wider latitude in questioning terror suspects without advising them of their rights. That would be an exception to the Miranda rule, which says suspects must be warned of their rights to remain silent and to consult a lawyer.

He said he'd work to "come up with a proposal that is both constitutional but that is also relevant to our time and the threat that we now face."

The threat that we now face. Holder is speaking from recent experience, from the dangerous gaps exposed

الآخر للوكالات الفيدرالية ان تطلب احضار بيانات مثل سجلات المكتبات العامة.

by these two failed terror attacks. His words reflect urgency. Holder and Obama can't politely ask the Pakistani Taliban, linked to the Times Square attack, to please postpone its next terror plot against America for a few months, to give Congress time to grapple with a new Miranda exemption.

وبالمثل، واصل اوباما احدى ممارسات بوش المعروفة **بالانطاة** rendition، وهو ارسال الارهابيين المشتبهين الى بلدان ثالثة واناطة امور الاعتقال والتحقيق معهم بذمة تلك الدول. وعلى الرغم من اعلان اوباما وتشديده على انتهاء هذه الممارسة، فقد انتهى الى الموافقة عليها بشرط ان يحصل السجناء المرسلون الى تلك البلدان على معاملة افضل، لضمان عدم تعرضهم الى التعذيب.

Or to hold off for the years it could take for new interrogation laws to be deemed constitutional or not by the courts.

وأجبر اوباما على رفض قرار المدعي العام، ايرك هولدر، القاضي بمحاكمة خالد شيخ محمد، المتهم بانه العقل المدير لإحداث الحادي عشر من ايلول، في محكمة مانهاتن الفيدرالية. وكان هولدر قد أطر قراره على انه اخلاقي وقانوني: سوف تتأى ادارة اوباما بنفسها عن سلفها عن طريق اظهار التزامها بتطبيق القانون. لكن ثبت ان دعوة هولدر ليست الا فكرة بليدة بسبب المصاعب الامنية الجمة والكلفة المالية الضخمة التي تتطلبها اجراء المحاكمة في ذلك الموقع.

Or to wait while officials thrash through changes on military tribunals or rendition or other issues.

The first priority when an attack is thwarted is to gain intelligence about imminent threats, to learn who trained and sent the suspect. That trumps the need to treat terror suspects as potential criminal defendants — that is, to observe all the legal procedures necessary to win a future conviction in federal court.

ووجدت ادارة اوباما نفسها في المحكمة تدافع عن الصلاحيات الرئاسية المتعلقة بالارهاب، والتي كانت ادارة بوش قد فرضتها. ففي قضية الرقابة الغير مصرح بها، على سبيل المثال، حاول المسؤولون في ادارة اوباما دون جدوى إيقاف دعوى قانونية تتعبر ان بوش قد خرق القانون حينما اجاز التجسس على المشتبهين بالارهاب بدون الحصول على تحويل قضائي. وجدال مسؤولو ادارة اوباما، كما فعل بوش، بان "الصلاحيات الرئاسية المتعلقة باسرار الدولة" تتفوق على القانون الفيدرالي فيما يخص شؤون الامن القومي.

The Obama administration lives with the same reality the Bush White House did: The next attack may come today, tomorrow or next year. But it will come.

وعندما تعلق الامر باستجواب المشتبهين بالارهاب فان الادارة بدأت بالتراجع عن اصرارها على اتخاذ الاجراءات القانونية حسب القواعد النافذة بحيث صارت توجه التهم الى الارهابيين بسرعة قبل ان تنتج لهم بحث الامر مع محامهم، كما حدث مع المشتبه النايجيري في تهمة محاولة تفجير الطائرة المتجهة الى ديترويت يوم عيد الميلاد. فقد تم اجراء تحقيق مكثف مع المشتبه به، عمر فاروق عبد المطلب، لمدة خمسين دقيقة قبل ان يتلى عليه حقه في التزام الصمت، وهو ما قام به لاحقا. وقد صرح هولدر، يوم الاحد، ان الادارة تسعى الى اصدار قانون جديد يتيح للمحققين ان يجروا تحقيقاتهم مع المشتبهين بالارهاب حتى قبل ان تتلى عليهم حقوقهم. يالها من خطوة موفقة.

The Arabic Translation

اوباما وبوش والحرب على الارهاب

عن: شيكاغو تريبيون

ترجمة: علاء غزالة

تسبم الرئيس اوباما منصبه قبل ستة عشر شهرا حاملا مهمة واضحة لمكافحة الارهاب: لا تكن مثل بوش. كما تجنب اوباما -عموما- استخدام مصطلح جورج دبليو بوش القائل "الحرب العالمية على الارهاب". فقد فضل فريق اوباما استخدام مصطلح يقول: "عمليات مكافحة التمرد خارج الولايات المتحدة".

لقد حظيت ادارة اوباما بنعمة فشل محاولتين ارهابيتين في مدى خمسة اشهر: حادثة طائرة يوم عيد الميلاد ومحاولة يوم الاول من ايار في ساحة تايمز سكوير التي قام بها فيصل شهيد، المواطن الباكستاني الاصل والحاصل على الجنسية الاميركية. ويبدو الان انه قد حصل على المساعدة من داخل هذه البلاد (اميركا). ففي يوم الثلاثاء القى العملاء الفيدراليون القبض على ثلاثة رجال باكستانيين يشتبه بتقديمهم الاموال الى شهيد.

لكن بعد ان وقعت هجمتين فاشلتين على اميركا، والمحاولة غير المتقنة لنشر الرعب قرب غراوند زيرو (أي المنطقة صفر) في منهاتن (وهي التي وقعت فيها هجمات الحادي عشر من ايلول)، فقد اخذت ادارة اوباما بتبني العديد من المواقف التي كانت تنسب الى بوش على انها موقفها الذاتي. فالبيت الابيض الذي واجه نفس التهديدات التي واجهت ادارة بوش قد نضج الى ادراك الحقيقة الواقعة: ان حماية الامن القومي الاميركي يتطلب اجراءات اكثر شدة مما كان اوباما وشركاه يعتقدون عندما كانوا مجرد منتقدين من الخارج، يتفرجون على ما يجري. واليك خمسة امثلة:

طرحت هذه المحاولات الفاشلة اسئلة مهمة جديدة حول الاستحضارات الامنية. لذا فانه لامر مشجع ان نسمع نبيرة مختلفة من هولدر يوم الاحد. اخيرا، اعترف المدعي العام ان الولايات المتحدة تواجه عدوا لا يلعب حسب القواعد المكتوبة.

مدد اوباما، في وقت سابق من هذا العام، فترة نفاذ ثلاثة قوانين رئيسية تعتبر في صلب سياسة بوش لمكافحة الارهاب، والتي يطلق عليها (قانون الوطنية). احد هذه القوانين يجيز "التنصت المتنقل" على المشتبه بهم الذين يستبدلون اجهزتهم الخليوية للتصوير، بينما يسمح

وأكد هولدر الى ان الادارة سوف تسعى الى منح المحققين مساحة اوسع في استجواب المشتبهين بالارهاب بدون قراءة حقوقهم عليهم. هذا الامر سوف يكون استثناء من قاعدة ميراندا، والتي تنص على وجوب اعلام المشتبه به بحقه في التزام الصمت واستشارة المحامين.

وقال انه سوف يعمل على "ان يقدم مقترحاً يتوافق مع الدستور ويكون مع ذلك مناسباً لعصرنا الراهن والتهديدات التي نواجهها الآن".

(التهديدات التي نواجهها الآن). يتحدث هولدر من الخبرة الراهنة، من الثغرات الامنية التي فضحتها المحاولتين الارهابيتين الفاشلتين. تعكس كلماته الحاجة الملحة. لا يستطيع هولدر واوباما ان يسألا بأدب طالبان في الباكستان، وهي الحركة المرتبطة بهجمة تايمز سكوير، ان تتفضل عليهما بتأجيل الهجمة الارهابية التالية على الولايات المتحدة لبضعة شهور، حتى يتسنى للكونغرس ان يتنازع حول الاستثناء الجديد من قاعدة ميراندا. او ان يطلبوا منها ان تمتنع عن القيام بالهجمات لمدة عام قبل ان تفصل المحاكم المختصة بدستورية او عدم دستورية قوانين التحقيق الجديدة. او ان تنتظر طالبان (حتى يتم استجواب المسؤولين حول المحاكم العسكرية، او الاناطة، او غيرها من القضايا).

ان اولى الاولويات بعد ابطال هجمة ما هي جمع المعلومات الاستخبارية حول التهديد المحقق، والتعرف على كيفية تدريب وارسل المشتبه به. هذا الامر يطغى على الحاجة الى معاملة المشتبهين بالارهاب على انهم مجرمين عاديين، ويعني هذا مراجعة جميع الاجراءات القانونية الضرورية للحصول على الادانة مستقبلاً في المحاكم الفيدرالية. تعيش ادارة اوباما نفس الواقع الذي عاشه البيت الابيض في فترة حكم بوش: الهجمة التالية قد تحصل هذا اليوم او غداً او في العام القادم. لكنها آتية لامحالة.

Appendix 2

Wednesday, March 03, 2010

Taliban defectors accept U.S. approach but wait for promises to be kept

Washington Post Foreign Service

HERAT, AFGHANISTAN -- As the Taliban commander in the Pusht-e-Zargon district of western Afghanistan, Abdul Wahab considered himself the law. A stolen sheep? He would choose the thief's punishment: often a gunshot to the forearm or calf muscle. He was careful to avoid the bone.

When salaries arrived from the Taliban leadership in Pakistan -- \$100 a month per man -- he doled them out. Thirty fighters moved at his command. "If I asked them to jump in a river and drown, they would," he said.

Power and respect, this is what the Taliban meant for Wahab. A government job and protection from U.S. raids are what he thought he was getting when he agreed to lay down his weapons in November.

The United States, along with its NATO and Afghan allies, is trying to "reintegrate" militants like Wahab, offering them jobs on the assumption that they would rather earn a salary than spend their days

fighting. The effort is a central pillar of the Obama administration's Afghan war strategy.

Taliban leaders scoff at that notion, saying their loyalists are waging a determined holy war against the infidel armies of the West and can't be bought off.

Interviews with Wahab and other fighters who recently left the Taliban as part of an Afghan government effort to lure them from the battlefield suggest that in many cases, U.S. policymakers may be on to something. Several ex-fighters said they joined the Taliban not out of religious zealotry but for far more mundane reasons: anger at the government in Kabul, revenge for losing a government job, pressure from family or tribe members -- or simply because they were broke.

"Nobody goes to the other side for fun," Wahab said. "There must be a pain in your heart."

In the complex world of Afghan loyalties, some had fought both for and against the Taliban. The most fearsome Taliban commander in Herat, killed by a U.S. airstrike in October, used to be the mayor.

The diverse strands of the insurgency make it difficult to generalize about the motives of fighters across the country. Insurgents in Herat probably differ from those elsewhere, particularly in southern Afghanistan, where Taliban leader Mohammad Omar's original following was born. But at least in this strategically important city on Afghanistan's western frontier, there's evidence of a deep pragmatism when it's time to choose sides.

"The Taliban here are not ideological," said Delawar Shah Delawar, Herat's deputy police chief. "These people have lost something. They feel ashamed that they have no cars, no bodyguards. How can they face people when they walk in the streets?"

Nobody fit this description better than Ghulam Yahya Akbari, who served as Herat's mayor in the early 1990s after the Soviet withdrawal. Back then, he was a staunch opponent of the Taliban, and he fled to Iran when the group came to power. After the U.S.-led invasion, he came back to run Herat's Department of Public Works and helped develop one of Afghanistan's most modern cities. But after a dispute with the previous governor, Akbari was fired in 2006.

"Ghulam Yahya was a good man. Anyone you ask will tell you," said Ahmad Yousaf Nuristani, the governor of Herat. "Most people say he was forced by the government to adopt this position. Maybe he had no choice."

Following his firing, Akbari retreated to the picturesque orchards of his home village of Siyawooshan and recruited an army. Even though he was Tajik, he aligned with the Pashtun-dominated Taliban, which sent money, weapons and a half-dozen explosives experts from Pakistan and Iran to train his followers, police officials said.

His fighters grew into Herat's most feared militia. They periodically launched rockets at the Herat airport, the United Nations compound or the American military base, including one that pierced the barracks, according to U.S. and Afghan officials. The fighters severed opponents' heads and financed themselves by demanding ransom from kidnapped businessmen.

"Bad people got along with him. Killers, kidnapers, their safe haven was with Ghulam Yahya," said Maj. Mohammad Rahim Panjshiry, director of counterterrorism in the Herat police department. "He started with five or six people and eventually had 300 to 400 people."

On Oct. 8, a U.S. airstrike killed Akbari and 22 of his fighters as they camped in a tent in Siyawooshan. He was buried next to a mosque he had built. A procession of thousands mourned his passing. For Herat, Akbari's death "was the biggest security event in a couple of years," one U.S. official said.

One of Akbari's subordinates was Sharif, a wheat farmer from the village of Adraskan. He had viewed the government as his enemy after his well ran dry. Elsewhere, the government helped maintain the irrigation system, he said, but his village saw no help. "Since the government has been established, it hasn't done anything for us. Nobody paid attention. Nobody came to see what our problems were," he said. "The farming stopped, so I decided to join the Taliban."

Another militia leader, Suleiman Amiri, fired from his job as a battalion commander in the Afghan army, took to the mountains in a government-owned Ford Ranger and amassed a militia.

"I wanted people to respect me. I wanted to have an honored life in this province," Amiri said. "Why isn't the government asking me for help? Why aren't the Americans asking me? Right now, if I ordered 50,000 families to die, they will die, or to live, they will live. They are under my command. Whatever I want I can do, but nobody is asking my opinion."

After Akbari's death and a purging of several top police and intelligence officials, the insurgency began to fray. Nearly 300 fighters surrendered to the provincial government, many drawn in by incentives offered by the local reconciliation office.

All of the former fighters interviewed said they were promised jobs if they gave up the fight, but for the past four months, the government has honored none of these commitments. Among the aid available are some food rations and the limited supply of USAID-funded "winterization kits" -- sacks of blankets and coal.

Many former fighters have taken up residence in downtown Herat, afraid enough of Taliban reprisals that they do not return to their villages. They idle away the days debating whether to return to the insurgency, as some already have.

Amiri, the former militia commander, has been offered a position as a district police chief, but the approval from Kabul has not come. He shares a house with dozens of his men who have no work and grow more anxious by the day. "I pay for 80 people out of my own pocket," he said.

For now, he is prepared to wait. "We will not leave the government until they say, 'We have nothing for you,'" he said. "If I have no choice, I have to become a Talib."

The prospects for Wahab, the former Taliban district commander who joined the insurgency after being fired from his job as a major in the police department, look no better. He rents a decrepit mud hut in a slum on the outskirts of Herat. On rainy days, the dirt floors turn to mud; on cold ones, to frozen earth. He must borrow money to medicate his five sniffing children. He can rarely offer hot food to his guests.

For the first three weeks after he left the insurgency in November, the Taliban's "shadow governor" in Herat called Wahab on his cellphone. He was a traitor, an infidel, no different from an American

soldier, he was told: "As we kill them, we will kill you."

As a fighter for most of his life, Wahab does not feel qualified for a civilian job, but the Afghan security forces have offered him nothing. He refuses to go back to farming in his village of Salimi, unwilling to endure the jeers of his neighbors for falling so low. He might leave Afghanistan.

In the complex calculus of Afghan politics, he is one of many who have fought both against and with the Taliban. At least as a Taliban leader, he had respect. Now, he said, "we have nothing."

The Arabic Translation

المنشوقون عن طالبان يستسلمون شرط تنفيذ الوعود الحكومية

عن: واشنطن بوست

ترجمة: علاء غزالة

هيرات، افغانستان – مرّ زمن اعتبر فيه عبد الوهاب، زعيم طالبان في مقاطعة بشتي زركون غربي افغانستان، نفسه مجسدا للقانون. نعمة مسروقة؟ سوف يختار عقوبة السارق: عادة اطلاق نارية على يده او عضلة ساقه. وكان متأنيا في ذلك لتلافي اصابة العظم.

عندما وصلت الرواتب من قيادة طالبان في الباكستان، وهي مبلغ مئة دولار لكل رجل، قام بتوزيعها بينهم. ويأتمر بامرهم خمس وثلاثون رجلا. يقول: "ان سألته ان يلقوا بانفسهم الى النهر فيغرقوا فيه، فسوف يقومون بذلك".

السلطة والاحترام، هذا هو معنى طالبان لدى عبد الوهاب. حينما وافق على القاء السلاح في شهر تشرين الثاني، كان ذلك باعتقاد انه سيحصل بالمقابل على وظيفة حكومية، وحماية من الغارات الاميركية.

تحاول الولايات المتحدة، بالتعاون مع شركائها حلف في الناتو وحلفائها الافغان، ان "تعيد دمج" رجال الميليشيا امثال عبد الوهاب، من خلال تقديم الوظائف لهم على افتراض انهم يفضلون الحصول على الراتب بدلا من امضاء وقتهم في القتال. هذه الجهود هي الدعامة المركزية في استراتيجية ادارة اوباما في افغانستان.

غير ان قادة طالبان يسخرون من هذه التلة، قائلين ان اولياءهم يشنون حربا مقدسة، بكل عزم واصرار، ضد جيوش الكفار ضد الغرب، ولا يمكن شراؤهم.

تبين المقابلات التي اجريت مع عبد الوهاب والمقاتلين الاخرين، الذين تركوا طالبان مؤخرا كجزء من جهود الحكومة الافغانية لابعادهم عن سوح القتال، انه في الكثير من الحالات فان صانعي السياسة الاميركية ربما يكونون عازمين على امر ما. فالعديد من المقاتلين السابقين يقولون انهم التحقوا بطالبان لا عن تشدد في دينهم، بل لاسباب دنيوية بحتة: الغضب على الحكومة في كابول، الانتقام لخسارة الوظائف الحكومية، الضغط من افراد العائلة، او لانهم ببساطة مقلدون. يقول عبد الوهاب: "لا احد يذهب الى الجهة الاخرى من اجل التسليحة. لا بد ان يكون هناك الم في قلبك".

قاتل البعض مع وضد طالبان، ضمن تعقيدات عالم الولاءات الافغانية. وكان القائد الاكثر هيبة في هيرات، الذي قتل في قصف جوي اميركي، هو عمدة المدينة.

ان تنوع تكتلات التمرد يجعل من الصعب تعميم دوافع المقاتلين عبر البلاد. فالتمرد في هيرات ربما يختلفون عن نظرائهم في اماكن اخرى، خصوصا في جنوبي افغانستان، حيث ولد الاتباع الاصليون لقائد طالبان، محمد عمر. لكن في تلك المدينة المهمة ستراتيغيا الكائنة في الجهة الغربية من الجبهة الافغانية، في الاقل، هناك براغماتية عيقة عندما يحين الوقت لاتخاذ جانب ما.

يقول ديلاور شاه ديلاور، معاون قائد شرطة هيرات: "عناصر طالبان ليسوا ايدولوجيين. هؤلاء النفر فقدوا شيئا، انهم يشعرون بالخجل لعدم امتلاكهم سيارة او حراس شخصيين. كيف لهم ان يواجهوا الناس حينما يمشون في الطرقات؟"

لا يناسب هذا الوصف احد اكثر من غلام يحيى اكبري، الذي سبق وان عمل عمدة لهيرات في اوائل التسعينيات بعد الانسحاب السوفيتي. وكان في ذلك الوقت معارضا عنيدا لطالبان، ومن ثم هرب الى ايران عندما استولت تلك الحركة على مقاليد السلطة. وبعد الغزو الذي قادهه الولايات، عاد ليصبح مدير الاشغال العامة في هيرات وساعد على تطوير اكثر مدن افغانستان تمدنا. ولكنه فصل من وظيفته بعد خلافات مع المحافظ السابق في العام 2006.

يقول احمد يوسف نورستاني، محافظ هيرات: "لقد كان غلام يحيى رجلا طيبا. اذا سألت اي احد فسوف يقول لك هذا. يقول معظم الناس ان الحكومة اجبرته على تبني هذا الموقف. ربما لم يكن امامه من سبيل".

وبعد طرده من الوظيفة، عاد الى قريته الام التي تدعى سيابوشان، والتي تقع وسط بساتين نظرة تخب الالباب، وقام بتجنيد جيشه الخاص. ورغم انه طاجيكي، الا انه ائتلف مع حركة طالبان التي يهيمن عليها البشتون، والتي ارسلت المال والاسلحة وستة من خبراء المتفجرات من الباكستان وايران لتدريب اتباعه، حسبما افاد ضباط الشرطة.

تنامت سطوة مقاتليه في هيرات حتى صارت الميليشيا الاكثر رعبا. وقاموا باطلاق الصواريخ، بانتظام، على مطار هيرات، ومقر الامم المتحدة، والقاعدة العسكرية للقوات الاميركية، حتى ان المسؤولين الاميركيين والافغان يقولون ان احدها تمكن من اختراق التحصينات الاميركية. وقام المقاتلون بقطع رؤوس معارضيتهم، ومولوا انفسهم من خلال الفدية التي يحصلون عليها من خطف رجال الاعمال.

يقول الرائد محمد رحيم بانجشير، مدير مكافحة الارهاب في شرطة هيرات: "انضم اليه سفلة الناس. اتخذ القتل والخاطفون ملاذا منا لدى غلام يحيى. وكان قد بدأ مجموعته بخمس او ست من الاتباع، حتى صار لديه ثلاثمئة او اربعمئة شخص".

وفي الثامن من تشرين الاول أدت غارة شنتها الطائرات الاميركية الى مقتل اكبري واثنين وعشرين من مقاتليه الذين عسكروا بمخيم في سيابوشان. ودُفن بالقرب من المسجد الذي كان بناه، كما حضر ماتمه الالاف من الناس. يقول احد الضباط الاميركيين ان موت اكبري في هيرات هو "اكبر حدث امني في العامين الماضيين".

يبرز من بين مساعدي اكبري شخص يدعى شريف، وهو مزارع من قرية ادرسكان. وبدأ في اتخاذ الحكومة عدوا له بعد ان نفذ ماء بئر. يقول ان الحكومة ساعدت في صيانة انظمة الري في اماكن اخرى،

لكن لم يساعد احد قريبته. وبضيف: "لم تقدم لنا الحكومة اي شيء منذ ان تأسست. لم يعرنا احد أية أهمية. لم يأت احد للوقوف على مشاكلنا. لقد توقفت الزراعة، لذا قررت ان التحق بطالبان."

ومن بين قادة المليشيا الاخرين شخص اسمه سليمان عامري، وهو قائد كتيبة في الجيش الافغاني طرد من الخدمة، ومن ثم هرب الى الجبال مستعملا عجلة حكومية نوع فورد رانجر وبدأ في تشكيل مليشيا الخاصة.

يقول عامري: "اردت ان اكسب احترام الناس، اردت ان تكون لي حياة كريمة في هذه المحافظة. لماذا لم تسألني الحكومة لمساعدتها؟ ولماذا لم يسألني الاميركيون؟ ان اعطيت اوامري، في هذه اللحظة يموت خمسين الف عائلة، فانهم سيموتون، او ان شئت احبيهم، فسوف يعيشون. انهم تحت قيادتي. استطع ان افعل ما اشاء، ولكن لا احد يأخذ رأبي."

بعد موت اكبري، وازالة بعض من كبار ضباط الشرطة والاستخبارات (الافغانية)، بدأ التمرد بالتفكك. فقد سلم حوالي ثلاثمائة من المقاتلين انفسهم الى الحكومة المحلية، حيث طمخ الكثير منهم لنيل الحوافز التي عرضها مكتب المصالحة المحلي.

وقال جميع المقاتلين السابقين الذين تم استطلاعهم انهم وعدوا بمنحهم وظائف اذا تخلوا عن القتال، لكن الحكومة لم تف بعهده الالتزامات على مدى الشهر الاربعه الماضية. غير انهم حصلوا على بعض المساعدات من بينها بعض المواد الغذائية وتجهيزات محدودة من الوكالة الدولية للتنمية الدولية (وهي وكالة اميركية تابعة لوزارة الخارجية) يطلق عليها "عدة الشتاء"، هي عبارة عن حقائب تحتوي على بطانيات وفحم.

واتخذ العديد من المقاتلين السابقين من مركز مدينة هيرات مسكنا لهم خوفا من انتقام طالبان اذا عادوا الى قراهم الاصلية. وهم يمضون اياما في الجدل فيما اذا كان عليهم العودة الى طالبان، كما قام بذلك بعضهم بالفعل.

وعرض على عامري، قائد المليشيا السابق، منصب قائد شرطة المقاطعة، لكن لم تأت الموافقة على ذلك من كابول بعد. وهو يشاطر السكن مع العشرات من رجاله الذين ليس لديهم عمل ويتزايد قلقهم كل يوم. يقول: "انا ادفع رواتب لثمانين شخصا من جببي الخاص." وهو مستعد للانتظار حاليا، ويقول: "سوف لن نترك الحكومة حتى تقول لنا: (لا شيء لكم عندنا). ان لم يكن لدي خيار فسيتوجب علي ان اكون عنصرا في طالبان."

لا تبدو الامور افضل من منظور عبد الوهاب، قائد طالبان المحلي السابق الذي التحق بالتمرد بعد ان طرد من وظيفته كراند في الشرطة. وهو يستأجر غرفة طينية متهالكة في حي فقير بضواحي هيرات. تتحول الارضية الترابية في الايام المطيرة الى وحل، وفي الايام الباردة تتجمد الارض. ويتوجب عليه ان يقترض المال لشراء الدواء لاولاده الخمسة المرضى. وهو نادرا ما يكون قادرا على تقديم وجبة طعام ساخنة لضيوفه.

اتصلت "حكومة الظل" في هيرات التابعة لطالبان بوهاب في الاسابيع الثلاثة التي تلت تخليه عن التمرد على هاتفه الخليوي. وقيل له انه خائن وكافر ولا يفترق عن الجندي الاميركي، كما اخبروه: "سوف نقتلك كما نقتلهم."

لا يعتقد عبد الوهاب انه مؤهل لوظيفة مدنية، وهو الذي قاتل معظم حياته، لكن القوات الامنية الافغانية لم تعرض عليه اي شيء. وهو

يرفض ان يعود ادراجه للزراعة في قريته، ساليمة، كما انه غير قادر على تحمل سخرية جيرانه لسقوطه الى الحضيض. بل انه قد يغادر افغانستان.

في حسابات السياسة الافغانية المعقدة، عبد الوهاب هو من بين الكثيرين الذين قاتلوا مع وضد طالبات. ولكنه، في الاقل، كان يحظى بالاحترام عندما كان قائدا لدى طالبان. اما الان فهو يقول: "ليس لدينا شيء."

Appendix 3

Syria between two massacres: Hama's memory endures

Wadah Khanfar

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While Russia and China were using their veto to abort a UN security council resolution against the Syrian regime, the news of a massacre in Homs came thick and fast. In an unprecedented escalation, the Syrian regime sought to exploit the international hesitancy to have a **bloody showdown** with its opposition.

This came after Syrians had observed for the first time in 30 years the anniversary of the massacre carried out in Hama in February 1982. It is regarded as one of the most gruesome events in Syria's modern history. On that occasion, former president Hafiz al-Assad decimated most of the city of Hama with aerial bombings and tanks. About 30,000 inhabitants perished, while a similar number were detained, tortured and many killed in prisons. All this occurred in the shadow of the cold war and with the cover of the Soviet Union, which was then allied to Hafiz al-Assad's regime.

Last Friday, Syrian protesters rallied under the slogan "forgive us Hama, we apologize"; a clear reference to the abject silence that has overshadowed that massacre throughout the last three decades. Although Hama was an ever-present bleeding wound in the Syrian popular conscience, and a humiliating disgrace that shook their souls, people were prohibited from remembering or mentioning it throughout the entire period of Hafiz al-Assad's rule. When his son assumed power in 2000, many were optimistic that he would at least give some consideration to the victims or reveal the fate of the thousands who were **swallowed up** in the prisons. But the young president chose to follow in his

father's footsteps; he perpetrated another massacre in Hama and many others in Homs and other Syrian cities and towns. However, this time Bashar al-Assad has miscalculated. The Syrian revolution, which has so far sacrificed more than 7,000 dead, will not end unless the regime is overthrown.

Hafiz al-Assad's regime managed to get away with the massacre of Hama in 1982 because of the international silence dictated by the balance of forces during the cold war and a media blackout, which denied the victims a voice and prevented them from presenting the images of their calamity. It is true that the regional and international balance of power continues to play a negative role in ending the suffering of the Syrian people. But the Syrians – as other Arab people in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen – have now become the most important actors in the flow of events. This would enable them to overcome all external factors in their quest for freedom from tyranny and repression. Regional and international hesitancy in dealing with Syria stems from two main factors. The first relates to the regional balance of power and what would happen if the regime collapsed. The second is linked to the alternatives that would replace the Ba'ath regime.

On a regional level, Syria represents the cornerstone of a strategic axis that extends from Tehran through Baghdad to Damascus and ends in Beirut. A change of regime in Syria would result in a fundamental change in this regional political configuration and alliances. In such a scenario, Iran would lose an important ally, which would affect its influence in Lebanon and Iraq. Therefore, Iran has a strong interest in defending the Syrian regime until the bitter end. As for the possible alternatives to the regime, this is another problem confronting **the main players** in the region. Despite the theoretical state of "war" between Israel and Syria, the Assad regime has maintained quiet borders with Israel since 1967. Israel would face a new situation with unpredictable consequences if the Ba'ath regime collapsed, similar to the new relationship it faces with Egypt.

Analysts and politicians share a number of concerns about change in Syria; most importantly, the security of the religious minorities should the Sunnis become the majority in the new regime. What would this mean for the Alawites, Druze and Christians? Others have raised the issue of Syria's territorial integrity if a civil war erupts. Still, others highlight the

organizational weakness of the Syrian opposition and question whether the Syrian National Council is capable of representing the Syrian masses and speaking on their behalf. All these fears seem legitimate on the surface, except that they ignore an important truth, which is that the Syrian street is astute and its revolution is well aware of the dangers that surround it. They are very careful not to fall foul of these. A close examination of the popular action in recent months shows that the street has succeeded to largely neutralize the **specter** of sectarianism and the militarization of their revolution.

The Syrian popular consciousness has been able to protect the revolution from the **virus** of sectarianism and ethnicity by preserving its national character. From day one, the ranks of the opposition included Alawites, Christians, Druze and Sunni Arabs and Kurds. They all stood as one front, demanding freedom and dignity. Despite severe **repression**, the revolution managed to preserve its predominantly peaceful nature except in the context of defending civilians; this is a role now mainly carried out by the Free Syrian Army. This army consists of individuals and experienced officers who defected from the regime's army. They resolutely preserve the national discourse, and have not resorted to sectarian rhetoric. The Syrian street knows that the language of sectarianism will only serve the interest of the regime and it will divert the revolution from the path of democracy to that of an internal conflict that would end all hopes of living in freedom and dignity.

As for the supposed weakness and organizational ability of the Syrian opposition, there is in fact a huge capacity to organize and instill discipline. The people's co-ordinating committees administer to the people's needs efficiently. They communicate between themselves in all parts of Syria, assigning duties and dealing with logistics in a manner that is now much better than it was in the early days of the revolution. At the same time, the Syrian National Council has begun to organize its ranks abroad, agreeing on a political discourse that is more coherent and co-ordinated. True, the Syrian opposition is less well organized than their counterparts in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen because of the extreme brutality of the Syrian regime, but an acceptable measure of maturity and commitment has been achieved. The street, with its civil and political forces, is able to guide the process of transition to democracy with no less proficiency than

the other peoples in the region who have already got rid of their regimes. The demonstrations that Syria witnessed last Friday ("forgive us Hama, we apologize") show that the Syrian people have resolved to overthrow the regime. It is now for the international community, especially Russia and China, to ask for forgiveness from Hama, Homs, Idlib and the Syrian people. They should also make their choices, because this time the Syrian people have a voice, and it is being heard, with photos of their daily suffering being widely circulated, and memories that never die.

The Arabic Translation

سوريا بين مذبحتين: ذكرى حماة تتجدد

وضاح خنفر

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بينما كانت روسيا والصين تستخدمان حق النقض ضد مشروع قرار ضد النظام السوري كانت أخبار مجزرة جديدة في مدينة حمص تتوالى، في تصعيد غير مسبوق يستغل النظام السوري فيه التردد الدولي لحسم دموي ضد شعبه. يأتي ذلك بعد أن أحيى السوريون لأول مرة منذ ثلاثين عاما ذكرى مذبحه حماة فبراير (١٩٨٢) التي تعد أروع واقعة شهدها التاريخ السوري الحديث، دمر فيها نظام الرئيس السابق حافظ الأسد بالطائرات المقاتلة والذبايات معظم مدينة حماة، وقتل قرابة ثلاثين ألف من سكانها، بينما اعتقل وعذب وقتل في السجون قريبا من ذلك العدد، حدث ذلك في ظل توازنات الحرب الباردة وبغطاء من الاتحاد السوفياتي المتحالف مع نظام حافظ الأسد يومئذ. أطلق المحتجون السوريون على الجمعة الماضية (عذرا حماة سامحينا) في إشارة إلى الصمت المطبق الذي أحاط بتلك المجزرة خلال العقود الثلاثة الماضية، ومع أن حماة كانت حاضرة جرحا نازفا في الوجدان الشعبي السوري وشرخا غائرا في أعماق الذاكرة، وصمتا مهينا زلزل النفوس والضمان، إلا ان الناس كانوا ممنوعين من تذكرها أو التفوه بشيء عنها طوال حكم الأسد الأب، ولما تسلم الابن السلطة عام استتبشر البعض خيرا بأن بشار الأسد سيرد للضحايا بعض اعتبار أو يكشف للأبناء والزوجات عن مصير آلاف الذين ابتلعتهم سجون السلطة ولم يعرف شيء عنهم طوال تلك المدة، لكن الرئيس الشاب أثر أن يحمل أوزار أبيه، وأن يقنني به، فصنع هو الآخر حماة ثانية وحمصا أخرى، مستقيدا من تعقيدات المشهد الإقليمي والدولي، لكنه أخطأ الحساب هذه المرة، فتوراة الشارع السوري الذي قدم حتى الآن أكثر من ستة آلاف قتيل لن تتوقف قبل إسقاط النظام . استطاع نظام الأسد الأب أن يرتكب مجزرة حماة الأولى عام ١٩٨٢ بسبب الصمت الدولي الذي أملتته توازنات الحرب الباردة، وبسبب التعقيم الاعلامي الرهيب الذي رافق تدمير المنازل والمساجد والمدارس، تعقيم حرم الضحايا من أن يكون لهم صوت أو أن تتقل مأساتهم صورة. صحيح أن التوازنات الإقليمية والدولية لا تزال تلعب دورا سلبيا في إنهاء معاناة الشعب السوري، غير أن الشعب السوري اليوم، كما الشعوب العربية في تونس ومصر وليبيا واليمن، قد صار اللاعب الأهم في مسار الأحداث، وهو ما سيمكنه من تجاوز كل الحسابات والتوازنات الخارجية في سبيل الانعتاق من التسلط والقهر. التردد الاقليمي والدولي في التعامل مع سوريا يعود الى نوعين من

العوامل، الاولى متعلقة بتوازنات القوى الإقليمية فيما لو انهيار النظام بالكلية، والثانية متعلقة بالبدائل الذي سيخلف نظام حزب البعث، فعلى صعيد التوازنات الإقليمية تمثل سوريا حجر الزاوية في منظومة إستراتيجية تمتد من طهران إلى بغداد فدمشق ثم بيروت، وتغيير النظام السوري يعني تغييرا أساسيا في توازنات القوى الإقليمية، فايران ستخسر في تلك الحالة حليفا مهما، مما سيؤثر على نفوذها في العراق ولبنان، وبالتالي فايران معنية بالدفاع عن النظام السوري حتى النهاية، حماية لتواصل نفوذها جغرافيا واستراتيجيا. أما البديل فمشكلة أخرى تؤرق معظم اللاعبين الأساسيين في المنطقة، فرغم حالة (الحرب) النظرية بين اسرائيل وسوريا، إلا أن نظام الأسد حافظ على حدود هادئة مع اسرائيل منذ عام ١٩٦٧، وبالتالي فإن اسرائيل ستواجه حالة جديدة غير مضمونة التوقعات في حال انهيار حكم البعث، لا سيما وهي تواجه حالة شبيهة مع مصر. ويثير عدد من السياسيين والمحللين عددا من المخاوف حيال التغيير في سوريا، أهمها أمن الأقليات الدينية فيما إذا تأسس نظام تهيم عليه الأغلبية السنية، وانعكاس ذلك على مستقبل العلويين والمسيحيين والدروز، بينما يثير آخرون مستقبل وحدة التراث السوري فيما لو اندلعت حرب أهلية بين مكونات المجتمع السوري، ويبيد البعض مخاوف من ضعف البنى التنظيمية للمعارضة السورية وفيما إذا كان المجلس الوطني السوري قادرا لتمثيل الحراك الشعبي السوري والتحدث باسمه. كل هذه المخاوف قد تبدو مشروعة في ظاهرها، إلا أنها تغفل حقيقة مهمة وهي أن الشارع السوري ذكي وثورته مدركة للمخاوف التي تحف بها، متحرزة من الوقوع فيها، وأن نظرة متحفظة لمسار الفعل الشعبي خلال الشهور الماضية يدل على أن الشارع قد نجح بالفعل في تحييد شبح الطائفية واستبعاد عسكرة الثورة. استطاع الوعي الشعبي السوري خلال الشهور الماضية أن يحصن الثورة ضد الاحتقان الطائفي والإثني فنجحت الثورة في المحافظة على طابع وطني، وضمت صفوف المعارضة منذ اليوم الاول علويين ومسيحيين ودروزا وسنة عربا وأكرادا، وقفوا جميعا في جبهة واحدة مطالبين بالحرية والكرامة، ورغم البطش الشديد الذي مارسه النظام إلا أن الثورة حافظت على سلميتها، إلا في سياق الدفاع عن المدنيين وحمايتهم، وهي مهمة يقوم بها الجيش السوري الحر، ويتكون من أفراد وضباط محترفين انشقوا عن جيش النظام، وحرصوا هم أيضا على خطاب وطني غير طائفي، فالشارع السوري يعلم أن الخطاب الطائفي سيخدم النظام، وسيوجه ثورته المطالبة بالديمقراطية في اتجاه صراع داخلي يهدد المستقبل وينهي حلم الجماهير بحياة حرة كريمة. أما المخاوف من ضعف بنية المعارضة السورية فالواقع يدل على أن هناك قدرا كبيرا من التنظيم والانضباط قد تشكل بالفعل في الداخل، فلجان التنسيق الشعبي تدير الاحتجاجات بكفاءة وانضباط، وتتواصل فيما بينها في مختلف أنحاء سوريا، وتوزع مهام الدعم والمساندة بشكل أفضل بكثير مما كان عليه الحال في الأيام الأولى، في الوقت الذي بدأ المجلس الوطني الانتقالي ينظم هو الآخر صفوفه في الخارج، وينفق على خطاب سياسي أكثر تماسكا وانسجاما. صحيح أن المعارضة السورية أقل تنظيما من مثيلاتها في مصر وتونس واليمن بسبب شدة بطش النظام السوري، ولكن الواقع يثبت أن قدرا مقبولا من النضج والالتزام قد تحقق، وأن الشارع بقواه المدنية والسياسية قادر على إدارة الانتقال الى الديمقراطية بكفاءة لا تقل عن بقية الشعوب التي أطاحت بنظمها. المظاهرات التي شهدتها سوريا في جمعة (عذرا حماة سامحينا) تدل على أن الشعب السوري قد حسم خياراته باتجاه إسقاط النظام، وعلى المجتمع الدولي، لا سيما روسيا والصين، أن يطلب الصفح هو الآخر من حماة ومن حمص وإدلب ومن عموم الشعب السوري وأن يحسم خياراته، فلشعب هذه المرة صوت مسموع وصورة متداولة كما أن له ذاكرة لا تموت.

Appendix 3

War on Iran has already begun. Act before it threatens all of us

Seumas Milne

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They don't give up. After a decade of blood drenched failure in Afghanistan and Iraq, violent destabilization of Pakistan and Yemen, the devastation of Lebanon and slaughter in Libya, you might hope the US and its friends had had their fill of invasion and intervention in the Muslim world. It seems not. For months the evidence has been growing that a US-Israeli stealth war against Iran has already begun, backed by Britain and France. Covert support for armed opposition groups has spread into a campaign of assassinations of Iranian scientists, cyber warfare, attacks on military and missile installations, and the killing of an Iranian general, among others. The attacks are not directly acknowledged, but accompanied by intelligence-steered nods and winks as the media are fed a stream of hostile tales – the most outlandish so far being an alleged Iranian plot to kill the Saudi ambassador to the US – and the western powers ratchet up pressure for yet more sanctions over Iran's nuclear programme. The British government's decision to take the lead in imposing sanctions on all Iranian banks and pressing for an EU boycott of Iranian oil triggered the trashing of its embassy in Tehran by demonstrators last week and subsequent expulsion of Iranian diplomats from London.

It's a taste of how the conflict can quickly escalate, as was the downing of a US spyplane over Iranian territory at the weekend. What one Israeli official has called a "new kind of war" has the potential to become a much more old-fashioned one that would threaten us all. Last month the Guardian was told by British defense ministry officials that if the US brought forward plans to attack Iran (as they believed it might), it would "seek, and receive, UK military help", including sea and air support and

permission to use the ethnically cleansed British island colony of Diego Garcia.

Whether the officials' motive was to soften up public opinion for war or warn against it, this was an extraordinary admission: the Britain military establishment fully expects to take part in an unprovoked US attack on Iran – just as it did against Iraq eight years ago. What was dismissed by the former foreign secretary Jack Straw as "unthinkable", and for David Cameron became an option not to be taken "off the table", now turns out to be as good as a done deal if the US decides to launch a war that no one can seriously doubt would have disastrous consequences. But there has been no debate in parliament and no mainstream political challenge to what Straw's successor, David Miliband, this week called the danger of "sleepwalking into a war with Iran". That's all the more shocking because the case against Iran is so spectacularly flimsy. There is in fact no reliable evidence that Iran is engaged in a nuclear weapons programme. The latest International Atomic Energy Agency report once again failed to produce a smoking gun, despite the best efforts of its new director general, Yukiya Amano – described in a WikiLeaks cable as "solidly in the US court on every strategic decision".

As in the runup to the invasion of Iraq, the strongest allegations are based on "secret intelligence" from western governments. But even the US national intelligence director, James Clapper, has accepted that the evidence suggests Iran suspended any weapons programme in 2003 and has not reactivated it. The whole campaign has an Alice in Wonderland quality about it. Iran, which says it doesn't want nuclear weapons, is surrounded by nuclear-weapon states: the US – which also has forces in neighbouring Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as military bases across the region – Israel, Russia, Pakistan and India. Iran is of course an authoritarian state, though not as repressive as western allies such as Saudi Arabia. But it has invaded no one in 200 years. It was itself invaded by Iraq with western support in the 1980s, while the US and Israel have attacked 10 countries or territories between them in

the past decade. Britain exploited, occupied and overthrew governments in Iran for over a century. So who threatens who exactly?

As Israel's defence minister, Ehud Barak, said recently, if he were an Iranian leader he would "probably" want nuclear weapons. Claims that Iran poses an "existential threat" to Israel because President Ahmadinejad said the state "must vanish from the page of time" bear no relation to reality. Even if Iran were to achieve a nuclear threshold, as some suspect is its real ambition, it would be in no position to attack a state with upwards of 300 nuclear warheads, backed to the hilt by the world's most powerful military force.

The real challenge posed by Iran to the US and Israel has been as an independent regional power, allied to Syria and the Lebanese Hezbollah and Palestinian Hamas movements. As US troops withdraw from Iraq, Saudi Arabia fans sectarianism, and Syrian opposition leaders promise a break with Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas, the threat of proxy wars is growing across the region. A US or Israeli attack on Iran would turn that **regional maelstrom** into a **global firestorm**. Iran would certainly retaliate directly and through allies against Israel, the US and US Gulf client states, and block the 20% of global oil supplies shipped through the Strait of Hormuz. Quite apart from death and destruction, the global economic impact would be incalculable.

All reason and common sense militate against such an act of aggression. Meir Dagan, the former head of Israel's Mossad, said last week it would be a "catastrophe". Leon Panetta, the US defence secretary, warned that it could "consume the Middle East in confrontation and conflict that we would regret". There seems little doubt that the US administration is deeply wary of a direct attack on Iran. But in Israel, Barak has spoken of having less than a year to act; Binyamin Netanyahu, the prime minister, has talked about making the "right decision at the right moment"; and the prospects of drawing the US in behind an Israeli attack have been widely debated in the media.

Maybe it won't happen. Maybe the war talk is more about destabilization than a full-scale attack. But there are undoubtedly those in the US, Israel and Britain who think otherwise. And the threat of miscalculation and the logic of escalation could tip the balance decisively. Unless opposition to an attack on Iran gets serious, t

The Arabic Translation

الحرب على إيران بدأت بالفعل. تصرّف قبل أن يشملنا التهديد جميعا
"ميلن سوماس"

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إنهم لا يستسلمون. فبعد عشر سنوات من الفشل المعرّف بالدماء في أفغانستان و العراق, و زعزعة عنيقة في باكستان و اليمن, و تدمير لبنان و الذبح في ليبيا , لرّبما كنت تأمل في أنّ الولايات المتّحدة و أصدقاءها قد نالوا كفايتهم من الغزو و التّدخل في العالم الإسلامي.

لكن لا يبدو الأمر كذلك. فلاشهر مضت, كانت الأدلّة تتزايد على أنّ الحرب الأمريكية – الإسرائيلية الخفية على طهران قد بدأت بالفعل, و بدعم من بريطانيا و فرنسا. انتشر الدعم السري لجماعة المعارضة المسلحة إلى حملة اغتيلالات للعلماء الإيرانيين , و الحرب الالكترونية, و الهجمات على المنشآت العسكرية و الصاروخية و قتل جنرال إيراني, من بين آخرين. ليست الهجمات معرّفة بشكل مباشر, و لكن مصحوبة بايماءات الاستخبارات و غمزاتها حيث يتمّ تغذية وسائل الإعلام بقصص معادية , أكثرها غرابة حتى الآن تزعم وجود مؤامرة إيرانية مزعومة لقتل السفير السعودي لدى الولايات المتّحدة , و صدّعت القوى الغربية حتى الآن ضغوطها لإقرار المزيد من العقوبات بشأن البرنامج النووي الإيراني. و قد أدّى قرار الحكومة البريطانية بأخذ زمام المبادرة في فرض العقوبات على البنوك الإيرانية و الضغط على الاتّحاد الأوروبي لمقاطعة النفط الإيراني , إلى تحطيم متظاهرين لسفارة بريطانيا في طهران و الطرد المتلاحق لدبلوماسيين إيرانيين من لندن.

إنّها تجربة للكيفية التي يمكن بها للنزاع أن يتصاعد بسرعة, كما كان الحال عند إسقاط طائرة تجسّس أمريكية على الأراضي الإيرانية مطلع الأسبوع. فما أسماه مسؤول إسرائيلي ب"نوع جديد من الحروب" لديه قدرة أكبر بكثير على أن يكون حربا من الطراز التقليدي الذي يهدّنا جميعا. و قد صرّح مسؤولون في وزارة الدفاع لصحيفة الغارديان البريطانية الشهر الماضي أنّه إذا ما مضت الولايات المتّحدة قدما في خططها بخصوص مهاجمة إيران (كما يعتقدون في أنّها ربّما تفعل ذلك) فإنّ الولايات المتّحدة "ستسعى إلى تلقّي مساعدة عسكرية من المملكة المتّحدة و ستحصل عليها". بما في ذلك الدعم البحري و الجوّي و السماح باستخدام جزيرة "سان بيبغو" المستعمرة البريطانية التي شهدت تطهيرا عرقيا.

و من شأن أي هجوم أمريكي أو إسرائيلي على إيران أن يحول تلك الدوامة الإقليمية إلى عاصفة عالمية. بالتأكيد سوف تنتقم "إيران" بشكل مباشر و عبر حلفائها من إسرائيل و الولايات المتحدة و الدول العميلة لها في المنطقة, و تمنع مرور 20% من إمدادات النفط العالمية التي يتم شحنها عبر مضيق هرمز. و بغض النظر تماما عن الموت و الدمار, فإن تأثير ذلك على الاقتصاد العالمي لا يمكن تقديره. يرفض العقل و الحسّ السليم هكذا نوعا من العدوان. و قال "مانير دوغان" الرئيس السابق ل"الموساد" الإسرائيلي, أن هذا الأمر سيكون "كارثيا". و حدّر "ليون بانيتا" وزير الدفاع الأمريكي من أن الحرب على إيران "ستدخل الشرق الأوسط في واجهات و صراعات سنندم بخصوصها". يبدو أن هناك شك في أن الولايات المتحدة تشعر بقلق بالغ حول هجوم مباشر على "إيران". لكن في إسرائيل, تحدث "يهود باراك" عن أنه لم يتبق سوى عام واحد للتصرف, و كذلك تحدث "بنيامين نتنياهو", رئيس الوزراء, عن "اتخاذ القرار المناسب في الوقت المناسب", كما ناقشت وسائل الإعلام على نطاق واسع أفق جرّ الولايات المتحدة إلى المشاركة هجوم إسرائيلي. ربّما لن يحدث ذلك. ربّما يكون الحديث عن الحرب زعزعة للاستقرار أكثر منه هجوما كامل النطاق. و لكن يوجد بلا شك في الولايات المتحدة و إسرائيل و بريطانيا أولئك الذين يعتقدون خلاف ذلك. و يمكن لتهديد سوء التقدير و منطق التصعيد أن يرحبا كفة الميزان بشكل حاسم. و إذا لم تغدو معارضة الهجوم على إيران أكثر جدية, فإن ذلك قد يكون أكثر حروب الشرق الأوسط تدميرا بالنسبة لنا جميعا.

Appendix 4

The 'Arab Spring' and the west: seven lessons from history

Seumas Milne

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There's a real sense in which, more than any other part of the former colonial world, the Middle East has never been fully decolonized. Sitting on top of the bulk of the globe's oil reserves, the Arab world has been the target of continual interference and intervention ever since it became formally independent. Carved into artificial states after the First World War, it's been bombed and occupied – by the US, Israel, Britain and France – and locked down with US bases and western-backed tyrannies. As the Palestinian blogger Lina Al-Sharif tweeted on Armistice Day this year, the "reason World War One isn't over yet is because we in the Middle East are still living the consequences".

The Arab uprisings that erupted in Tunisia a year ago have focused on corruption, poverty and lack of freedom, rather than western domination or Israeli occupation. But the fact that they kicked off against

سواء كان دافع المسؤولين هو تليين الرأي العامّ لصالح الحرب أو التحذير منها, فإنّ هذا اعتراف غير عاديّ: المنشأة العسكرية البريطانية تتوقّع بشكل تامّ المشاركة في هجوم لم يسبقه استفزازا للولايات المتحدة على إيران, كما فعلت ضدّ العراق قبل ثماني سنوات. ما كان قد رفضه وزير الخارجية السابق "جاك سترو" على اعتباره "غير وارد", و أصبح بالنسبة ل"دافيد كامبرون" خيارا لا ينبغي أن يطرح "خارج طاولة الحوار", تحوّل الآن إلى ما يشبه الصفة المتفق عليها إذا ما شنت الولايات المتحدة حربا لا أحد يشكك جدّيا في أنه سيكون لها عواقب وخيمة. و لكن لم يكن هناك نقاش بالخصوص في البرلمان و لا أيّ تحدّ من قبل تيار سياسي لما أسماه "دافيد ميلبان", خلف "سترو", هذا الأسبوع خطر "الانزلاق في حرب ضدّ إيران". و هذا هو أكثر شيء مثير للصدمة لأنّ القضية ضدّ إيران واهية بشكل مذهل. لا يوجد في الحقيقة أيّ دليل موثوق على تطوير إيران برنامجا للأسلحة النووية. حيث فشل أحدث تقرير للوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية مرة أخرى في توفير دليل قاطع, على الرغم من الجهود الموفورة التي يبذلها مديرها العامّ الجديد "يوكيا أمانو", الذي تصفه "ويكيليكس" بكونه "راسخا في موافقة الولايات المتحدة على أيّ قرار استراتيجي تتخذه". كما هو الحال في الفترة السابقة لغزو العراق, تستند أقوى الأدعاءات على "معلومات استخباراتية سرية" من قبل حكومات غربية. لكن "جايمس كلابر" مدير المخابرات القومية الأمريكية ذاته قد وافق على أن الأدلة تشير إلى تعليق إيران لأيّ برنامج أسلحة, عام 2003 وأنها لم تعد تنشطه. تغلب على الحملة قاطبة سمة أليس في بلاد العجائب. ف"إيران" التي تقول أنها لا تريد امتلاك أسلحة نووية محاطة بدول حائزة على النووي: الولايات المتحدة, و التي لديها أيا قوّات في دولتي الجوار أفغانستان و العراق فضلا عن القواعد العسكرية في المنطقة, و إسرائيل و روسيا و باكستان و الهند. إيران هي بالطبع دولة استبدادية, لكنّها ليست قمعية بقدر حلفاء الغرب كالمملكة العربية السعودية. و لكنّ "إيران" لم تغزو أيّ بلد منذ 200 عام. و لكنّها تعرّضت للغزو العراقي بدعم غربي في الثمانينات, بينما قامت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية و إسرائيل فيما بينهما بمهاجمة 10 دول في العقد الماضي. و قد مارست بريطانيا الاستغلال و الاحتلال و أطاحت بحكومات في "إيران" لأكثر من قرن. إذن, من يهدّد من بالضبط؟

و في حين قال وزير الدفاع الإسرائيلي "إيهود باراك" مؤخرا أنه لو كان زعيما إيرانيا لكان "على الأرجح" رغب في امتلاك أسلحة نووية. مدّعا أن "إيران" تشكل "تهديدا لوجود" إسرائيل لأنّ الرئيس الإيراني "أحمدي نجاد" قال أن على إسرائيل "أن تختفي من الوجود", فإنّ هذا لا يمتّ للواقع بصلة. فحتى لو أنّ "إيران" قد اجتازت العقبة النووية, نظرا لاشتباه البعض في أنّ ذلك هو طموحها الحقيقي, فإنّها لن تكون بأيّ حال في موضع يؤهلها لضرب دولة لها ما يزيد عن 300 رأس نووي و مدعومة بالكامل من قبل أكثر المؤسسات العسكرية قوّة في العالم. و كان التحذير الحقيقي الذي تمثّله "إيران" للولايات المتحدة و إسرائيل هو كونها قوّة إقليمية مستقلة, متحالفة مع سوريا و حزب الله اللبناني و الحركة الفلسطينية "حماس". تزامنا مع سحب القوات الأمريكية من العراق, وتشجيع "العربية السعودية" الطائفية و وعد زعماء المعارضة السورية بالقطع مع إيران و حزب الله و حماس, ينمو تهديد الحروب بالوكالة في جميع أنحاء المنطقة.

western-backed dictatorships meant they posed an immediate threat to the strategic order.

Since the day Hosni Mubarak fell in Egypt, there has been a relentless counter-drive by the western powers and their Gulf allies to buy off, crush or hijack the Arab revolutions. And they've got a deep well of experience to draw on: every center of the Arab uprisings, from Egypt to Yemen, has lived through decades of imperial domination. All the main Nato states that bombed Libya, for example – the US, Britain, France and Italy – have had troops occupying the country well within living memory.

If the Arab revolutions are going to take control of their future, then, they'll need to have **to keep an eye** on their recent past. So here are seven lessons from the history of western Middle East meddling, courtesy of the archive of Pathé News, colonial-era voice of Perfidious Albion itself.

1. The west never gives up its drive to control the Middle East, whatever the setbacks

Take the last time Arab states started dropping out of the western orbit – in the 1950s, under the influence of Nasser's pan-Arabism. In July 1958, radical Iraqi nationalist army officers overthrew a corrupt and repressive western-backed regime (sounds familiar?), garrisoned by British forces.

The ousting of the reliably pliant Iraqi monarchy threw Pathé into a panic. Oil-rich Iraq had become the "number one danger spot", it warned in its first despatch on the events. Despite the "Harrow-educated" King Faisal's "patriotism" – which "no one can question", the voiceover assures us – events had moved too fast, "unfortunately for western policy".

But within a few days – compared with the couple of months it took them to intervene in Libya this year – Britain and the US had moved thousands of troops into Jordan and Lebanon to protect two other client regimes from Nasserite revolt. Or, as Pathé News put it in its next report, to "stop the rot in the Middle East".

Nor did they have any intention of leaving revolutionary Iraq to its own devices. Less than five years later, in February 1963, US and British intelligence backed the bloody coup that first brought Saddam Hussein's Ba'athists to power.

Fast forward to 2003, and the US and Britain had invaded and occupied the entire country. Iraq was finally back under full western control – at the cost of savage bloodletting and destruction. It was the strength of the Iraqi resistance that ultimately led to this week's American withdrawal – but even after the pullout, 16,000 security contractors, trainers and others will remain under US command. In Iraq, as in the rest of the region, they never leave unless they're forced to.

2. Imperial powers can usually be relied on to delude themselves about what Arabs actually think

Could the Pathé News presenter – and the colonial occupiers of the day – really have believed that the "thousands of Arabs" showering petrified praise on the fascist dictator Mussolini as he drove through the streets of Tripoli in the Italian colony of Libya in 1937 actually meant it? You wouldn't guess so to look at their cowed faces. No hint from the newsreel that a third of the population of Libya had died under the brutality of Italian colonial rule, or of the heroic Libyan resistance movement led by Omar Mukhtar, hanged in an Italian concentration camp. But then the "mask of imperialism" the voiceover describes Mussolini as wearing fitted British politicians of the time just as well. And Pathé's report on the Queen's visit to the British colony of Aden (now part of Yemen) a few years later was eerily similar, with "thousands of "cheering loyal subjects" shown supposedly welcoming "their own Queen" to what she blithely describes as an "outstanding example of colonial development".

So outstanding in fact that barely a decade later the South Yemeni liberation movements forced British troops to evacuate the last outpost of empire after they had beaten, tortured and murdered their way through Aden's Crater district: one ex-squaddie explained in a 2004 BBC documentary on Aden that he couldn't go into details because of the risk of war crimes prosecutions.

But then it's far easier to see through the propaganda of other times and places than your own – especially when delivered by preposterous 1950s-style Harry Enfield/Cholmondley-Warner characters. The neocons famously expected a cakewalk in Iraq and early US and British coverage of the invasion still had Iraqis throwing flowers at invading troops when armed resistance was already in full flow. And UK TV reports of British troops "protecting the local

population" from the Taliban in Afghanistan can be strikingly reminiscent of 1950s newsreels from Aden and Suez. Even during this year's uprisings in Egypt and Libya, western media have often seen what they wanted to see in the crowds in Tahrir Square or Benghazi – only to be surprised, say, when Islamists end up calling the shots or winning elections. Whatever happens next, they're likely not to get it.

3. The Big Powers are old hands at prettifying client regimes to keep the oil flowing

When it comes to the reactionary Gulf autocracies, to be fair, they don't really bother. But before the anti-imperialist wave of the 1950s did for a slew of them, the British, French and Americans worked hard to dress up the stooge regimes of the time as forward-looking constitutional democracies. Sometimes that effort came rapidly unstuck, as this breezy report on Libya's "first major test of democracy" under the US-British puppet king Idris makes no effort to conceal.

The brazen rigging of the 1952 elections against the Islamic opposition sparked rioting and all political parties were banned. Idris was later overthrown by Gaddafi, oil nationalised and the US Wheelus base closed – though today the king's flag is flying again in Tripoli with Nato's assistance, while western oil companies wait to collect their winnings.

Elections were also rigged and thousands of political prisoners tortured in 1950s Iraq. But so far as British officialdom – entrenched as "advisers" in Baghdad and their military base at Habbaniya – and the newsreels shown in British cinemas at the time were concerned, Faisal's Iraq was a benign and "go-ahead" democracy. Under **the watchful eyes** of the US and British ambassadors and "Mr Gibson" of the British Iraq Petroleum Company, we see the Iraqi prime minister, Nuri Said, opening the Zubair oilfield near Basra in 1952 to bring "schools and hospitals" through the "joint labour of east and west".

In fact that would only happen when oil was nationalized – and six years later Said was killed on the streets of Baghdad as he tried to escape dressed as a woman. Half a century on and the British were back in control of Basra, while today Iraqis are battling to prevent a new takeover of their oil in a devastated country US and British politicians again like to insist is a democracy.

Any "Arab spring" state that ditches self-determination for the west's embrace can of course expect a similar makeover – just as client regimes that never left its orbit, such as the corrupt police state of Jordan, have always been hailed as islands of good government and "moderation".

4. People in the Middle East don't forget their history – even when the US and Europe does

The gap could hardly be wider. When Nasser's former information minister and veteran journalist Mohamed Heikal recently warned that the Arab uprisings were being used to impose a new "Sykes-Picot agreement" – the first world war carve-up of the Arab east between Britain and France – Arabs and others in the Middle East naturally knew exactly what he was talking about.

It has shaped the entire region and its relations with the west ever since. But to most non-specialists in Britain and France, Sykes-Picot might as well be an obscure brand of electric cheese-grater.

The same goes for more than a century of Anglo-American interference, occupation and anti-democratic subversion against Iran. British media expressed bafflement at popular Iranian hostility to Britain when the embassy in Tehran was trashed by demonstrators last month. But if you know the historical record, what could be less surprising?

The Orwellian cynicism of Britain's role is neatly captured in Pathé's take on the 1953 overthrow of the democratically elected Iranian leader Mohammed Mossadegh after he nationalised Iran's oil.

Pro-Mossadegh demonstrators are portrayed as violent and destructive, while the violent CIA-MI6 organised coup that ousted him in favour of the Shah is welcomed as a popular and "dramatic turn of events". The newsreel damns as a "virtual dictator" the elected Mossadegh, who at his subsequent treason trial expressed the hope that his fate would serve as an example in "breaking the chains of colonial servitude". The real dictator, the western-backed Shah whose brutal autocracy paved the way for the Iranian revolution and the Islamic Republic 26 years later, is hailed as the people's sovereign.

So when western politicians rail against Iranian authoritarianism or claim to champion democratic rights while continuing to prop up a string of Gulf

dictatorships, there won't be many in the Middle East who take them too seriously.

5. The west has always presented Arabs who insist on running their own affairs as fanatics

Pathé News certainly had no truck with their campaign for independence. In 1952, it blamed an attack on a police station on a "burst of nationalist agitation" across North Africa. And as colonial police conduct a "vigorous search for terrorists" – though the bewildered men being dragged from their homes at gunpoint look more like Captain Renault's "usual suspects" in Casablanca – the presenter complains that "once again fanatics intervene and make matters worse".

He meant the Tunisian nationalists, of course, rather than the French occupation regime. Arab nationalism has since been eclipsed by the rise of Islamist movements, who have in turn been dismissed as "fanatics", both by the west and some former nationalists. As elections bring one Islamist party after another to power in the Arab world, the US and allies are trying to tame them – on foreign and economic policy, rather than interpretations of sharia. Those that succumb will become "moderates" – the rest will remain "fanatics".

6. Foreign military intervention in the Middle East brings death, destruction and divide and rule

It's scarcely necessary to dig into the archives to work that out. The experience of the last decade is clear enough. Whether it's a full-scale invasion and occupation, such as Iraq, where hundreds of thousands have been killed, or aerial bombardment for regime change under the banner of "protecting civilians" in Libya, where tens of thousands have died, the human and social costs have been catastrophic.

And that's been true throughout the baleful history of western involvement in the Middle East. Pathé's silent film of the devastation of Damascus by French colonial forces during the Syrian revolt of 1925 might as well be of Falluja in 2004 or Sirte this autumn – if you ignore the fezzes and pith helmets. Thirty years later and Port Said looked pretty similar during the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in 1956 that marked the replacement of the former European colonial states by the US as the dominant power in the region. This newsreel clip of British troops attacking Suez, invading troops occupying and destroying yet

another Arab city, could be Basra or Beirut – it's become such a regular feature of the contemporary world, and a seamless link with the colonial era.

So has the classic imperial tactic of using religious and ethnic divisions to enforce foreign occupation: whether by the Americans in Iraq, the French in colonial Syria and Lebanon or the British more or less wherever they went. The Pathé archive is full of newsreels acclaiming British troops for "keeping the peace" between hostile populations, from Cyprus to Palestine – all the better to keep control.

And now the religious sectarianism and ethnic divisions fostered under the US-British occupation of Iraq have been mobilised by the west's Gulf allies to head off or divert the challenge of the Arab awakening: in the crushing of the Bahrain uprising, the isolation of Shia unrest in Saudi Arabia and the increasingly sectarian conflict in Syria – where foreign intervention could only escalate the killing and deny Syrians control of their own country.

7. Western sponsorship of Palestine's colonization is a permanent block on normal relations with the Arab world

Israel could not have been created without Britain's 30-year imperial rule in Palestine and its sponsorship of large-scale European Jewish colonization under the banner of the Balfour declaration of 1917. An independent Palestine, with an overwhelming Palestinian Arab majority, would clearly never have accepted it.

That reality is driven home in this Pathé News clip from the time of the Arab revolt against the British mandate in the late 1930s, showing British soldiers rounding up Palestinian "terrorists" in the occupied West Bank towns of Nablus and Tulkarm – just as their Israeli successors do today.

The reason for the security of Jewish settlers, the presenter declares in the clipped, breathless tones of the 1930s voiceover, are "the British troops, ever watchful, ever protective". That relationship broke down after Britain restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine on the eve of the second world war.

Britain's colonial reflex, in Palestine as elsewhere, was always to present itself as "guardian of law and order" against the "threat of rebellion" and "master of the situation" – as in this delusional 1938 newsreel from Jerusalem.

But the original crucial link between western imperial power and the Zionist project became a permanent strategic alliance after the establishment of Israel – throughout the expulsion and dispossession of the Palestinians, multiple wars, 44 years of military occupation and the continuing illegal colonization of the West Bank and Gaza.

The unconditional nature of that alliance, which remains the pivot of US policy in the Middle East, is one reason why democratically elected Arab governments are likely to find it harder to play patsy to US power than the dictatorial Mubaraks and Gulf monarchs. The Palestinian cause is embedded in Arab and Islamic political culture. Like Britain before it, the US may struggle to remain "master of the situation" in the Middle East.

The Arabic Translation

«الربيع العربي» والغرب: سبعة دروس من التاريخ

هناك شعور حقيقي في الشرق الأوسط أكثر من أي بقعة أخرى من العالم الاستعماري سابقاً بأن الشرق الأوسط لم يحصل على استقلاله بالكامل. وبسبب تربيته على عرش مخزون البترول الأكبر في العالم، تم استهداف العالم العربي بتدخلات وغزو مستمرين، حتى بعد حصوله رسمياً على الاستقلال. وبعد تقسيمه إلى دول صورية بعد الحرب العالمية الأولى، تم قصف واحتلال أجزاء منه بواسطة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وإسرائيل وبريطانيا وفرنسا كما تم محاصرته بالقواعد الأمريكية وأنظمة استبدادية مدعومة من الغرب. وكما كتبت المدونة الفلسطينية لنا الشريف على تويتر في يوم الهدنة في العام الحالي: "إنَّ السبب وراء عدم انتهاء الحرب العالمية الأولى حتى الآن، هو أننا في الشرق الأوسط ما زلنا نعيش عواقبها".

وقد ركزت الثورات العربية التي اشتعلت شرارتها الأولى في تونس العام الماضي على الفساد والفقر وانعدام الحريات، وليس الهيمنة الغربية أو الاحتلال الإسرائيلي. ولكن حقيقة انطلقهم ضد الديكتاتوريات المدعومة من الغرب تعني أنهم شكلوا تهديداً فعلياً للنظام الاستراتيجي. ومنذ يوم سقوط حسني مبارك في مصر، ظهر اتجاه مضاد متعنق بقيادة القوى الغربية وحلفائها في الخليج لرشوة أو تحطيم أو السيطرة على الثورات العربية. ولديهم معين من الخبرة المتأصلة يمكنهم من استنتاج أن: كل مركز للثورات العربية، من مصر إلى اليمن، عاش عقوداً تحت الهيمنة الاستعمارية. وكل دول حلف الناتو الأساسية التي قامت بضرب ليبيا، ومنها على سبيل المثال - الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وبريطانيا وفرنسا وإيطاليا- كانت لديهم قوات تحتل المنطقة ومازالت ذكرها حية في الأذهان.

وإذا أردت الثورات العربية أن تتحكم في مستقبلها، فهي في حاجة إلى مراقبة ماضيها القريب. ولذا نسرده هنا سبعة دروس من تاريخ التدخل الغربي في الشرق الأوسط، بإذن من أرشيف باثي نيوز، صوت بريطانيا العظمى التي لا عهد لها أبان الحقبة الاستعمارية.

1. لا يكمل الغرب ولا يمل أبداً في سعيه للسيطرة على الشرق الأوسط، مهما كانت العقبات باعتبار المحاولة الأخيرة التي سعت فيها الدول العربية إلى الخروج من المدار الغربي - في الخمسينيات من القرن الماضي، تحت تأثير الوحدة العربية التي أطلقها جمال عبد الناصر، في يوليو (تموز) عام 1958، أطاح ضباط جيش عراقيون قوميون متشددون بنظام فاسد وقمعي مدعوم من الغرب (هل يبدو ذلك مألوفاً؟)، ومحمي من قبل القوات البريطانية. أصاب طرد الملكية العراقية، النظام المهادن الموثوق به، باثي بالفزع. فأطلقت صيحة تحذير في أول تقرير إخباري لها تعليقاً على الأحداث بأن العراق الغنية بالبترول أصبحت "منطقة الخطر الأولى"، بالرغم من "وطنية" الملك فيصل - وهو الذي تلقى تعليمه في مدرسة هارو - والتي لا يُختلف عليها، يؤكد التعليق الصوتي لنا أن - الأحداث تحركت بسرعة شديدة، "لسوء حظ السياسة الغربية". ولكن في غضون أيام قليلة- مقارنة بالشهرين اللذين استغرقهما تدخلهم في ليبيا هذا العام- حركت بريطانيا والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية آلاف القوات إلى الأردن ولبنان لحماية اثنين من الأنظمة العميلة لهم من الثورة الناصرية. أو، كما تقول باثي نيوز في تقريرها التالي، لغرض "إيقاف سريان الفساد في الشرق الأوسط".

ولم يكن لديهم نية مطلقاً لترك العراق الثورية لأجهزتها الخاصة. وبعد أقل من خمس سنوات: في فبراير (شباط) عام 1963، دعمت المخابرات البريطانية والأمريكية الانقلاب الدموي والذي جلب في البداية بعثي صدام حسين للسلطة. وبالتالي سريعاً لعام 2003، نجد أن بريطانيا وأمريكا استطاعتا غزو واحتلال الدولة بالكامل. وأخيراً عادت العراق تحت سيطرة غربية كاملة - على حساب دم شعب تمت إراقته بوحشية ودمار. إنَّ قوة المقاومة العراقية هي التي أدت إلى رحيل القوات الأمريكية هذا الأسبوع - ولكن حتى بعد الانسحاب، سوف يظل 16000 مقاتل ومدرب وآخرين تحت أمر الولايات المتحدة. ففي العراق، كما في باقي المنطقة، لا يرحلون إلا إذا أرغموا على ذلك.

2. عادةً ما تتدع القوى الاستعمارية نفسها بشأن حقيقة ما يفكر به العرب

هل من الممكن أن يكون مقدم باثي نيوز - والمحتلون الاستعماريون اليوم- قد صدقوا بالفعل أن "آلاف العرب" عندما أمطروا التناء المرعب على الديكتاتور الفاشي موسوليني عندما قام بجولة في شوارع طرابلس في المستعمرة الإيطالية بليبيا في عام 1937 كانوا بالفعل يعنون ذلك؟ قد لا تظن ذلك عندما تنتظر إلى وجوههم الخائفة.

ولا توجد أدنى إشارة في الفيلم الإخباري إلى أن ثلث سكان ليبيا قد ماتوا تحت وطأة الحكم الإيطالي الاستعماري الوحشي، ولا عن حركة المقاومة الليبية البطولية التي قادها عمر المختار، والذي شُنق في معسكر اعتقال إيطالي. ولكن بعد ذلك يصف التعليق الصوتي، أو "القناع الاستعماري"، موسوليني بأنه كالمساسة البريطانيين في ذلك الوقت. وتقرير باثي عن زيارة الملكة للمستعمرة البريطانية عدن (الآن جزء من اليمن) بعد سنوات قليلة كان مشابهاً على نحو مخيف، مع "آلاف من" الرعايا المخلصين السعداء "يقدمون ترحيبهم المفترض" لمملكتهم والذي وصفته بفرح بأنه "مثال غير مسبوق في

عندما حاول الهروب مرتديًا زي امرأة. وبعد مرور نصف قرن عاد البريطانيون للسيطرة على البصرة، وبينما يحارب العراقيون اليوم لمنع الاستيلاء على آبار بترول بلدهم المشتتة، يُصر الساسة الأمريكيون والبريطانيون مرة أخرى على الديمقراطية. وأي دولة من دول "الربيع العربي" تتخلى عن حق تقرير مصيرها بنفسها من أجل احتضان الغرب يمكن بالفعل أن تتوقع مصيرًا مشابهًا - تمامًا مثل الأنظمة العميلة التي لم تترك مدارها قط، كالدولة البوليسية الفاسدة في الأردن، والتي يُدعى أنها نماذج للقيادة الرشيدة و"الاعتدال".

4. لا تنسى شعوب الشرق الأوسط تاريخها - حتى لو نسيت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وأوروبا ذلك لا يمكن أن تكون الفجوة أوسع من ذلك. وعندما حذر محمد هيكل الصحفي المحنك ووزير الإعلام في عهد جمال عبد الناصر الثورات العربية أنه يتم استخدامها لفرض اتفاقية سايكس - بيكو "جديدة - عندما قامت الحرب العالمية الأولى بتقسيم الشرق العربي بين بريطانيا وفرنسا - فهم العرب وآخرون في الشرق الأوسط ماذا يقصد بالضبط. فهي قامت بتشكيل المنطقة بالكامل وعلاقتها مع الغرب منذ ذلك الحين. لكن بالنسبة لأغلب غير المتخصصين في بريطانيا وفرنسا، من الممكن أن تكون سايكس بيكو أيضًا بمثابة علامة تجارية غامضة على مبشرة الجين الكهربائي. وهذا ينطبق أيضًا على أكثر من قرن من التدخل والاستعمار والتدمير غير الديموقراطي البريطاني الأمريكي ضد إيران. وعبر الإعلام البريطاني عن حيرته إزاء كراهية الشعب الإيراني لبريطانيا عندما تم تدمير السفارة في طهران الشهر الماضي على يد متظاهرين. ولكن إذا كنت تعرف السجل التاريخي، فهل هناك شيء أقل غرابة؟

تم تبني مبدأ الشك عند أرويل في الدور البريطاني بشكل مثير للاهتمام من قبل باثي عند تناول الإطاحة بالقائد الإيراني المنتخب ديمقراطيًا محمد مصدق عام 1953 بعد أن قام بتأميم البترول الإيراني. تم وصف المتظاهرين المؤيدين لمصدق بالعنف والتدمير، بينما نظمت المخابرات البريطانية والأمريكية العنيفة انقلابًا لطرده في مقابل الترحيب بالشاه باعتباره شخصية محبوبة و"تحولاً درامياً للأحداث". وألقت الأفلام التسجيلية اللعنات على "الديكتاتور الافتراضي" المنتخب مصدق، والذي أعلن أثناء محاكمته اللاحقة بتهمة الخيانة العظمى عن أمه في أن يصبح مصيره مثلاً "لكسر قيود عبودية الاستعمار". وتم تقديم الديكتاتور الحقيقي كحاكم للشعب، وهو الشاه المدعوم من الغرب والذي مهدت رجعيته الوحشية الطريق للثورة الإيرانية والجمهورية الإسلامية بعد ذلك بنحو 26 عامًا.

وهكذا عندما ينتقد الساسة الغربيون السلطوية الإيرانية بقسوة أو يتقصصون دور البطولة في الدفاع عن الحقوق الديمقراطية بينما لا يزالون مستمرين في مساندة الأنظمة الديكتاتورية في الخليج، فلن يكون هناك الكثير في الشرق الأوسط ممن يأخذون ذلك على محمل الجد.

5. يقدم الغرب دائمًا العرب الذين يصرون على إدارة شؤونهم الخاصة كمتعصبين

التطور الاستعماري". وبالفعل كان غير مسبوق حيث أنه بعد ما يقرب من قرن أجبرت حركات التحرير اليمنية الجنوبية القوات البريطانية على إخلاء آخر موقع من الإمبراطورية بعد ما تعرضوا للضرب والتعذيب والقتل في طريقهم عبر منطقة فوهة عدن. ويشرح جندي مشاه سابق في وثائق بي بي سي 2004 عن عدن أنه لا يمكنه الخوض في التفاصيل بسبب خطورة ادعاءات جرائم الحرب.

ولكن اكتشاف حقيقة إعلام العصور الأخرى أسهل مما يكون عليه الأمر في عصرك - خاصة عندما تتم قيادته بواسطة أسلوب الخمسينيات من القرن الماضي المثير للضحك شخصيات هاري إنفيلد/ شولموندلي - وارنر. وتوقع اليمنيون المتطرفون أمرًا سهلًا في العراق، ورأينا في التغطية الأمريكية والبريطانية للغزو في البداية أنه كان لا يزال هناك عراقيون يلقون الورد على قوات الغزو عندما كانت المعارضة المسلحة تتدفق بالكامل بالفعل. وأورد التلفزيون البريطاني أن القوات البريطانية "تحمي الشعب المحلي" من طالبان في أفغانستان، والذي يمكن أن يكون منكرًا على نحو مذهل بالأفلام التسجيلية من الخمسينيات من عدن والسويس. حتى خلال الثورتين المصرية والليبية هذا العام، رأى الإعلام الغربي ما يود أن يراه في الغالب في الحشود سواء في ميدان التحرير أو بنغازي - حتى أخذته الدهشة، عندما انتهى الأمر بوصول الإسلاميين إلى السلطة أو الفوز بالانتخابات. وأيًا كان ما سيحدث لاحقًا، فإنهم لا يبدو أنهم سيحصلون عليها.

3. القوى العظمى هي أيادٍ خبيثة في تجميل الأنظمة العميلة لإبقاء تدفق البترول عند الحديث عن حكام الخليج الرجعيين، وحتى أكون منصفًا، فهم غير مزعجين بالمرة. ولكن قبل أن نتال منهم الموجة المناهضة للإمبريالية في الخمسينيات من القرن الماضي، عكفت أمريكا وبريطانيا وفرنسا على تزيين الأنظمة العميلة لجعلها تبدو كديمقراطيات دستورية. وفي بعض الأوقات يخفق هذا الجهد سريعًا، ويبدو مثل هذا في التقرير الفكاهي عن "الاختبار الأساسي الأول للديمقراطية" في ليبيا تحت الدمية الأمريكية - البريطانية الملك إدريس واضحًا بما لا يدع مجالاً للشك. أدى التلاعب المخزي بالانتخابات عام 1952 ضد المعارضة إلى شغب ومنع لكل الأحزاب. وتم الانقلاب بعد ذلك على إدريس بواسطة القذافي، وتم تأميم البترول وإغلاق قاعدة هويلس الأمريكية - وبرغم ذلك فإن علم الملك يعلو مرة أخرى في طرابلس بمساعدة حلف الناتو، بينما تنتظر شركات البترول الغربية لحصد مكاسبها. وتم التلاعب أيضًا بالانتخابات وتعذيب آلاف المعتقلين السياسيين في الخمسينيات بالعراق. ولكن عندما يتعلق الأمر بطبقة الموظفين البريطانيين - الذين ترسخ وضعهم باعتبارهم "المستشارين الحكوميين" في بغداد وقاعدتهم العسكرية في الحبانية - والأفلام التسجيلية المعروضة في دور السينما البريطانية في ذلك الوقت، كانت العراق في عهد الملك فيصل تعد دولة ديموقراطية مسالمة و"ناجحة". وتحت مراقبة السفراء الأمريكيين والبريطانيين و"السيد جيبسون" لشركة الوقود البريطانية العراقية، يُمكننا أن نرى رئيس الوزراء العراقي، نوري السعيد، يفتح حفل بترول "الزبير" بالقرب من البصرة في عام 1952 لبناء "المدارس والمستشفيات" من خلال "عمل مشترك بين الشرق والغرب". وفي الواقع سوف يحدث ذلك فقط عندما يتم تأميم البترول - وبعد ذلك بست سنوات تم اغتيال السعيد في شوارع بغداد

الأجنبي إلا إلى رفع نسبة القتل ومنع السوريين من حق السيادة في وطنهم.

7. الرعايا الغربية للاستعمار في فلسطين هي عقبة دائمة في وجه العلاقات الطبيعية مع العالم العربي

لم تكن الثورة التي بدأت في ديسمبر الماضي في سيدي بوزيد أول ثورة شعبية تقوم ضد الحكم التعسفي في تونس. ففي الخمسينيات أدانت الحكومات الاستعمارية وداعموها بطبيعة الحال الحركة المناهضة للحكم الاستعماري الفرنسي بوصفها حركة "منطرفة" و"إرهابية". ولم يكن لدى باثي نيوز في الواقع أي اتصال بحملتهم من أجل الاستقلال. وفي عام 1952، تم إلقاء تهمة الهجوم على قسم شرطة على "مجموعة من القوميين المتعصبين" في شمال إفريقيا. وبينما قامت الشرطة الاستعمارية بعملية "بحث نشيطة عن الإرهابيين" - على الرغم من أن الرجال المذهولين الذين كان يتم سجنهم من منازلهم تحت تهديد السلاح كانوا يبدون أقرب إلى "المشوهين العاديين" لكابتن رينولت في كازابلانكا - حين يشتكي المُقدم من أن "المتعصبين يتدخلون مرة أخرى ويزيدون من صعوبة الموقف". و عنى بذلك القوميين التونسيين بالتأكيد، وليس النظام الاستعماري الفرنسي. وقد خفت نجم القومية العربية منذ نشأت الحركات الإسلامية، والتي تم إقصاؤها بوصفها حركة "متعصبين"، وذلك من جانب الغرب وبعض القوميين السابقين. ولأنَّ الانتخابات تأتي بحزب إسلامي تلو الآخر في العالم العربي، فإنَّ أمريكيًا وحلفاءها يحاولون ترويضهم - على السياسة الأجنبية والاقتصادية، بدلاً من تفسيرات الشريعة. والذين يخضعون لذلك سوف يتم اعتبارهم "معتدلين" - أما الباقي فسيظل من "المتعصبين".

6. التدخل العسكري الأجنبي في الشرق الأوسط يأتي بالموت والدمار والتقسيم والحكم

ليست هناك حاجة للبحث في السجلات التاريخية لاستنتاج تلك الحقيقة. فتجربة العقد الأخير واضحة بشكل كافٍ. وسواءً كان ذلك غزوًا واحتلالًا بشكل كامل مثل العراق، حيث تم قتل مئات الآلاف، أو قصفًا جويًا لتغيير النظام تحت شعار "حماية المدنيين" في ليبيا، حيث تم قتل عشرات الآلاف، فقد كانت الخسائر البشرية والمادية كارثية. وكان هذا هو الحال طوال التاريخ المشؤم للتدخل الغربي في الشرق الأوسط. ويمكن لفيلم باثي الصامت لتخريب دمشق على يد القوات الاستعمارية الفرنسية خلال الثورة السورية عام 1925 أن يقدم صورة شبيهة للفلوجة في عام 2004 أو سرت في هذا الخريف - وذلك بغض النظر عن الطرايبش والخوذات. وبعد ثلاثين عامًا بدت بورسعيد في وضع مشابه خلال العدوان البريطاني الفرنسي على مصر عام 1956 الذي ميز حلول الدول الاستعمارية الأوروبية السابقة محل الولايات المتحدة كقوة مسيطرة في المنطقة. وهكذا كانت الخطط الإمبريالية التقليدية لاستخدام الدين والانقسامات العرقية لتقوية الاحتلال الأجنبي: سواء من الأمريكيين في العراق أو الفرنسيين في سوريا أو لبنان أو البريطانيين أينما ذهبوا تقريبًا. ويمتلئ أرشيف باثي بالأفلام التسجيلية التي تروج للقوات البريطانية باعتبارها تعمل على "الحفاظ على السلام" بين الطوائف المتناحرة، من قبرص حتى فلسطين - وكل هذا لصالح استمرار السيطرة. والآن تعمل التقسيمات الطائفية والعرقية التي فرضت تحت الاحتلال الأمريكي البريطاني للعراق والتي تم حشدها بواسطة حلفاء الغرب في الخليج للتخلص من تحديات الصحوة العربية أو تحويل مسارها: ومثلما حدث في قمع الثورة البحرينية، وعزل اضطرابات الشيعة في المملكة العربية السعودية وزيادة الصراع الطائفي في سوريا - لن يؤدي التدخل

كان يُمكن ألا يتم إنشاء دولة إسرائيل لولا الحكم الاستعماري لبريطانيا الذي دام ثلاثين عامًا في فلسطين ورعايتها للاستعمار الأوروبي اليهودي على نطاق واسع تحت شعار وعد بلفور عام 1917؛ وكان من الواضح أن فلسطين المستقلة ذات الأغلبية وتتجلى الحقيقة المقنعة في الفلسطينية العربية لم تكن لتقبل بهذا أبدًا. وانهارت العلاقة بعد تقييد بريطانيا للهجرة اليهودية إلى فلسطين وكان رد الفعل الاستعماري لبريطانيا، عشية الحرب العالمية الثانية. في فلسطين وفي أماكن أخرى، هو دائمًا الظهور باعتبارها "راعية القانون والنظام" ضد "تهديد الثورة" و"سيده الموقف" - كما يبدو في ولكن الصلة هذا الفيلم الإخباري المضلل عام 1938 من القدس. الأساسية السابقة بين القوة الاستعمارية الغربية والمشروع الصهيوني أصبحت تحالفًا إستراتيجيًا دائمًا بعد تأسيس إسرائيل - من خلال إجلاء ونزع الملكية من الفلسطينيين وعدة حروب و44 عامًا من الاحتلال العسكري واستعمار غير قانوني مستمر للضفة الغربية وتعد الطبيعة غير المشروطة لهذا التحالف، والتي تظل محور وغزة. سياسة الولايات المتحدة في الشرق الأوسط، هي أحد الأسباب التي تفسر احتمال رفض الحكومات العربية المنتخبة ديمقراطيًا أن تلعب دور الضحية للقوة الأمريكية والذي كانت تلعبه حكومة مبارك وأنظمة الخليج الديكتاتورية. ولا شك أن القضية الفلسطينية متأصلة في الثقافة السياسية العربية والإسلامية. ومثل بريطانيا قبلها، يُمكن أن تكافح الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لتظل "سيده