CHURCHILL’S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH: 
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

by

Lobna A. Burohaima

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the American University of Sharjah College of Arts and Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English/Arabic/English Translation and Interpreting (MATI)

Sharjah, United Arab Emirates

December 2016
# Approval Signatures

We, the undersigned, approve the Master’s Thesis of Lobna A. Burohaima.

Thesis Title: Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech: Translation and Commentary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Date of Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Sattar Izwaini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis Advisor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Said Faiq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor in Arabic and Translation Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis Committee Member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Nuha Alshaar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor in Arabic and Translation Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis Committee Member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. David Wilmsen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. James Griffin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAS Graduate Programs Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Mahmoud Anabtawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean of CAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Khaled Assaleh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interim Vice Provost for Research and Graduate Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to all my MATI professors for such a wonderful and enriching experience. Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my advisor Dr. Sattar Izwaini, for his continuous support, guidance and encouragement. I can never be thankful enough for all the effort he put towards the completion of my thesis. Being one of his students was a great honor due to all the knowledge I have gained from his course in Contrastive Linguistics.

Very special thanks are due to Prof. Basil Hatim, who was one of the first to pave our way in the field of translation with his rich knowledge and generous contributions. Motivating me and other students has always been a priority to him.

My gratitude also extends to Prof. Said Faiq, from whom I have benefited a great deal as one of his students.

My sincere thanks go also to my niece Alanood, for her endless help and support after embarking on my journey in the master’s program at the AUS. Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my mother whose genuine prayers and blessings have enabled me to pursue my goals with full attention and rewarding success.
Dedication

To my mother and father (may his soul rest in peace)
Abstract

Although Winston Churchill wrote some of the greatest speeches of the twentieth century, few of those speeches or only fragments of them have been translated into Arabic. This thesis is a translation and commentary of one of the most famous speeches of Winston Churchill, the *Iron Curtain* oration, given at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri in the United States of America in 1946. The *Iron Curtain* is particularly chosen for translation because of its political, historical, and literary dimensions. Translating this speech provides a basis for the focus of this thesis: to discuss problems of translating political speeches, especially those which are rich in rhetoric, in light of theory; to offer solutions for these problems; and to inspect strategies as well as techniques that lead to these solutions. To this end, the emphasis of the commentary will be on how three rhetorical devices, namely metaphor, allusion and cohesive devices, are handled in the translation. It is concluded that despite the diversity of translation strategies opted for in the translation, there are no set formulas for translating political speeches; it is just a matter of recognizing the individuality of the speaker’s intentions by analyzing his use of style and rhetoric, being familiar with the common rhetorical devices used in the respective languages, and understanding political, historical as well as cultural situations in context.

# Table of Contents

Abstract ............................................................................................................................... 6  
Chapter One: Introduction ................................................................................................. 9  
Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework .............................................................................. 11  
  2.1 Overview ...................................................................................................................... 11  
  2.2 Rhetoric in Political Speeches ................................................................................... 11  
    2.2.1 Introduction to rhetoric ....................................................................................... 11  
    2.2.2 Winston Churchill’s rhetoric ............................................................................... 13  
    2.2.3 Rhetoric in English and Arabic political speeches .............................................. 14  
    2.2.4 Previous works on political texts’ translation ...................................................... 16  
  2.3 Equivalence in Translation ......................................................................................... 18  
  2.4 Linguistic Approaches to Translation ....................................................................... 19  
    2.4.1 Vinay and Darbelnet’s model .............................................................................. 19  
    2.4.2 Catford’s shifts .................................................................................................... 22  
    2.4.3 Newmark’s procedures ....................................................................................... 23  
  2.5 Functional Approaches to Translation ..................................................................... 24  
    2.5.1 Katharina Reiss’s theory of text types ................................................................. 24  
    2.5.2 Skopos theory ..................................................................................................... 26  
Chapter Three: The Text and the Translation ................................................................. 27  
  3.1 Overview ...................................................................................................................... 27  
  3.2 Winston Churchill ....................................................................................................... 27  
  3.3 The Speech .................................................................................................................. 27  
  3.4 The Text ...................................................................................................................... 30  
  3.5 The Translation ......................................................................................................... 41  
Chapter Four: Commentary ............................................................................................. 49  
  4.1 Overview ...................................................................................................................... 49  
  4.2 Metaphor ...................................................................................................................... 49  
  4.3 Allusion ....................................................................................................................... 54  
  4.4 Cohesive Devices ...................................................................................................... 56  
    4.4.1 Reference ............................................................................................................ 57  
    4.4.2 Substitution ....................................................................................................... 58  
    4.4.3 Lexical cohesion ............................................................................................... 59
4.5 Conclusion

Chapter Five: Conclusion

References

Vita
Chapter One: Introduction

Language plays a profound role in human interaction. It is to a great extent, rooted in and influenced by historical, socio-cultural, ideological and instructional conditions (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010, p. 2). As these conditions vary across space and time, the task of maintaining and preserving meaning and style while carrying out a translation becomes a challenge with which one has to contend.

Perhaps one of the most challenging tasks to be performed by a translator is translating political speeches. A political speech is a “coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose on a political occasion” (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. xiii). Politicians or other public figures often use rhetorical devices in order to convey their ideas or ideology. A rhetorical device can be defined as “a use of language that creates a literary effect” (“Rhetorical device,” 2016, para. 1). Those devices are techniques which allow the speaker to speak in a way that appeals to the listener or reader. Moreover, politicians tend to be imprecise—using vague language that might be interpreted differently. Those characteristic features of political speeches contribute to the difficulty of translating them.

The present study provides a translation of a political speech and examines some of the problems which a translator might face when translating an English political speech into Arabic. My motivation behind this thesis has been to explore how the translator, with the help of theory, can identify problems of political texts’ translation and solve them. For that reason, I translated the famous Iron Curtain speech, given in the year 1946 by Sir Winston Churchill, the British statesman and arguably one of the greatest orators of the twentieth century.

The Iron Curtain speech was consciously chosen for translation for specific reasons. First, the speech was given by a famous political figure, who was also a great orator, at a critical time of West versus East political conflict. Second, the text has a special rhetorical flavor and its translation into Arabic would present an invaluable opportunity to understand the nature of political rhetoric. Finally, the Iron Curtain speech contains a mixture of certain phrases, which at once entered into general use, as well as several religious references and metaphors, which gives it substance for translation and analysis.
After translating the speech, I discuss my translation decisions, identifying translation problems and strategies used to solve them based on the theoretical models of translation. Therefore, this thesis is composed of five chapters. Chapter One gives a brief introduction to the thesis and outlines its structure. Chapter Two provides an overview of the use of rhetoric in political speeches and presents some previous studies on political texts’ translation. It also reviews relevant issues in translation theory by discussing the concept of equivalence and examining some linguistic and functional approaches to translation. Chapter Three includes background information about the speaker and the speech before introducing the source text (ST), the original English text and the target text (TT), my Arabic translation. Chapter Four provides a commentary on representative examples of various translation problems encountered in the translation and strategies employed for their solutions. Half of the examples chosen in Chapter Four are metaphors and allusions. The reason for concentrating on these specific areas is that translators often encounter problems regarding cultural aspects that are reflected in metaphors or allusions specific to the source culture in question, which might be challenging to preserve in the TT. Chapter Five gives the conclusions related to the translation issues encountered in the ST and the solutions offered to solve them.
Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Overview

This chapter covers two broad areas which have various focal points. The first discusses the use of rhetoric in political speeches. Rhetoric is first briefly defined and discussed. Then some rhetorical devices that Winston Churchill applies to his speeches are presented. Moreover, a short comparison between rhetoric in English and Arabic political speeches is provided. Finally, previous studies on translating political texts are reviewed. The second area reviews some relevant issues in translation theory. To begin with, the concept of equivalence in translation is defined and briefly discussed. Then a number of linguistic and functional approaches to translation are presented. Examples from both the Iron Curtain and its translation are given when appropriate to make the discussion relevant to the present thesis.

2.2 Rhetoric in Political Speeches

2.2.1 Introduction to rhetoric. Literature documents rhetoric as central to the practice of politics. One of the earliest definitions of rhetoric is derived from Aristotle (384-322 BCE), who defines it as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (as cited in Toye, 2013, p. 13). In other words, rhetoric not only concerns itself with colorful language but also with comprehending the situation and knowing the audience well enough to determine which features of the situation can be used to impact them and achieve the desired result (ibid).

Aristotle in his Politics distinguishes three types of rhetoric: deliberative, forensic and epideictic. Deliberative rhetoric can be found in parliamentary or local governmental meetings. It considers different possible outcomes from different courses of action and it suggests a recommendation for future action. In this type, the speaker seeks to win support for his or her argument by means of persuasion. Forensic rhetoric, on the other hand, is related to law courts, where the speaker seeks to accuse or defend a suspect by resorting to evidence or arguments (based on scientific investigation). The context of the third type, which is epideictic rhetoric, is ceremonial events in which the speaker uses his or her eloquence to evaluate another by praise or criticism (Charteris-Black, 2014, pp. 6-8). The Iron Curtain speech tends mainly to fall under the first type, which is deliberative rhetoric.
Whether a speech is deliberative, forensic or epideictic, it is bound to include an appeal to *ethos*, *logos* or *pathos* (Toye, 2013, p. 42). These artistic proofs, identified by Aristotle, are central to classical rhetoric. A contemporary meaning of the first type, *ethos*, is “the set of values held either by an individual or by a community, reflected in their language, social attitudes and behavior” (Cockcroft, R & Cockcroft, S. M, 2005, p. 28). This appeal is based on the character of the speaker which contributes to his or her overall ethical credibility (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 8). Throughout the speech, Churchill constantly establishes *ethos* by demonstrating moral convictions. For example, when he encourages Britain and the United States to work together, he states that they should work “for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any.” Here, Churchill tries to convince the audience that the policies of Britain and the United States can be trusted since they portend no harm to any. Furthermore, near the beginning of his speech, he indicates that he would allow his mind “with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us.” The reference to his lifetime experience presents him as a credible politician and therefore establishes trust between him and the audience. Also, choosing terms from the domain of religion (e.g., path of wisdom) helps Churchill to connect with his audience on broad religious grounds and therefore enhances his *ethos*.

*Logos*, on the other hand, is “the appeal to arguments based in reason” (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 11). It is essential, to be persuasive, to create concepts that are rooted in reason and based on arguments. For example, in the *Iron Curtain*, Churchill argues that the secrets of the atomic bomb had to be kept by Britain, the United States and Canada and not shared with the United Nations Organization. He supports his argument with two persuasive reasons: “It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb...to the world organisation, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world.” Here, Churchill rejects the idea of sharing the information of the atomic bomb with the UN and he justifies this rejection by virtue of two points: the organization was still in its nascent stage and the world was still anxious and separated.

On the other hand, *pathos* involves persuading the audience by arousing their emotions. Those emotions, as Aristotle explains, are characterized by pleasure (e.g., happiness) and by pain (e.g., anger or fear) (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 14). An example of
**pathos** is when Churchill speaks about the wage-earner who struggles “amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation.” This powerful imagery is chosen, most probably, to arouse empathy within the audience.

Emotions might also be provoked through humour and that is evidenced in Churchill’s introductory paragraph when he makes a play on words by saying “The name ‘Westminster’ is somehow familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things.” ‘Westminster,’ to which Churchill refers, is not actually a college but a constituency in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. In other words, that is a witticism or pun which is cleverly placed immediately at the outset of the speech that quickly elicits a positive emotional response which functions like a binding force between Churchill and his audience. Simply put, this pun allows for the audience to connect and listen carefully to what Churchill had to say.

Moreover, a single sentence can contain more than one artistic proof. The following is a case in point: “The President has told you that it is his wish (ethos), as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel (logos) in these anxious and baffling times (pathos).”

As indicated in the above discussion, Aristotle’s treatise represents an astonishing attempt to methodically approach the problem of rhetoric and the classifications which he formulated had a prodigious effect (Toye, 2013, p. 14).

### 2.2.2 Winston Churchill’s rhetoric.

In his book which analyzes the rhetoric of famous politicians, Charteris-Black (2005) states that “Churchill was the pastmaster of twentieth century political oratory and has set the standards that subsequent politicians have often sought to emulate” (p. 32). Using a corpus of twenty five of Churchill’s major wartime speeches, Charteris-Black (2005) dedicates a whole chapter to analyze the rhetoric of Winston Churchill. He notes that Churchill implements many rhetorical devices in his speeches. Some of the devices that Churchill uses are: reiteration (repetition of words), hyperbole (exaggerating to make a point), clause matching (using a phrase which has a parallel and memorable form), inversion (reversing the normal order of words), rhetorical questions, antithesis (or contrast) and the coining of patterns based on English phraseology. However, after analyzing the chosen speeches, it was concluded
that metaphor was Churchill’s typical rhetorical device for the creation of a heroic myth; wherein Britain and her allies were constructed as forces of goodness while their enemies were represented as forces of evil (Charteris-Black, 2005, pp. 32-57).

The heroic myth is successfully created in the *Iron Curtain*, in which the United States is represented as a warrior (e.g., twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States…drawn by irresistible forces into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good cause), Russia as a villain (e.g., the Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany), and Europe as an innocent victim (e.g., the awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories…glares us in the eyes). Moreover, Britain in particular is claimed to be the embodiment of noble forces which defends not only national interests but also supra national concerns or humanity in general (e.g., do not suppose…that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes).

### 2.2.3 Rhetoric in English and Arabic political speeches.

The word ‘rhetoric’ can be translated into Arabic in two ways, of which the first is فن الخطابة *fann al-khataba*, that is the skill of preaching with an emphasis on expression and the rendering of ideas (Toye, 2013, p. 19). The second is علم البلاغة *ilm al-balagha*, which literally means the “science of eloquence” (ibid).

In her book titled *Aspects of Language Variation in Arabic Political Speech-making*, Mazraani (1997) discusses the similarities in rhetorical devices used by English and Arab politicians. Atkinson (1984, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 203) lists rhetorical devices that are commonly used by famous English and American politicians. Some of these devices are: Tricolon (listing elements in threes), contrasting pairs of items and references to “us”. On the other hand, Tannen (1989, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 203), lists other devices that are found in political oratory, such as the use of repetition, imagery as well as direct and reported speech and dialogue. Mazraani argues that the devices listed by Atkinson and Tannen are also found in speeches given by Arab politicians, which suggests that the aforementioned devices “may have multiple cultural appeal in political oratory” (Mazraani, 1997, p. 203). To support her claim, Mazraani
(1997, pp. 205-223) provides evidence from English and Arabic speeches that apply those stylistic devices. Below are the devices with illustrative examples:

1. Listing three elements: Atkinson (1984, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 204) holds that “one of the main attractions of three-part lists is that they have an air of unity or completeness about them.” He includes an example drawn from a speech given in 1980, by the British stateswoman Margaret Thatcher, in which she lists three elements: “This week has demonstrated that we are a party united in purpose, strategy and resolve.” On the other hand, Mazraani (1997, p. 205) provides an example from a speech given by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1957, in which he uses the same device:

2. Contrasting pairs: this “is a device used by speakers, by which they introduce the element of conflict into the discussion, as if the point argued by the speaker is being criticised, or challenged by the audience” (Mazraani, 1997, p. 207). Atkinson (1984, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 207) provides the following example of a contrasting pair which appears in a speech given by the Liberal Party Leader David Steel: “the truth is beginning to dawn on our people that there are two conservative parties in this election, one is offering the continuation of the policies we’ve had for the last five years, and the other is offering a return to the policies of forty years ago.” Mazraani (1997, p. 207), in contrast, provides the following example delivered by the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein during a press conference in 1980:

3. References to “us”: Atkinson (1984, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 209) stresses that references to “us” are affirmations that “convey positive or boastful evaluations of our hopes, our activities or our achievements.” The use of this device establishes solidarity between the speaker and his or her audience. The following, which is a passage that is taken from Nasser’s speech, is an example of references to “us” as well as repetition:

4. Images: Tannen (1989, cited in Mazraani, 1997, p. 208) stresses that “images, like dialogue, evoke scenes, and understanding is derived from scenes because they are
composed of people in relation to each other, doing things that are culturally and personally recognizable and meaningful.” She provides the following passage, from a speech given by the American politician Reverend Jesse Jackson, as an example of the use of images: “I wasn't born in the hospital. Mama didn't have insurance. I was born in the bed, at [the] house. I really do understand. Born in a three room house, bathroom in the back yard, slop jar by the bed, no hot and cold running water, I understand. Wallpaper used for decoration? No. For a windbreaker.” This device is also used by Arab politicians as can be seen in the following example, a passage taken from Nasser’s speech:

كنت شايف كل واحد فيكم في البلكونات وفي الشوارع في المعركة

5. Direct and reported speech and dialogue: those devices make the speech “livelier and maintain audience rapport” (Mazraani, 1997, p. 210). The following is a passage taken from a speech given in 1983, by the British stateswoman Margaret Thatcher, in which she applies the device of reported speech: “the Russians said that I was an Iron Lady. They were right. Britain needs an Iron Lady.” The Iraqi president Saddam Hussein also uses the same device as in the following passage:

الاتحاد السوفيتي يقول ما عندي أو ما أقدر أزودكم بيها

Moreover, Mazraani provides examples from Arabic and English political texts, where rhyme is used as a rhetorical tactic. In addition, she confirms that both English and Arabic politicians use code-switching, i.e., to switch from a formal standard form of language to dialect or vice-versa. After examining a variety of Arabic and English political speeches, Mazraani (1997) stresses “the commonality of persuasive strategies in Arabic and English political speeches” (p. 223).

2.2.4 Previous works on political texts’ translation. A rich and diverse body of literature investigates the language of political texts. However, the studies that are of special interest in this thesis are the ones that focus on the issue of translating political texts. Among those who discuss the translation of political language are Newmark (1991) and Schöffner (1997).

In his book About Translation, Newmark (1991) dedicates an entire chapter to discuss the translation of political language. When discussing the translation of metaphors in political language, Newmark (1991, p. 158) believes that “each linguistic
culture has its own set of political metaphors” and therefore proposes that interpreters might have to modify them. Moreover, Newmark (ibid) states that “political language is rich in neologism,” that is “a new word or expression, or a new meaning for an existing word” (“neologism,” 2016, para. 1). He suggests that the meaning of such terms has to be spelled out in translation. As regards to the use of euphony (i.e., the acoustic effect of words), he holds that it is necessary to preserve some of the original’s “phonaesthetic quality” in translation (Newmark, 1991, p. 159). In his discussion of the translation of collocations in political language, he mentions that there is usually no one-to-one correspondence.

On the other hand, Schäffner (1997) analyzes translations of speeches given by German and American politicians. She bolsters her analysis with examples to illustrate the translation problems and the strategies that had been employed for their solutions, stressing that her aim is not to formulate translation rules but rather to “develop an awareness for some phenomena typical for political texts” (p. 121). She mentions that omission is one of the strategies that is usually used in translating political speeches. She explains that the omitted sentences usually refer to a specific situation in the original context and therefore they do not need to be preserved in the translation. She supports her claim by providing an example from a German speech, in which a phrase that had been used by the speaker to conclude his speech was omitted from the translation. Another strategy, she remarks, that is applied in translating political speeches is explicitation. She notes that TTs tend to be more explicit as the TT audience usually does not share specific background knowledge about the source language culture. She includes examples where the lack of this knowledge was accounted for by adding lexical items in the TT, or by changing the syntactic structures (e.g., using a definite article). She stresses that the text’s political perspective or the speaker’s attitude may not be transferred to the TT audience if the implicit information (e.g., a culture-specific word meaning, an allusion, etc.) is not grasped by the translator. Schäffner (1997) concludes her analysis stating that political texts are mainly intended to function within their source culture and their function in and for the target culture will differ in translation.

Although those reviewed studies may not represent specific translation strategies or techniques that assist in translating political texts, they nevertheless describe some
characteristic features of those texts, laying down recommendations to deal with them in the translation.

2.3 Equivalence in Translation

Translation is the process of transferring messages between two different language systems and cultures. It is “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (Catford, 1965, p. 20). For Nida and Taber (1969), it is “reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language-message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (p. 12). Since the concept of equivalence is considered an important item in defining translation, it has to be explained in some detail.

Fawcett (1997, p. 53) argues that the ultimate goal of different translation strategies and techniques is to achieve equivalence. He notes that there have been many definitions of equivalence. However, he mentions that the most famous are probably those of Catford and Nida (Fawcett, 1997, p. 54). Catford (1965) makes a distinction between formal correspondence and textual equivalence. According to him, a textual equivalent 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” (p. 27). On the other hand, a formal correspondent is seen as “any TL category…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” (Catford, 1965, p. 27). Formal correspondence has to do with the relationship between elements in two languages, while textual equivalence concentrates on the relations that occur between elements in a specific ST-TT pair (Hatim & Munday, 2004, pp. 27-28). Snell-Hornby (1988), however, believes that Catford’s approach is now commonly considered “dated and of mere historical interest” (p. 15). Moreover, Fawcett (1997) states that “Catford’s definition of equivalence…hides a notorious vagueness and a suspect methodology” (p. 56). He mentions that Catford himself admits that his definition of textual equivalence might be problematic, especially when a translation occurs between cultures that differ radically (Fawcett, 1997, p. 55). Nida (1964), on the other hand, introduces two types of equivalence, formal and dynamic. According to him, formal equivalence “focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content . . . one is concerned that the message in the receptor language
should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language” (p. 159). Here, the focus is on preserving the form and content of the ST message. In contrast, dynamic equivalence is achieved by finding “the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message” (Nida, 1964, p. 166). In this type of equivalence, the aim is to produce a natural translation that is capable of producing an effect similar to that produced within the ST readers.

Although Nida’s concepts of equivalence have been crucial in introducing a reader-based perspective to translation theory, they have been greatly criticized (Munday, 2008, p. 43). For example, Venuti (1995, p. 21) claims that Nida’s dynamic equivalence masks “a basic disjunction between the source-and target-language texts” and therefore puts into question the possibility of producing a “similar” effect on the target readers. In addition, the French theorist Henri Meschonnic stresses that the search for dynamic equivalence might lead to an “automatic behaviorism” which “authorizes any kind of manipulation” (1986, p. 77 cited in Fawcett, 1997). Also, Qian Hu believes that Nida’s concept of dynamic equivalence is wrong as “total compatibility between any two languages is precluded” (1994, p. 427 cited in Fawcett, 1997). Moreover, Lefevere (1992, p. 8) notes that the concept of dynamic equivalence concentrates mainly on the message, which makes it less beneficial for literary translation, one which focuses not only on the message but also on the ways in which that message is conveyed.

It is worth pointing out that, in general, the views of translation theorists towards the notion of equivalence differ radically. Some of them, like Catford and Nida, consider equivalence a central concept in translation. Others claim that it is damaging or irrelevant to translation studies. Meanwhile, some theorists adopt a middle ground between the two sides (Kenny, 1998, p. 77).

2.4 Linguistic Approaches to Translation

This section reviews two main linguistic approaches to translation, namely Vinay and Darbelnet’s Model and Catford’s Shifts. Also, Newmark’s procedures in dealing with metaphor as well as his general translation strategies are reviewed in this section.

2.4.1 Vinay and Darbelnet’s model. In the year 1958, two French scholars named Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet published their useful book *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais*, a contrastive approach that analyzes linguistic
differences between English and French. In their book, they argue that translators might choose from two main methods of translation, direct and oblique. They mention three strategies that come under direct translation and four which come under oblique translation. Vinay and Darbelnet propose that the translator might first try the three direct translation strategies. If, however, these strategies cannot produce an acceptable translation, the translator should turn to the methods of oblique translation (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 34). Below is a discussion of Vinay and Darbelnet’s procedures (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, pp. 30-40), with examples from the text translated here, the *Iron Curtain*.

For direct translation, the following three strategies are identified:

1. Borrowing: this procedure is the simplest of all translation strategies. It implies transferring the SL word directly to the TL, probably due to the lack of equivalence at the word level or just for the purpose of introducing the SL culture. Examples of borrowing are the translation of ‘Marshal’ as مارشال, ‘democracy’ as ديموقراطية, ‘academic’ as أكاديمي.

2. Calque: this procedure involves borrowing an expression from a language and then translating each of its elements literally. Examples include the translation of the prepositional phrase ‘courts of justice’ as محاكم العدل, ‘official mission’ as مهمة رسمية.

3. Literal Translation: it is a word for word translation, transferring a “SL text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate TL text” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 33). This procedure, as Vinay and Darbelnet explain, is mostly used when translating between two languages that belong to the same family. Although English and Arabic do not belong to the same family, this procedure is commonly used when translating from English into Arabic or vice versa. An example of this procedure is the translation of “I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war” as لا أعتقد أن روسيا السوفيتية ترغب في الحرب.

On the other hand, oblique translation includes the following strategies:

1. Transposition: this procedure involves “replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 36). An example of transposition is the translation of “we cannot be blind to” as لا يمكن لنا أن نعمى عن, where the ST adjective ‘blind’ becomes the verb نعمى in the TT. Newmark
(1987) defines this type of transposition as “the one where literal translation is grammatically possible but may not accord with the natural usage in the TL” (p. 86).

2. Modulation: this procedure requires “a variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 36). An example of modulation is the translation of “beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience” as تفوق كل ما شهدته البشرية إلى الآن. This can be back-translated as beyond anything humanity had witnessed thus far, where the point of view is changed in the TT in order to produce a natural and idiomatic translation.

3. Equivalence: this procedure should not be confused with the concept of equivalence which was discussed earlier in this chapter. This strategy produces an equivalent text by using “completely different stylistic and structural methods” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 38). It is most commonly used in translating proverbs, idioms and clichés. Examples of this procedure include translating “hangs in the balance” as على المحك, “it is too late” as فات الأوان.

4. Adaptation: this is “a special kind of equivalence, a situational equivalence” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 39). This procedure is useful in the case where a situation mentioned in a ST is unknown in the TL culture. It is commonly used to deal with culture-bond words, phrases, expressions and metaphors. An example of adaptation is the translation of the metaphor “in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up” as قد تجتمع تحت سقفه رايات الأمم يوما, where the ST metaphor is adapted in the translation to fit the TT readers.

Venuti (2000, p. 84) notes that the seven procedures listed by Vinay and Darbelnet can be used separately or combined. Also, more than one procedure might be used to translate a single sentence (Venuti, 2000, p. 93). An example from the Iron Curtain might be the translation of “we aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration” as غايتنا ليست إلا المساعدة المتبادلة والتعاون, where both calque and transposition are used. A clear demonstration of calque is the literal translation of the ST expression “mutual assistance and collaboration”, while transposition is evident in transferring the ST verb ‘aim’ into the TT noun غاية.
Although the work of Vinay and Darbelnet has been criticized from several sides, Fawcett (1997, p. 40) holds that “theirs was a pioneering work” that achieved “resounding and well-deserved success” (Delisle, 1988, p. 75 cited in Fawcett, 1997).

2.4.2 Catford’s shifts. As mentioned earlier, Catford (1965) makes a distinction between two types of translation: formal correspondence and textual equivalence. The former occurs “where a target-language category occupies the same position in its language system as the same or some other category in the source language” (Fawcett, 1997, p. 54). However, when a translation equivalent other than the formal correspondent occurs for a particular SL element, a shift is deemed to have taken place (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 28). Catford (1965) defines shifts as “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL” (p. 73). Two types of translation shifts are distinguished—shift of level and shift of category. Below is a discussion of these shifts (Munday, 2008, pp. 60-61), with examples from the text translated here, the Iron Curtain:

1. A level shift: this type of shift occurs when something is expressed by grammar in the SL but lexis in the TL, or vice versa. An example of this shift is the translation of “and facts they are” as وهم حقائق حقا, where the emphasis that was expressed by reversing the ST word order is conveyed in the TT by assuming the normal word order and by adding only an adverb of manner حقا.

2. Category shifts: these are divided into four types:
   a) Structural shift: this involves a shift in grammatical structure between the ST and the TT. An example of this shift is the translation of “the American and British Armies withdrew westwards,” which consists of subjects (S) + verb (V) + complement (C), into تراجعت الجيوش الأمريكية والبريطانية غربا, where there is a shift from SVC to VSC.
   b) Class shift: this occurs when a SL item is translated into an item that belongs to a different class (i.e., grammatical category). An example of this shift is the translation of “my wartime comrade” as رفيقي في الحرب, where the ST adjective is rendered into a prepositional phrase (preposition+ noun).
   c) Unit shift: this involves changes of rank. In linguistics, rank refers to “the hierarchal linguistic units of sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme”
An example of this shift is the translation of the sentence "I find it painful" into the word أتألم.

d) Intra-system shift: this occurs when the SL and TL have nearly corresponding systems, “but when translation involves selection of a non-corresponding term in the TL system” (Catford, 1965, p. 80). This type of shift happens, for instance, when a ST plural is rendered into singular in the TT. An example of this shift is the translation of ‘fearless tones’ as صوت لا يعرف الخوف, where the ST plural ‘tones’ is rendered into the singular صوت in the TT.

Although Catford’s model has been heavily criticized for its “static contrastive linguistic basis” (Delisle, 1982 cited in Munday, 2008, p. 61), Fawcett (1998) stresses that it remains “one of the very few truly original attempts to give a systematic description of translation from a linguistic point of view” (p. 121).

2.4.3 Newmark’s procedures. Two modes of translation which are communicative translation versus semantic translation are introduced by Newmark. In communicative translation, the translator “attempts to produce the same effect on the TL readers as was produced by the original on the SL readers” (Newmark, 1995, p. 22). On the other hand, in semantic translation the translator “attempts, within the bare syntactic and semantic constraints of the TL, to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the author” (ibid). Newmark (1995) explains that “the two methods may overlap in whole or in part within a text” (p. 23). The concept of communicative translation is similar to Nida’s dynamic equivalence, while semantic translation resembles Nida’s formal equivalence (Munday, 2008, p. 44) (see also 2.2). A communicative translation, according to Newmark, tends to be smoother, more idiomatic and easier to read; while semantic translation is likely to be more complex and awkward (Newmark, 1995, p. 39). Since political speeches may be seen as one form of persuasive texts, communicative translation might be more appropriate for translating them, as persuasive texts need to be written in a natural, neat and elegant manner (Newmark, 1987, p. 189).

As metaphoric language is typical for political speeches, there should be a methodology that the translator adopts when translating metaphors in political texts. Newmark (1987) defines metaphor and provides strategies to deal with it in translation. According to him, a metaphor is “any figurative expression: the transferred sense of a
physical word…; the personification of an abstraction…; the application of a word or collocation to what it does not literally denote” (p. 104). In his discussion of metaphor, Newmark (1987) distinguishes between the following notions:

*Image:* the picture conjured up by the metaphor.

*Object:* what is described or qualified by the metaphor.

*Sense:* the literal meaning of the metaphor (1987, p. 105).

Newmark (1987) suggests different procedures for translating metaphor. He proposes that the translator might first try to render the metaphor literally by reproducing the same ST image. However, if the translation appears to make no sense, the translator may search for a different TT image that would replace that of the ST. Also, he suggests that a metaphor in a source text might be rendered into a simile in the target text; that is to make the comparison explicit using words such as ‘like’ or ‘as’. Nevertheless, if all those strategies were not effective in producing a reasonable translation, the metaphor might be reduced to sense; that is to give the meaning of the metaphor without keeping the metaphorical imagery.

Also, Newmark (1987) suggests general procedures that might be used in translating sentences and phrases. One of these procedures is the use of functional equivalent, which is useful in translating cultural words. This procedure “neutralises or generalises the SL word” (p. 83). Another suggested procedure is the use of cultural equivalent. This is an approximate translation which involves replacing a SL cultural word with a TL cultural word. A translator might also use compensation as a strategy. That is when the translator omits or tones down a feature, such as sound-effect, in one part of a sentence but introduces it elsewhere in the TT. In addition, Newmark (1987) includes other translation procedures such as translating by a synonym, paraphrasing and using a descriptive equivalent, to mention few.

### 2.5 Functional Approaches to Translation

This section reviews two of the major translation theories that diverge from linguistic principles, namely Katharina Reiss’s theory of text types and the *Skopos* theory.

**2.5.1 Katharina Reiss’s theory of text types.** The Text Type approach, introduced by Katharina Reiss in the 1970s, is based on the concept of equivalence, but at text level rather than word or sentence levels (Munday, 2008, p. 72). According to Reiss,
there are four text types that are categorized based on the text’s main communicative function. The four text types are:

1. Informative: the main function of this text type is to communicate facts (e.g., information, knowledge, opinions, etc.). The TT of an informative text should transfer the referential content of the ST. Redundancy has to be avoided; moreover, explicit language might be used when needed.

2. Expressive: in this text type, the aesthetic dimension of language is used. The TT of an expressive text should transfer the stylistic form of the ST.

3. Operative: here, the dialogic form of language is used in order to persuade the reader or the hearer to act in a certain way. The TT of an operative text should produce the intended response within the TT receivers, even if this might imply changing the content and/or stylistic features of the ST (Nord, 1997, p. 38).

4. Audiomedial: in this text type, music, visual images and other effects are used (Reiss, 1977/89 cited in Munday, 2008, pp. 72-74).

   It should be noted, however, that a single text might fit under more than one text type and in this case it is called a hybrid text (Munday, 2008, pp. 72-73). The Iron Curtain speech is an example of a hybrid text. It falls under the categories of informative, expressive and operative. The Iron Curtain is an informative text since it provides information related to certain facts about the world’s position after the Second World War; it also contains some historical details in that connection. The Iron Curtain is also an expressive text as the aesthetic style is heavily present in the speech. In addition, the speech is an operative text as the persuasive language is dominant in the text, aiming to convince the people to support particular political messages (e.g., persuading people that a fraternal association of Britain and the United States is necessary).

The Text Type theory has been criticized over the years for a number of reasons. One of the main criticisms questions the ability of differentiating text types in the first place (Munday, 2008, p 75.). Also, it has been argued that the employed translation methods can depend on far more elements than just the text type (ibid). Nonetheless, Reiss’s work has been considered important for moving translation theory “beyond a consideration of lower linguistic levels….towards a consideration of the communicative purpose of translation” (Munday, 2008, p. 76).
2.5.2 Skopos theory. The Skopos theory is an approach to translation that was introduced by Hans Vermeer in the late 1970s (Schäffner, 1998, p. 235). The term Skopos, derived from Greek, is a technical term that is used to refer to the purpose of a translation (ibid). This approach takes into account the contextual factors that surround a translation, which is “the culture of the intended readers of the target text and of the client who has commissioned it, and, in particular, the function which the text is to perform in that culture for those readers” (ibid). According to Vermeer (1978, cited in Schäffner, 1998, p. 236), translation strategies and methods are determined by the intended purpose of the TT, namely the Skopos. Thus, it is not the source text or its effects on the ST recipient or the function assigned to it by the author that decides the translation process, but rather it is the function of the target text (Schäffner, 1998, p. 236).

Although there are many reasons behind translating the Iron Curtain speech, the main purpose of this translation is to provide a text for the target reader that is as eloquent as the original in terms of rhetoric and style. Therefore, on many occasions, liberty has been taken in connection with departing from the original text in order to serve the aforementioned purpose.

Even though the Skopos theory has been useful in bringing the target text into focus, it has also been criticized, particularly from linguistically oriented approaches to translation (Schäffner, 1998, p. 237). For example, Chesterman (1994, cited in Schäffner, 1998, p. 237) argues that although a translation may fulfill its Skopos successfully, it may, on the other hand, be considered as inadequate as far as lexical, syntactic and stylistic decisions are concerned. However, Schäffner (1998, p. 238) remarks that this approach “has brought innovation to translation theory” as it shifts the attention from source text reproduction positioning translators as “target-text authors.”
Chapter Three: The Text and the Translation

3.1 Overview

This chapter provides background information about the speaker, Winston Churchill, and his speech, the *Iron Curtain*. A brief discussion of the speech language is included in order to highlight the wide-ranging rhetorical devices Churchill employs in this oration. Then the chapter presents the text for the speech and its translation. The transcript of the speech is scanned from *Never Give in* (Churchill, W., & Churchill, W. S., 2003), the book which contains Churchill’s best speeches. It should be mentioned that although the book uses the title “An Iron Curtain has Descended” for the speech, it is more commonly referred to as the “Iron Curtain Speech.” Paragraphs in both texts are numbered in order to facilitate parallelism of the texts.

3.2 Winston Churchill

Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill was born in 1874. Following his aristocratic upbringing and education, he had a short but noteworthy career in the British army and worked as a writer before going into politics. In 1900, he became a Conservative member of Parliament and during the next three decades, he held several high posts in both the Conservative and Liberal parties. After becoming prime minister of Great Britain in 1940, Churchill led a successful Allied strategy during the Second World War with the United States and Russia, to defeat the Axis powers and negotiate post-war peace. In 1945, he was defeated in the general election, but continued to have an impact on world affairs. In 1951, he was again elected prime minister, during which time he introduced key domestic reforms. Churchill died in 1965 at age 90 (Biography.com Editors, n.d).

As a young politician, Churchill used to prepare his speeches word for word and learn them by heart; as his daughter confirms: “my father never, at any stage of his life, employed the services of a speechwriter” (Churchill, W., & Churchill, W. S., 2003, p. xxv). His brilliant speeches established an everlasting place in English rhetoric and allowed him to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953 (Muller, 1999, p. xii).

3.3 The Speech

This speech is one of Winston Churchill’s most famous speeches, which was given after the Second World War, at a small college in the heart of the United States that became, for a day, the center of the world. There, Churchill delivered “The Sinews of
Peace” or what is popularly known as the Iron Curtain speech, in the presence of President Truman on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri (Muller, 1999, p. xii). The speech was mainly addressed to the American people, warning them and the world of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe while asking for a fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. It is worth mentioning that many historians consider the Iron Curtain as the starting point of the Cold War.

In his book which discusses the great speeches of history, William Safire (2004) describes the Iron Curtain as: “a Beethoven symphony of a speech” (p. 942). It is the combined effect of various rhetorical devices which makes this speech persuasive and powerful. First, it can be argued that the speech has a poetic dimension due to the use of rhyme and anaphora. In rhetoric, anaphora refers to the “repetition of a word or expression at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences, or verses especially for rhetorical or poetic effect” (“Anaphora,” 2016, para. 1). An example of anaphora is: “We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers... We welcome Russia to her rightful place... We welcome her flag upon the seas.” The repetition of the pronoun ‘we’ implies unity of attitude.

Drama is also a vital aspect of the speech, which makes the events extremely lively. For example, the description of Soviet Union’s control is vivid in the famous statement “from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” Furthermore, it can be argued that a phrase such as the ‘iron curtain’ plays on both its literal meaning (the use of the military set up to divide the continent) and the metaphorical meaning (the ideological division between the Soviet influenced states and the self-governed free states). Literary devices such as personification, which involves treating an object or an idea as if it has human features, add to this drama. An example of personification is Churchill’s description of the ruin of Europe and Asia: “the awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes.”

There are additional rhetorical devices that are used in the speech in various degrees. For example, alliteration, using consecutive words which have the same first consonant sound, is also common with numerous phrases, such as ‘sacrifice and suffering,’ ‘steadying and stabilizing,’ ‘stature and strength’ and ‘poverty and privation.’
The use of antithesis (or contrast) is also employed: “A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory.” Moreover, chiasmus (clause inversion) is used: “Let us preach what we practise - let us practise what we preach.” Tricolon, or a three part list, is also employed: “constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision.” In the same example, it can also be noticed that ‘constancy,’ ‘persistency’ and ‘simplicity’ repeat the same vowel sound, which is another rhetorical device called assonance. In addition, Churchill catches the audience’s attention by using rhetorical questions: “why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers?” Also, climax is used in the speech to create a vivid mental picture (Miller, 2012): “…all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.” This figure of speech presents a series of related ideas arranged in a way that each exceeds the preceding in intensity or force (“Climax,” 2016). The use of pleonasm, which is using more words than necessary to stress a point, is also found: “free unfettered elections.” Nevertheless, the most obvious rhetorical device that is constantly used throughout the speech is metaphor. One of the most famous metaphors in the speech is the phrase the ‘iron curtain,’ which immediately entered into general use and became the main metaphor of the Cold War.
‘AN IRON CURTAIN HAS DESCENDED’

5 March 1946

Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

1 I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name ‘Westminster’ is somehow familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things. In fact we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments.

2 It is also a honour, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities — unsought but not recoiled from — the President has travelled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind, and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.

3 I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

4 The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary
that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

5 When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words ‘over-all strategic concept’. There is wisdom in this, as it leads to clarity of thought. What then is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress, of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes where the wage-earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord, or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

6 To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant marauders, war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the breadwinner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty States dissolve over large areas the frame of civilised society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

7 When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualise what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called ‘the unestimated sum of human pain’. Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

8 Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed their ‘over-all strategic concept’ and computed available resources, always proceed to the next step – namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organisation has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. UNO, the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up, and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel.
Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone can see with his eyes open that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two world wars – though not, alas, in the interval between them – I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step, but we must begin now. I propose that each of the Powers and States should be invited to delegate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organisation. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries, but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation, but in other respects they would be directed by the world organisation. This might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I devoutly trust it may be done forthwith.

It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organisation, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and if some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolised for the time being these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed that this shall not be and we have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered; and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment, or threat of employment, by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world
organisation with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that world organisation.

12 Now I come to the second danger of these two marauders which threaten the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people – namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.

13 All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practise – let us practise what we preach.

14 I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and co-operation can bring in the next few years to the world, certainly in the next few decades newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human
folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations the
inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used
words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American
orator, a friend of mine, Mr Bourke Cockran. ‘There is enough for
all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful
abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil
in justice and in peace.’ So far I feel that we are in full agreement.

Now, while still pursuing the method of realising our overall
strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have travelled here to
say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of
world organisation will be gained without what I have called the
fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a
special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire
and the United States. This is no time for generalities, and I will
venture to be precise. Fraternal association requires not only the
growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast
but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate
relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study
of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of
instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical
colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present
facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air
Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world.
This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and
Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces
and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important
financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands;
more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future.

The United States has already a Permanent Defence Agreement
with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the
British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effec-
tive than many of those which have often been made under formal
alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Common-
wealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only,
shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high
and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any.
Eventually there may come – I feel eventually there will come – the
principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave
to destiny, whose outstretched arm many of us can already clearly
see.

There is however an important question we must ask ourselves.
Would a special relationship between the United States and the
British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the World Organisation? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organisation will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned, and there are the special relations between the United States and the South American Republics. We British have our twenty years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, that it might well be a fifty years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration. The British have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384, and which produced fruitful results at critical moments in the late war. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement, or a world organisation; on the contrary they help it. 'In my father's house are many mansions.' Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbour no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are intermingled, and if they have 'faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity towards each other's shortcomings' – to quote some good words I read here the other day -- why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may return on the glittering wings of science, and what might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along until it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilising the foundations of peace. There is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.
A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organisation intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytising tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain – and I doubt not here also – towards the peoples of all the Russians and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone – Greece with its immortal glories – is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favours to groups of
left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles upon a front of nearly 400 miles, in order to allow our Russian allies to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered.

22 If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts—and facts they are—this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

23 The safety of the world requires a new unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung. Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States, against their wishes and their traditions, against arguments, the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend, drawn by irresistible forces into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good cause, but only after frightful slaughter and devastation had occurred. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

24 In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre. Except in the
British Commonwealth and in the United States where Commumism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy; but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

25 The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favourable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

26 I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr Lloyd George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time.

27 On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.
28 From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

29 Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honoured today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title ‘The Sinews of Peace’.

30 Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in wartime, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that such co-operation
implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the highroads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.
3.5 The Translation

خطاب الستار الحديثي
5- آذار (مارس) 1946
كلية (وستمنستر) في مدينة فولتون بولاية ميزوري

ولا ينسى أنك في عصر هذا اليوم إلى كلية (وستمنستر) في المياه والأنشطة التي منحكم إياك شهادة فخرية. اسم (وستمنستر).

لا يجب أن تنسى أنك في عصر هذا اليوم في المياه والأنشطة التي منحكم إياك شهادة فخرية. اسم (وستمنستر).

1. إنها مسألة ليست في ملكين، بل شرف فريد من نوعه. إن يقيم رئيس الولايات المتحدة زائرًا غير رسمي إلى جمهور أكاديمي، فالرئيسي، رغم تقل أعانه وواجباته وموضوعاته التي وصلته من غير صعوبة، لكنه لم يتوان عن القيام بها. قطع من الأميال لبرقية بالخبراء هذا اليوم وثيقة، وإنها فرضية وخطيب أيضًا أبناء وطني من وراء المحيط وثماً كذلك بعضًا من الدول الأخرى. أن يحمل الرئيس عنهم، أننا واثق أنهم رجعكم أيضاً، في أن تنافذ الحرية التامة لأعطي مسوثي الصافحة والمخلصة في هذا الوقت الحرج العصيب، حتى لا أتقم هذه الفرصة وأشتر أن من حق فعل ذلك، كل طموحاتي الشخصية التي نحتها في شبابي، تحفت جمييعها على نحو فائق خيالي. ليس أنى أريد أن أوضح لكم أن اليوم ليست في مهمة رسمية من أي نوع، وأنني فقط كنت نفسي.

2. إنك يمكن أن تعلم معنى هزخة الطويلة أن يشمل فكره في المشكلات التي تراقبنا في أعقاب نصرنا الساحق في القتال، وأن أحاسيس ما أتمنى أن تعرف أن أضمن أن ما جنبنا بكثير من التضحية ومن المعاناة سوف نحافظ عليه من أجل مستقبل زاهر ومن أمن للبشرية جمعاء.

3. تتربع الولايات المتحدة اليوم على عرش القوة في العالم، وإنها للحظة مهيبة للديمقراطية الأمريكية. لكن تصدرها قوى العالم يضع على عاتقها مسألة جليلة إزاء المستقبل. فإن تلقمنا حولكم، عليك أن لا تتنازلوا بالرضا فليس يدعو أن نقف ما أنجزتموه، بل بالقلق أيضًا خشية أن لا نحافظوا على هذا الإنجاز. الفرصة سانحة الآن، جليلة تتلاءلًا لكل من بدنياً، سددها أو تجاهلها أو تغيدها سيعبرنا في المستقبل لله لا نهاية له. ينبغي أن يوجه الثبات على المبدأ والثبات بالغاً وجمالاً للفضلة للقرار، سلوك الشعوب الناطقة بالإنكليزية وحكمها في السلم كما فعلوا في الحرب. يجب أن تثبت أننا جديرون بتحقيق هذا المطلب البالغ الأهمية وأننا واثق أننا سنفعل.

4. عندما يواجه رجال الجيش الأمريكي وضعًا حرجًا، فإن من عادتهم أن يكتبوا على رأس مهامهم هذه الكلمات: "مفهوم الاستراتيجية الشاملة." هذا فعل حكم فهو يقود إلى التفكير نحو سلم.

5. إنها مسألة ليست في ملكين، بل شرف فريد من نوعه. إن يقيم رئيس الولايات المتحدة زائرًا غير رسمي إلى جمهور أكاديمي.
ما هو إذن مفهوم الاستراتيجية الشاملة الذي علينا أن ندونه اليوم؟ إنه ليس إلا تحقيق الأمن والرفاهية والحرية والرقي لكل البيوت والأسر، رجالاً واختياراً في الذي أظهرت هذا، على وجه الخصوص، من ألواف مؤلفة من الأكواخ والشقق، إن يسعى رب الأسرة جاهداً، في خضم مصاعب الحياة ومعاناتها، ليقي زوجه وأطفاله الحرمان وليشمهم على خشية ربهم أو على القيم الأخلاقية التي غالباً ما يكون لها بالغ الأثر.

من أجل توفير الأمن لكل تلك الأسر التي لا حصر لها، علينا أن نحن، من الوحيدين والمطاعمين ألا وهم الحرب والطويلين. فكلنا يعي الاضطراب الخفيف الذي يجتاح أي أسرة كننا عندما تحل لجع النبرة على معيلها وعلى الذين يكد ويكذ لأجلهم. إن الدمار المروع الذي طال أوروبا وكل أمجادها المثلثة وأجزاء كبيرة من أسبانيا، يحدق فيها. فعندما تتغلغل خطط الأسرار أو نزعة العدوان للدول القوية في مناطق واسعة من المجتمع المتحضر، يواجه حينها الناس السلميون مصاعب لا يمكنهم التعامل معها، ويغدو، عندهم كل شيء مشوهاً، كل شيء محظماً، بل مدمراً عن أخره.

بمجرد أن نقف هنا عصر هذا اليوم الهادئ، يشع رحيماً حلالاً أننا نصور ما يحدث حقیقة الأمن الذي بشرية البشر وما سوف يحدث في هذه الفترة عندما تتلقى المجاعة في الأرض، لا يمكن لأحد أن يحسى ما سيأتي بكم الأم نبغي غير المقدر. إن مهمتنا الأولى وواجينا الأكبر هو حماية بيوت عامة الناس من أهواء حرب أخرى وما أسابياً. جميعنا يتفق على ذلك.

وبعد أن يحدث زملاونا من الجيش الأمريكي مفهومهم للإستراتيجية الشاملة ويدعون الموارد المتوفرة لديهم، ينطلقون دائما إلى الخطوة التالية واستراتيجية التنفيذ، هنا أيضاً لغة مفهومها مجمع عليها، فقد أقيمت منظمة عالمية لغرض رئيس هو الحيلولة دون وقوع حروب. هذه المنظمة - منظمة الأمم المتحدة التي خلفت menace للأمم، مع انضمام الولايات المتحدة إليها، وكل ما يعنيه هذا الانضمام - قد باشرت العمل فعلا. لكن يجب علينا التحقق من أن عمل المنظمة مثمر، وأنها حقية لا زيف، وأنها قوة محفزة للعمل لا مجرد كلمات خاوية. وأنها صرح حقیقی للسلام قد تجتمع تحت سقف رايات الأمم اليوم، لا مجرد حلية صراع في مكان يفتق التفاهم.

قبل أن نلقى جانبنا سلاحنا الوطني المتين الذي يضم لنا الحماية، علينا أن نفكر من أن صرحنا مشيد، لا على رمال مناعة، بل على صخرة راسية. يمكن لكل من له عين تبصر أن يرى أن طريقنا سيكون شاقاً وأيضاً طويل، لكن إذا عبرنا على العمل معاً كأمة لنا في الحروب العالميين، فلا أسف - الفترة الفاصلة بينهما، فلا يمكن لى أن أشك في أننا سنبذل غايتنا المشتركة في النهاية.

بيد أن لدينا اقتراحًا محدوداً وعملية لبدأ العمل، فدار القضاة وإن شيدت، لا يمكن أن يقتسم عملها دون ضبط وبسالة صرفة. إن يجب أن يختصر منظمة الأمم المتحدة بدءًا بالتزود بوافات مسلحة دولة. في أمور كهذه، لا يمنع إلا التحرك خطوة خطوة، لكن يجب علينا التحرك الآن، أقترح أن يطلب من كل القرى والأربعون أن تنهد تحت التصرف هذه المنظمة العالمية عدداً محدوداً من الوحدات الجوية، فيهما طياراً ويدراً، ويدرون في بلادنا على أن ينقلوا من بلد لأخر بالتنابة، ويردون الزي العسكري الخاص بدولهم، لكن بشارات مختلفة، ولن يطلب منهم أن يقوموا بأعمال
معاداة لدولهم، ولكن من ناحية أخرى ستكون إداراتهم بيد المنظمة العالمية. قد يبدأ تنفيذ هذا الأمر على نطاق واسع، لكنه سيمنع كلما نمت تقتت. كنت أتمنى أن أرى هذا الاقتراع منذاه بعد الحرب العالمية الأولى، لكننا واثق تمام الثقة على إمكانية تنفيذه في الحال.

وعلى الرغم من ذلك، فمن الخطأ الحماق أن تعهد بالمنظمات السرية للقابلة النزية وتجاربها، التي تشاركها اليوم كل من الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا العظمى وكندا، إلى المنظمة العالمية التي لا تزال في مهدها، فإنها لضرب من الجنون الإجرامي أن نفرط في هذه المعلومات في هذا العالم الذي لا يتزال فقهاً متقدماً. لم يبق مضموع أي منها في أي بلد كان، معمرها أن هذه المعلم والأساليب مزورة والمواد الخام اللازمة لتطبيقه هي حالياً في أيدي الأمريكيين على نحو رئيس. لكنه لا أعتقد أن مضاعفنا لن نقص إن انقلب الحاواضان واجهته، هذه المرة ولا يمكننا اليوم تكرار الأشكال الفأرية بين ضغوط أنظمه استبدادية على دول العالم الديموقراطي الحر مع عوائق تثير تخيلها الرعب في النفس. وشاء الله أن لا يحدث ذلك ولدينا الآن على الاقل فرص الدبلوماسيا وتنظيم أمورنا قبل مواجهة ذلك الخطوة. حتى إذا أجابها، وإن لم ندخن جدها حينها لمواجهته، ينبغي أن نملك وعلى نحو مهيب، التفوق الذي يمكن من فرض رؤاده فعالة على من يستخدم تلك الأسلحة أو يهديه استخدامها. وفي النهاية، عندما تتجسد الأفكار الجائحة في منظمة عالمية تبعر عنها، مع كل الصماتة الضرورية لجعلها فعالة عندن.

ستنتقل عناصر القوة تلك تقلياً إلى هذه المنظمة العالمية.

والآن أعرض إلى الخطر الثاني، إلى الوحش الثاني الذي يهدد الأكوؤ والبيوت وعامة الناس، ألا وهو الطغيان. لا يمكن لنا أن نعطي على حقيقة أن الحرية التي يتمتع بها المواطنون في كل أنحاء الإمبراطورية البريطانية لا وجود لها في عدد كبير من البلدان، بعض منها هي بلدان قوية حقا. في تلك الدول، تسير على عامة الناس أشكال مختلفة من الحكومات البوليسية الطاغية الهيمنة، فمارسات الدولة سلطتها غير حسنا ولا قود، إما يحكم دكتاتوري أو بحكم أغلبية ممارسات سلطتها بحذري امتدادات وشرطة سياسية. ليس من واجبنا في هذا الوقت المليء بالصعاب أن ندخل عنوان في الشؤون الداخلية للدول التي لا تحتلها في الحرب، لكن علينا أن نكتفي أبدا عن المناطة، بصوت لا يعرف الخوف بالمبادئ المعطية للحرية وحقوق الإنسان الذين ماذا يتصرف دول العالم الناطقة بالإنكليزية، وبكل من وثيقة "مابغا كارنا" وشرعة الحقوق وقانون الإشاع الفضائي، المحاكمة أمام هيئة محلفين والقانون الإنجليزي تجسد هذا الأمر بأمر صرود في وثيقة الاستقلال الأمريكية.

كل ذلك يعني أن يشعر أي دولة الحق، وينبغي أن تكون لديه الفوز، بالدستور وبالانتخابات الحرة التي لا يفديها قيد والتي تجري بقرارات سرية، أن يكون له الحق في اختيار نوع الحكومة التي يحبها في ظلها أو تغييرها، وأن حرية الفكر والتعبير ينبغي أن تسود، وأن محاكمة العدل المستقلة عن السلطة التنفيذية والمحاسبة لأي حزب ينبغي أن تطبق القوانين التي تجمع الكثرة الكثيرة على تأديها، أو تلك التي رسخها الزمن وأمراها العرف. هذي هي صكوك الحرية التي ينبغي أن تكون في كل كوك، هذه هي رسالة الشعوب البريطانية والأمريكية للبشرية جمعاء. فلندع الناس إلى ما نمارس ونمارس ما ندعو الناس إليه.
قد حدثت إلى الآن أكبر خطيرة يهددان بوت الناس آلا وهم الحرب والطغيان، ولم أتحدث بعد عن الفقر والحرمان، وهم في الكثير من الأحوال عملي البائس. لكن إن زال خطر الحرب والطغيان فلا شك في أن العلم والتعاون يمكن أن يحقق في السنوات القليلة القادمة وحماة في العقود القليلة القادمة. بعد تعلم لكل في مدرسة الحرب التي اشتقتا.

يمكن لهما أن يحققوا بسطة في العيش تفوق كل ما شهدته البشرية إلى الآن. والآن في هذا الوقت الحزين المنطقت الأفاذ، نحن عادة في جوع وعشر حيث كفاحنا الدائم، لكنها مرحلة رسمية وقد تمзиق رياض، وما من سبيل يمنع الشعوب كلها من تن聞き عهد الرخاء والاستمتاع بخيراتها سري.nodeName حماية البشر وجرائز من هم دون البشر. لطالما اقتبست كلمات تعلمتها من خمسين عاما من خطيب أميركي أيرلندي عظيم، صديق لي، هو السيد (بريك كوركن)، إذ يقول: "ثمة ما يفكي الجميع، فالأرض أعمق، وهي تهب الطعام بورفة وكثرة لكل أنابنا، شريطة أن يحر地形ة بعد وسلام". إلى الآن أشعر أننا على وفاق تام.

والأيام، بينما لا نزال نواصل سعينا لتطبيق مفهومنا للاستراتيجية الشاملة، آتى في صلب الموضوع الذي سافرت إليه هنا من أجله. لا يمكن ضمان عدم قيام الحرب ولا يمكن تحقيق الانضباط المطلوب للمنظمة العالمية دون ما سميته بالوحدة الأدوارية بين الشعوب الناطقة بالإنكليزية، أي قيام علاقة خاصة بين الكومنولث البريطاني والإمبراطورية البريطانية وبين الولايات المتحدة. في وقت هذا، لا يمكن لحديدي أن يكون عاما وساغار مع جدعه محددا، فالوحدة الأخرى لا تعني زيادة أو أقصر الصداقة والتفاهم المتبادل بين نظامي مجتمعنا الكبيرين والشققين حسب، بل تعني استمرار العلاقات السعودية بين مستشارينا العسكريين مما سيسعد إلى دراسة مشتركة للأخطار المحتملة، وتشابه في الأساليب وكتابات الاستخدام وتبادل الضباط والطلاب العسكريين في الكلمات الفنية. ينبغي أن تؤدي الوحدة إلى استمرار التسهيلات الحالية للأمن المتعدد والاستخدام المشترك لكل القواعد البحرية والهواج التي تمثلها كلتا الدولتين في كل أنحاء العالم. قد يضاف هذا من حركة القوات البحرية والجوية الأمريكية ويزيد من حركة قوات الإمبراطورية البريطانية زيادة كبيرة، ويمكن أن يؤدي، إن هذا العالم أو أثناء هدوئه، إلى توفير أموال طائلة. نحن نستفيد معًا عددًا كبيرًا من الجزر وقد بهدج أخرى إلى عنايتنا المشتركة في المستقبل قريب.

للولايات المتحدة اتفاقية دفاع دائم مع مقاطعة كندا والتي ترتبط ارتباطًا ثنايا بالكومنولث البريطاني والإمبراطورية البريطانية. هذه الاتفاقية هي أكثر فاعلية من كثير من غيرها من الاتفاقات، اللاتي غالبًا ما أحرمت في تحالفات رسمية. ينبغي أن يمتزج هذا المبدأ ليضم كل دول الكومنولث البريطاني مع تطبيق كامل لمبدأ المعاملة بالمثل. أذاك وأذاك فقط، مما يحدث حينها، ستكون أمينًا في أنفسنا ومن ثم قدرين على العمل معا في سبيل ما عظم وصغر من القضايا الحساسة علنا والتي لا تضمن سوى لأحد. وفي النهاية قد يأتي، بل أشعر أن في النهاية سياتي، مبدأ المواطنة المشتركة، لكننا راضون بترك هذا الأمر للقدر ويهمنا الابتكار أيضًا في الإدارة ويهمنا الابتكار أيضًا في الإدارة.

لكن ثمة سؤال هام يجب أن نسأله أنفسنا، هل ستتعارض العلاقة الخاصة بين الولايات المتحدة والكومنولث البريطاني وولايتنا الأول للمنظمة العالمية؟ أجبكم أن على العكس، قد تكون هذه العلاقة هي الوسيلة الوحيدة التي ستتمكن المنظمة من الحصول على ما تستحقه من رفع وقفة. تربط الولايات المتحدة وكادنا علاقات خاصة ذكرتها للتو، وكذلك تربط الولايات المتحدة علاقات خاصة بجمهورية أميركا الجنوبية، ونحن البريطانيون تربطنا معاهدة
تعاون ومساعدة متبادلة عمرها عشرين سنة مع روسيا السوفيتية، وأننا أتفق مع وزير خارجية بريطانيا العظمى السيد الحرج للناقلة إلى لندن، الذي أنى أن يكون في حزبة حرب الآخرين، ولهما معا ويعتبران من هذه المعاهدات تصمم على المصلحة العامة أو منظمة عالمية بل على العكس، هي تدعمها. يقول السيد المسيح في الكتاب المقدس: "في بيت أبي منزل كثيرة"، فالعلاقات الخاصة القائمة بين أعضاء الأمم المتحدة التي لا علاقة لها مع أي بلد والتي لا تضمن أي نوايا تنكر دوافع مع مياثق الأمم المتحدة، فضلا عن الإضرار به، هذه العلاقات هي ذات نفع وآمن لا أننا خذهن.

تحدثنا أيضا عن صرح السلام الذي يجب أن يتعاون البناء من كل الدول على تشيده، وإن كان إثنا من هؤلاء البنانين يعرفان بعضهما بعض حق المعرفة، وإنها صديقين قديمين، وكانت تربط أسرتيهما أواصر قربى، وكان كل منها "أؤمنوا بсыл بلال، وأنا برساء، نفته طائفة من ما قرأت من قرين. فما الذي يمنع بنا مأمونهم يعصموا بعضنا صديقين ويشرون في ميثاقهما المشتركة؟ ما الذي يمنعه أن يشتركا أدولفهما وأن يزداد كنها الآخر قوة؟ بالطبع بسيا_cycle:offهما في ذلك، وإلا فإن الشرع قد لا يعيش، أو قد نباه، وذلك ستثب ما أحرها من سقتما مما لا قوم لا تعلم، وسنضطر إلى أن نكرر محاولة التعلم مرة ثانية في مدرسة الحرب التي ستقوم في شتى الحرب التي خرجنا منها لنقول بكل. قد تكون المصور المظلمة، وقد يعود العصر الحجري على أجمل العلم البراق، وما يغمر البشرية الآن بركات مادية لا حدود لها، هو ذاته قد يحضر معه دمار الشامل.

هذان أول كم، فالناس قد يرضون بنية. لا تدعنا نتخذه المسار الذي يجعلنا نسمح للأمر أن يرضي على غير هدي إلى أن يكون قد أذى الأول. إذا وجدت علاقة أخرى على نحو ما وصفت، ورغم كل ما قد يضيفه من قوة وآمن لندينا، علينا أن نحقق من ما حققته العظمى لهذه العلاقة واضحة للملاء، وأن لها دورا في تدعيم أسس السلام وترسيخها.

تلك جادة الحكمة، فالوقاية خير من العلاج.

هبط ظالم على العالم الذي كان إلى وقت قريب مضاءة بانتصار الحلفاء. لا أحد يعلم ما الذي تبني فعله روسيا السوفيتية ومنظمتها الشبيهة الدولية في المستقبل القريب أو ما هي حدود أعرابها التروسي والتشييرية، إن كان لها حدود. وإن كان أحرارا عظميا وتعتبرنا للشعب الروسي الشجاع والمتكيف في الحرب المارشال (ستالين)، وفي بريطانيا تعتبر عميق ومباشر صادقة، لا أشك في وجودها هنا أيضا، إزاء كافة الشعب الروسية، وكذلك يوجد تفاح في العدل على كثير من الاختلافات والخصوصيات في سبيل إقامة صداقة دائمة. نحن نعى حاجة الروس في أن يكونوا أمين جهة حذرةهم الغربي وذلك بالقضاء على أي احتلال لعوام ألمانيا، نحن نرحب بروسيا في مكانها الشرع بين الدول الرائدة في العالم ونرحب برفقته علمها فوق البحار. وقبل كل شيء فنحن نرحب بالتواصل المتزامن والدائم والمترابط بين الشعب الروسي وبين شعبيتنا المتشابدين على طرف الأطلسي. على أن من الواجب على أن نضع بين أيديكم بعض الحقائق التي تتعلق بالوضع الحالي في أوروبا، لأننا واثق أنكم ترغبون في أن أعرض لكم الحقائق كما أراها.

18. 
19.
من (شتيتين) في بحر البلطيق إلى (تراسيتي) في البحر الإدرينيتكي، استدل ستار حديثي على امتداد القارة الأوروبية.

خلف هذا ستار، تقع كل عوالم الدول العربية لأوروبا الوسطى والشرقية. وارسو، برلين، فيينا، بودابست، بلغراد، بخارست، صوفيا، كل هذه المدن الشهيرة ومن حولها من الشعوب، تقع في ما لا يعني إلا أن أسميه: الفلك السوفيتي. وجميعها عرضة، بطريقة أو بأخرى، لا تنفوس سوفيت فحسب، بل سبيطرة شديدة من موسكو وفي أحيان كثيرة مترابطة. أثينا- بودابست، كل أمجادها الخالدة، وحدها حرة في تقرير مستقبلها في انتخابات تجري بشرف كل من بريطانيا وأمريكا وفرنسا. وقد تلقت الحكومة البولندية الواقعة تحت الهيمنة الروسية تشجيعًا لشن غارات هائلة وجائرة على ألمانيا، ويهجر الآن ملايين الألمان تهجيرًا جماعياً لبصاع لا يمكن تصوره. الأحزاب الشيوعية التي لم يكن لها حجم يذكر في كل دول أوروبا الشرقية، ففقت جيوثها للحوار معهم، وتقاليدها، وتقاليدها، وتقاليدها، لتصبح مكانة وقوتها تفوق حتى عدها، وهي تسعى في كل مكان لفرض سيطرتها الاستبدادية. الحكومات البوليسية هي النظام السابق في كل الحالات تقريبا، وإلى الآن وباختصار تشيكي وسوفياتها، لا يوجد لديمقراطية حقيقية في تلك الدول.

تركيا وبلاد فارس كذلكما فلقة كل القلق ومنزعجة أغلب الأحزاب العصرية من الدراسات الملموسة في حقيقة وممن الضغوط الموجبة إليها من حكومة موسكو. وقد حاول الروس في برلين إقامة حزب شيوي بمنطقةهم في ألمانيا المحترقة باظهار محاسبتهم لجماعات من قادة اليسار الألماني، عند نهاية الحرب في يونيو (حزيران) الماضي، تراجعت الجيوش الأمريكية والبريطانية عنها، وفقاً لاتفاق سابق. مسافة تصل في بعض المناطق إلى 150 ميلاً، في جهة عرضها نحو 400 ميل، وذلك لإثارة الفجوة لحلفاءنا الروس لاحتلال هذه الرقعة الشاسعة التي كانت الديموقراطيات الغربية قد استولت عليها.

إن حاولت الحكومة السوفيتية الأن بعمل فردي منها أن تقيم في مناطقها دولة ألمانية موالية للشيوعية، فهي تعهدت بإن ضغوط مصاعب جديدة خطرة في المناطق البريطانية والأمريكية، وسيبدي الألمان المهوريين بقوة تجعل كلاً من السوفيات والديموقراطيات الغربية يرتد عليها. مما يذكر الاستنتاجات التي يمكن أن تستمدها من هذه الحقبة، وهي حقائق حقة، فهذا حتَّما ليست (أوروبا الحرة) التي قالتنا لخبائنا، ولا هي التي تضم في جنباتها مقومات سلام دائم.

إن تحقيق الأمن في العالم يقضي قيام وحدة جديدة في أوروبا لا تشتت منها أي دولة على نحو دائم، فالنزاعات بين الأعراق الأصلية القوية في أوروبا هي التي فجرت الحروب العالمية التي شهدتها أو تلك التي شبت في أزمان وعافية. مرتبنا في حياتنا شادنا الولايات المتحدة، على خلاف رغبتها ويبالاؤها، وعلى خلاف منطقها الذي لا تخفي قوته على أحد، شاهدناها وقد رفع بها في تلك الحروب مرتكبا، خفافاً على نصرة القضية العادلة، وما أضطرت إلى ذلك إلا وفق قواعد مبرمة ودما مخفياً. مرتبنا كان على الولايات المتحدة أن تبحث عبر الأطلسي بلباسين من شبابها مع وراء الحرب، لكن الحرب اليوم. حينما كانت، يمكننا أن نسعي إلى أي شعب، بين عشية وضحاها. علينا بكل تأكيد أن نعمل بعزم واعادة السلام لأوروبا ضمن إطار الأمم المتحدة ووفقًا لمبادئها. أشعر أن هذا داع

صريح إلى سياسة بالغة الأهمية.

أمام الستار الحديدي الذي يمتد على امتداد أوروبا أسباب أخرى تدعو للقلق. فنشق الحزب الشيوعي في إيطاليا تأثير تأثير بالغاً لاضطراره إلى مصادرة أفراد الشيوعية المارشال (تيتو) في مطالبته بالمنطقة الإيطالية السابقة الواقعة عند
رأس البحر الإمبراطوري. وعلى الرغم من ذلك فمستقبل إيطاليا على المحك. كذلك لا يمكن تصور بناء أوروبا جديدة من دون فرنسا قوية. طوال حياتي السياسية عملت في سبيل قيام فرنسا قوية، ولأكف قط عن الإيمان بها ولا في أحلام الساعات، ولن أكف عن الإيمان بها الآن. غير أن في أنحاء العالم بلدانًا كثيرة بعيدة عن الحدود الروسية.

تؤمن فيها طواعية خاصة شيوعية، تعمل في وحدة كاملة وطاعة تامة للتعليمات التي تلقاها من مركز الشيوعية. باستثناء دول الكومنويث البريطاني والولايات المتحدة حيث الشيوعية لا تزال في ميدها، فإن الأحزاب الشيوعية والطواعية الخاصة تحول تدابير متزايدة وتتهدى للحضارة المسيحية. هذه حقائق شديدة الوطأة على أي أمر يسردها في أعقاب نصر تحقق بكثر من صور الأخوة الباهية في القتال في سبيل الحرية والديمقراطية، لكن ليس من الحكمة أبدا أن لا نتصدى لها ووجه مدام الأوان لم يفت.

25. كذلك يبدو الأفق كالحا في الشرق الأقصى، لاسيما في منشوريا. فالاتفاق الذي أُبرم في بالطا، والذي كنت طفلا فيه، كان يصب تماما في مصلحة روسيا السوفيتية، لكنه أُبرم في وقت لم يكن أحد ليتنيه حينها أن الحرب مع ألمانيا لن تستمر طوال صيف وخريف سنة 1945، وكان متوقع للحرب مع اليابان أن تستمر شمامة عشر شهرا أخرى بعد اتفاقية الحرب مع ألمانيا. في هذا البلد كلكم يعرف الشرق الأقصى حق المعرفة وأتمن أصدقاء مخلصون للصين، فلا حاجة إلى أن أقين في الكلام عن الوضع هناك.

26. أشعار أبي مازم أن أصف الظلم الذي هبط على العالم بغروره ورغبه. لقد كنت وزيرا بارزا وقت إبرام معاهدة فرساي وكانت صديقنا مقربا للسيد (بودج جورج) الذي كان رئيس الوفد البريطاني في فرساي. عن نفسي، لم أؤقت على كثير من الأمور التي لن تقت، لكن في ذهني صورة مندشية من لوحة آنذاك، وأتائل حين أقراها بما نراه اليوم. في تلك الأيام، كانت الأمان كبرى والثقة مطلقة في أن الحرود قد ولت إلى غير ما رحيلة، وأن عصبة الأمم ستكون هي القوة العظمى. لكي اليوم لا أرى القلق ذاتها ولا أحسها ولا حتى الأمال ذاتها في هذا العالم الخائن القوى.

27. ومن ناحية أخرى فإن أرفض القتكة القائمة أن شوهر حرب أخرى أمر لا مفر منه بل وأنها وشيكة الحدوث. هذا لأنني وقفت أن مصاعرنا لا تزال بابيديا نحن وعائلة القوة النازمة ليست مستقبل، وأشعر أن من واجي أن أحدث بصراحة الآن بما أن المناسبة والفرصة متاحان لي. لا أعتقد أن روسيا السوفيتية ترغب في الحرب. ما ترغب فيه هو شرارة الحرب والتسويع غير المحدود لقوتنا وعمقها. لكن ما ينبغي أن نضع نصب أعيننا اليوم مدام في الوقت نفسه، هو أن نحول أبدا دون وقوف حروب، وأن نحرص على إقامة أسس للحرية والديمقراطية في البلدان كلها، برسوع وقت ممكن. لا تزول المصاعب والمخاطر التي تواجهنا بأن نغمض أعيننا منها، ولن تزول بأن ننتظر رفعة رؤية ما قد يحدث، ولن تزول أيضا بممارستنا سياسة الاسترضاء. ما يحتاج إليه هو الشفافية، وكلما أرجأت ذلك صعب الأمر وعظام الإخطر.

28. ما رأيتها من أصدقائي وحلقاتنا الرس أثناء الحرب جعلني أوقن أنهم لا يكرون شينا إكرارهم للقوة، ولا يحترون شينا استفزازهم للضعف، لاسيما للضعف العسكري. لهذا السبب فإن المذهب القديم لبرازان القوى هو مذهب غير سليم، فلا يمكن لنا أن نعمل ضده حدين ضيقة قد تغري أحدهم بالاختيار قوة. إن وقت الديمقراطية الغربية نحن إلى جنب والتزامات التزامنا صارنا بمبادئ ميثاق الأمم المتحدة هي في مكان، ولن
لا يستطيع أحد حينئذ مضايقة. لكن إن تقررت تلك الديموقراطيات أو تعترض في تأديتها واجبها، وإن سنحن لكل هذه السنوات الهامة أن تلتقي منا فلا شك أن الكارثة ستتحقينا جميعا.

في الفترة السابقة شعرت بنذر الخطر فصحت بأعلى صوتي منذرا أبناء بلدي والعالم، لكن أحدا لم يعرفن أدنى اهتمام. وعلى سنة 1933 بل إلى سنة 1935 كان من الممكن إنقاذ ألمانيا من قدريها المروع الذي باغتها، وكان من الممكن لنا جميعا أن ننجو من المشاهد التي أطلقتها هتلر على البشرية. ما من حرب في التاريخ كله كان يمكن تجنبها بسهولة - تتحرك في أوانه. كالحرب التي دمرت للتو أجزاء كبيرة من الأرض. في اقتفاها كان يمكن تجنبها دون إطالة رصاصة واحدة ولكن ألمانيا اليوم قوية مزدهرة مكرمة، لكن أحدا لم يشأ أن يستعين، وواحدا تتو الأخر ابتلعتنا جميعا تلك النبأ الشنيعة. علينا بكل تأكيد أن لا نسمح لهذا الأمر أن يتكرر. وهذا ما لا يتحقق إلا بوصولنا اليوم. في سنة 1946، إلى ادرك واع لكل الأمور التي تربطنا بروسيا في ظل السلطة العامة لمنظمة الأمم المتحدة، ولننظر على هذا الإدراك الواعي لسنوات عديدة من السلم عبر هذه المنظمة الدولية، بدعم من العالم الناطق بالإنجليزية بكامل قوته وعلاقاته. هذا هو الحلم أقدمه إليكم بكل احترام في خطبيتي هذه التي اخترت أن يكون عنوانها "أوتاد السلام".

فلا يستهين أحد بالقوة الدائمة للإمبراطورية البريطانية والكونوير، ولا تظنوا إذ ترون 46 مليون شخص في بلادنا قلقين بشأن تأمين احتياجهم من الغذاء، والذي لا يزرعون منه إلا النصف فقط، حتى أثناء الحرب، أو لأننا نتقود صعوبة في تحريك عجلة صناعاتنا وصادراتنا بعد ستة أعوام من الجهود الجادة التي بذلناها في الحرب، لا تظنوا أننا لن نخطئ صني الحرمان المعتمدة هذه كما تخطينا صني الذوبان المعيبة، ولا نتأكي بعد نصف قرن من الآن لترؤوا 70 أو 80 مليونا من البريطانيين منشرين في أنحاء العالم ومتحدين في الدفاع عن مثلكم وعن أسلوب حياتنا وعن قضايا العالم التي نناصرها نحن وأنتم. إن دمجانا سكان دول الكارموندية الناطقة بالإنجليزية مع سكان الولايات المتحدة مع كل ما ينوء عليه هذا الالتزام من أثري في الجو والبحر وفي كل أنحاء الأرض وفي العلم وفي الصناعة وفي القوة المعنوية، فإن يكون ثمة اختلاف أو اضطراب في ميزان القوى يعرق بخطوة حرب لا دافع لها سوى الطمع أو حب المغامرة. بل على العكس، سيغير الأمن الجديد إن التزامنا التزاما منتصرا بميثاق الأمم المتحدة ومضينا قدما بخطى رائدة وواعبة، لا للإيلاء على أرض أجهزها أو تروتاه، ولفرضا سيطرة مستبدة على عقول الناس، وإن اتحدت كل قوى بريطانيا المعنوية والمادية وقناعاتها مع قوتنا وقناعاتكم في وحدة أخوية، فإن طريق المستقبل سيكون جليا، لا لنا حسب بل للجميع ولا لزماننا فقط بل للفين القادم.
Chapter Four: Commentary

4.1 Overview

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Iron Curtain speech includes various rhetorical devices that are used in different degrees. However, analyzing the translations of all of them is beyond the scope of this research paper. For this reason, in this chapter I will only focus on three main categories: metaphor, allusion and cohesive devices. Metaphor is chosen since, as already pointed out, it is the main rhetorical device used by Winston Churchill in his speeches. As with regard to allusion, the text is replete with biblical allusions which might be challenging to preserve in the target language. The third area in this commentary concerns cohesive devices. That is because cohesive ties within a speech can serve its rhetoric well.

Therefore, this chapter provides a discussion of the translation and examples thereof to illustrate translation problems and how they are solved. ST words that represent a translation problem are italicized in the examples cited. In addition to the ST and the TT, back-translation is given (when necessary) within the discussion of the examples. Examples are categorized under three main areas which are: metaphor, allusion and cohesive devices. It is worth mentioning, however, that such a categorization is chosen for its efficiency for the purpose of analysis, since some examples can fall under more than one category.

4.2 Metaphor

Metaphor can be defined as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used in a non-basic sense, this non-basic sense suggesting a likeness or analogy with another more basic sense of the same word or phrase” (Dickins, Hervey & Higgins, 2002, p. 147). In his discussion of the use of metaphor by politicians, Charteris-Black (2014, p. 160) mentions that from the ancient times, metaphor has been considered fundamental in oratory. He explains that “metaphor is effective in public communication because it draws on the unconscious emotional associations of words and assumed values that are rooted in cultural and historical knowledge” (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 160). Since metaphor is an effective persuasive tool that is widely used by politicians, it has to receive a relatively high amount of attention from the translator when tackling political texts. In discussing the difficulties that the translator might face while translating a text,
Newmark (1987) stresses that “whilst the central problem of translation is the overall choice of a translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the translation of metaphor” (p. 104). The following examples illustrate how metaphors could be problematic in translation.

(1) *Sinews of peace* أوتاد السلام

In explaining Churchill’s choice of *sinews of peace* as a title for his speech, Patrick Powers, a Professor of philosophy, political thought and literature, says:

Churchill’s title reflected his concern to unveil a threefold plan for preventing a third world war between the Western democracies and Soviet Russia: to reach an understanding on all points of contention with Russia under the authority of the United Nations Organization; to use the newly founded United Nations Organization to preserve that understanding; and, most important, to employ the “whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections” to enforce that understanding. When implemented together, these strands or sinews held forth the promise of peace. (Powers, 1999, p. 143).

The word ‘sinew’ is defined as: 1. a tendon; …2. a part of a structure or system that provides support and holds it together (“Sinew,” 2016, para. 1). The muscular metaphor is chosen from the semantic field of body parts. It is used to stress the common ground between the source domain (sinews which join muscles and bones) and the target domain (the role of the suggested proposals in preserving peace). Domains are defined by Langacker as “contexts for the characterization of a semantic unit” (1987, p. 147 cited in Charteris-Black, 2004). Rendering the title literally into أوتار/عضلات السلام would not cover the ST intended meaning, which is seen in the second sense above. The solution is sought through replacing the SL metaphor with a TL metaphor having a different source domain. The source domain of mechanics might be used in order to emphasize the concept of stabilization. Hence, the ST metaphor might be rendered into أوتاد السلام (pegs of peace), to evoke a picture of grounding a foundation and holding it firmly in place.

(2) We must make sure that its work is fruitful…that it is a true *temple of peace*.

يرجى علينا التحقق من أن عمل المنظمة مثمر... وأنها صرح حقيقي للسلام.

In order for the United Nations organization to preserve the peace of the world, Churchill stresses that it must become a real *temple of peace*. The word temple is defined as “1. a building dedicated to religious ceremonies or worship; …2. something regarded as having within it a divine presence. 4. a building reserved for a highly valued function;
“Temple,” 2016, para. 1). Here, the reference to the UN as a temple adds a religious sense to its mission; it encourages the audience to perceive the UN political acts as sacred ones. The first attempt should seek to render the referential meaning. So the ST temple of peace might be rendered into the TT as معبد السلام. However, if the word معبد is used in the TT, it would not cover the various senses of the ST word, most particularly its fourth sense. The word معبد is used in the TL only to refer to buildings for religious practices and using it in the above context, even metaphorically, might carry misleading connotations. A solution is sought through using a cultural equivalent (Newmark, 1987), by rendering the ST word into: صرح (edifice). The TL word is known to be used as a metaphor to describe institutions with great missions. Therefore, the chosen translation صرح السلام (edifice of peace) is more appropriate as it renders the fourth sense of the ST word, although it lacks the religious aspect of the original.

(3) We must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock.

 علينا التيقن من أن صرحنا مشيد، لا على رمال مائعة بل على صخرة راسية.

In his discussion of the above metaphor, White (2012, p. 182) explains that “inaction in the face of new threats was the treacherous sand, and transatlantic unity of purpose and action the rock.” Here, two rhetorical techniques are found in combination: metaphor and contrast. Charteris-Black (2005) argues that “the use of contrasting metaphors enhances their persuasive effect because the relation of semantic contrast in the source domain argues for the same relation in the target domain” (p. 83). The first attempt should seek to render the metaphor literally. At this stage, the ST metaphor can be rendered into علينا التيقن من أن صرحنا مشيد لا على رمال مائعة أو أرض سبخة بل على الصخر. However, the term أرض سبخة (quagmires) is most commonly associated with scientific discourse and using it in the above context might not deliver the speaker’s intended meaning. Therefore, the term is omitted in the TT. On the other hand, using the compensation strategy (Newmark, 1987), by qualifying the noun صخرة (rock) as راسية (solid), demonstrates the two parallel phrases (the shifting sands and the rock) in a way that achieves rhymed prose, a rhetorical device that is widely used in Arabic.

(4) To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant marauders, war and tyranny.
Here, the ST employs personification, a subcategory of metaphor. This is “the description of an object or an idea as if it had human characteristics” (“Personification,” 2016, para. 1). In his discussion of Churchill’s political rhetoric, Alkon (2006) states that “imagining vividly the true face of war is the first step toward persuading people that only military strength will deter it” (p. 78). Churchill’s speech is dominated by the nightmare of war and tyranny, which he refers to as the two giant marauders. The term ‘marauder’ is defined as “a person or animal that goes from one place to another looking for people to kill or things to steal or destroy” (“Marauder,” 2016, para. 1). The figure of speech evokes emotions associated with fear and anger by mirroring a mental image of aggressors who follow innocent people for the sake of stealing or killing. In Arabic, however, there is no comprehensive lexical equivalent for the term marauder. The dictionary gives سلاب/نهاب (robber) as a rendering for the term. However, this translation incurs translation loss as it is semantically less precise than the ST word. If the dictionary’s term is to be used in the translation, it would evoke a less emotional response than that aroused by the original metaphor.

In light of this discussion, the image of the SL metaphor is replaced with a different TL image that has a similar sense (Newmark, 1987). In the chosen translation, war and tyranny are represented as monstrous creatures, an image that is capable of creating an appropriate emotional reaction.

(5) Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables.

In the above metaphor, the speaker argues that “the United Nations might develop into a peacemaking court of world opinion, but emphasized that peacemaking requires sheriffs as well as judges, with the English-speaking peoples cast in the role of the law enforcers of the world” (Ramsden, 1999, p. 21). Just as courts cannot function without sheriffs, the UN cannot operate without an international armed force. The metaphor implies that the UN is the source of legitimacy in international affairs and that it requires
troops to enforce law, which is one of the arguments in the speech. The first attempt should seek rendering the metaphor literally into:

دور القضاء قد تكون معدة والقضاة قد يكونون مستعدين، لكن لا يمكنهم العمل دون ضباط ورجال شرطة

Rendering the metaphor literally, however, reads long and complicated, as the first independent clause of the ST had to be split up into two independent clauses in the TT and joined by a coordinating conjunction. Moreover, the TT reader might not realize that s/he has come across a metaphor in the first place. A solution is sought by changing the syntactic structure in the translation to ensure that the metaphor remains evident and comprehensible, as it is pointed out that “certain stylistic effects cannot be transposed into the TL without upsetting the syntactic order” (Venuti, 2000, p. 84). Furthermore, the omission of the subject magistrates from the translation permits a neater transition of the metaphor. As can be seen, altering the metaphor makes it more acceptable, more significant and conspicuous in the TT.

(6) For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

ويغدو عندهم كل شيء مشوها، كل شيء محطمًا، بل مدمر عن آخره.

In the above example, Churchill describes the world of the ‘humble folk’ after the consequences of war and tyranny. He stresses that everything was destroyed for them, even ground to pulp. ‘Grind’ is “to make something into small pieces or a powder by pressing between hard surfaces” (“Grind,” 2016, para. 1), while ‘pulp’ is defined as “a soft, wet mass” (“Pulp,” 2016, para. 1). Hence, ground to pulp means grounded or crushed to the core; it implies utter destruction. This type of metaphor is called reification, it is “to regard or treat (an abstraction) as if it had concrete or material existence” (“Reification,” 2016, para. 1). Churchill speaks about the world of the ‘humble folk’ as if it were a tangible thing that could be grounded to pulp. He uses such an image to depict the amount of destruction that emerged out of war. In his discussion of destruction metaphors, Charteris-Black (2005) says “the purpose of such metaphors is invariably to convey a negative evaluation of a particular type of abstract social phenomena or entity” (p. 125). In the translation, if the metaphor is to be rendered literally, the sentence would seem obscure and virtually meaningless. A solution is sought through reducing the metaphor to sense (Newmark, 1987). The chosen translation is مدمر عن آخره (razed to the ground).
4.3 Allusion

According to Fahnestock (2011), allusion is an “importation of a phrase from one context into another” (p. 95). He explains that it recalls another context, but it does so without naming that context. He also affirms that allusions have no effect on the reader if s/he does not recognize them. In the *Iron Curtain*, there are many passages that allude to Bible verses. The following examples illustrate how those allusions are handled in the translation.

(7) We must make sure that its work is fruitful…that it is a true temple of peace…, and not merely a cockpit in a *Tower of Babel*.

Here, the *Tower of Babel* alludes to the story that is told in the Old Testament, in which a large group of people who all spoke the same language decided to build a tower to reach the heavens. However, according to the biblical source, God did not want them to build this tower, so He made all those people speak in different languages so they would not understand each other and hence would not be able to complete the tower, since they cannot give or understand instructions (Robinson, 1998). Churchill uses the expression ‘cockpit in a Tower of Babel,’ as a metaphor of chaos where people all speak in different languages, do not understand each other, do not listen to each other and cannot come up with a single conclusion. The allusion is a powerful warning of the potential divisions between the members of the UN. Therefore, Churchill stresses that the United Nations must not be "merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel." Instead, it must have a common purpose and a common language. When Churchill used this allusion in his speech, it is likely that the audience recognized it since they shared the same culture with him. However, if the allusion had to be translated literally in the TT, it might not be recognized by the TT readers who come from a different cultural background. So even though the biblical allusion in the ST is powerful and compelling, it might not be as such in the TT. As Charteris-Black (2005) puts it “Messages become persuasive when they evoke things that are already known or at least familiar” (p. 10). Therefore, a solution is sought through neutralizing or generalizing the ST expression (Newmark, 1987) by translating *Tower of Babel* into a place that lacks communication. 

Translated: يجب علينا التحقق من أن عمل المنظمة مثمر... وأنها صرح حقيقي للسلام... لا مجرد حلبة صراع في مكان يفتقد التفاهم.

чивاله توفي من أَن عمل المنظمة مثمر... وأنها صرح حقيقي للسلام... لا مجرد حلبة صراع في مكان يفتقد التفاهم.
Moreover, the word ‘cockpit’ is translated into حلبة صراع (instead of قمرة as “a cockpit is only by extension the command center of a ship or aircraft; in its root it is a place where roosters fight” (Arnn, 2015, p. 81).

(8) That it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up.

وأنها صرح حقيقي للسلام قد تجتمع تحت سقفه رايات الأمم يوما.

The phrase “to hang up (one’s sword, gun, etc.)” is “to put aside in disuse; to give up using” (Simpson & Weiner, 1989, p. 1087). Moreover, it can be argued that the phrase is an allusion to the Old Testament passage: “King David’s spears and shields, that were in the temple of the Lord” (2 Kings 11:10, King James Version). The biblical allusion is probably used to indicate the honorable mission of the UN in preserving peace and to ask nations for unity and agreement. Again, translating the allusion literally would make no sense to the Arab reader. A solution is sought through searching for a metaphor in the TL that is usually used to indicate unity. The chosen translation (under its roof, the flags of the nations might be gathered) seems appropriate, especially since it uses the symbol راية (flag), which substitutes the ST symbol shield. Here, Symbol is used to mean “a type of cultural metonym where a material object represents a concept” (Newmark, 1987, p. 106). In the ST, hanging up shields represents the concept of being united in terms of giving up war, while in the TT almost the same idea is emphasized using the symbol راية (flag).

(9) ‘In my father’s house are many mansions.’ Special associations between members of the United Nations…

يقول السيد المسيح في الكتاب المقدس: "في بيت أبي منازل كثيرة", فأشكال العلاقة الخاصة القائمة بين أعضاء الأمم المتحدة...

In this example, allusion takes the form of an exact quotation, which is a familiar passage from the New Testament. Since the speaker calls upon a famous image in Christianity, he can assume that many if not most of his audience would immediately recall the context of the passage and therefore understand the implicit meaning behind the allusion. Only by recalling the original context of the passage, the hearer can assume that Churchill stresses that there is a place for all in the UN. The passage, however, is likely to be unknown among the TT readers who may not share the same Christian culture with the speaker. Dickins et al. suggest that “sometimes an ST quotation or allusion that is full
of resonances for the SL reader would be completely lost on the TL reader” (2002, p. 141). Therefore, a solution is sought by introducing the quotation with "يقول السيد المسيح في الكتاب المقدس" (Jesus Christ says in the Holy Book). This introduction is an explicitation that makes it clear to the TT readers that the speaker is citing the words of Christ.

Moreover, in the TT, the conjunctive particle fa is used at the beginning of the sentence that follows the allusion in order to establish cohesion, to make the quote relevant.

(10) The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power.

تتربع الولايات المتحدة اليوم على عرش القوة في العالم.

In the above sentence, Churchill stresses that the United States, at that time, was standing ‘at the pinnacle of world power.’ Other than just considering it a powerful metaphor, it can be argued that Churchill alludes to the famous passage “then the devil took Him into the holy city and had Him stand on the pinnacle of the temple” (Matthew 4:5, New American Standard Bible). The choice of this allusion positions the United States as a savior of mankind, a role that is analogous to that of Jesus. Also, using the word ‘power,’ which echoes ‘tower,’ the temple on which Christ stood, reinforces this analogy. Again, the allusion might not be recognized if it is rendered literally into the TT. Instead, the allusion might be substituted by a metaphor that is widely used in the TL to describe superiority. The chosen translation is: "تتربع الولايات المتحدة اليوم على عرش القوة في العالم" (The United States sits today on the throne of world power). The use of the word عرش, meaning throne, adds to the metaphor a sense of authority, similar to that of the ST.

4.4 Cohesive Devices

Ulla Connor (1996, p. 83) defines cohesion as “the use of explicit linguistic devices to signal relations between sentences and parts of texts.” She explains that “cohesive devices are words or phrases that act as signals to the reader in order to help the reader make connections with what has already been stated or soon will be stated” (ibid). On the other hand, coherence is “the conceptual or semantic network that glues the parts of a text into the whole” (Fawcett, 1997, p. 91). Halliday & Hasan (1976) identify five cohesion categories which are: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion. Some of these categories are explained below with illustrative examples based on their relevance and use in the ST.


4.4.1 Reference. Reference is a device which allows the reader or hearer to hark back to participants, entities, events and the like in a text. In English, one of the most common patterns of establishing chains of reference is to mention a participant directly in the first place and afterward use a pronoun to refer back to the same participant (Baker, 2011, p. 191). This idea is demonstrated by the following examples.

(11) This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand *that* of the British Empire Forces.

قد يضاعف هذا من حركة القوات البحرية والجوية الأمريكية ويزيد من حركة قوات الإمبراطورية البريطانية زيادة كبيرة.

In the ST, the demonstrative pronoun *that* is used to refer to mobility. However, if the TT follows the grammatical structure of the ST, it would lead to ambiguity and lack of cohesion. Therefore, a solution is sought through lexical item repetition, by repeating the lexical item حركة (mobility). Here, “lexical item repetition functions not just as a stylistic feature, but as a text-building device contributing to the cohesion of the text” (Dickins et al., 2002, p. 109).

(12) *This* might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see *this* done ...

قد يبدأ تنفيذ هذا الأمر على نطاق ضيق، لكنه سينمو كلما نمت ثقتنا. كنت أتمنى أن أرى هذا الاقتراح منفذاً ...

In the discussion immediately preceding this sentence, Churchill mentioned his proposal regarding equipping the UN with an international armed force. In the above example, the demonstrative pronoun *this* is used twice to refer to that proposal. However, retaining the two demonstratives in the translation would sound incoherent in Arabic. Therefore, in the TT, explicitation is used twice as a cohesive device. Explicitation is a technique that states the “ST information in a more explicit form than the original” (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1997, p. 55).

(13) Amid *his* heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities-unsought but not recoiled from-the President has travelled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today.

فالرئيس- رغم تقل أعبائه وواجباته ومسؤولياته التي وصلته من غير مسألة منه لكنه لم يتوان عن القيام بها. قطع

منات الأميل ليزورنا هذا اليوم ويتزعمه.
In the ST sentence, there is a case of cataphora; a forward reference where the determiner *his* comes first and later comes its referent. In the translation, however, the same structure cannot be copied. Arabic does not allow the use of cataphora as it leads to “non-eloquence and stylistic unacceptability” (Abdul-Raof, 2006, p. 89). Therefore, in the TT the antecedent is moved to come first to establish cohesion and coherence.

(14) This can only be achieved by reaching…a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding…by the world instrument.

Here, we have a case of co-reference. The phrase *the world instrument* refers to the United Nations organization which was mentioned previously in the text. Hoey (1988, p. 162 cited in Baker, 2011) points out that co-reference “is not strictly a linguistic feature at all but a matter of real-world knowledge.” Therefore, recognizing that the ST phrase refers to the UN depends on general knowledge rather than on textual competence. In the TL, however, there is no established phrase that is used as a metonym for the UN. For that reason, in the TT, partial repetition is used as a cohesive element, which also contributes to the coherence of the TT.

4.4.2 Substitution. Baker (2011) notes that, unlike reference, substitution is a grammatical rather than a semantic relationship. She explains that “In substitution, an item (or items) is replaced by another item (or items)” (Baker, 2011, p. 196). The idea of substitution is demonstrated by the following examples.

(15) We have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered: and even then, if no effort is spared…

لدينا الآن على الأقل فرصة لالتقاط أنفاسنا وتنظيم أمورنا قبل مواجهة ذاك الخطر. حتى إذا واجهناء، وإن لم ندخر جهدا حينها لمواجهة... 

The use of the lexical item *then* in the ST represents a case of substitution. Again, using the same device in the TT by saying *وحتى حينها* might lead to ambiguity. Repetition is therefore a much safer option for establishing a cohesive link in the TT. In the TT, the lexical item *مواجهة* (encountering) is repeated, but in a different grammatical
form. Koch (1983, p. 47) notes that repetition is a strategy that is “the key to the linguistic cohesion” of Arabic texts.

(16) I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so.

أشعر أن من واجبي أن أتحدث بصراحة الآن بما أن المناسبة والفرصة متاحتان لي.

In the ST, *do* is used in combination with *so* forming the structure *do so*, which substitutes the verb phrase ‘speak out’ avoiding unnecessary repetition. In the TT, however, ellipsis is used for brevity, as what is omitted can be easily inferred from the context. Hatim (2010) states that “the numerous definitions of rhetoric adopted by Arab scholars through the ages all stress that ‘saying no more and no less than absolutely necessary for the fulfillment of a given communicative purpose’ is the single most important feature of eloquent and rhetorically effective use of language” (p. 198).

4.4.3 Lexical cohesion. This type of cohesion “refers to the role played by the selection of vocabulary in organizing relations within a text” (Baker, 2011, p. 210). Halliday & Hasan (1976) differentiate two types of lexical cohesion: reiteration and collocation. Reiteration “involves repetition of lexical items” (Baker, 2011, p. 211), while collocation is defined as “the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items” (Crystal, 2008, p. 86). The following examples only discuss the importance of finding appropriate collocations in translation.

(17) For the future glory and safety of mankind.

من أجل مستقبل زاهر وآمن للبشرية جمعاء.

Rendering the above sentence literally into من أجل مجد المستقبل وآمن البشرية would sound odd in the TT. In Arabic, the lexical item مستقبل (future) most commonly collocates with adjectives like مشرق (bright) or زاهر (prosperous), when describing a glorious future. My chosen translation is من أجل مستقبل زاهر وآمن للبشرية جمعاء (for a prosperous and safe future for all mankind). I opted for the adjective زاهر over مشرق merely for a stylistic reason, as زاهرا (prosperous) and آمنا (safe) include the same long vowel sound. Therefore, the adjectival collocation مستقبل زاهر is used to accommodate stylistic requirements of the TL. Moreover, the word جمعاء (all) is added to serve the same end of cohesiveness, which is producing an idiomatic natural Arabic style. Although the ST introduces grammatical and semantic changes, these are compensated for because the changes preserve the idiomaticity and the essential message content (Dickins et al., 2002). As Dickins et al. put
it “the semantic loss is compensated for by avoidance of the greater loss in idiomaticity that literal translation would have entailed” (Dickins et al., 2002, p. 48).

(18) Opportunity is here now.

الفرصة سانحة الآن.

Although rendering the above ST sentence literally into the الفرصة هنا الآن is possible, it is not the most natural translation among the available options. The idiomatic expression that is mostly used in the TL, when indicating an available opportunity, is the collocation الفرصة سانحة, where the noun is modified by its adjectival collocate. This translation sounds more acceptable than the literal alternative. Bahumaid (2006) notes that “A ‘free’ phrase in the source language may have, as its equivalent, a collocation in the target language and vice versa” (p. 136).

(19) After six years of passionate war effort.

بعد ستة أعوام من الجهود الجهيدة التي بذلناها في الحرب.

The adjective passionate is defined as: 1. capable of, having, or dominated by powerful emotions; … 2. wrathful by temperament; … 5. arising from or marked by passion; … (“passionate,” 2016, para. 1). A fairly literal translation of the above sentence would be بعد ستة أعوام من جهود الحرب الشغوفة. However, if translated literally, it would cause a collocational clash. In the TL, the adjective شغوف does not normally collocate with the noun جهد. The adjectives which usually collocate with the noun جهد (effort), when describing the intensity of an exerted effort, are جهيد/حثيث/متواصل. However, the chosen collocation جهود جهيدة consists of two lexical items derived from the same root and therefore have some phonemes in common. The use of this stylistic device might compensate for the semantic richness of the ST adjective passionate.

(20) A very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.

سيطرة شديدة من موسكو وفي أحيان كثيرة متزايدة.

English uses the adjective high to express greatness or extent and amplitude of something. This vertical perspective does not apply to Arabic. When expressing the same notion of greatness, amplitude or degree, Arabic uses adjectives that denote intensity rather than verticality (Darwish, 2010, p. 166). Therefore, rather than translating high control to سيطرة شديدة (intensive control), it is rendered into سيطرة شديدة من موسكو وفي أحيان كثيرة متزايدة.
4.5 Conclusion

This chapter includes examples from the translation with discussions of the decisions made in handling these examples. The suggested translations of the examples are not prescriptive by any means and the recommended strategies are only given for the purpose of demonstrating the use of theory in practice. In the following chapter, conclusions with regard to the encountered translation problems and the strategies used to solve them are presented.
Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis has sought the help of theory to translate one of the famous political speeches of the twentieth century. The significance of the speech is not only due to its political statements but also to its special language and style which have always been a topic of interest for many linguists.

First of all, I should admit that the Iron Curtain speech has not been an easy text to handle. Not only is the speech replete with metaphors and allusions but also the messages that those devices convey are not always clear. Moreover, Churchill often makes use of biblical references throughout the speech. However, he uses them to suit his own purposes rather than retain their original meanings. For example, the expression ‘outstretched arm,’ which is associated with God in the Bible to mainly denote omnipotent power, is used in the speech to only indicate destiny’s welcoming and support. Churchill is also known to use classical vocabulary. This added to the difficulty of translating the speech as I was always keen to use traditional Arabic words and expressions in order to preserve the classical flavour of the original (e.g., translating ‘address’ as خطبة instead of خطاب).

In regard to the translation strategies used, Vinay and Darbelnet’s strategies, particularly the ones that come under oblique translation such as modulation and equivalence, were useful in dealing with various problems that were encountered throughout the translation. The source text sentences were constantly reformulated in order to produce idiomatic translations which preserve both meaning and eloquence.

The commentary chapter has offered a glimpse into the problems of translating rhetorical devices and suggested solutions to solve them. With regard to metaphors, Newmark’s strategies were of great help in translating them. One of his most effective strategies was replacing the ST image with a different TT image for the purpose of producing an equivalent effect within the TT readers. Trying to preserve all the ST metaphors in the translation, the strategy of reducing metaphors to sense was probably only used once. Additions, omissions and changing the ST syntactic structure, all were useful means in translating the speech’s metaphors.

Allusions, on the other hand, require a lot of background knowledge to recognize them in the first place as such and then, hopefully, preserve them in the translation.
Concerning the translation of biblical allusions in the speech, most of them could not be reproduced in the TT due to cultural differences between the ST and the TT readers. Instead, they were substituted by elements from the TT culture which led to losing the cultural specificity of the original text. Nevertheless, the translator cannot be accused of disloyalty by doing so, as Newmark (1995) explains “a translator should not reproduce allusions, in particular if they are peculiar to the source language culture, which his readers are unlikely to understand” (p. 147). It can be inferred from the suggested translations regarding allusions that finding equivalent translations for them cannot be restrictive but rather creative. This means that the translator, instead of only relying on translation techniques, should tap his or her imagination in order to formulate an appropriate translation for an allusion.

The commentary chapter has also discussed the translation of cohesive devices. To establish grammatical cohesion, English uses different devices such as reference and substitution. Although Arabic too employs similar devices, it generally seems to favor more lexical repetition or explicitation so as to avoid ambiguity. Therefore, in my translation I attempted to adapt as much as possible to the Arabic patterns of cohesion. Regarding collocations, which form lexical cohesion, the translator should be aware of established collocations in the target language in order to avoid causing a collocational clash. Therefore, changes were made as needed throughout the translation of the speech for the sake of using preferred Arabic collocations.

To conclude, translating political speeches is not an easy task to perform. It involves far more than replacing lexical and grammatical items in the ST with their equivalents in the TT. Not only is the translator required to master both the SL as well as the TL, s/he should be familiar with the rhetorical and stylistic devices that are commonly used in both languages. This is of crucial importance in order to understand the speaker’s intentions, express them appropriately and thus achieve the desired effect within the TT reader or hearer. The translator should also be aware of the translation strategies that proved to be beneficial in translating such texts. Moreover, since a speech is not created in a vacuum, the translator has to have a thorough knowledge of the speaker, e.g., his cultural background, language preferences and political views and aims. That is to say, a political speech cannot be understood -and hence translated- outside its context.
Therefore, the translator should be aware of the historical and political context of the speech and the sociocultural factors that surround it. Once all these conditions are met, the translator, with a bit of luck, would produce what Nida & Taber (1969) once described as “the best translation” that “does not sound like a translation” (p. 12).
References


Vita

Lobna Ahmed Burohaima is a United Arab Emirates (U.A.E) national. Following secondary school, after having been ranked among the top ten graduating UAE nationals, she was the recipient of the Sheikh Rashid Award for Academic Excellence. She holds a Higher Diploma in Accounting and a Bachelor Degree in Business Administration from Dubai Women’s College. Lobna joined the Master of Arts in English/Arabic/English Translation and Interpreting at the American University of Sharjah in Fall 2013.