Chapter One: Introduction

Both the media and translation form particular images of cultural identities. The media represents cultures either by written words, images, audiovisual media or the Internet. Translation does so by words. Thornborrow (2004: 58) argues that "The most important and interesting aspects of the potential power of the media from a linguistic point of view are the way that people and events get reported." This reporting could take the form of a written or a spoken language. According to Singh (2004: 33) language is a unique "system of representation which 'cuts up reality' in different ways." It also can be used not only to "*steer* people's thoughts and beliefs but also to *control* their thoughts and beliefs" (Jones and Peccei, 2004:39). The media, being the product of powerful and dominant institutions, governments, or people, uses language that is therefore powerful and valued. If power of the media can "influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and social identities" (Fairclough, 1995:2), so does the translation of political discourse represented through the media.

Given the current state of affairs between the Arab/Muslim World and the West, the significance of this thesis lies in its attempt to highlight the power of translation for the media in the formation of particular images and beliefs about certain cultures and societies and to underline the importance of ideological dimensions inherent in translating such a discourse. Three Arabic texts from different Arabic newspapers and their English translations are examined with a particular focus on what gets translated, how is it translated, and how is it represented through the media.

Chapter one is the introduction to this thesis. Chapter two examines a number of theories of translation and media studies that are most helpful to the research in question. The translation theories discussed are Catford's translation shifts, Vinay & Darbelnet's notion of equivalence, Jakobson's notion of equivalence in difference, Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence, Baker's approach to translation, Hatim and Mason's intertextuality and discourse pragmatics, Faiq's culture and master discourse of translation, and Vermeer's skopos theory. The second part of chapter two highlights the key concepts that media studies revolve around. The concepts covered are narrative, genre, representation, ideology, audience and institutions. It also discusses the relationship between the media and the internet.

Chapter three explores the notion of politics and political discourse and the main characteristics of political discourse. It then studies the relationship between politics and the media, and politics and translation.

Chapter four presents the data and the methodology of data analysis in this research. Three Arabic texts along with their English translations are analyzed in terms of language used: what is translated, what is deleted, and how is it translated; and in terms of discourse: intention of the writer and translator, use of cultural references, the ideology of translation, and the representation of such translations through the media.

Chapter five summarizes the thesis and its main findings.

Chapter Two: Translation and Media Studies

This chapter reviews some of the main theories of translation studies that contributed to the evolution of the field throughout the years. It also explores the key concepts of media studies with a special focus on the Internet, given that the data used for analysis in this thesis were obtained from the Internet.

Translation Studies

Being an interdisciplinary field of study, translation involves various techniques, theories and approaches. Translation has developed from mere replacement of words by their linguistic equivalents into a complex procedure involving things beyond the linguistic meaning, such as context, culture, pragmatics, and ideology. In defining translation studies, Jeremy Munday explains that it is,

> The academic discipline related to the study of the theory and phenomena of translation. By its nature it is multilingual and also interdisciplinary, encompassing any language combinations, various branches of linguistics, comparative literature, communication studies, philosophy and a range of types of cultural studies including postcolonialism and postmodernism as well as sociology and historiography. (2008:1)

Although the act of translation dates back to ancient history, the academic study of translation and the discipline of translation studies came to light in the second half of the twentieth century. Until the 1960s, translation was used as a means of learning new languages. Then translation was promoted in universities in parallel with comparative literature. Translation was used to introduce different literary texts to diverse target cultures and the process of translation was discussed in order to reach a better understanding of the text. Another area that translation was part of is contrastive analysis, which is the study of two languages in contrast to identify the differences and similarities between them. In the 1970s, James S. Holmes was the first to study translation as a science: he produced a general framework of translation studies differentiating between the pure and the applied aspects of translation, giving more attention to the pure side. That period also witnessed the introduction of the different types of correspondence (formal vs. dynamic) by Eugene Nida, and text type and text purpose by Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer. The Hallidayan influence on discourse analysis and functional

grammar became prominent in the early 1990s, and later new schools and concepts were incorporated with translation studies like postcolonialism, gender and cultural studies. Other concepts came to light in the twenty-first century like globalization, resistance, historiography and sociology.

Translation Theories

     J. C. Catford: Translation shifts. Catford is one of the scholars who is in favor of a linguistic based approach in translation. His approach is based on the linguistic model of Firth and Halliday. Their model examines language as communication and meaning as function in context. Therefore, Catford (1965:1) defines translation as "an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another" (as cited in Hatim, 2001:14). Catford's definition proposes that we replace a word with another that would function the same way in a specific context rather than transferring the meaning from one language/culture to another.

     According to Munday (2001), Catford makes a distinction between both formal correspondence and textual equivalence. Formal correspondence means adhering to the source language text: "any TL Category (unit, class, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL" (1965:27, as cited in Munday 2001:60). Therefore, in formal correspondence, an adjective is translated as an adjective. TL here refers to target language; SL refers to source language.

     Textual equivalence is "any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion…to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text" (*ibid.*), e.g., translating an adjective as an adverb. Upon failing to deliver a message by adhering closely to the linguistic form, textual equivalence could be achieved through translation shifts that are defined as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Catford, 1965:73, cited in Hatim, 2001:15). Catford considers two types of shifts:

       1. *Level shift.* A level shift occurs when an SL item has a TL translation equivalent at a different linguistic level from its own (grammatical, lexical, etc.).

2. *Category shift.* A category shift is a generic term referring to shifts involving any of the four categories of class, structure, system and unit (e.g., ST adjectival phrase becomes an adverbial phrase in the TT)

Vinay and Darbelnet: Notion of equivalence. Vinay and Darbelnet consider the equivalence-based approach in translation as a procedure which "replicates the same situation as in the original, whilst using completely different wording" (cited in Leonardi, 2000). Based on this definition, if this procedure is applied during translation we will be able to maintain the stylistic impact of the ST (source text) in the TT (target text). Thus, equivalence is the best approach to use when translating idioms, clichés, proverbs, etc. Vinay and Darbelnet also argued that equivalent expressions aren't acceptable unless they are listed in a bilingual dictionary as "full equivalents" (Leonardi, 2000).

Vinay and Darbelnet introduced two major translation strategies: direct translation and oblique translation. Each one of these strategies comprises a number of procedures. Ones that come under direct translation are borrowing, calque, and literal translation. Ones that come under oblique translation are transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation (Munday, 2001).

Roman Jakobson: Equivalence in difference. Roman Jakobson discussed the concept of equivalence from a semiotic angle. According to Jakobson's semiotic approach to language and translation, the translator has to "recode" the ST message then "transmit" it into an equivalent TT message. Thus, "translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes" (Jakobson, 1959/2004:139).

Jakobson differentiates between three types of translation:

1. Intralingual (within the same language: rewording, paraphrasing)
2. Interlingual (between two languages)
3. Intersemiotic (between verbal signs and nonverbal ones)

In the case of intralingual translation, the translator may use synonymy to get the message across, although synonymy itself is not a complete equivalence. Therefore, it is more difficult to get the message across on the level of interlingual translation due to the different language structures, grammars, and concepts, etc. Based on his approach of "equivalence in difference," which "focuses on differences in the structure and terminology of languages rather than on any inability of one language to render a

message that has been written in another verbal language" (Munday, 2008:38), Jakobson acknowledges that there is "ordinarily no full equivalence between code-units," but that every language is able to render the message in its own way. He then states that "whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loanwords or loan-translations, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocutions" (Jakobson, 1959/2004:140).

Eugene Nida: Formal correspondence vs. dynamic equivalence. Nida was a linguist and a translator which helped him make a great contribution to translation studies. He developed his theory from his practical work in translating the Bible, providing this field with a controversial yet notable contribution.

Nida's approach to translation does not only involve rendering mere linguistic meaning but also takes into consideration the culture of a given language and the emotional effect of a given text. He therefore distinguishes between two types of equivalence: formal equivalence/correspondence, and dynamic equivalence.

Formal correspondence focuses on both the form and content of a message: "the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language" (Nida, 1964/2004:156). However, Nida states that "there can be no absolute correspondence between languages" (p. 153). Therefore, formal correspondence could at times be meaningless, and should be used consciously only when needed, for example in diplomatic discourse, or whenever contextually motivated for stylistic reasons.

On the other hand, dynamic equivalence is TL oriented and based on equivalent effect rather than equivalent form. Its main concern is producing "the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message" (Nida, 1964/2004:163). "Naturalness" is a basic requirement for Nida. A natural translation is one that adapts to the grammar, lexicon, linguistic rules, structure system and culture of the TL. It should be as naturally produced as the ST and not feel like a translation in order to have the same effect on the TT reader as the ST did. Nida states that:

One is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship, that the relationship

between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message. (1964/2004:156)

Mona Baker: Linguistic & communicative approach. Mona Baker pursued a more comprehensive approach in examining the concept of "equivalence." She offered a detailed list of conditions where equivalence could be defined from a linguistic and communicative perspective.

Hence, she distinguishes between:

- *Equivalence* at *word level and* above *word level*. Being the smallest unit of language that possesses meaning and that can be used by itself, the word is the first element to be taken into consideration when translating. Baker (1992) explains that there are smaller units in language that carry meaning (i.e. morphemes), which are parts of the word carrying their own meaning. Therefore, the translator should pay attention when considering a single word (i.e. gender, number). She also discusses word combinations since words "rarely occur on their own" (*ibid.*: 46) and provides different strategies to be followed when encountering such combinations (i.e. collocations, idioms).

- *Grammatical equivalence*. According to Baker (1992: 83), grammar is "the set of rules which determines the way in which units such as words and phrases can be combined in language and the kind of information which has to be made regularly explicit in utterances." These rules vary from one language to another and may require extra effort from the translator due to the absence of certain grammatical categories in the TL. Grammatical categories include but are not limited to: number, gender, person, and voice.

- *Textual equivalence.* Textual equivalence is concerned with finding appropriate equivalences on the text level between SL and TL in terms of thematic and information structure and cohesion.

- *Pragmatic equivalence*. Pragmatics "is the study of meaning, not as generated by the linguistic system but as conveyed and manipulated by participants in a communicative situation" (Baker, 1992:217). Thus pragmatic equivalence aims at achieving equivalence of the hidden message of the ST rather than the linguistic or surface meaning. The translator has to work out the coherent relations of the ST and implicit messages and recreate them in an explicit way for the TT reader.

Basil Hatim and Ian Mason: Intertextuality and discourse   pragmatics.
Intertextuality is a process through which texts relate to each other or refer backward or forward to other existing texts in a way that activates our previous textual/cultural experiences. Intertextuality, therefore, adds a whole new volume of signification that occurs from previous awareness, regardless of the semantic content (Hatim & Mason, 1990).

In Hatim and Mason (1990), Lemke distinguishes between two types of intertextuality: one that occurs between elements of the same text, and another that exists between different texts. Intertextuality could take the form of imitation, parody, citation or reference. Hatim and Mason further argue that intertextuality is a motivated process and not mere quotation from another text or author. It is used for certain purposes and intended to achieve certain responses.

Understanding the relationship between language and its context of utterance is crucial for understanding the entire message. According to Hatim and Mason (1990:59), Austin (1962) was the first to investigate the ability of sentences to perform actions which means "to effect some communicative purpose over and above the sense conveyed by the sum of the individual lexical items which the sentence comprises" (*ibid*.). Hence, Austin distinguishes between three kinds of actions:

- Locutionary act: the utterance of a meaningful sentence.

- Illocutionary act: the communicative force of an utterance.

-Perlocutionary act: the effect of the utterance on the reader/hearer.

These actions constitute speech acts that, along with implicature, presupposition, etc., are part of the pragmatic study of a text.

Said Faiq: Culture and master discourse of translation. Most translations from Arabic share certain characteristics that are shaped and regulated by the master discourse of the translating culture. Therefore, these translations "[do] not normally reflect reality; instead [they] make use of language in such a way that reality is constructed" (*Faiq, 2007*: 10). Such alteration of the ST leads to the production of "subverted" translations that satisfy "pre-existing and expected responses of and/or sought by the receivers of the translations" (*ibid*: 14).

Prior to the awareness of the cultural connection to translation, translation had long been seen as a mere linguistic activity. It was those elements that were considered 'culture specific' that attracted attention to the integral relationship between language and culture. Wareing (2004) defines language as a set of systems (sounds, grammar, and meaning) used variably yet systematically. This difference in language use is attributed to the different ways language users perceive themselves and the world and to the different contexts of the situation. In other words, language is the verbal expression of culture. Culture is the shared belief system and knowledge among a certain social group that allows them to act and react within the accepted and expected norms and practices (Snell-Hornby, 1995).

Having linguistic proficiency is insufficient when translating from other cultures. A translator must also be acquainted with the cultural background of the ST. Even in this case, the translatability of a text "varies with the *degree* to which it is embedded in its own specific culture, also with the distance that separates the cultural background of source text and target audience in terms of time and place" (Snell-Hornby, 1995:41). Another important factor that determines the translatability and reception of a text is its significance to the receiving culture (*ibid*.); translating a text about an alien concept would be a challenging process, as would be the reception of such a text by the target audience. In other words, "…the reception process of translated texts is determined more by the shared knowledge of the translating community and its language, than by what the translated texts themselves contain" (Faiq, 2007:9-10). This shared knowledge, which is a combination of the prevailing values, beliefs, and ideologies in a particular culture, plays a huge role in perceiving and receiving the other. It regulates the culture's master discourse, which in turn regulates what is accepted and how.

According to Faiq (2007), the translating culture (self) tends to accept the other (translated culture) as long as it does not challenge its (the translating culture's) master discourse. This means that translation is not innocent. It is an ideological activity that regulates the way of accepting the other: the choice of texts to be translated, and the way they are produced, must conform to the self's master discourse.

Hans J. Vermeer: Skopos and commission in translation. Skopos is a Greek word that means "aim" or "purpose." As the name suggests, skopos theory revolves

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around the purpose of the translational action. Developed in the 1970s by Hans J. Vermeer, skopos theory is based on the notion that every action has an aim or purpose, which eventually leads to a result. Translation as part of translational action means that translation is an action. And since every action has a purpose, translation does too, whether realized by the translator him/herself or negotiated with the client who requested the translation. The result of the translation is the target text (the *translatum*). The translator in this case is the decision maker. S/he decides how to best translate a given text according to the purpose of the translation and the function/role it is going to play in the target culture. Consequently, one text may have different translations corresponding to different purposes.

Some objections have been raised against skopos theory. The first objection claims that not all actions have a purpose or an aim, like some literary texts. This objection has been refuted on account that if an action does not have a purpose, then it can no longer be considered an action. It could also be argued that, contrary to what some people believe, literature and art always have a purpose. If a line of poetry comes across someone's mind, it is so far not an action; however, if this person chooses to write it down, then it is considered an action, for it could have been left unwritten. And if this same person continues to write a whole poem, it is definitely an action with some purpose or aim, and certain addressees in mind, since it could have been left unfinished. The purpose could range from something as simple as to please someone with these lines, to having it published and recognized in order to earn fame or money. One may argue, how about art? Like the *l'art pour l'art* movement (early nineteenth century), "art for art's sake", well, the name is suggesting the purpose (Vermeer, 1989/2004:231).

Vermeer also explains the notion of translation commission. The commission is "the instruction, given by oneself or by someone else, to carry out a given action" which in this case is translation (*ibid.*: 235). The commission is usually given explicitly ("would you please translate the attached document?"); however, the purpose is not always as explicit. For example, a translator working for a certain company will have the previous knowledge of the company's specifications, addressees and purpose without needing to have it mentioned explicitly every time. The skopos of a translation is

defined by the commission and modified by the translator, as the expert, when necessary.

The goal of skopos theory is to "know what the point of a translation is, to be conscious of the action" (Vermeer, 1989/2004:237). The skopos helps determine whether the source text needs to be "translated," "paraphrased" or "re-edited" based on the commission. The skopos is not necessarily target culture oriented. It could be target culture oriented, source culture oriented, or anything in between. The commission consists of: (1) the goal, i.e., the purpose or aim of the commission and (2) the conditions under which the goal should be achieved (like deadline and fees). These, according to Vermeer, should be explicitly discussed between the translator and the client.

Translation and Ideology

Ideology is a word used in many different contexts with many different connotations. Sometimes it is a positive reference; other times it is a negative one. So what is ideology? According to Simpson (1993:5) ideology is " derive[ing] from the taken for granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups…[and] mediated [through] powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and the medical profession" (as cited in Fawcett & Munday, 2009:137). And what does this have to do with translation? Since translation is interdisciplinary, and the translation process is a "multi-level process," and translating "naturally involves the transporting (carrying over) of languages and their associated cultures to and recuperated by specific target reading constituencies," then translation is ideological. When someone translates a given text, s/he applies their knowledge--whatever that knowledge may be--led by the skopos as ordered by the commissioner in order to reach the wanted function of the translation (Holmes, 1988:96, as cited in Katan, 2004:16; Faiq, 2007:1).

Maria Tymoczko (2003) argues that the ideology of translation is partially determined by the content of the source text, no matter how political or complicated it could be. As a form of metastatement, translation complements the ideological value of the source text. According to Tymoczko, the ideology of translation is a mixture of:

- the content of the source text,

- the various speech acts within the source text that are relevant to the source context,

- the representation of the content,

- its relevance to the target audience,

- the various speech acts within the target text that are relevant to the target context, and

- similarities and differences between the two texts.

She further argues that the ideological effect of the translation differs in every case of translation according to "the translator's particular choices" on the following levels:

- the level of representation of the subject matter.

- the representation and effect of the relevant speech acts in the source text.

- the relevant speech acts in the translator's own name. (Tymoczko, 2003: 216)

The ideology of translation "resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience" that are affected by "the place of enunciation of the translator" (*ibid*.). The geographical and temporal positioning of the translator is also an ideological one that determines the translator's choices along with his/her cultural and ideological affiliations. The translator could take different positions when translating: within the target culture, Toury (1980) argued that translations are "'facts' of one language and one textual tradition only, namely the target culture's" (1980:82-83; cited in Tymoczko, 2003: 216). After all, "translations are not made in a vacuum. Translators function in a given culture at a given time. The way they understand themselves and their cultures is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they may translate." (Lefevere, 1992:14)

Media Studies

The media is a very powerful tool in today's world. It plays a huge role in the construction of modern societies' belief systems and decides "the significance of things that happen in the world for any given culture, society or social group" (Thornborrow, 2004:56). Therefore, whatever is reported by the media is considered important, not necessarily for the public but for the media institution. Media institutions are "those enduring regulatory and organizing structures of any society which constrain and control

individuals and individuality...the term more precisely refers to the underlying principles and values according to which many social and cultural practices are organized and co-ordinated" (O'Sullivan et al., 1983, cited in Wilson, 2010). Since the media plays a vital role in shaping the values, ideas and belief system of a society, it could be a manipulative tool in favor of the media institution.

Media studies involve "studies from theory, criticism and debate about the media" (Lusted, 1991:6).

Media "is derived from the Latin word *medius*, which means 'middle.' The communication media are the different technological processes that facilitate communication between (and are in the "middle" of) the sender of the message and the receiver of that message" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003: 6-7). Audiences or receivers of media messages are viewed as "readers" of these messages. Audiences "read" the sounds and pictures of a message from the media the same way they read a written one: both involve an active interpretation of that message. Hence, the same media message could be processed and interpreted differently by two different people (*ibid*.). According to Silverblatt & Eliceiri, a media message is "the underlying themes or ideas contained in a media presentation" (1997:130). They also differentiate between two types of messages, or "layers of meaning": manifest and latent messages. The manifest message is an explicit and direct message while the latent message is an implicit and indirect one. A latent message may be used either to "reinforce" a manifest message or propose a different one using different strategies like embedded values, cumulative message or production techniques (*ibid*., 1997:130-131).

Key Concepts in Media Studies

Following are some of the key concepts that media studies revolves around:

Narrative. Narrative can be defined as "the way in which a story is told in both fictional and non-fictional media texts" (Rayner, Wall & Kruger, 2001:44). In other words, it is a "connected sequence of events" that conveys information and helps us "make sense of the world" (Lacey, 2000:13; Rayner et al., 2001:44). It could be compared to storytelling: the way in which a story is formed and shaped in media texts plays a huge role in the outcome and influence of such a text on a target audience. Narrative is an important tool in media studies because it helps organize what appears to

be "random and incoherent events into a coherent and logical form that an audience can assimilate" (Rayner et al., 2001: 45). Rayner et al. (2001) suggested that narrative is used to influence the response of an audience and is determined by the way information is presented. It is a useful tool for media producers to unfold information in a certain way that helps the audience "take sides" in favor of one party or another.

Narrative structure is described as comprising situation, problem, and resolution (Lacey, 2000). It is argued that all narratives carry the same underlying structure with variations only in character and setting. Tvzetan Todorov, a Bulgarian theorist, describes the basic structure of narrative as equilibrium, disequilibrium, and new equilibrium (Rayner et al., 2001:46). We can find this structure in most media texts such as movies, novels, soap operas, newspapers, and even news programs. Narrative starts with a state of peace, harmony and social order. Then this peace is destroyed by some evil event or action, and later, peace and harmony are restored by the intervention of some kind of a good power, event or action. So a new form of harmony or equilibrium is restored (*ibid.*).

Characters are an important aspect of narrative. When a character is introduced to the audience, their motives or goals are likewise introduced to us. It is character motives or goals that usually cause events to take place within a text. Different characters having different motives and conflicting with each other invites us, the audience, to take sides. Especially in fictional texts, certain character types seem to recur in the same way to the extent they almost become stereotypes, such as grumpy old people or wealthy Arabs from the Gulf running after women (*ibid.*).

Another important concept in narrative study is the mode of address, which can be defined as "the way in which a particular text will address or speak to its audience" (*ibid.*:51). Roland Barthes (year) argued that narrative uses a number of codes to control the way information is delivered to the audience. Two of these are particularly important in media studies: enigma code and action code (Rayner et al., 2001).

Enigma is "a narrative device that teases the audience by presenting a puzzle or riddle to be solved" (*ibid.*: 52). The use of enigma codes can be observed in crime scene investigation stories. Enigma involves the audience in interpreting clues and finding the solution to the riddle to find the criminal. It also can be found in movie or program

trailers. It "teases" the audience by giving information that can only be fully understood by tuning in to that movie or program.

Action code is "a narrative device by which a resolution is produced through action, e.g. a shoot-out" (Rayner et al., 2001: 53). This can be observed in gangster or action movies where a resolution is found through action such gunfire or car chases.

Genre. Genre is "…the classification of media texts into groups with similar characteristics" (Rayner et al., 2001:56). These characteristics include: character, setting, iconography, narrative and style of the text. Rayner et al. suggest that the concept of genre helps audiences select, judge, and arouse certain expectations from a text and relate to other texts; genre also helps producers and institutions make a profit when they examine what audiences enjoy and produce something similar. Genre can be applied to all media texts but it has been argued that it is more applicable to film and television and is of "limited use when applied to newspapers, magazines, or radio." (*ibid*: 62).

Representation. The media is an important source of information that helps us have a better understanding of the world around us. It has been argued that it is a powerful tool "of shaping our attitudes and beliefs" and our "understanding of this world" (*ibid.*: 63). Hence, representation is defined as "the process by which the media present to us the 'real world'" (*ibid*.), keeping in mind that it offers us a "representation of reality rather than reality itself" (*ibid.*: 65). A careful selection process takes place when deciding which piece of news is to be reported on which day. Images and information are carefully selected to produce a representation of the event and are simplified to be more digestible for the audience. Therefore, the audience ends up receiving a "highly refined representation" of the event (*ibid.*: 67). The process of representation usually involves highlighting important details: since conflict is the main focus of the media, any story that involves a controversial or dramatic event is prioritized.

One of the results of the media's simplification of news and its production of certain representations is stereotyping. Rayner et al. point out that:

What stereotyping does is to "characterize whole groups of people by attributing to them qualities which may be found in one or two individuals. These characteristics are often exaggerated, and entire racial groups or nationalities become reduced to single characteristics" (2001: 67).

Ideology. Since representation (of an event, person, etc.) is a process of selection and modification, it leads to the positioning of the audience in order to adopt a particular perspective. Ideology is connected to representation: it works by repetition. Repetition of representations across the media leads to the naturalization of certain concepts and makes it acceptable to the audience in the desired way. This result of having the audience accepting or adopting a certain point of view is called ideology. As mentioned before, ideology consists of the ideas, beliefs, attitudes, values and belief system adopted by a group of people which help them to make sense of the surrounding world. The more powerful the group is, the more dominant their ideology is. Rayner et al. define ideology as "a system of beliefs which determines how power relations are organized within a society" (2001: 80). The media can influence people and shape their attitudes to accept what is best for the ruling power. In other words, the media help persuade us, the audience, to allow other people, the ruling elite, to exercise their power over us, and accept the norms they impose.

Ideologies work toward the interest of the producer, be it an individual, institution, or authority. For example, in the case of a revolution or a rebellion, one of the first things that usually happens is that "the national media and communications centers are taken over, so that the new leaders can 'control' the messages that are transmitted. In this way they use the media to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people" (Rayner et al, 2001:6).

When the vast majority of people share the same ideas, beliefs or point of view as common sense, it is called hegemony. This concept was first developed by Gramsci in the 1930s, and described how power elites exercise their leadership and power over the nation by winning their consent rather than ruling by coercion (Hartley, 2002). This could be applied to almost all aspects of our life. One example is football. If one compares the number of pages dedicated to football news coverage and events compared to other sports, they will find volumes about football compared to everything else. The worldwide Fifa world cup fever takes over everything to the extent that it seems as if the whole world must be watching. This is hegemony; it is not a forced movement. No one is forced to watch or read about football, but there are few alternatives (Wilson, 2010).

Audience. Since every product has a target consumer, every media text has a target audience. A media producer has a typical type of audience in mind when creating a new media text. "The term audience is used to describe a large number of unidentifiable people, usually united by their participation in the media use" (Hartley, 2002:11-12). They are the "imagined community" that helps media producers identify the needs and expectations of the real community (*ibid*.). There are seven types of "subjectivities" or categories used by media producers to help define the position of the audience and to engage with them: self image, gender, age group, family, class, nation and ethnicity; Fiske (1989) added four more: education, religion, politics, and location (as cited in Rayner et al., 2001:122). These categories help media producers define their audiences; this also affects the way audiences perceive and interact with a certain text.

A number of theories have appeared since the 1920s in order to understand the effect of the media on people and vice versa. Following are some of the most common theories:

The hypodermic needle theory. One of the earliest theories on the relationship between media and audience is the hypodermic needle theory. It "suggests that the media 'inject' ideas into a passive audience, like giving a patient a drug" (Rayner et al., 2001:131). This theory portrays audiences as a powerless and submissive mass of people who are willingly affected by a media text in the same way and to the same extent regardless of their individual differences. It depicts audiences as one mass rather than individuals. This theory could be applied to the Nazi or Stalin regimes where the media was used as a propaganda tool to control and 'inject' the mass population with the ideas and beliefs of their leaders. It is also suggested that the success of commercial television in America during the 1950s played a huge role in manipulating people, using their drive to consumerism. Later studies suggested that audiences are not that passive: they select what they want to hear and ignore the rest. The messages they accept are those that reinforce already existing beliefs in a process that is subject to individual differences (*ibid.*).

Two-step flow theory. After a study of voters' decision making processes in the 1940 United States presidential elections, researchers Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet found out that audiences neither reacted to election campaigns as a mass nor were influenced by the campaigns' messages in a direct way. Their study

revealed that people were actually affected by other people's opinions: friends, family members, and colleagues (social influence). These people were called opinion leaders. Opinion leaders are "people who initially consume media content, interpret it in light of their own values and beliefs, and then pass it on to opinion followers" (Baran, 2002). Social relationships were found to be very influential compared to the media message itself. When people discussed their opinions and shared their beliefs regarding a certain media text, they were more likely to be affected by each other's opinions. This way, a media message was received in a two-step process (Griswold: n.d.).

Uses and gratifications theory. This theory introduced a shift in audience studies. It was developed by Blumler and Katz in 1974 and suggested that audiences are active, individual consumers of media texts. They make conscious selections of the texts they choose to consume and expect them to fulfill their needs. Blumler and Katz suggested four main needs that audiences expect to be fulfilled:

- Diversion: escape from everyday routine and pressure,

- Personal relationships: identification and discussion about television characters,

- Personal identity: relating to characters and learning more about oneself, and

- Surveillance: documentaries and news reports.

However, critics of this theory argued that audiences don't always choose what they consume. For instance, people can't control whether they pass by a certain billboard on their way to work, or listen to or watch something that another family member has chosen (Rayner et al., 2001).

Reception theory. This theory is related to the uses and gratification theory, but it goes further and examines the way audiences receive media texts and the different meanings they infer from them. It is suggested that audiences are "active producers of meaning, not consumers of media meanings. They decode media texts in ways which are related to their social and cultural circumstances and the ways that they individually experience those circumstances" (Underwood, 2010). Therefore, one text can have several different interpretations and effects depending on the audience's background, mood, and/or setting, which affect the decoding process and the creation of meaning.

Institutions. Our institutions of interest are the media institutions that produce/distribute media texts: Print (newspapers and magazines), Broadcast (TV and

radio), Music, Film and Internet. Media institutions work collectively with other institutions within the society, whether to advertise a certain product, image or concept, raise social awareness regarding a certain issue, and execute live coverage of social and/ or political events. Media institutions also have control over access to media texts and the degree to which audiences may participate and be involved in the making of a media text.

   The Internet. The Internet refers to "a telephony-based system that links computers and computer networks worldwide to permit distribution of data, e-mail, messages, and visual and audio materials to individuals, groups of individuals and the public" (Küng, Picard, & Towse, 2008:3-4). The World Wide Web, which is behind many of the developments in the past two decade, is "a term indicating an internet based system accessed using browsers to access information, graphics, photography, video, and audio materials made available to specific individuals or the public" (*ibid*, p. 4).

   The Internet is used as a "cost-effective, additional promotion and distribution channel" to serve audiences (Van der Wurff, 2008:67). It "reduces the costs of content reproduction and distribution, but not the costs of content production" (*ibid*.). It is also used to distribute already published or new content by media institutions, non-media institutions and individuals. Content distribution via the Internet forces media institutions to improve their content on a regular basis in order to gather larger audiences and meet their high expectations. However, the production of new content that is designed specifically for the Internet remains limited. This is mainly due to the fact that it is difficult to recover high production costs, not to mention to make profit by selling this content. According to Van der Wurff, not all media content can be successfully transferred to the Web. Radio stations in particular find it difficult to translate their "aural tradition to the text and image-based internet" (Van der Wurff, 2008: 78). Therefore, most radio websites are only used to advertise the radio station. On the other hand, TV and newspaper content can be easily transferred to the Web. Newspapers' print content is very similar to the content posted on the Internet. Researchers found that front pages in print newspapers emphasized serious issues while online newspapers emphasized more peripheral ones (Van der Wurff, 2008). Due to the fact that it is difficult for newspapers to make money from their websites, they use it as a tool of attraction in order to maintain good relations with their print subscribers.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the concepts of translation and media studies. It was not until the 1960s that translation received acknowledgement as an independent field of study. Since then, the study of translation has evolved to cover many aspects and disciplines in different fields of study. It moved from the linguistic view of translation as a series of word replacements into the more complicated process of translation that involves knowledge of many other fields such as sociology, culture, and history,. The chapter also highlighted the main theories and concepts that media studies revolve around. Media studies involve the analysis of media messages, how they work together and how they affect the society. Interested researchers in the field of media analyzed its messages in terms of content of the media message, how this content is presented, why is it presented, and for whom and by whom. They arrived at forming basic concepts on media studies that are: narrative, genre, representation, ideology, audience and institution. This chapter also examined the main theories of audience reception of a media message: the hypodermic needle, two-step flow, uses and gratification and reception theory. A glimpse of the Internet and its relation to the media was also provided.

Chapter Three: Politics, the Media, and Translation

This chapter investigates the concept of politics and political discourse. Politics is "the process through which power and influence are used in the promotion of certain values and interests" (Danziger, 1997:4). Such power may take different forms. One of the forms of political power is language. Politics' reflection in language often appears in "powerful emotive terms, or in impotent jargon" (Newmark, 1991:14). However, "the core of political language lies in abstract conceptual terms" (*ibid*.). Translators don't always distinguish the "real cultural meanings of these conceptual words" (*ibid*.,148), which leads to a cultural misunderstanding between both sides and in worse cases may lead to conflicts or even wars. The media uses politics the same way politics uses media. They both are agents of power that use each other to extend their power and influence as much as possible.

Politics and Political Discourse

Politics is the art of acquiring, holding and wielding power

Indira Gandhi, 1975

Cited in Jones, 2004:220

The study of politics is as old as history. It dates back to Aristotle and Plato and is considered one of the oldest social sciences. According to the Dictionary of British Politics, politics is "a multifaceted phenomenon involving the shaping and sharing of power and the non-violent resolution of conflict" (Jones, 2004:219-220). According to Hart, Jarvis, Jennings, and Smith-Howell politics includes a range of meanings, from "a network of social hierarchies (who is in charge of whom)," to "the story of human preferences (who wants what)"; from "the science of information management (who knows what)," to "the business of human associations (who talks to whom)" (Hart, Jarvis, Jennings, & Smith-Howell, 2005:19). Danziger briefly puts it: "politics is the determination of who gets what, when and how" (1997:4). Lakoff elaborates the relationship between politics, power and language, stating that:

> "*politics* is the game of *power*…power informs all human relationships and politics is the instrument by which power creates and defines those relationships," and since "language is the initiator and interpreter of power relations[,] politics is language." At the same time, "language is politics. How

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well language is used translates directly into how well one's needs are met, into success or failure…language allocates power through politics." And since "language is powerful, language is power" (1990:12-13).

Finally, Bertrand Russell writes that power is "the production of intended effects" (Bertrand Russell, 1938; cited in Tansey, 2000:5). According to him, power may be exercised in various ways. It may be stark or subtle. It may be exercised as coercion, persuasion, or as a construction of incentives. The ability to exercise power is based on, but not limited to: money, affection, physical strength, legal status, determination, desperation, and/or possession of important information (*ibid.*).

One of the qualities that makes a great politician or leader is the ability to lead others by articulating a clear and inspiring vision of a better future, like Churchill or Roosevelt. Such an inspiring leader can lead or mislead people by persuading them that the interest of the government is based on the interest and will of people even if it clearly works against them. Sometimes, even an inarticulate person can lead people, such as Stalin or George W. Bush. The inarticulateness of the latter won him the hearts and trust of people because they associated his lack of rhetoric with humility, honesty, forthrightness and the inability to manipulate others as politicians do through their polished language (Joseph, 2006).

According to White (1994), political discourse includes:

The many ways in which political language and information can be used, ranging from a presentation you might make in support of a particular policy to formal statements by political leaders, from letters to the editor to laws passed by Congress, from simple statistical tables in newspaper articles to complex policy analyses prepared by a government agency. (p. 4)

There is a huge variety in political discourse due to the varying views and beliefs of the different political actors. They use language to lead or mislead, to persuade or dissuade, to enlighten or keep in the dark. Therefore, a careful analysis of language and terms used helps to reach a better understanding of the reality hidden behind these words.

There are two main resources that are allocated by politics: tangible resources, and intangible resources. Tangible resources are "things of value that can be directly observed and measured" such as food, housing, and weapons. Intangible resources are

"things of value that cannot be directly observed or measured" such as power, freedom, nationalism, rights and justice (White, 1994:8). For example, a statement like *the birth rate in Italy is higher than that in Japan* is a clear sentence that can be measured empirically and proven right or wrong. However, *Italians are better than Japanese* shows a great ambiguity and vagueness that can be used whether positively or negatively. "*Better"* is a vague word that can't be measured in order to validate this sentence. The solution for ambiguous words is to translate them into concrete words and link them with empirical evidence since "the lack of precision in many abstract terms means that they can be used purposefully to mislead people, to promote particular interests, or to express strong emotions" (*ibid*., p. 8-9).

Abstractions are "symbols that stand for, or in place of, things that cannot be directly observed or measured" (*ibid*., p.9). They are frequently translated into symbols. Symbols are "signs or representations people use to communicate about things that cannot be talked about or understood easily" (*ibid*.). They basically simplify complex and ambiguous terms. For example, when talking about France, we may think about its map, flag, leaders, or great buildings like the Eiffel Tower. Symbols that stand for tangible items are called concrete symbols, and those that stand for intangible items are called abstract symbols. Abstract symbols include metaphors, similes, analogies, and stereotypes.

Metaphors are "figures of speech in which a word or phrase ordinarily used in one context is applied in a second, different context in order to make a comparison" (*ibid*., p.10), for example, *the debate was a battleground*. Another version of this metaphor can be produced using similes (word inserts such as *like* and *as*): *the debate was like a battleground* By establishing the similarity between the two things (*debate* and *battleground*), metaphors help clarify, explain, describe or evaluate certain concepts and situations. Sport and war, which include physical activity, are common sources of metaphor used in politics (like a *fight* between two parties, *the gloves are off* when elections are announced, or *to play ball*) (Beard, 2000).

Analogy is "an attempt to state a relationship between two things that don't initially appear to have much in common" (Grothe, 2008:2). Politicians assume that if we find a similar event from the past, we can learn more about the current one, which is the

reason why they keep referring to historical events. According to White (1994), the strength of the analogy depends on the degree of similarity between the two things being compared and whether this similarity is relevant to the argument in question. According to White (1994) one common analogy used in politics is the Munich analogy. It dates back to 1938, when Great Britain gave in to Hitler's demands to occupy part of Czechoslovakia; this appeasement encouraged Hitler to take over the rest of Europe with impunity. The Munich analogy is usually referred to whenever someone surrenders in order to avoid confrontation and maintain peace, but in doing so unintentionally encourages further aggression.

During the Vietnam War, the Munich analogy was used by the supporters of the war to state that if U.S. forces withdrew they would encourage further aggression from North Vietnam. The question here is whether North Vietnam was the same as Nazi Germany; if not, then this analogy can be very misleading. Another example is this analogy that was made commenting on a political scandal: "wherever you have power you will have sleaze. It's like a dog and fleas" (Beard, 2000:28). Although it may sound clever, there is no link between power and dogs.

One significant use of language in politics is the use of stereotypes and group labels. Such labels are based on "territorial, ethnic, or class lines" and are commonly used "to appease those who fail to receive the tangible resources they want" (White, 1994:12) One example is "tokenism" whereby a few members of a society (females, African Americans, Hispanics) are given special treatment in order to suggest that the system is fair and provides equal chances to all members of the society.

Being a game of power, politics, as previously noted, uses language as a tool to gain and maintain this power. Politicians and the statements they make are frequently described as devious. However, not every political statement is devious or misleading. A very careful analysis of the terms and data contained in a political text is important to reach a clear and a comprehensive understanding of the whole situation.

Politics and the Media

The media are often a major agent of political socialization that government uses to serve its own agenda. Typically, the government provides information it expects the media to transmit to the people in order

to shape individuals' political understandings and to elicit their support for

its policy actions. (Danziger, 1997:241)

Different governments have varying relationships with media institutions. Although governments use the media to communicate their messages, they also set the rules within which the media should operate and communicate these messages. "All governments establish constraints on what can be reported about the society's politics and political actors" but to varying levels (*ibid*. p.245). There are four different types of government-media relationship. The first type of relationship is when the media have *near total independence*, such as in the United States. The government does not own or regulate any media institution and the freedom of the news media is protected by strong constitutional laws. However, there are some constraints based on regulatory guidelines to preserve balanced and accurate content. The second type of government-media relationship is when considerable freedom is given and *media responsibility* is mandated (this system exists in the United Kingdom, France and Spain). Media institutions can be fully or partially owned by the government, which monitors the content of the media. The news media is required to present balanced perspectives on controversial political issues. The government may forbid the presentation of certain sensitive governmental operations. The third relationship is the *authoritarian media system*. Even though a media institution may be privately owned, such a media institution has limited freedom in criticizing the state's policies. Should it cross a red line, media content can be censored by the government, journalists can be arrested or the whole institution can be shut down (e.g., the majority of the Sub-Saharan African nations). The fourth relationship is where the media are *arms of the state apparatus* (e.g., Cuba, North Korea, and the Congo). The news media's role is to present the state's perspective on politics and to reinforce its values and agenda (Danziger, 1997).

All governments realize the substantial role that media can play in assisting or hindering their attempts to achieve their goals. Governments attempt to "induce the news media to support its authority and policies" through promoting positive media coverage and flooding media representatives with information supporting the government's view and perspective. (Danziger, 1997:250). According to Harold Lasswell, a pioneer in media

studies, there are three major societal functions of mass media: surveillance, interpretation, and political socialization. Graber (2006) adds a fourth one: manipulation.

Surveillance is the act of reporting the ongoing events of the world, and involves shedding light on selected stories, individuals and organizations. Surveillance determines what political demands and actions should be covered and what should be hidden, which affects politicians' and the public's decisions and responses to certain issues. "The mass media are especially significant in drawing people's attention to some political phenomena rather than others - a situation termed *agenda setting*." (Danziger, 1997:244). The news media's attention to events and people gives them more influence with decision makers. Being aware of the media's agenda-setting power, politicians time and structure events in order to produce as much positive publicity as possible while avoiding damaging coverage.

Interpretation involves interpreting the meaning of events and speculating on their consequences according to the values and experiences of the interpreter, which affects political actions and decision making. For example, since the 1960s, abortion in the United States was considered to be murder until Sherri Finkbine, a popular television personality, had an abortion because of potential harm to the fetus from a drug she had taken. She feared giving birth to a severely malformed baby so she decided to end her pregnancy. Instead of reporting this event as a murder, the news media supported her decision by avoiding the negative connotation of the word 'abortion' and reported instead a "surgery to prevent a malformed baby" (Graber, 2006:10). The way the media interpreted and reported this event undoubtedly affected the way people received it, and eventually helped to change abortion's legal status. It shaped the opinion audiences should adopt by suggesting the relationships and the causes of the event without explicitly telling them what view to adopt.

Political Socialization involves "learning basic values and orientations that prepare individuals to fit into their cultural milieu" (*ibid*. p. 11). The media plays a huge role in political socialization. Most people acquire their political knowledge directly or indirectly from the media. The media also presents facts, general values, behavior models, attitudes and opinions that audiences, especially young ones, use to develop, shape and restructure their own view and perception of the world. "Media images

normalize specific social relations, making certain ways of behaving seem unexceptional. If media texts can normalize behavior, they can also set limits on the range of acceptable ideas… in essence, the accumulation of media images suggests what is "normal" and what is "deviant"" (e.g., the shift of racial and sexual attitudes since the middle of the twentieth century) (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003:163).

The fourth function suggested by Graber is *manipulation*. Journalists play a political role through investigation and investigative stories, the purpose of many of which is to "muckrake", the term comes from "a rake that is designed to collect manure" (Graber, 2006:11). They do so by undergoing an investigation and writing a revealing story, journalists expose corruption and governmental misconduct in order to produce reforms, attract larger audiences to enhance profit, and affect politics in accordance with the journalist's political preference. Such stories consequently lead to political action and political change.

Politics and Translation

Given that translation involves the act of selecting a particular text, by a particular person/institution, from a particular language, at a particular time to be translated into a particular language, by a particular person/institution, for a particular target consumer, for a particular purpose, suggests that translation is political. "Any decision to encourage, allow, promote, hinder or prevent to translate is a political decision" (Schäffner, 2007: 136).

Schäffner examines the issue of translation and politics from three different perspectives: The politics of translation, the translation of political texts and the politicization of translation.

Politics of Translation

The significance and complexity of translation on the cultural and communicative level did not receive much attention until the development of descriptive and cultural translation studies in the 1980s and 1990s. Since then, the focus has been on the communicative, cultural, social, ideological and political aspects of translation. The relationship between politics, power, ideology and translation (process: the act of translating, and product: the final translation) is deeper than one would think. Decisions such as what, how, when, where and most importantly, why, to translate are political

decisions. The concept of patronage that is perceived by Lefevere as "ideological control by powerful institutions or individuals" (Schäffner, 2007:138) and the role it plays in the translation process and product is a great example. Lefevere (1992) discussed the role of patronage on the production of translation. He suggests that patronage has an "ideological component," an "economic component," and a "status" component. These components respectively refer to "the choice of topics and the form of presentation," "assur[ing] the writer's livelihood" and "the writer's position in society" (as cited in Schäffner, 2007:136-137).

Patronage is powerful and ideologically determined. It exercises its power by promoting or hindering translations. It promotes whatever it believes to be appropriate to the culture in question and its prevailing ideology, or the ideology it desires to promote. It decides what topics to be translated, how it should be done, and how it should be presented. It also exercises censorship by preventing translations from being published, or preventing the translation of certain topics. The choice between dubbing and subtitling in audiovisual translation is a political decision as well since it prevents the audience from accessing the original text. Translation direction (the choice of source and target language) is also a part of the politics of translation, for example: English being the lingua franca and the dominant language in translation has to do with the power of the United States and the legacy of the colonial power of the United Kingdom. The politics of translation becomes even more specific when translating political texts (Schäffner: 2007).

Translation of Political Discourse

The translation of political discourse has been investigated by some scholars, among whom is Newmark, who states that "the trouble with the translation of political language is that it is an abstraction (rather more than most translation) of an abstraction" (1991:146), bearing in mind the features of political discourse and concepts that are "partly culture-bound, mainly value-laden, historically conditioned and like all concepts, abstractions in spite of continuous efforts to concretize them" (*ibid*.:149), and that political texts are usually summarized and shortened a number of times until the final product is translated and published, there is a reason why translators don't always distinguish the "real cultural meanings of these conceptual words" (Newmark, 1991:148).

Abstract conceptual terms are the core of political language. Yet they are "vague unless they represent a value in a scale common to the writer and the reader" like the word *good*, or *bad* (Newmark, 1991:149). Some words have a cultural meaning that has changed over time or is perceived differently from one country to another, such as *democracy*. Fifty years ago, democracy was perceived negatively as opposite to authority and order. Nowadays it still has different connotations in different countries. In the West it means holding regular and free elections where people can vote and chose their leader. In many Latin American countries it has a negative connotation due to the Gramscian intellectual hegemony.

Certain political terms may be perceived positively or negatively depending on the suffix they hold. For example, the suffix *-ist* is neutral as in *Marxist* and *Capitalist*, but the suffix *-istic* is negative as in *Marxistic* and *Capitalistic*. Some languages may not have the appropriate tools to distinguish between the two in one word (*ibid*.). Thus, the translation of political language requires cultural specific political knowledge along with linguistic competence.

Politicization of Translation

The politicization of translation involves producing translations of political issues or political performances, usually done in international organizations (e.g., UN resolutions), for political purposes. Different translations may introduce different political interpretations or activities since they are politically motivated. The politicization of translation also involves the use of translation for propaganda purposes or ideological purposes (i.e., to spread or transfer certain ideologies within or to other cultures).

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed various definitions of the concept of politics and its relationship to language and power. It also discussed the meaning of political discourse and its main characteristics such as metaphors, similes, analogies and stereotypes. The second part discussed the relationship between politics and the media and the interrelationship between governments, politics and the media. The third part explained the relationship between politics and translation on three levels: politics of translation, translation of political discourse, and the politicization of translation.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis

The previous chapters introduced the reader to the main theories of translation studies, the main concepts of media studies and the concept of politics and its relationship to both the media and translation. This chapter brings the three together by examining three Arabic political texts along with their English translations. Translation strategies used by the translator are investigated in order to unveil the politics of translation and how politicized these translations are. The way these translations were presented through media is also investigated in an attempt to uncover the politics and ideologies that guide Arabic-English political translations.

Data

The texts chosen for analysis were English translations of Arabic media published in the Arab World. The English translations were obtained from the *Middle East Media Research Institute* (MEMRI) website. MEMRI is an institution that monitors and analyses different media texts produced and published in the Middle East and translates them into different languages. Translations from Arabic into English and other languages are carried out by both Arab and non-Arab professional translators and subject experts working for MEMRI.

The first text is an article by an Israeli Arab Knesset Member discussing one of the strategies used by some countries (i.e. Israel) in order to justify their existence and dominance: the strategy of enemy making.

The second text is an article by a Saudi columnist who criticizes Hassan Nasrallah's attitude towards the international tribunal for the assassination of Rafiq Al-Hariri in 2009.
The third text is an editorial from the Jordanian daily *Addustour* blaming Israel for the return of Palestinian violence against it.

 Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI): An Overview

MEMRI was founded in February 1998 by Yigal Carmon in order to "inform the debate over U.S. policy in the Middle East" and "bridge the language gap which exists between the West and the Middle East" (MEMRI's homepage).

According to MEMRI, Yigal Carmon was a colonel in the Israeli Defense Forces Intelligence and a former chief counterterrorism advisor to two Israeli Prime Ministers: Yitzhak Rabin and Yitzhak Shamir. The board of directors and advisors of MEMRI includes former prime ministers, leading legal and counterterrorism experts, and former U.S. government officials such as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and Director of Operations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It also includes ambassadors to the United Nations (UN), and European Union (EU). MEMRI claims to be an independent, nonpartisan, and nonprofit organization with an aim to explore the Middle East, its traditions, policies, and ideologies by studying the region's media (print, television, and internet), religious sermons and school textbooks. It provides translations from Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Pashtu, Dari, Hindi, and Turkish texts into English, French, Spanish, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and Hebrew. It also provides analysis of the religious, cultural, political, social, intellectual and ideological trends in the region. Their articles are used extensively by "government bodies and legislatures; militaries – both U.S. and foreign; media; academia; and the public at large" ("About MEMRI", n.d.). MEMRI assists and lends support to all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces in carrying out the War on Terror, as well as supporting members of academia on a daily basis in over 500 universities all over the world by providing them with their material free of charge. This explains the huge role MEMRI plays in the formation and promotion of certain ideologies and beliefs about Arabs and Muslims in the Western world.

At first glance, one notices that MEMRI is biased towards certain issues and countries and uses a selective method of news reporting, analysis, and translation. To begin with, it is a research institute about the Middle East, yet not all the countries of the Middle East are included while some non-Middle Eastern countries are. For instance, Oman is part of the Middle East, yet it is not included in their research studies although all surrounding Gulf countries are. Morocco and Mauritania belong to the greater Middle East but are not included in their study although Afghanistan and Pakistan are. Moreover, India, Bangladesh, and Kashmir are monitored while these countries are South Asian ones and not even included in the greater Middle East. Djibouti and Eritrea are between Somalia and Sudan, which are monitored, yet Djibouti and Eritrea are not. It is worth

mentioning that MEMRI does not monitor and translate Hebrew media. Note that what combines the countries they cover with their research is the presence of conflict in those countries, be it religious, ethnic, sectarian, etc.

On their website, there is a list of countries monitored; clicking on a country displays the location and map of that country and the name of the country in both English and Arabic, except for South Asian countries, which follow a different pattern (Figure 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3). Palestine, unlike the other Arab countries, is mentioned as "Palestinians" in English with no Arabic translation of the word and no specific map assigned; the map of the Arabian Peninsula is displayed instead (Figure 5.5). MEMRI ignores the fact that there is a land for Palestinians and a country which their name is derived from, which explains their agenda: the denial of the presence of a land that belongs to Palestinians. There is no mention of Palestine being occupied by Israel either.

Figure 4.1: United Arab Emirates Page on MEMRI Website

Figure 4.2: Iran Page on MEMRI Website

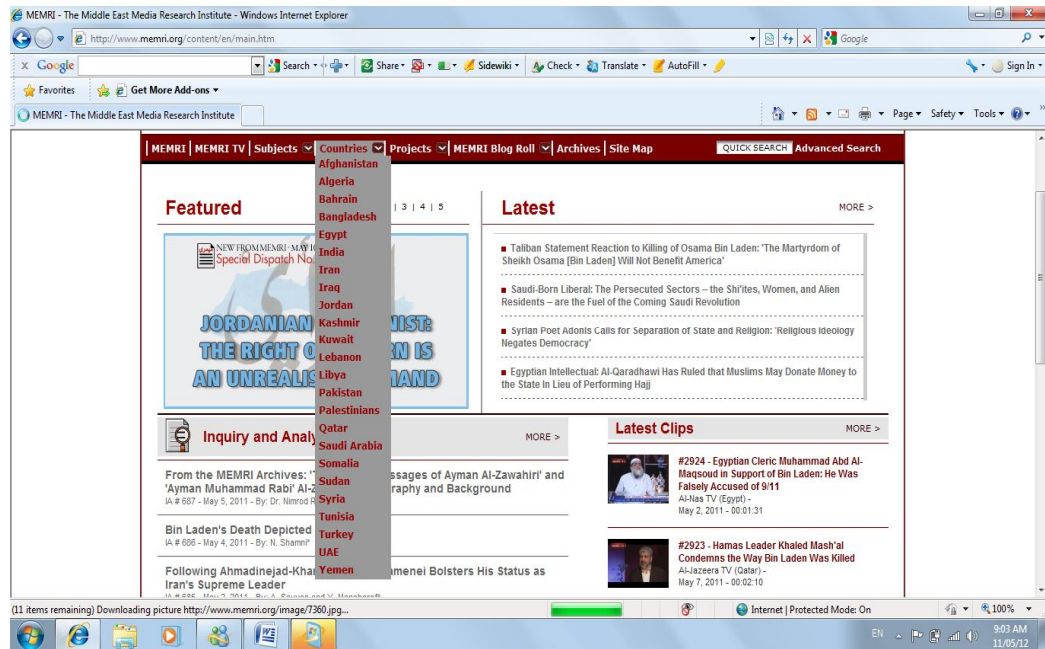Figure 4.3: Tunisia Page on MEMRI Website
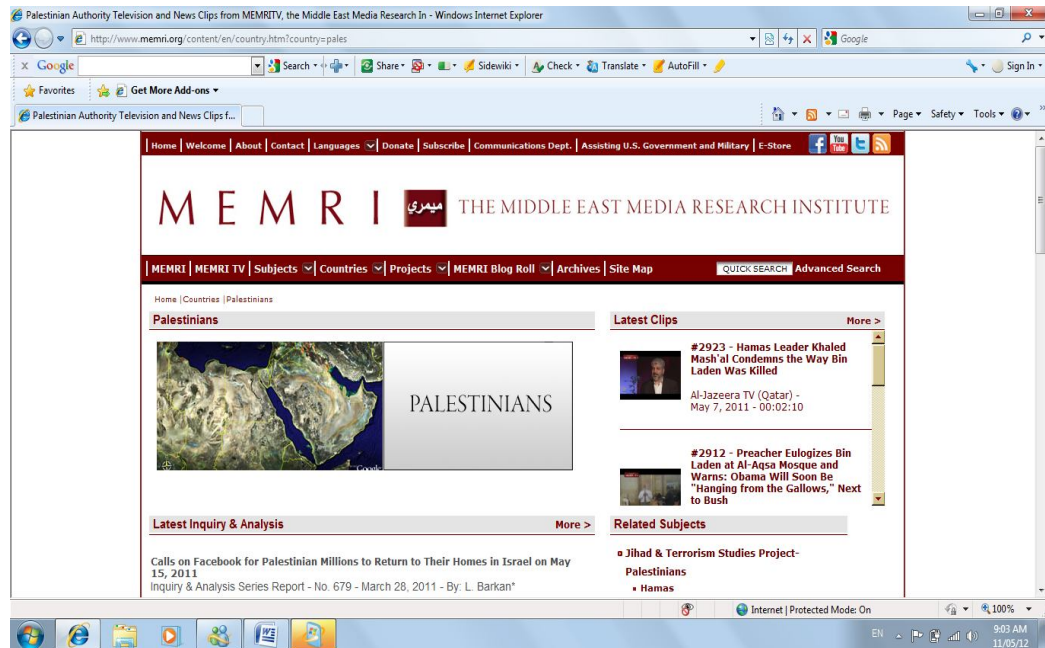
Figure 4.4: List of Countries on MEMRI Website

Figure 4.5: Palestine Page on MEMRI Website

Among the projects that MEMRI carries out is one called the "Jihad and Terrorism Threat Monitor" (Figure 5.6). Combining the two words, *jihad* and *terrorism* in one sentence exposes the ideology behind the institution: jihad and terrorism are being equalized as both posing a threat to the world. The word *terrorism* could have been used by itself, but adding the Arabic/Islamic term *jihad* implies that jihad is equal to terrorism and that whatever comes under Arabic /Islamic classification could pose a threat.
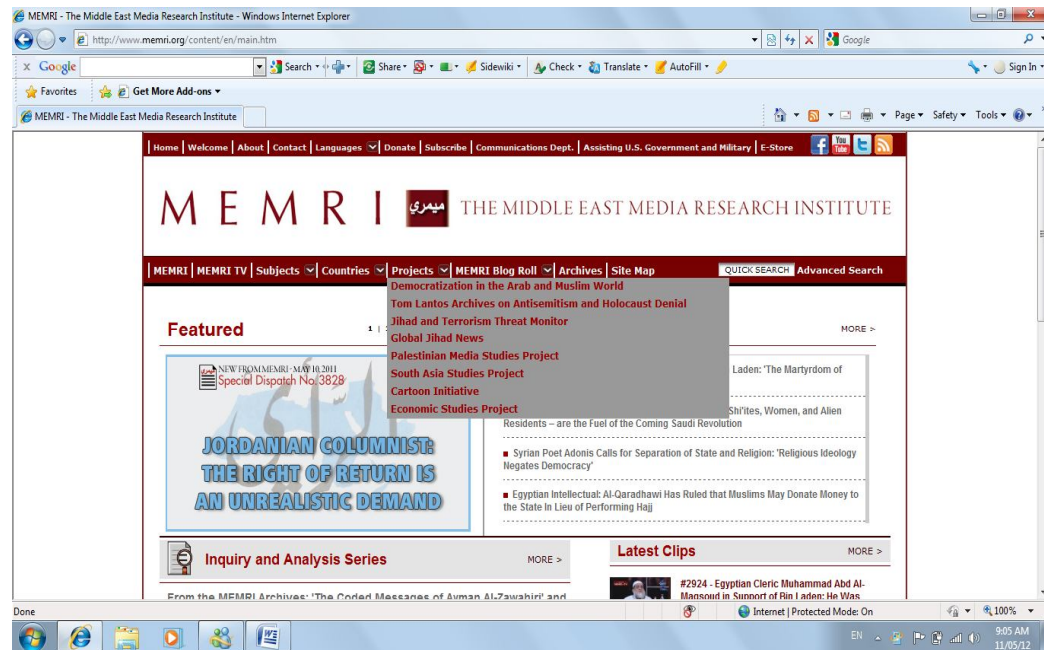

Figure 4.6: Projects by MEMRI Listed on the MEMRI Website

Method of Analysis

A detailed analysis of political texts has been carried out in order to have a better understanding of their meaning and implications, to be able to evaluate the effect of such translations on target readers, as well as the impact of such translations on the image of the source (Arabic) culture. For this purpose, three texts were analyzed in terms of: (1) language used (words, metaphors, etc.), and (2) discourse (intentions, cultural references, and the overall master discourse). Language is "the system that provides its users with tools to realize their culture" (Faiq, 2007:9). Therefore, language is a very important tool whether in providing information about a specific culture, its belief system and ideologies or in promoting different information. Discourse is defined as "institutionalized modes of

speaking and writing which give expression to particular attitudes towards areas of socio-cultural activity" (Hatim, 2001: 34); and master discourse is "hierarchies of meaning and 'chains of signs' with particular modes of representation…which does not normally reflect reality; instead it makes use of language in such a way that reality is constructed" (Faiq, 2007:10).

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Analysis

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Text One

  The first text to be analyzed is an article by a member of the Israeli Arab Knesset, Ibrahim Sarsur. The article was published by a newspaper of the Islamic Movement in Israel called *Al-Mithaq* on October 10, 2010. In his text, Ibrahim Sarsur discusses the strategy of enemy-making used by global alliances in order to justify and maintain their existence. He argues that the enemy made by Israel - the demographic threat - is a false one meant to justify their oppressive policies and the siege against the Arab minority in Israel. He argues that Arabs, instead of defending themselves as victims as they are usually "pushed" to do, should follow a different strategy in dealing with Israel and the West. They should take an offensive stance and confront the West and play by their rules.

  The translation of this article begins with an opening paragraph that provides information about the author, the place and date of publication of the article and a brief summary of it.

  Language analysis. In order to study the language used in this text, a number of examples from the Arabic source text along with their translations were chosen for analysis in terms of word choice and translation strategy adopted. It is noted that the Arabic source text is rich with metaphors and similes that are, as mentioned in Chapter Four, characteristic of political discourse. During the translation process, some of these metaphors were preserved, some were deleted, and others were modified. The following are examples of metaphors and phrases chosen for discussion:

No.	Source Text	Target Text	Translation Strategy
1	حان الوقت لتعلم قواعد اللعبة	Arabs Must Switch from Defensive to Offensive	Modification
2	تغذي شعوبها بقصص أشبه بالخيال	Fed people lies	Literal + paraphrasing
3	غذاه إعلام غوبلزي	By means of Goebbels-style propaganda	Paraphrasing + literal
4	صنعت اسرائيل لنفسها...	[just like the U.S.], Israel too has created…	Addition
5	الأعداء	Numerous [imaginary] enemies…	Addition
6	تفتقت عنه الذهنية الإسرائيلية المريضة	a brainchild of the diseased Israeli mentality	Literal + transposition
7	هاجس فرَّخ سياسات	This notion…has spawned policies	literal
8	منذ عرفت الأرض الإسلام العظيم	…	Deletion
9	"آن الأوان" لأن نتحرر	"…" we must free ourselves	Deletion
10	يمتصون دماء الشعوب وخيراته	suck the blood of nations and plunder the good of the land	Literal + addition

Table 1: Text One

- Example number 1 is the headline of the text. It is obvious to the reader that its translation is different from the original headline حان الوقت لتعلم قواعد اللعبة which literally means: *It Is Time to Learn the Rules of the Game.* The headline used by the translator, *Arabs Must Switch from Defensive to Offensive,* is derived from the article and forms a summary of it. It reveals the position that should be taken by Arabs after learning and applying the *Rules of the Game.* What the writer means by 'the game' are the strategies

used by the U.S. and Israel in dealing with Arabs and the strategy of enemy-making. Using this headline, although it is derived from the article, implies that the article we are about to read in English, i.e. the translation, encourages aggression and hostility. The fact that the text title is preceded by the name of an Arab Israeli Knesset member emphasizes that this aggression and hostility is called for by an Arab writer, building on the idea of Arabs being hostile and anti-peace.

- Example number 2, fed people lies/تغذي شعوبها بقصص أشبه بالخيال is a metaphor. The writer, Ibrahim Sarsur, compares the fake enemies made by alliances to fairy tales, indicating how far these alliances went with their lies. The translator also compared those enemies to food which is a basic need for humans to survive, implying that these alliances use their justification way too much and even build their nations on them. This metaphor was translated into *Fed people lies*. The translator did not preserve the whole metaphor; s/he preserved the first part, i.e. *fed*, and changed the second part into *lies* which is a more negative word than fairy tales. Fairy tales involve the act of thinking hard to come up with a coherent, make-believe story that has all the elements, where as telling lies requires much less thought. And instead of adding the pronoun *their* to *people* as in the source text, the translator deleted the pronoun and kept *people*. This implies that these lies are not necessarily told to their own nations but to other people and other nations which, for them, is considered acceptable as long as they get to keep their existence and well-being. After all, these alliances believe that the end justifies the means.

- Example number 3, غذاه إعلام غوبلزي / By means of Goebbels-style propaganda, was partially preserved. The first part of this phrase is a metaphor. Sarsur compares the propaganda to food that is a basic need for all living creatures. Such a comparison is meant to highlight the fact that these alliances rely on propaganda to survive. Sarsur also relates this propaganda to Goebbels. Joseph Goebbels was a German politician and Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany from 1933-1945. He was known for his zealous oratory and his cynical propaganda techniques. The fact that Sarsur compares these alliances' propaganda with the propaganda used during the Nazi regime stresses the fact that these alliances are only built on brilliant propaganda. The translator did not

translate the word غذاه literally into *fed* or *nourished*. Instead s/he used *by means of* which is less powerful and does not preserve the full meaning of the source text.

- The translator follows an addition strategy in examples 4 and 5, *just like the U.S.* and *imaginary*. Sarsur started a new paragraph and talked about how Israel keeps creating enemies. But, the translator added the phrase *just like the U.S.* at the beginning of the same paragraph in what seems like connecting it to the previous one. Such addition was not necessary, either stylistically or semantically. What it did is that instead of having all the attention and focus on Israel, it is now shared with the U.S. Also, the word *imaginary* does not exist in the original text. It was added to serve as a reminder that the enemy made by Israel is an imaginary enemy, and what is said is not true. This causes the reader of the translated text to get a different focus of the article and a different understanding.

- In example 6, تفتقت عنه الذهنية الإسرائيلية المريضة / a brainchild of the diseased Israeli mentality, Sarsur describes the Israeli mentality as being sick. This sentence was translated literally as *a brainchild of the diseased Israeli mentality* except for the verb تفتقت عنه that was translated into the noun *brainchild*. A *brainchild* is an idea someone thought of without any help and could be used by the translator for stylistic reasons (idiomaticity). The translator's word choice in using *diseased* instead of *sick* is meant to minimize the effect of this ugly description since *sick* is used to describe both physical sickness and moral corruptness.

- Example 7, هاجس فرخ سياسات / This notion…has spawned policies, was literally translated. Sarsur compares the enemy that Israel invented ("the demographic threat") with a bird spawning eggs. Birds make eggs very frequently with short incubation periods, unlike animals which go through long months of pregnancy. This indicates that Israel keeps coming up with new policies one after another to justify their every move.

- Example number 8, منذ عرفت الأرض الإسلام العظيم was deleted in the translation process. The writer says that Arab people have been the victims of Israel and the West since the rise of great Islam, referring to the fact that the Jews grew jealous and envious towards them because the last prophet, "Prophet Mohammad peace be upon him," whom they thought would appear among the Jews, actually appeared among the Arab people ("موقف اليهود من نبي الإسلام" [The Attitude of Jews Towards the Prophet of Islam], n.d.).

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- In example 9, the translator used a deletion strategy. آن الأوان presents a conclusion, i.e. after all the facts mentioned, the time has come for a change. Deleting it makes the reader of the translated text think that the writer is just being aggressive and calling for becoming offensive; not as a conclusion and a result achieved after all the facts mentioned in his argument.

- Example number 10 is a metaphor that compares Israel and the West with parasites that benefit at the expense of others. In this case, the organism the West is feeding off of is the Arab World and its resources: يمتصون دماء الشعوب وخيراته. Here we note compensation by splitting for idiomaticity and collocative purposes; the translator translated the first part of the metaphor as *suck the blood of nations,* and added *plunder* to the second part: *and plunder the good of the land. Plunder* means to steal money or property from a place while fighting in a war. In this case the translator added to the metaphor and exaggerated the meaning meant by Sarsur in order to preserve the metaphor and be more idiomatic.

It is worth mentioning that the translation of this article was selective in the sense that some paragraphs of the article were translated and others were totally ignored. The first two paragraphs, the second half of the fourth paragraph and the last line were not translated (see Appendix A). In the deleted paragraphs, the author discusses the strategies used by global alliances to justify and maintain their existence and promote their production. He also discusses the demographic threat in Israel and its consequences. Therefore, by not translating these paragraphs, the translator was

Discourse analysis. The article by Ibrahim Sarsur illustrates the theory behind one of the strategies adopted by the dominating countries in order to maintain their dominance over the world and preserve their status: the strategy of enemy making. Countries belonging to the "senior club" create fictitious enemies for their nations in order to justify their existence and their armament. And the countries of the "junior club," basically Arab and Islamic countries, use the same strategy in order to maintain their power. In the first paragraph, Sarsur noted that his analysis is based on the analysis done by specialists in the political field. In the second one, he gives an example of Israel that succeeded on both levels, which make it a member of both the junior and the senior

clubs. Then he explains how Muslims, basically Arab people, became the enemy of these countries and acted accordingly.

The receiver of the source text gets a different focus and impression about the subject from the receiver of the target text. One of the reasons for such a difference is the deletion of the introductory paragraphs from the translation. The first two paragraphs include the writer's methodology, which is logical, of the argument plus his sense of irony. The fourth paragraph discusses the contradictory policy of Israel. Netanyahu, Prime Minister of Israel, warned against the demographic threat in Israel and pointed out that the real danger is the Arabs within Israel, not the Palestinians behind the green line. Such a statement by Israel's Defense Minister could be used as a justification for any future harassment against their Arab Minority, and at the same time poses one critical question: if the Arab minority is the real threat, why does Israel keep committing crimes against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip? The deletion of this paragraph and the previous ones changes the essence and direction of the argument to meet the patronage's (MEMRI's) point of view and ideology: that this Knesset member and the Arabs he is representing are prejudiced and biased. Another factor that adds to the aggressive tone of Sarsur is the fact that the translator translated every negative metaphor and expression literally and when necessary modified it to carry more negative descriptions (example 10), which reinforced the hateful tone on the writer's side. The translator also deleted paragraphs that justified the writer's argument (examples 7 and 8).

The translator kept some of the historical references (analogies) used by Sarsur, i.e. referring to the Warsaw pact and the NATO bloc, comparing their policies with ones used nowadays by the U.S and Israel and also comparing their media with Nazi media. However, his reference to Islam was deleted. Modifications done during the translation process, such as deletion, addition, and the way some phrases were translated, (i.e. reserving hate words and metaphors) are led by a certain ideology the patronage is trying to maintain and pass to its readers.

The translation of this text seems to adhere to the source text's discourse and intention. Yet if one looks closer, one would notice the end purpose behind the selection of such a text. Since Sarsur himself was hostile, the selection of this specific text reinforces the hate discourse wherever it appears and builds on prior assumptions and

expectations of the target text reader about Arab people being hostile and anti-peace.

Text two

The second text to be analyzed is a column by Khalid Aal Humail for the Saudi newspaper *Al-Watan* on August 13, 2010. In his column, Humail criticizes Hassan Nasrallah's attitude towards the international tribunal for the Al- Hariri assassination and advises him to cooperate with it instead of continually threatening the Lebanese people against not taking his side and supporting him no matter what the tribunal's indictment will be. The translation of this text begins with an opening paragraph that provides information about the author, and a brief summary of the text and the motive behind it.

Language analysis. The following table provides some examples from the second text along with their translations. A detailed analysis of these examples is provided hereinafter:

No.	Source Text	Target Text	Translation Strategy
1	مصير حزب الله إذا انقلب على الشرعية	Bring Nasrallah to trial before an international tribunal	Modification
2	يفتعل المناسبات	Stage [media] events	paraphrasing
3	تفجير الوضع اللبناني	Blow up the situation in Lebanon	Literal
4	ركب حسن نصرالله وحزبه رؤوسهم	Hassan Nasrallah and his party act hastily	mistranslation
5	قلب الطاولة	- Bring chaos - Defy	mistranslation
6	إيجاد مظلة سياسية وأمنية وإعلامية له	…	Deletion
7	القفز على السلطة	Take over	paraphrasing

8	حشر اللبنانيين في زاوية حادة	Push the Lebanese into a tight corner	Literal

Table 2: Text Two

- Example number 1 is the headline of the article: مصير حزب الله إذا انقلب على الشرعية. It literally means: *the destiny of Hizbullah if it coups legitimacy*. The translator did not translate the headline; instead, s/he changed it into: *Bring Nasrallah to Trial before an International Tribunal*. The headline adopted by the translator indicates hostility on the side of the columnist, Humail, towards Hizbullah and its leader Hassan Nasrallah, which is actually true. As was done in the first text, the translator used a headline that summed up the content of the article and put it as a shocking headline so the reader would be encouraged to read the full text. Drawing attention to the fact that the article is by a Saudi columnist indicates that even Saudi intellectuals whose government is trying hard to maintain peace in Lebanon are against Nasrallah, his organization and policy.

- Example number 2, يفتعل المناسبات, was translated into: *stage [media] events*. *Stage* means to organize an event that people will notice or come to see, while يفتعل means to create media events whether needed or unneeded. The intended meaning by Humail was not fully conveyed by the translation.

- In example three, تفجير الوضع اللبناني, Humail compares the Lebanese situation with a bomb about to explode. The entire phrase was translated literally except for اللبناني where the translator applied a category shift from an adjective into a noun: *Lebanon* instead of *Lebanese*.

- The verb used in example number 4, ركب حسن نصرالله وحزبه رؤوسهم, was mistranslated; the translator used the word *hastily,* which means *in haste* or *hurriedly* (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1999:532). This does not produce the same effect as the source text. ركب رأسه means to take one's own way (negatively) or be stubborn and do whatever is on one's mind no matter what.

- Example number 5 is a metaphor that was used twice by Humail, yet it had two different translations. قلب الطاولة means to turn things upside down and cause a radical change. In its first occurrence, it was translated as *bring chaos*, which is the product

of, قلب الطاولة not the meaning. The second time it was translated into *defy*. The translator could not find an equivalent term in English so s/he inferred the meaning from the text.

- Example number 6, إيجاد مظلة سياسية وأمنية وإعلامية, was deleted during the translation process. This sentence means that Nasrallah has to find a political, security, and media cover to do his move: taking over Lebanon. Humail compared the shield Nasrallah needs with an umbrella that protects him from rain and sun. This shield will be a protecting agent for Nasrallah's agenda.

- Example number 7, القفز على السلطة has a negative reference and means seizing the opportunity. The translator did not preserve the metaphor and translated the meaning differently using the verb *takeover* which means taking control by force.

- The last example compares the Lebanese people's options to a narrow corner, meaning they don't really have many options. The translator preserved the full meaning.

During the translation process, the translator modified several paragraphs and applied a deletion strategy. The last three lines of the first paragraph, the second half of the fifth paragraph, two lines in the sixth and the last three lines of the article were deleted by the translator. These paragraphs discuss the strategy used by Hassan Nasrallah to force the Lebanese nation to stay on his side.

Discourse analysis. Reading the source text, one can notice the negative attitude and prejudice from the writer, Humail, towards Hassan Nasrallah. This can be inferred from the use of certain words and expressions such as:

يفتعل المناسبات

خطبه التي أصبحت شبه أسبوعية

يساوم الشعب اللبناني

ركب حسن نصر الله وحزبه رؤوسهم

تقترف يداه من دماء اللبنانيين

هذا الرجل

جريمته غزوة بيروت 7 أيار

القفز على السلطة

The translator preserved some of these expressions and abandoned others. There is a hate discourse towards Nasrallah that was preserved to some extent by the literal

translation of some of the metaphors and expressions used by Humail. Yet, some of the lines deleted from the translation also indicate a hateful tone, like the lines in paragraph number 5. They also indicate a hateful tone towards Israel as in the lines deleted from paragraph number 11.

The translation of this text seems to adhere to the source text's discourse and intention. Yet, the essence of the text is lost in some places. The choice of this text to be translated reinforces the hate discourse amongst Arabs themselves or against others and the way it was translated serves the ideology of the patronage and coincides with their prevailing ideology of presenting Arab people as hostile and aggressive.

Text Three

The third text analyzed is an editorial from the Jordanian newspaper, *Ad-Dustour* from March 24, 2011. The article blamed Israel and held it responsible for the return of violence against it because of its hostility against the Palestinians and continuous refusal and defiance of international laws.

The translation of this text begins with an opening paragraph that provides information about the text's publication (the place and date), and a brief summary of its content.

Language analysis. The following table provides a number of examples chosen for analysis. These examples include the headline of the text, some metaphors, idioms and other phrases.

No.	Source Text	Target Text	Translation Strategy
1	إسرائيل هي المسؤولة	Israel Is To Blame for the Renewal of Palestinian Violence Against It	Modification + Addition
2	العنف يُولّد العنف	Violence will [continue to] breed violence	Addition
3	عصابات الاحتلال	Zionist gangs	Modification
4	الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي	- the Israeli Palestinian conflict - the Palestinian Israeli conflict	Literal + change of word order
5	انفجار الأوضاع	Conflagration	Modified paraphrasing
6	ينسف العملية السلمية من جذورها	Blow up the peace process	Literal + deletion

7	الخروج من عقلية القلعة	Give up [its sense of persecution]	paraphrasing
8	تنعم بالهدوء	Enjoy peace and quiet	Literal + addition
9	أسير المؤامرات الصهيونية	Prisoner of Zionist conspiracies	Literal

Table 3: Text Three

- The first example is the headline اسرائيل هي المسؤولة. The literal translation of اسرائيل هي المسؤولة is *Israel is responsible.* This assertion was also mentioned in the introductory paragraph. Yet the headline chosen for the text is longer and elaborated: *Israel Is To Blame For The Renewal of Palestinian Violence Against It,* preceded by *Jordanian Government Daily* so the first reaction of the reader is that the content of this article has some form of official approval. However, on the website of *Ad-Dustour*, which by the way was misspelled by the translator, it clearly states that it is a daily, political, Arabic and independent newspaper published by Jordan Press and Publishing Company. It is not a government newspaper as the translated text claims.

- The second example, العنف يُولّد العنف, concludes the first paragraph. The writer compares violence with a generator that generates more violence. The translator added *continues to* in order to represent the discourse of the text, and translated يُولّد into *breed* in order to preserve idiomaticity.

- Example number three, عصابات الاحتلال, was translated into *Zionist gangs*. الاحتلال means occupation; therefore the translator could have used the word *occupying*. But because this word has a positive connotations, the translator used the word *Zionist* probably in order to reinforce the hate discourse and the relevance of Zionism to Israel or Jews

- Example number 4, الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي was once translated into *the Israeli-Palestinian conflict* and the second time into *the Palestinian-Israeli conflict*. This change of word order seems to be unintended by the translator as it has no effect on the meaning of the text.

- Example number 5 presents a metaphor. The writer compares the situation with a bomb about to explode. The literal translation of انفجار الأوضاع is *a situation explosion.* The

translator used the word *conflagration* instead. *Conflagration* means a large disastrous fire, conflict or war according to *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1999:242).

- In example number 6, ينسف العملية السلمية من جذورها, the writer compares the Israeli settlements with a bomb that would blow up the peace process from its roots, and then compared the peace process with a plant that has roots. The translator maintained the first part of the metaphor and dismissed the rest because it is more idiomatic.

- Example number 7 is الخروج من عقلية القلعة. It was translated into *give up its sense of persecution*. عقلية القلعة refers to being narrow-minded and refusing the other party's ideas, as well as being very stubborn towards one's own beliefs and opinions and hiding behind one's military force. *Persecution*, the word chosen by the translator, means oppression and abuse, which does not give the full meaning of the source text.

- Example number 8, تنعم بالهدوء, was translated as *enjoy peace and quiet* with an addition of a synonym in order to be more idiomatic.

- The last example compares the Palestinian people with prisoners and Zionist conspiracies with a jail. The translator maintained that metaphor.

Some lines were not translated, in particular the last two lines in paragraph 4. These lines refer to the continuation of the Zionist occupation and the siege over the Gaza strip. In addition, the last three lines of paragraph number 6 were not translated because of redundancy. They summarize the article and restate the reasons behind violence against Israel.

Discourse analysis. The discourse of the source text is a formal political one that one would read in international documents like U.N. resolutions. It is not passionate or emotion-driven like the previous two texts due to the fact that it is the main editorial in a daily newspaper. This political text includes metaphors that are derived from war terminology (cf. Chapter Four) like example numbers 5, 6, and 9. The text also includes a lot of repetition of the same ideas.

The translator of this text has successfully transferred the intentions of this text and met the expectations of the receiver. Both source and target texts have almost the same discourse and intentions probably because of the lack of emotions in this text, unlike the previous two. One and a half lines in paragraph 4 straightforwardly

condemning Israel were deleted. This seems to be a strategy that is adopted in all the translations in order to hide some of the dark side of Israel's policies.

Discussion

In this chapter, the English translations of three different texts published in different Arab countries were analyzed. The three texts were political texts that discussed current political issues and concerns. The choice of the texts to be translated and the way they were translated reflect the ideology of the translating institution (the patronage that governs the translation). As discussed in Chapter Four, these texts are rich with metaphors that are a characteristic of political discourse. On the language level, translations varied from a literal translation of these expressions to a dynamic one (cf. Chapter Two). On the pragmatic level, the translations served as a master discourse that highlighted hate and aggression from Arabs towards Israel, with Arabs placing blame on Israel's side.

Translation, as argued in Chapter Four, is a political act. Given the history of MEMRI and the people behind it, it would seem that the decisions made during the translation process are political ones (cf. Chapter Four: Politics of Translation). The 'what' to translate is based on the content of these texts. Almost all headlines found on the MEMRI website cover either controversial issues or carry an aggressive tone. There is almost no coverage of moderate views.

The 'how' translated also reflects the institution's agenda. Headlines were not translated literally, and instead were paraphrased to be more appealing to the English language reader and carry an aggressive tone. Introductory paragraphs by the translator included interpretations of the articles and the reasons for the texts' publication. Bold subheadings in the text worked to catch the eye of the reader. The use of the Internet serves in spreading these translated articles all over the world to the largest number of people within seconds. All these strategies serve the political intention of the translation and the people behind it as it tries to highlight and exaggerate hate discourse by Arab people towards the West in general and Israel in particular. Therefore, the reader of these translations would take a negative stand against Arab people which serves the political agenda of the West especially after 9/11 and the promotion of "war on terrorism" policy that refers whether directly or indirectly to Arabs and Muslims.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the media is an important tool in today's world used to present audiences with the latest news, technologies, and ideas. The way

information is presented affects the way audiences receive it. The repetition of representations leads audiences to take media messages for granted as facts. The choice of a media message, in our case translations, are motivated by a particular skopos that is motivated by a particular ideology and used to preserve certain beliefs and ideologies or as a propaganda tool to promote a particular view. The difference in the presentation of these translations from the source texts serves both political and propaganda purposes. For instance, the different headlines adopted by the translators are meant to put the audience in a hostile position even before reading the whole text. In other words, the narrative structure, or way information is presented to help audiences take sides (cf. Chapter Three), is carefully planned. Added to this is the addition of bold subheadings as visual tools within the translated text that builds on the headline and its message. The use of the Internet as MEMRI's base which is the fastest means of communication in today's world helps in spreading their ideas to the largest number of people. All these decisions are political ones used to serve the institution's propaganda and ideological purposes.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

In today's world, many powers struggle to maintain their dominance. Every power is motivated by its own politics to achieve its goals and interests. Translation, as a process that bridges the gap between different cultures, uses its power to dominate the target culture. The 'how' to bridge this gap makes all the difference. The language power hidden in the translation reflects the translation's intended plan. Translation uses media tools to reach as wide an audience as possible and impose its effects on the largest number of people. Media tools also use translation to do the same thing. "While media have tremendous potential to inform citizens about events and issues in their world, they also have unparalleled potential for abuse by political partisans and commercial interests" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003: 99). The ideological influence of media can be observed either in the absence or the content of a media message. Politics uses both media and translation whether to preserve a certain power or destroy one. This thesis investigated the interrelated relationship between translation, media and politics.

Chapter one was the introduction to this thesis. Chapter two discussed some of the most prominent theories and key concepts of translation and media studies. Chapter three studied the concepts of politics and political discourse and their relation to translation and media. Chapter four analysed the data (Arabic texts and their English translations) using the formerly discussed theories and concepts of translation, media and politics.

Texts used for analysis in this thesis were published in the Arab World. Their translations were carried out by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which is an internet-based institute run by Westerners. From a translation politics point of view, the choice of these texts poses important questions. These texts are emotional and carry an aggressive tone, justified or not, and do not necessarily reflect mainstream writing in the Arab world. On the language level, the translators' word choice often highlighted violence, hate and aggression on the Arab side while minimizing it on Israel's side). On the discourse level, translations serve a master discourse that portrays Arabs as violent opponents of peace. The carefully-crafted translations of these texts, which are a media tool, serve the same goal. Headlines chosen for the translation are shocking and hostile. The overall effect of these translations seems to reflect the institution's hidden agenda: to encourage hate discourse on the Arab side and present them as peace haters.

The strategy followed by this institution consists of careful selection of texts to be translated and the spread of these translations on the Internet to hundreds of Western intellectuals, journalists and policy makers while portraying Arabs as hostile, aggressive, anti-freedom, anti-Jewish, anti-human rights, anti-women rights and so forth.

Translation, in this case, is being used as a tool of image-making diffused through modern media. This raises the question of translation ethics: is it ethical to translate another culture, building on prior assumptions? Or must one build new ones?

Such translations are dangerous and violate the ethics of translation since they misrepresent the other culture in the general sense. The media industry as a whole is not innocent; even entertainment programs and news are designed to spread, change or reinforce certain values and beliefs as mentioned in Chapter Two. The media is cleverly used to serve those who are in charge for it in every aspect of life; whether in their own culture or in other cultures, especially by using the internet which can reach vast numbers of people within seconds, which could be the reason behind having the internet as the base of MEMRI.

What shall Arab people do? Shall they learn the rules of the game and play with it? Shall they start using the media and internet to defend their case or disseminate their own beliefs and understanding of the world? There is a need to start using media tools in a way that serves Arab people's own values and belief system and spreads them around the world. Arab people should carefully select media texts, (programs, books, news, articles, etc.) allowed to be published in the Arab world, since they represent the culture and mainstream belief system of Arab people. A careful and well-analyzed selection of Arabic media texts to be translated into other languages, especially English which dominates the world, should take place in order to try to define the identity of Arab people. Media and translation research institutions should be established in the Arab world in order to study and analyze what is going on in the rest of the world and have a better understanding of it and make the world have a better understanding of the Arabic culture as well. Or maybe, Arab people could go a step further and create their own MEMRI.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Text One (Arabic Original)

حان الوقت لتعلم قواعد اللعبة ....

الشيخ إبراهيم صرصور – رئيس حزب الوحدة العربية / الحركة الإسلامية

(1) من عادة دول الاستكبار العالمي كما فهمنا من علماء السياسة والاجتماع السياسي ، أن (يصنعوا) لأممهم وربما لأنفسهم أعداءً وهميين من اجل تبرير وجودهم والترويج لإنتاجهم وخصوصا العسكري ، والتبشير بسياساتهم (المتنورة !!!) التي عادة ما يقدمونها تحت أطنان من أصباغ التجميل ...

(2) هذا بالنسبة (لنادي الكبار !!!) كما يحلو لهم أن يسموا أنفسهم ، لكن الحقيقة أن ذات القاعدة تنطبق أيضا على (نادي الصغار) ... فالدول الدكتاتورية والمستبدة ، وعالمنا العربي والإسلامي طبعا يشكل المرجعية العليا لهؤلاء، والنجم الذي يبارى في هذا الميدان ، هي أيضا تحاول دائما أن تخلق لشعوبها أعداء ولو من ورق من اجل ضمان (تأبيدهم !!!) على عروشهم ، (وتحريم !!!) الخوض في الشأن العام مخافة الوقوع في شباك من لا يريدون الخير للوطن من قوى الإصلاح والتغيير!!! ...

إسرائيل نجحت في احتلال موقع متقدم في الناديين ... فهي - من جهة - واحدة من دول الاستكبار العالمي التي تمارس أبشع صور الإرهاب ضد جيرانها ، وهي أيضا – من جهة أخرى - قد احتلت موقعها المرموق في نادي الصغار من حيث تعاملها متعدد الوجوه القبيحة في التعامل مع حقوق الإنسان وخصوصا المتعلقة منها بجماهيرنا العربية في الداخل ...

(3) سمعنا كثيرا عن أحلاف عالمية عاشت تغذي شعوبها بقصص أشبه بالخيال من اجل تبرير سياساتها ... (حلف وارسو) و (حلف الأطلسي) نماذج طغت ولفترة طويلة على المشهد العالمي ، عاشا ولمدة طويلة منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية في صراع سُمي (بالحرب الباردة !!!) غذّاه إعلام (غوبلزي – نسبة على غوبلز وزير الإعلام في نظام الرايخ الألماني النازي) ، يعتمد على التخويف من الآخر مع عصارة مركزة من (الديماغوغيا / الكذب والدجل) المبتذلة ... فلما سقط الاتحاد السوفييتي بفعل عوامل داخلية وخارجية ، مما أتاح الفرصة للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية أن تتفرد بالتحكم في شؤون العالم ، كان لا بد لأمريكا من استحداث عدو جديد يحلو لها أن تحدد له لونه ... فانتقلت من العدو (الأحمر) الشيوعي إلى العدو (الأخضر) الإسلامي ، وما الحرب التي ما زالت مستمرة ضد ما يسمى بالإرهاب إلا تجليا من تجليات هذا النهج ألاستكباري ...

(4) صنعت إسرائيل لنفسها أعداء بلا حصر وما تزال تصنع لها الأعداء من اجل التغطية على جرائمها ، إلا أن

الملفت للانتباه هو ما تفتقت عنه الذهنية الإسرائيلية المريضة من فكرة (الخطر الديموغرافي / السكاني) ، والذي تحول إلى هاجس فَرَّخَ سياسات ما زالت تذهب بعيدا في غلوها وتطرفها إلى حد بدا يهدد بشكل سافر إمكانية استمرار التعايش السلمي بينها وبين الجماهير العربية من فلسطينيي الداخل ، وإمكانية الوصول إلى حل مع الشعب الفلسطيني يضع حدا لصراع امتد لأكثر من مائة عام ...}

قد يكون (نتنياهو) أول السياسيين الإسرائيليين الذين تحدثوا عن الخطر الديموغرافي بوضوح في احد جلسات (مؤتمر هرتسليا الاستراتيجي) قبل سنوات ، حيث أشار إلى أن الخطر الحقيقي الذي يهدد إسرائيل كامن في (الأقلية العربية) في إسرائيل وليس في الفلسطينيين وراء الخط الأخضر ... سبب هذا الخطر ليس عسكريا طبعا ولكنه مزيج من الأمني والسكاني ... فالأول لأن العرب في إسرائيل يعيشون في قلب المجتمع الإسرائيلي ، يعرفون لغته وعاداته ومخارجه ومداخله ونقاط الضعف والقوة فيه ، والثاني لأنهم جزء من (المنظومة المدنية !!!) الإسرائيلية رغم ما يمارس عليهم من عنصرية لا تخفى ، فزيادة عددهم بشكل يفوق الزيادة الطبيعية عند اليهود في رأي من يحذرون من (الخطر الديموغرافي) ، سيحول إسرائيل آجلا وإن لم يكن عاجلا إلى دولة ثنائية القومية قبل الحديث عن حق العودة ...

(5) هل الكلام في (الخطر الديموغرافي) من المنظور الإسرائيلي حقيقي ، أم أنه يأتي في سياق فلسفة (التخويف) من أجل تبرير سياسات القمع والحصار ضد الأقلية العربية ، وتشديد القبضة عليهم وزيادة التحكم في شؤونهم ، تماما كحديث إسرائيل عن القوة العسكرية المتعاظمة لحماس وحزب الله والتي يحلو لإسرائيليين وصفها (بالتهديد الوجودي !!!) لإسرائيل ، من أجل الحفاظ على صورة الضحية في وعي ولا وعي الغرب ، تمهيدا وتبريرا لسياساتها العدوانية ضد فلسطين ولبنان وسوريا على اعتبارها الداعمة لهما ، وإيران على اعتبارها الحاضنة لجهادهما ، بينما الحقيقة هي أن لا (حماس) ولا (حزب الله) يمكن أن يشكلا (تهديدا وجوديا !!!) لإسرائيل ، على ما يقدمانه من تضحيات في سبيل الدفاع عن الشرف والكرامة العربية والإسلامية التي ضيعها النظام العربي الرسمي إلا من رحم الله ..

(6) لقد انطلت الخدعة علينا ووقعنا في شباك هذه الحيلة إلى درجة تحولنا معها من حيث ندري أو لا ندري إلى عامل مساعد يُسَهِّلُ عملية الترويج لها مما جعل إسرائيل على بطشها وجبروتها وقوتها العسكرية وجرائمها التي لا تُحصى ، إلى الضحية في هذا الصراع الذي خلقته وحدها منذ ميلادها ، وتتحمل مسؤولية نتائجه وحدها دون غيرها ، ومعها الغرب وعلى رأسه أمريكا وبريطانيا وفرنسا ... أما الأدهى من ذلك والأكثر مرارة فهو هذا الوضع الذي دفعنا إليه الغرب وإسرائيل بخبث ودهاء ومكر وخديعة حتى اشتغلنا في كل المحافل بالدفاع عن أنفسنا ونحن الضحايا ، والمطالبين بإقناع الغرب وإسرائيل بأننا طلاب سلام لا حرب ونحن ضحايا حروبهم وسياساتهم الدموية ضدنا منذ عرفت الأرض الإسلام العظيم ، والمدعوين إلى إثبات حسن السلوك وإلى طمأنة الغرب وهم الذين يسفكون دماءنا ويزهقون أرواحنا وينتهكون حرماتنا ويحتلون أرضنا ويسحقون عظامنا وينهبون ثرواتنا ويهينون كرامتنا في كل

بقعة من عالمنا العربي والإسلامي وعلى رأسه في فلسطين ...

(7) آن الأوان لأن نتحرر من نفسية المهزوم والمدافع عن نفسه دائما إلى مرحلة الهجوم ... إسرائيل والغرب هم من يجب أن يعملا على إقناعنا بإمكانية التعايش الحضاري معهم وليس العكس ... يجب أن نرفض أن يكتب (الأقوياء!!!) وجبابرة الأرض التاريخ ، وأن يحددوا لنا الجغرافيا ، ويتحكموا حتى في المصطلحات ... هم الإرهابيون ولسنا نحن ... هم من يشكل الخطر على الاستقرار والأمن الدوليين ولسنا نحن ... هم المعتدون ولسنا نحن ... هو الظالمون ولسنا نحن ... هم الحاقدون ولسنا نحن ... هم المنحطون أخلاقا وسلوكا والملوثون فكرا ونفسا ولسنا نحن ... هم المتطرفون ولسنا نحن ... هم من يمتصون دماء الشعوب وخيراته ولسنا نحن ... هم من يحتلون أرضنا ولسنا نحن ... هم من جاءوا إلى أوطاننا بمصائبهم ولسنا نحن ... المعطيات أكبر دليل واصدق شاهد ... فإن كانت أمريكا أعلنت حربها على ما تسميه (الإرهاب) بسبب مقتل ثلاثة آلاف من الأمريكيين من كل الملل والأديان بما في ذلك من المسلمين ، فمن يدافع ويطالب بثأر الملايين من المسلمين الذين قتلتهم أمريكا وإسرائيل وحلفاؤهما في السنوات العشر الأخيرة فقط ؟؟؟!!!

(8) آن الأوان أن نصارح أنفسنا وان نصارحهم بهذه الحقيقة ... يجب أن لا يظل هنالك تحت الشمس مكان للتضليل والمتاجرة والضحك على الذقون ...

Appendix B: Text One (English Translation)

Arab Israeli Knesset Member Ibrahim Sarsur: Arabs Must Switch from Defensive to Offensive

In an October 2010 article, Israeli Arab Knesset Member Ibrahim Sarsur, of the Ra'am-Ta'al party, wrote that just as the U.S. had invented the Muslim enemy in order to consolidate its exclusive control over the world, so too did Israel invent enemies and threats in order to justify its oppression of the Arab minority. One such invention, he said, was the demographic threat allegedly posed by the Israeli Arabs to the state of Israel – a lie that he said undermines both the coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel and the peace process with the Palestinians. Sarsur called on the Arabs and Muslims to abandon the defensive position to which the U.S. and Israel had pushed them, and to go on the offensive, in order to end Israel's and America's murderous policy towards the Arab and Muslim world.

The article was published in Al-Mithaq*, the newspaper of the Islamic Movement in Israel, as well as on several Israeli Arab and Palestinian websites. The following are excerpts: [1]*

America Has Replaced the "Red Enemy" – the Communists – with the "Green Enemy" – the Muslims

(3) "...We have heard much about various alliances that fed people lies in order to justify their policies. The Warsaw Pact [i.e., the Soviet bloc] and the NATO [bloc] dominated the world for a long time, and from World War Two onward they perpetuated the cold war between them by means of Goebbels-style propaganda (named after Joseph Goebbels, the information minister of the Nazi German regime), which is based on spreading fear of the other, and on a dense concoction of demagogy and banal lies. When the Soviet Union collapsed, due to external and internal factors, giving the U.S. exclusive control over world affairs, [this country] had to invent a new enemy, with a new color. It

[therefore] replaced the red communist enemy with the Muslim enemy, whose color is green. The ongoing war on what is termed 'terror' is one of the manifestations of this arrogance.

(4) "[Just like the U.S.], Israel too has created, and continues to create, numerous [imaginary] enemies in order to cover up its crimes. The most prominent of these [inventions] is the notion of the 'demographic threat,' a brainchild of the diseased Israeli mentality. This notion… has spawned policies that have grown more and more radical and extreme, to the point that they threaten the peaceful [relations] between [Israel]… and its Arab population, as well as the chances of reaching a settlement with the Palestinians to put an end to over 100 years of conflict."

"Israel's Talk about the Growing Military Power of Hamas and Hizbullah… Is Likewise Aimed at Preserving Its Image as a Victim"

(5) "Is the Israeli talk about the demographic threat realistic, or is it part of a philosophy of intimidation aimed at justifying the policy of oppression and siege against the Arab minority and at tightening [Israel's] control over [the Arabs'] affairs? Israel's talk about the growing military power of Hamas and Hizbullah... which is [ostensibly] threatening its existence, is likewise aimed at preserving its image as a victim... in the eyes of the West. It serves to justify [Israel's] aggressive policy towards the Palestinians and Lebanon, as well as towards Syria, which is considered to be a supporter [of Hamas and Hizbullah], and towards Iran, which is thought to have embraced their jihad. The truth is that neither Hamas nor Hizbullah can threaten Israel's existence, despite their many sacrifices in defending the Arab and Muslim honor – [honor] that the official Arab regimes have lost...

(6) "We [Arabs] have fallen right into the trap of this [propaganda]… so much so that we have consciously or unconsciously become a factor that is helping to spread it. In this fashion, Israel – with all its violence, might, military power, and numerous crimes – has [ostensibly] become the victim in this conflict, which it alone has been generating since its establishment, and for whose consequences it alone is responsible, along with the West – headed by America, Britain, and France. Worse still is the situation to which the West and Israel have wickedly and cunningly driven us: that of victims who are [always] on the defensive and have to convince the West and Israel that [they] seek

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peace, not war. [This,] when it is we who are the victims of their wars and deadly policy towards us… We are required to prove our good behavior and assure the West, while [the West] sheds our blood, slaughters us, defiles our holy places, occupies our land, grinds our bones, plunders our wealth, and violates our sanctities throughout the Arab and Muslim world, [but] especially in Palestine.

"It is Israel and the West Who Must Persuade Us of the Possibility of Cultural Coexistence with Them"

(7) "We must free ourselves from the mentality of ones who are constantly defeated and defensive, and go on the offensive. It is Israel and the West who must persuade us of the possibility of cultural coexistence with them – not the other way around. We must object to [the situation] where the powerful and tyrannical dictate [our] history and geography, and even control the terminology. They are the terrorists, not us. They endanger global stability and security, not us. They are the aggressors and oppressors, not us... It is they who are depraved in morals and behavior, and contaminated of soul and mind, not us... It is they who suck the blood of nations and plunder the good of the land, not us. It is they who occupy our lands, not us. It is they who have brought disaster to our lands, not us...

"If America declared the so-called war on terror in response to the killing of 3,000 Americans of various ethnicities and religions, including Muslims, who will defend and avenge the millions of Muslims that America, Israel and their allies have killed in the last decade?..."

Appendix C: Text Two (Arabic Original)

مصير حزب الله إذا انقلب على الشرعية

خالد آل هميل

السيد حسن نصر الله إذا سعى إلى تفجير الوضع في لبنان وعبث بأمنه واستقراره فأعتقد أن مجلس الأمن والمجتمع الدولي سوف ينشئون محكمة جديدة لمحاكمة حسن نصر الله شخصياً لكونه هو من اتخذ قرار الانقلاب على الشرعية اللبنانية وضرب أمن اللبنانيين في الصميم

(1) في الآونة الأخيرة أصبح السيد حسن نصر الله زعيم حزب الله اللبناني يفتعل المناسبات للخروج على اللبنانيين مهدداً ومنذراً الشعب اللبناني بالويل والثبور وعظائم الأمور إذا لم يقف بمؤسساته الدستورية ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني إلى جانبه لرفض العدالة المتمثلة في المحكمة الدولية الخاصة باغتيال الزعيم اللبناني رفيق الحريري.

لقد هدد حسن نصر الله بتفجير الوضع اللبناني.. هذا التفجير الذي يقود حزب الله لفرض سيطرته العسكرية على لبنان.

بصورة أخرى يكتشف المراقب لتصريحاته عبر خطبه التي أصبحت شبه أسبوعية أن الرجل يساوم الشعب اللبناني والدول العربية والأجنبية بين خيارين لا ثالث لهما. إما إلغاء المحكمة الدولية أو احتلاله للبنان. في خضم هذه التطورات جاءت زيارة خادم الحرمين الشريفين الملك عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز والرئيس السوري الدكتور بشار الأسد للبنان لتحديد سقف لحزب الله، وهو قل في السياسة ما تشاء أما العبث بالشعب اللبناني وأمنه واستقراره فهذا خط أحمر ينبغي عدم الاقتراب منه.

(2) فإذا ما ركب حسن نصر الله وحزبه رؤوسهم لحماية المتهمين من حزبه بعد صدور الاتهام الظني للمحكمة الدولية ووجه لهم الاتهام فإن هذا عمل خطير لن يجد حزب الله مظلة عربية أو دولية لحمايته مما قد تقترف يداه من دماء اللبنانيين ولن تنفعه صواريخه التي كدسها في جنوب لبنان باسم مقاومة إسرائيل.

(3) لقد انكشف المستور وفضح حسن نصر الله نفسه بنفسه، فبدلاً من محاربة إسرائيل وهو لا يرغب في ذلك إنما يكدسها للانقضاض بها على الشعب اللبناني وبالدرجة الأولى على المناوئين لهيمنته على لبنان.

إن حزب الله يتخوف من صدور قرار ظني من المحكمة مدعوم بمعلومات وأدلة وقرائن ووثائق واضحة وصلبة يتم على أساسها اتهام عناصر من حزبه.

(4) السيد حسن نصر الله يحاول إقناع اللبنانيين بأن المحكمة الدولية تجلب الدمار للبنان. بينما إفلات القتلة من العدالة الشرعية الدولية هو تكريس لدمار لبنان. ولا أعتقد، بل أجزم أن مسعى حزب الله لهدم المحكمة مسعى خائب.

(5) إن محاولة إلغاء المحكمة هي إلغاء للشرعية الدولية ولمجلس الأمن وشرعية وجوده.

إن إقدام حزب الله على قلب الطاولة في وجه الشعب اللبناني والإقليمي والدولي هو بمثابة جريمة حرب يعاقب عليها القانون الدولي ويتطلب إنشاء محكمة دولية أخرى إضافة إلى الأولى تحاكم كل من كان معه في عملية الانقلاب على الدولة اللبنانية.

هذا الرجل يطلب من أبناء رفيق الحريري وأبناء الشهداء الآخرين الذين طالتهم يد الغدر والعدوان رفض العدالة

الشرعية الدولية إذا ما أرادوا أن يبقوا طلقاء أحرارا. إنه يهددهم بين القتل أو السجن أو إصدار براءة لحزب الله الذي يداه ملطختان بدماء اللبنانيين في 7 آيار عندما غزا حزبه بيروت بمليشياته العسكرية وقطاع الطرق من حلفائه الذين عرفوا عبر تاريخ لبنان الحديث بتجار الحروب وبيع لبنان لمن يدفع.

الذي لم يدركه حسن نصر الله أن ما كان متروكاً من قتل لزعماء لبنان وقادة فكره قبل 30 سنة لم يعد في مقدور أحد أن يسمح به، فعليه قراءة الخارطة السياسية الإقليمية والدولية جيداً.

(6) فليفعل حزب الله ما يشاء وليقلب الطاولة في وجه الشعب اللبناني وفي وجه العدالة الدولية والدول الإقليمية والدولية ليرى ما سيحدث له عربياً ودولياً، فمن بعد اليوم لا أعتقد أن السيد حسن نصر الله سيهنأ بساعة واحدة من النوم الهادئ إلا إذا ألهمه الله الحكمة، خاصة إذا أصدرت المحكمة الدولية قرارها الظني باتهام عناصر من حزب الله وأعلن أنه وحزبه بريئان منهم ولا يحظون بتغطيته السياسية والأمنية في مواجهة العدالة الدولية. أما إذا أصر على رفض المحكمة وقراراتها وعبث بأمن لبنان فإن ذلك لن يسقط المحكمة وإنما يسقطه وحزبه في محاكم أخرى وسينتقلون من مأزق إلى مأزق أكثر خطورة ولن يؤدي ذلك بأي حال لإفلات المتورطين في جريمة اغتيال الحريري ومن دعمهم من الملاحقة الدولية.

(7) بل إن السيد حسن نصر الله إذا سعى إلى تفجير الوضع في لبنان وعبث بأمنه واستقراره فأعتقد أن مجلس الأمن والمجتمع الدولي سوف ينشئون محكمة جديدة لمحاكمة حسن نصر الله شخصياً لكونه هو من اتخذ قرار الانقلاب على الشرعية اللبنانية وضرب أمن اللبنانيين في الصميم، فبدلاً من أن يحاكم عناصر من حزب الله إذا ثبت اتهامهم بجريمة اغتيال رفيق الحريري سوف يحاكم حسن نصر الله ومن سانده من أعوانه وحلفائه على جريمته غزوة بيروت 7 آيار وجريمته التي ينوي تنفيذها عندما تصدر المحكمة الدولية قرارها الظني باتهام عناصر من حزبه.

(8) ألا يأخذ السيد حسن نصر الله الحكمة من الرئيس السوري الدكتور بشار الأسد عندما قال إذا ثبت اتهام عناصر من سوريا فسنحاكمهم بجريمة الخيانة العظمى؟ ولكن هناك فرقا بين زعيم دولة يستشعر المسؤولية، خاصة إن سوريا تعاونت مع المحكمة الدولية الخاصة بالتحقيق باغتيال رفيق الحريري وكان تعاونها مع متطلبات المحكمة لم يحده حدود، ولكن السيد حسن نصر الله تعامل مع المحكمة كزعيم طائفي يعمل على بسط هيمنته على شركائه في الوطن،

(9) والدليل على ذلك في آخر خطاب للسيد حسن نصر الله أعلن أنه يملك قرائن ووثائق بأن إسرائيل هي التي اغتالت رفيق الحريري. والسؤال: لماذا صمت عن ذلك كل هذه السنوات؟ وفي هذه الحالة هناك تفسير واحد، وهو عندما كانت سوريا متهمة (سكت) على أمل أن (تشتعل) حرباً شعواء بين سوريا وقيادتها والسنة في لبنان وفي الدول العربية الأخرى.

بصورة واضحة كان حسن نصر الله يستثمر الخلاف الذي كان موجوداً بين الطائفة السنية في لبنان وأشقائهم في سوريا قيادة وشعباً، وكذلك كان يستثمر الخلاف السعودي السوري حول القضايا اللبنانية بهدف إيجاد مظلة سياسية وأمنية وإعلامية له للقفز على السلطة في لبنان.

(10) أما عما لديه من قرائن ودلائل وبراهين عن اتهامه لإسرائيل بأنها خلف اغتيال رئيس وزراء لبنان رفيق الحريري فإن عليه عرض هذه القرائن والدلائل والبراهين على المحكمة الدولية، فهي الجهة المختصة بالتحقيق بهذا الجانب قانونياً للوصول إلى الحقيقة. أما الاكتفاء بعرض ما لديه على الشعب اللبناني فهذا لن يقدم ولن يؤخر في مسار

المحكمة الدولية، لأن السيد حسن نصر الله لا يمثل المحكمة التي تفصل في قضايا جنائية كبرى فهو طرف سياسي لا يمثل العدالة الدولية.

(11) كما أن توجيهه الاتهام لإسرائيل في قضية اغتيال الحريري، الهدف منه كما أعتقد هو حشر اللبنانيين في زاوية حادة، وهي أن من يقف مع المحكمة الدولية وشرعة الأمم المتحدة هو بالضرورة يقف مع إسرائيل. ويعمل على تبرئتها، وهذا لا يعني بالمطلق أنني أبرئ الكيان الإسرائيلي من جريمة اغتيال رفيق الحريري ورفاقه الشهداء، فإسرائيل نشأت على الجريمة والمكان الطبيعي لكل ما لدى (نصر الله) من معطيات حيال إسرائيل هو تسليم كل ما لديه للجهة المختصة وهي المحكمة الدولية المتعلقة باغتيال الحريري وسائر من تبعوه اغتيالاً.

Appendix D: Text Two (English Translation)

Saudi Columnist: Bring Nasrallah to Trial before an International Tribunal

In response to a series of belligerent statements and speeches by Hizbullah secretary-general Hassan Nasrallah about the international tribunal for the Al-Hariri assassination, Khaled Aal Humail, a columnist for the Saudi daily Al-Watan*, wrote that Nasrallah himself should be brought to trial before an international court for taking over Beirut in May 2008. Conversely, Aal Humail praised the Syrian regime for its restraint and responsibility in its dealings with the international tribunal.*

The following are translated excerpts from the article:[1]

"Nasrallah Threatened to Blow Up the Situation in Lebanon, Which Would Lead to a Military Takeover... by Hizbullah"

(1) "Hassan Nasrallah, leader of the Lebanese Hizbullah, has lately begun to stage [media] events in order to threaten Lebanon and warn the Lebanese people that trouble and disasters will befall them unless they stand by Hizbullah, along with their institutions and authorities, [and help it to] evade justice as embodied by the international tribunal for the Al-Hariri assassination. Nasrallah threatened to blow up the situation in Lebanon, which would lead to a military takeover of the country by Hizbullah. Whoever follows [Nasrallah's] statements in his weekly speeches finds that the man presents the Lebanese people, and the other Arab countries, with two options: either to dismantle the international tribunal or to have [Hizbullah] occupy Lebanon...

(2) "If, after the publication of the tribunal's indictment, Hassan Nasrallah and his party act hastily and defend the Hizbullah members implicated [in the crime], that will be a dangerous move indeed. Hizbullah will not find an Arab or international umbrella to defend it after spilling Lebanese blood. If that happens, even the missiles it is stockpiling in south Lebanon for its resistance against Israel will not avail it.

(3) "The secret is out. Nasrallah has exposed his shame with his own two hands. Instead of fighting Israel – [a goal] that does not really interest him – he is stockpiling [weapons] in order to attack the Lebanese people, and especially those who oppose

[Hizbullah's] hegemony over the country. Hizbullah is apprehensive about the indictment [soon] to be published by the international tribunal's, which will be backed with information, evidence, testimonies, and documents... implicating its operatives.

(4) "Nasrallah is trying to persuade the Lebanese that the international tribunal will lead Lebanon to ruin. But the truth is that [something else] – namely the murderers' evading international justice – is guaranteed to spell Lebanon's destruction.

(5) "I hereby firmly announce that Nasrallah's effort to [discredit] the tribunal is doomed to failure. The attempt to discredit the tribunal is [actually an attempt] to discredit the legitimacy of the international [community] and the Security Council. Hizbullah's insolent [attempt] to bring chaos upon the Lebanese people and the international community is a war crime that is punishable under international law. It warrants establishing another international tribunal to try those who are assisting Hizbullah in this coup against the Lebanese state...

(6) "Let Hizbullah do as it likes. [Let it] defy the Lebanese people and international justice, as well as the countries of the region and the world, and discover what happens to it in the Arab and international arena. One day later, Nasrallah will no longer know even an hour of rest… If he insists on challenging the tribunal and undermining Lebanon's security, it will not sabotage the tribunal but [rather] his own organization, causing it to go from one crisis to another, even worse [than the last]. It will certainly not help those who were involved in the assassination, and those who assisted them, to evade prosecution by the international [court]."

"Nasrallah and His Allies Should Be Prosecuted for the Crime of Taking over Beirut in May [2008]"

(7) "Moreover, if Nasrallah works to blow up the situation in Lebanon and undermine its stability and security, I believe that the Security Council and the international community will establish a new tribunal and bring personal charges against him, because he has decided to stage a coup against the Lebanese legitimacy and deal a severe blow to Lebanese security. Instead of prosecuting Hizbullah members – should they be proved to be involved in the Al-Hariri murder – it is Nasrallah and his allies that should be prosecuted for the crime of taking over Beirut in May [2008], and for the crime he means to commit when the international tribunal publishes its indictment against

members of his organization...

(8) "Why doesn't Nasrallah follow the example of Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, who [promised] that any Syrians proved to be guilty [of involvement in the assassination] would be prosecuted for grand treason in a Syrian [court]? There seems to be a difference between the responsible head of the [Syrian] state – which cooperated fully with the international tribunal – and Hassan Nasrallah, who is behaving vis-à-vis the tribunal like a sectarian leader trying to impose his rule over his partners in the homeland.

(9) "This is evident from the fact that, in his last speech, Nasrallah announced he had proof that Israel was behind the Al-Hariri assassination. The question is – why has he kept silent all these years? There is only one possible answer. When Syria was accused [of being behind the crime, Nasrallah] kept silent because he hoped for an all-out war between Syria and its leadership [on the one hand] and the Sunnis in Lebanon and in other Arab countries [on the other]. Nasrallah blatantly exploited the conflict between the Sunnis in Lebanon and the Syrian leadership and people. He also exploited the disagreement between Syria and Saudi Arabia on the Lebanese issue... in his attempt to take over [Lebanon].

(10) "As for his evidence and proof of Israel's involvement in the assassination, [Nasrallah] should present them to the international tribunal, which is the body authorized to investigate these allegations... Presenting them to the Lebanese people does not help the tribunal, because Nasrallah is [only] a politician, who does not represent international justice or [preside over] a court that can rule on broad issues.

(11) "In my opinion, his goal in accusing Israel of the murder is to push the Lebanese into a tight corner, [and then argue] that whoever supports the international tribunal and the U.N.'s legitimacy is necessarily on Israel's side..."

Appendix E: Text Three (Arabic Original)

رأي الدستور : اسرائيل هي المسؤولة

(1) عودة العنف الى الارض الفلسطينية المحتلة ليس مفاجئا. ما دام العدو الصهيوني
مصرا على استمرار العدوان.. سواء أكان استيطانا ، تهويدا ، او ارتكاب جرائم تطهير عرقي ،
وما دام مصرا على قتل الابرياء في قطاع غزة ، وتهديم المنازل على رؤوس ساكنيها ، واستمرار الحصار.. فالعنف
يولّد العنف.

(2) ومن هنا فاسرائيل هي المسؤولة ، عن انفجار الاوضاع في الاراضي المحتلة .. لانها ببساطة شديدة ، ترفض
الامتثال لقرارات الشرعية الدولية ، والانسحاب من كافة الاراضي العربية المحتلة ، وترفض اقامة الدولة الفلسطينية
المستقلة ، وعاصمتها القدس الشريف ، وعودة اللاجئين ، كما نصت القوانين والاعراف الدولية.

(3) لقد طالب المجتمع الدولي عصابات الاحتلال بضرورة وقف الاستيطان ، كونه مخالفا للقانون الدولي ، ولشرعة
حقوق الانسان ، ومن شأنه ايضا ان ينسف العملية السلمية من جذورها ، ويعيد الصراع الفلسطيني - الاسرائيلي الى
المربع الاول.. وهذا ما حدث.. اذ اصرت حكومة اليمين الصهيوني المتطرف الاستمرار في هذا العدوان ، واعلن
نتنياهو مؤخرا ، موافقته على اقامة 50 الف وحدة سكنية في كافة المستعمرات خلال 18 شهرا المقبلة ، وخاصة في
القدس العربية المحتلة ، لتسريع عملية التهويد ، وتحويل المدينة العربية الاسلامية الى مدينة توراتية ، بعد طمس
معالمها الاصيلة.

(4) لقد حذر جلالة الملك عبدالله الثاني اسرائيل اكثر من مرة من خطورة تداعيات فشل العملية السلمية ، وطالبها
بضرورة الخروج من عقلية القلعة ، اذا ارادت حقيقة ان تعيش بسلام في المنطقة ، بعد ان ثبت ان الاحتكام للقوة ، لا
يحقق الامن والاستقرار وان تحقيق هذا الهدف لا يتم الا بالاعتراف بحقوق الشعب العربي الفلسطيني الوطنية
والتاريخية ، وحقه في اقامة دولته المستقلة على ترابه الوطني ، وفي حدود الخامس من حزيران 1967 ، مؤكدا
جلالته بان المنطقة لن تنعم بالهدوء ، الا بحل عادل للقضية الفلسطينية ، ينهي والى الابد معاناة الشعب الفلسطيني
الشقيق ، والتي بلغت مرحلة لم يعد السكوت عليها مقبولا ، في ظل استمرار الاحتلال الصهيوني لاكثر من اربعة
عقود ، واستمرار الحصار الظالم على قطاع غزة ، والحكم على اكثر من 1,5 مليون فلسطيني بالموت البطيء.

(5) ان استعراض ملف الصراع الفلسطيني - الاسرائيلي يؤكد ان العدو لم يستفد من تجارب الماضي ، وبقي مصرا
على نهجه الفاشي القائم على التفرقة العنصرية ، وهذا ما يعني بصريح العبارة ان الشعب الفلسطيني الذي استجاب

للسلام وشروطه ، لن يبقى اسير المؤامرات الصهيونية ، ورهين السياسة الاسرائيلية القائمة على تكريس الامر الواقع بواسطة الاستيطان والتهويد ، والترانسفير .

(6) مجمل القول: ان سياسة العدو الصهيوني هي المسؤولة عن تجدد العنف ، وعن حالة عدم الامن والاستقرار ، في الاراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة ، بسبب رفضها الامتثال لقرارات الشرعية الدولية ، واصرارها الى الاحتكام للقوة ، ولا سبيل امامها اذا ارادت السلام الحقيقي ، الا الخروج من عقلية القلعة والاعتراف بحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني ، فهو السبيل الوحيد ، كما اكد جلالة الملك عبدالله الثاني ، لتحقيق الامن والاستقرار لكافة شعوب المنطقة.

Appendix F: Text Three (English Translation)

Jordanian Government Daily: Israel Is To Blame for the Renewal of Palestinian Violence Against It

On March 24, 2011, the day after a bomb exploded in Jerusalem and after the firing of rockets from the Gaza Strip into Israel resumed, the Jordanian government daily Al-Dustour, *in an editorial, blamed Israel for the renewal of Palestinian violence against it. The editorial, titled "Israel Is Responsible," stated that Israel was continuing its aggression towards the Palestinian people and also continuing to impede the peace process, and noted that "violence will [continue to] breed violence."*

The following are excerpts from the article:[1]

(1) "The renewal of violence in the occupied Palestinian territories comes as no surprise. As long as the Zionist enemy insists on continuing his aggression, whether via [construction in] the settlements, Judaization, or the crimes of ethnic cleansing, and as long as he insists on killing innocents in the Gaza Strip, demolishing homes over the heads of their residents, and perpetuating the siege, violence will [continue to] breed violence.

(2) "Hence, Israel is the one responsible for the conflagration in the occupied territories, simply because it refuses to comply with international resolutions and to withdraw from all the occupied Arab lands, and because it opposes the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital and the return of the refugees as demanded by the international laws and charters.

(3) "The international community told the Zionist gangs that they must put an end to the settlements, which violate international law and the [UN] Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which could blow up the peace process and take the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back to square one. And [the explosion] has indeed come, because the extremist Zionist right insisted on continuing this aggression, and [Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin] Netanyahu recently declared that he was willing to build 50,000 [new]

housing units in the settlements over the next 18 months – particularly in occupied Arab Jerusalem, in order to accelerate its Judaization, thus turning this Muslim Arab city into a Biblical [Jewish] one by eradicating its original characteristics.

(4) "[Jordan's] King 'Abdallah II has warned Israel more than once about the grave repercussions of allowing the peace process to fail, and urged it to give up [its constant sense of persecution] if it really wants to live in peace with the [rest of] the region. After all, it has been proven that force cannot achieve security and stability, and that these can only be achieved by recognizing the historical national rights of the Arab Palestinian people and its right to establish its independent state on its national lands within the June 5, 1967 borders. His Majesty stressed that the region would not enjoy peace and quiet until a just solution was found for the Palestinian problem, that would end the suffering of our Palestinian brethren once and for all – [for] their suffering has reached an extent that can no longer be tolerated...

(5) "An examination of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict reveals that the enemy has not learned the lessons of the past, but insists on pursuing its fascist policy based on racist discrimination. [However,] the Palestinian people, which has accepted peace and the conditions [for achieving it], will not remain a prisoner of the Zionist conspiracies and of the Israeli policies based on the creation of facts on the ground through settlements, Judaization and transfer.

(6) In sum, it is the policy of the Zionist enemy that is responsible for the renewal of the violence and the lack of security and stability in the occupied Palestinian territories..."

VITA

Manar Nabil Abu Al Oyoun was born on April 20, 1984 in Dubai, UAE. She was educated in private schools in Dubai and graduated from high school in 2001. She then joined Ajman University of Science and Technology Network and graduated with honors. Her degree was a Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Translation.

Ms. Abu Al Oyoun then worked for a year and a half in a private hospital. In September 2006, she began a master's program in Translation and Interpreting at the American University of Sharjah. She was awarded the Master of Arts in Translation and Interpreting in 2011.