CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH:
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

by

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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.

Search Terms: Political Speeches, Rhetorical Devices, Metaphor, Allusion, Cohesive Devices, The Iron Curtain, Winston Churchill.

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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:

    لن نغلب عدوّنا إلا إذا سرنا على سياسة القوة، وعلى سياسة العدوان، وعلى سياسة الغدر

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:

    وحياتي قبل ها بعد خمس سنوات بلد متقدم وليس بلد متأخرة

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:

    نحن شعب عربي انتصر، نحمد الله على هذا النصر، نغلب هذا النصر

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:

<div dir="rtl">لئن تُشرطي فلكل واحد فيكم في البلئون ات في الشوارع في المعركة</div>

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:

<div dir="rtl">ا السوفيت يقول ما عدي أو ماأقدر أزودكم يها</div>

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 Schäffner (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 ديمقراطية, '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 ن ا ةلىيشرةليشهتماش قوكفThis 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 كمحلاىىف, "it is too late" as ن ا تابف

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 اموي ا ريلات هفقس تعمختقت 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 نواعتلاو ةلبااتمالةدعاسملا إ تسيل لتياغ, 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 ةياغ.

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 وهي 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 sentence "the American and British Armies withdrew westwards," which consists of subjects (S) + verb (V) + complement (C), into تراجعت القوات 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"

(Munday, 2008, p. 61). An example of this shift is the translation of the sentence "I find it painful" into the word تألّم

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 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 sematic 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

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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.

3.4 The Text

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

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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.

9 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.

10 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.

11 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.

15 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.

16 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 effective than many of those which have often been made under formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Commonwealths 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.

17 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.

18 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 inter-mingled, 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.

19   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 Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friend-ships. 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.

20   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 expul-sions 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.

21   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

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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 Communism
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 السِتار لِمِي دي

5 - آذار (مارس) - 1946

كلية وستمنستر في مِيسفِلتونبوية مِيزوري

1. أنا سعيد لقدومي عمر هذا اليوم إلى الكلية وستمنستر (وأشعر بِراعلم حكم ميايشها دفخري ة. اسم وستمنستر) اسم لم لوفلدينوع ا ما مي دو لأني سمعته من قبل الطبع ففي وستمنتربل قيت جن علمي لسياسة ولنطق ولا غ قوشيء آخر أو شرقيى نف ايلاقعك تلقضع لي مفيالؤمسسات عن ها أوفيؤمسساتتشبلهة أوشرقيقة فيايكل ل.

2. ولى هأيضل لشرف بلشرقق ريد منونوع ه، أنقدم رفِس السالو تالهتحدة زئائرا غِرر رسمي الى جمهورأكايمي، فلرِسس- رغمقلأع بئ ه وجلبلك ه مسؤولي ايلاتي وصلت ه من غرر مسأل ة ف لك لن طل ميت وان عن ظل ميابه اقطع مئات ا ميالي قى يبالجماع نا فالهيوم وثري ه، ولوي ي حل لي لفرص ة ب هنالش عبل لشرقيق وأخاطبب أيض ابناء وطني من وراءالمحط و ب ما ثلك لكسبض ا من لدول ا رى. أُحركم لرِسس عن رغبت ه، وأنا وثق لأ ها ر غبكم أيضا في أن تتا حل لي حري ةالتا مة عطي مشورتي الصرقاقة قو المخلصين فيه نثالوقت لحرجا لعمرير. فما سأقن من ها لفرص ة وأشعر بِأن منحق يفعل لك فلك فلكل طموحاتا لى شيخري اقتى حل ميتب هشيلي تحققت جمي ع ها نفايني احو فقاخي اللِيبي يأنأري د أن أوض حل حكم أنيا لهو لهِ ستفي ميه ممة ترسيهية من أين وع، وأنيفقط لأثل نفسيلِيس ها هنا متمرون.

3. يلكِني إذن أن آذن لنلظل مي ذيا لخضرةالطويلة أنيعم لفلف لكر فيالمشر للتيتطقق نفي أعيان صررنالاسحا فيقبي فللهتا ل، وأن أحاول بلك ل ما أوتيت منقوة أن لضمن أن ما جيني اميلظير من التضحية و من المعلا نقسة و فنحا فظ ميه من أجلمسِتقبل ز اهر وآمللهشري ة جمعاء.

4. نتنب عالو تالهتحدة اليوم لى عرش القوة فيالعلم، ولل لاملاحظة ميمةلليلي مقراطي ة ا مرولي ة. لكن تصرد رها قوى العلميض ع لى عق هاسؤولي اتجلي لية إزاء المستقبل ف إنتقلت محولكم، علي كم أن تش عر ولبلرض ط لقط عن ما أنجتموه مي اللقل قلب أيض اخشي ة أن تحافظوا مي ها هذا ا لفرص ةرسلحة ا ن، جلي ت للك م بل ي منها، ص د ها أوتبا ها لأتوبي ي هاد سهرض ن فيالمستقبلللوم ن لي لةيعينبغي أنيي جوثلما لمبات لى ايالمهدأ ولكلشيث بلغ لي ه ولل سا طةاللمتنالقرار سلولللشعو بالنا اى قبل الكاني ية و كم ه هميالسلمكفها لعل وفيال حرب يجب أنيثبت نثانأن جيرونربتحيق هذا المطلب ل لب لا غ ا ي فؤتوا نأثقن زأنأ سرفعا لعل.

5. عند مليواجه رجالا لمجي ا هيكي وضعا حر جاف إن من عاتهم من أنيلتبنوا على رأس ما هامهم ها لكلمات: "فم هو م ا تربي مي اقشامل ة." هذلفع لي مي في همق ودي اى الفني ري مي ى نمحول يم.

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ما هو إذن فهمهوم ا تتربي؟ي مالقشاملةالذيعلينا أن ندون نالي ومهاليوم؟ ل ليس تتحقيق ا من ولرفاهية ولحري ة ولرقي لكل البيوت وا رجا ونساء أيءنماكل وا.وأنا ائحدث من ا، في وجهى ى الخصوص، عنألوفهمؤفة من ا كواخ الشقق، إنيءعلى رب ا جا م داف في خضم جماسعبالحياة وفاجئتهاليقي زوجه وأظلل ماحر مانونلئشئهم في خشيى ة ربهم أو في ىليهم يالقتغالبا يليكونمليام البلباغ ا

6. من أجلوفير ا منالكتلكل ا التي حصر لها ا أن نحيىى ها علينا، أن نحن حيىها حنين والوحشين العا نين وهمالحرب ولطغيانلإنلعى ان رابا بالمخيف الذيجتاح أي أسرة لكلكت تتعندمدتحلقةالحرب في ليها ا و في ىلهن يكدحيكد أن الدمارالمروع الذي طال أوروبا وكل أمجاد ها الم ية وأجزاء الثيرة منآسيا يحدقفينا. فعن دمتتغلغل خططا ار أونزع ةالعدوانللدولالقوى في مناطق واسعة من مالمجتمع العا حضر ي واجهين ها الناس البسيطون جماسعب المهن المتعامل معها، ويغدو عن ىدمكلشيء مشوها،كلشيء محطمابل مدمر عن آخره.

7. عندما أقف هنا عمر ا هذاالي وم لهاديء قشعني ندي لهالمانس رور ا لحيلمحدث يقيى ة نل بين الشر ومساوف يحدثفي هذاالفترة عن دمتتشفى ى المجاعةفي ا رض. يمكن حد أن يحصي ي ماسميكمتم ا لططلبشري غير القدر. إذن مفتضا ا لى ووا جهنا ر هو حيل قيبت وت عامةالناس من أهوال حرب أخرى ومآسيى ها. جمعن ىفق في ىذلك.

8. بوعد أنيحددنا ز ئون ا من الشجمي عكييفهم هومم ا ستتربي ي مالقشاملةة في ىحصى والموارالتوفرفي ملي ممتيقف لون تائم الإىى الخطوة التالي ة وهي طريق ةالتنفيذ. من أيءاضث مقاها مجتمع عافقأ دفيتم تم نظمة على ةلى غرض رئيس هوالحجولة دونوقوع حروب. هذاال نظمة - فا نظمة ا ممالت المتحقةالتيخفيفت عمبة ا مم، معن ضمام الو تت الهتحدفاحاسبنإليها ها وكل ما يعني ه هذا قباشرتالعلف ف لكنيجبعلين االتحقق من أن عمل ال نظمة مثمر، وأن ها يقيى ة نيف، وأن ها قوة مفضزلقلعمل مجركلكلمات خاوية، وأن هاصرر ح يقحقيل قد تتجمعتحتسقف وا يات ا يوما، مجردحلب ةتصر اعهي لمكانقفدالف امام.

9. وقبل لأنلقي بخلبا حن الوطنيا لطيالنيين الذيويض من النا لحاحلية، علين النثيقن من أن صرح ن مشيدد، في ى رمال طلعة ةلبل في ىصى خر قرا سيية ةالكل منله من أنتنصر عن ن تورى أنيرى أن طقن اسيكونشارقا وأيضا طو لكنكن إن ثبارنا في ىالعمل معاك معلنا ف لحيينال طلعل مبين، يبلىأفا -افتراقلفطلب قبين مما، يلكنزلي أنأشاتفي أنلاسرلينلغ فيين المشتترك في لن لطية.

10. بيد أنلديقا قتراحا ا محددواد عمليالةللبدالعملفدالقضاء وإنشيددت، يلكن أنيقيمي عملها ا دونضباط ا ورجال شرطة. إذنيجب في ى نظمة ا الهتحدةالهدء حبالتزويقبقو استمسلحوتدوليي قفي أمور كهذه، يسرعنا التحرك خطوة خطوة،لكنيجبعلين االتحرك ن.أقترح أنيطلب من الكلالقوى وللدول أنتنض عتحتتصرف هذاال نظمةالعلية عددا محددا منالوحداتالجوفيةي دفيعيءى طيارو ها ويدبيوفرو يىلدلهم في ى أنيقنقلوا من بلد بلاننى اوب، ويتدونالزيالعسكري الخاصربة لدول م،لكنن شارار انتخافية ة،ولن يطلب من هم أنيقوموا مولب أعمال

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معايير دولية ملزمة، ولكن من ناحية أخرى ستكون إدارة نظام العالمية في تنفيذ هذا مر في نطاق ضيق، لكن سيكون ممكنا متسقا. لئن تأمنى أن أرى هذا تراح من فبلد عدل ال حرب العالمية ا ىلى في وقت ما المقة في إلى المكرى تنفي نفي ال حال.

11. و على الرغم من أنك في فكنا من الخطأ الى حماقة أن ن عه ب لدل ع ل ما ت ال سيرى القب ل ة الذي ت وت جارب ها، التي تشارك ها اليوم كل من الو تالم تحدة وبريطانيا العظمى لندا، لى ال ال نظمة العال مي اقتي ت زال في م ه داه ال لطب ل من الجنون أن فرط في هذا العلم ولوما تفي هذا العلم الذي يزال القا سم الذي ي جمع ض ضيق اي من في أي بلد كان، يجعل ته، أن هذا العلم وال أرل ي ب تفي ذ ذه وال مواد الخام ا نظ طيق ه هة جال في أي دي ا مويليين لى حو ن و رئيس ل كن ي أعتقد أن ض ضا من الن قض ن إن ت ل ت ل ال حال واختار تدول نشري وى في أوفلي تج ديدة اليوم هذا القوة المرعب ة قبل ال خوف ف ن ها كان و الخلف ها يتختل لوليسرى ف رض أ نظمة استبدادية في ى دول ال عال ال ديمقراطي ال حر مع عراق بيليي تو خيل ها للرع بف ي القوس. وشاء الله أن يحدث ذلك لوين ا ن أى ا ق لف رص ة ت قاط ط أ نسان ا وت نظيم أ مور نا قبل مواجهة ذاكال خطر ح تى إذا واج فاه، وإن ه من ذ خر ج هذا من حن ه ال مواجف ه وي ينغ ي أن ن ملك و لى ى نحو م يب، القوق الذيي ل ن م ف رض رواد ع ل ى لى م يس تخم ت لك ة أوي ه ب است خدام هاو في ال ط ية، عنت ح ت ج سد ا وقا ل ى في ظ مة ع ل ى تت عر ه عن ها، مع كل ال ض ل من ت ال علي ة ال ضر و ري في ج ه ل ط ل ة، ع ن ذ ستنتقل عن ر ر ل كل ق ا ق لى إلى هذا ن ظ مة عال مية.

12. وا ن ا أع رّض ل ى ى ال خط ر ل ث ر ي، ل ى ال و ح ش ي ا ن الذيي م د د ا ك و اخ ال ب ي و ت و ع ا م ال ن اس، و هوال ط ي ا ن. يمك ن ا ان ن ع ني أن ن ح م ى عن حق وق ة ال ح ر ي ا ل ت ي ي ت م ت ع ب ه ا ال م و اط ن و ف ي ر ك ل أ ح ا ء ا م هرا طوري ة ال ب ري ط ني ة و ج ود ل ه في ع دد ك بير م ن ال ب دان ب عض في ه ا ه ي ال د ان ق و ة ت ح ا ف ت ي ل ك ل ل د و ل ف ت س ر ط ر لى ى ع ام ة ال ن اس ا ش ر ك ال خ ت ف ة من ال ح ك و م ا ت ال و ل ال ط ا غ ي ة ال عال مي ة في ف ت م ن م م ار س ة ال دو ل ق ل ط ب غ ير ح د و د تي ودد، إ م ل ح ك م ف ش تو ري أوح ك م أ ق ل ي ت مم ار س ل ط ل ط ب ح ز ب ذ ي ي ل ي ي ز ا ت و شر ط ر ي ر ي ة ل ي س م ن و ل ج ن ف ي ه ن ا ل ق و ق ت ال لي ة ال ص ع اب أن ت د خ ل ع ف ي ل ش ؤ ؤ ن ال د اخ ل ى ل ل د و ل ة ل ت ي ل ح ت ل ه ي ال ح ر ب، ل ك ن ف ن ا أن ن ك ف ب ل ب د ا عن ال م ن ا د ا ق ب ص و ت ي ع ر ف ال خ و ف ب ل م ا د ئ ال ع ظ ي م ة ل ح ر ي ة و ح ق وق ا ن س ان الل ي ن ي ن م م ا ا ث ال م ش ت ر ك ل ك ل د و ل ال ع ل م ا ل ن اط ي ن ق ب ل ال ك ال ي ز ي، و ل ك ل من و ث ي ق ة "م ا غ ن ا ال ك اتا" و ش ر ع ة ال ق وق و ال دو ن ا ش ع ار ال ق ض ا ئ ي و ال م ح ك م ة أم ام ه ي ئ ة م ح م ي ن و ال ق ان و ن ال ك ل ي ز ي ت ج س د ه ذا ا ن ش أ ش ن ر ص ر و ف ي و ث ي ق ة ا ت ل ال م و ي ك ي ة.

13. ك ل ذ ل ك ل و ع ن ي أ ر ل ش ع ب أ ي د و ل ة ال ح ق، و ي ن غ ي أن ي ك و ن ل ي ه ا ال ق و ة و ال م ا د س ت و ر و ب ل ت خ ب ا ت ا ل ح ر ا ر ال ت ي ي ق ي د ق ا ي د ال و ت ي ت ج ر ي ب ا ق ت ر ا ع ا س ت س ر ي ة، أن ي ك و ن ل ه ا ح ق ف ي ت غ ي ي ر ا ر ن و ع ا ل ح ك و م ا ق ت ي ج ي و ي ظ ل ف ي ظ ل ه ا أو ت غ ي ر ي ه ا، وأن ح ر ي ة ال ف ك ر و ال ت ع ب ي ر ي غ ي ن أ ن ت س و د، وأن م ح ك م ل ع د ل ال م س ت ق ل ة ع ر ل س ل ط ة ال ق ن ي ي ن ي ة و غ ي ر ال ح ي ا ز ة ح ز ب ي ن غ ي أن ت ط ب ق ا ل ق و ال ي ا ل ت ي ت ي ج م ع ال ع ث ر ال ك ث ر ة ل ي ق ت ي ل ه ا، أو ت ل الق ت ي ر س خ ه ا ل ز م ن و ق ر ه ال ع ر ف. ه ذ ه ه ي ص ر ك و ك ل ال ح ق ا ق ت ي ي غ ي أ ن ت ك و ن في ك ل ك و خ، ه ذ ه ه ي ر س ا ل ال ش ع ي ن ال ب ي ط ا ن ي وا ا م ه ي ك ل ال ش ري ة ل ع ا م ف ل ن د ع و ال ن اس ل ى م ان م ا ر س ول ن م ا ر س د ع و ال ن اس إل ي ه.

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14. قد حددت لى ا ن أبر خطري ن هدد ان بي تو ت الن س و هما ال حرب وال طغي ان، لم يأحدث ب عد عر ق للق ر ول حر م ان وه مي ال كثير من لل ال مل سط ي د.لكن إن ز ال خطر ال حرب وال طغي ان شأ ف ي أن ال هم وال تعا ون ي لمكن أن يق ف ي لي س ن و للق لي ل ة الق ادم ة وض ف ي الع لي ل ة الق ادم ة ب ع ت غ م ن للت ق ن في م رس ة ل حر ب للت ص ي ت قن ان - ي لمكن ه ما أن يق حب ط ب س ط في الع ش ري ف وق كل ك ماش هت هل ل ش ري ة ل ى ا ن. وا ف ي رف ي ه ن ة لق ول ال ح زن ل ي لن لق ط ع لل س اس، ن ح ن ن غ ار ق و ر في ج و ع وض ر ب لك ف ل ح ن ال ا ل ه ذا ل، لك ئن ها و ح ل ق ت ن ت ض ي ع سي و ع ا، و ما م ن س ب ي ض ل ل ش ع و ب ل ك ل ه ا م ت ن د ش ي ن ع هد ال رخ اء وا ن ت نت ع ب غ ي ر ت ض ر ت ض ي ع س و ى ح م اق ة للش ر وي ة ح ر ائ م من م م دون ال ش ر ب.ل طل ما اق ت س ت ف ل ت ا ت عل ت ه ا م ذ خ م سي ن ع ام ا من خ طي ب أم ي ك ي ل إ ل ن د ي ع ظي م،ص ي ق لي، ال ف ي س ي د ي ه و ر كك و كر ان)، إذ ي ق ول: ث م ة ال ف ي ال ي ال ف ي ج هع ف ا رض أم م ع ط اء، و ه ي ت ه ب ال ط ع ل م و ف ر ة و ل كث ر ذل ك ل ل ب ن ل ئ ه ا، ش ر ي ط ة أن ي ح ر ث و ه ا ب ع دل لى ا ". ن أش ع ر لأ ن ا ف ي ي و ف اق ت ام.

15. وا ن م ب ين م ا ن ز ال ن و ل س ل ر ع في الت ط بي ق في م ه و م ا ست ري د ي م ي لق ش امل ة، لأ غ ي ص ل ب ال م و ض و ع ال ذي ي ل ف ر ت ل ى من م أن ج ل ه. ي لمك ن ض م ان ع د م ي ام ال حر و ب ي لمكن ت حق ي ق ا ت ق اء ال م ست ع م ر ل ظ م ة ال ط لي ة دون م اس ه ي ت ه ب لل و ح د ة ا ي ق ي ري ال ش ع و ب ب ال ط ي بق ل ك ال ي ك ي ني ة، أب ق ي ام ة خ ل ص ة ق ي ن ال ك و ف ول ث ال و ط ني وا ا مب ر اط و ري ة ال ب ري ط ي ط ي ة و م ي ن ال ا ت ال ح د ف ت و في وق ت كه ذا، ي لمك ن ل ح ب ث أن ي ك ون ع ام وا س أغ اب ه ج ه ع ل ه م ح د د اف لل و ح د ة ا ي ة ت ع ني ز ي ادة أو ل ض ر ل ص دق ة وال ف م ام ال م ب دال مي ن ن ظ ام ي من ض م عن ال لي بي ر ي ن ال ش رق ي ف ي ف ب ح س ب ب ل مع ني اس ت م رار ت ال ح ي م ب ي ن م ت ش ي ن ال ع س ك ي ي ن م ما س ي ض ي ف ى ل ى د ر س ة م ش ت ر ك ة ال م ع م ل ة.ت و ش ر ي ل في ة و ل ك ئ ي ا ت ا ت خ د ام ت و ب ادل ال ض ب اط و ل ب ال ع س ك ي ي ر ف ي ن ال ل ل ي ا ت ال ف ي ة. وي نب غ ي أن ت ؤ دي ل ل و ح د ة ا است م رار ال س ه ل ي ة ت ال ط لي ة من ال ت ب ادل ا ت خ دام ال م ش ت ر ك لك ل ال ق و اع ل ب ح ري ة و ل ل ج و ق اي ت ي م ت ن ت ل كل لك ا ت ال د ول ي ت ن في ك ل أح اء ال ع ل م ق ي و ض ا ع اف ع هذا من ح ر ك ة ال ق و ا ت ال ب ح ري ة ول ل ج و ه ا مي لي ي ة و ن ي د من ح ر ك ة ق و ات ا مب ر اط و ري ة ال ب ري ط ي ط ي ق ز ي اد ة ل ك ب ي رة، و ي لمك ن أن ي ؤ دي، إن ه دأ ال ع ل م أو ت ن اء ه دئه، ل ت و في ر أم و ا ل ط ائ ل ة.ن ح ن ن ست خ د م م ع ا ع د د ال كب ي ر ا من ال ج ز ر ق دي م ع هب ج ز ر ل ى أخ رى ل ى ع ظ ي ن ال ش ت ر ك في ال م س ت ق في ل لق ر ي ب.

16. ل ل و ت ال ه ت ح ق ف ق اي ت ي ة دف اع ي ة م عم ق ة م ق اط ع ة ق ئ م ئ م ال د ول اي ت ي ت ر ت ب ط ارت ب اط ا و ف ق ب لل ك و ف و ل ث ال و ط ني وا ا مب ر اط و ري ة ال ب ري ط ي ط ي ة. هذ ه ت ف اق ي ة ه ي ال أكث ر لع ي ة من ل كث ي ر ه ا من غ ي ر ه ا م ن ت ف اق ي ا ت، ال غ ال ب ا م اب ر م ت ف ي خ ل ف ات ر س مي ة. ي نب غ ي أن ت م ت د هذ ا ال م ب دأ لي ض ا م ك ل د و ل للك و ف و ل ث ال و ط ني ق كم ل م ع ت ط يق ا ك ا ل م ب دأ ال ع م ل م ق ب ل ال م ث ل. آ ذ ا ك وآ ذ ا ك الف ق ط، م ه م اي ح د ث م ج ن ه ا،س ي ك ون آم ن ي ر في ق أف س ن ا و م ن ث م ق اد ري ن في ال ع ال ع م ل م ع اي س ي ل ما ع ظ م وص غ ر من ال ق ض اي ا ال ع ز يز ع ز يز ة عل ى ق ل و ب ال و ت ي ت ض م رس و ا عل ى م رس ى، ل ت ق ني ئ ي ب ال أش ع ر أر ف في ال ن ط ي ق ي ئ ي ، م ب دأ ال م و اط ن ة ال م ش ت ر ك ة،ل ك ئ ن ا ر اض و ن ب ت ر ك هذ ا ال ق در م ت م د د ة ل ى ال و ت ي ي ي ل مك ن ل كث ي ر م ن ا ا ن أ ن ي ر ال م ب د وض و ح.

17. ل ك ن ث م ق س ؤ ال ه ام ي ج ب أن س أل ه ا ن ف س ن ا، ه ل س ت ت عا رض ال ض ا ل ة ل خ ل ص ق ي ن ال ة و ال ك و ف ول ث ال و ط ني و ال ك و ف ول ث ال ب ري ط ان ي م ع و ئ ن ا ا ل ل ل ف ن ل ظ م ة ال ط لي ة؟ أ ي ك م أن ف ي ى ال ع كس، ق ت ك ون ه ذا ة ه ي و ال س ي ل ة ال ق وي ة ال ق د حت ي س ت مك ن ال ف ن ل ظ م ة م ن ال ح ص و ل ف ي ى م ك ست ف ه م ن رف ع ق و ة و ت ب ط ل ت و ئ ن د ا ت خ ل ص ة ك ت ه ا ل ل ت و، و لك ذل ك ل ب ط و ي ا ت ال ت ح د ة ت خ ل ص ق ب ج م ور ي ا ت أم ري ك ا ال ج ي و ي ة، ن ح ن ال ب ري ط ي ط ي ي و ن ت ب ط ا م ع اه د ة

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تعاون ومساعدتها لمدة عشر عاماً وعشرين سنة مع روسيا السوفييتية، وأنه اتفق مع وزير خارجيتها العظمى السيد لينين)، أن من وجهة نظرنا لم يكن لهذا المعاهدة أن تلغى خلال خمسين سنة من عمر لم تكن في الحقيقة إلا المساعدة المتبادلة والتعاون. لبريطانيا لدى أضف حلف مع المعاهدة تمر من سنة 1384، والذي أتى الفيلسوف لحظات حرجة من الحرب الأخيرة. مثل معاهدة من هذا المعاهدة تستند طدها المصالحة العالية اقتصادية علمية أو منظمة على قبل لحظة السكس، هيئتها دعى المدى والسياسي ي في التثبات البلاد قدس "فييبتبا أي من لزال الأخيرة" فلا التخطئة القائمة بين أعضاء الاتحاد التي عداوتها مع أي للدول التي تضمر أي نوع التعارض مع مبثاق المتحدة تهدف عن اضرارنا، هذه هي ذاتها تفع وأظن أن غنى عنها.

18. تحدثت عن عنصر الآخر الذي يجب أن يتعاون النووي من كل للدول في تشييده. وإن كان انان من هؤلاء النووي عفان بعض حقل معرفة، لكان اصبح في قريبين، وكلت تتبط أساسي هما أو لم قرب، وكان لكل في هما "مؤمن لغلية" وثاق البقين المتعاضيا عن عيوبه"- وهذا لكل مات طيبة قتبة من ماقرأت من قريب- فما الذي يجمع ما أنهيع من بعض هما المبعض اصبح في واروي شويلي في مهم هما المشتركة؟ ما الذي يجمع هما أنينتشاركا أدول هما وإذن يزيد لكل في هما الاقوة الطبع على هما الفعل لك، وإ فأن الصرر حقد يشريد، أوقشي يثين هار، وذلك كسبت مرة أخرى على أن أقوام تعلعى تسن نضطر الى أن نكرر محاولة التنظيم في مرثلة في مرسة الحرب التي ي سقف وقف ي شيئ ها الحرب التي خرجنا في الثوبة تتيور، قديع ودالعمر الحرار الجري في أخ ح ال الم البراقة، وما قديغم المشيرية الربن بركات مايية هو تك قدي يحضر معه دمار الشامل. حذارا أقول لكم فللوقت لقد ينقضي في قنا. تدعونا اتخاذ المسار الذي يجعل ان ان سانحا مور أن تمضي في غير مدى الى أنوكونقفات الان. إذا وجدت أخوية في حن وحوا ما وصفت، ورغمكل ماقتضيه منقوة وأمنللمينا، علينا أن تتحقق من أن نال حقيقة العظمى لهذا المعاهدة وطض الحقل وأنها دور فيعيما سأسل ل تورسي خ ها. تلك جادة لكم فللوقيلية غير منال ج.

19. بمط ل في ال المال الذي كان ل كى ان ل ى وتقريب ضاب تصل الح ل فاء. أحيي م ما ال الذي تني وفي على رسيا السوفييتية و ظنظم الشيي و ع ية الهي و ى الم ش في الم ستق لل ل لقريب أو ما هي حدود أغرض ها التوسعية والتشريية، إن كان ها حدود. وأنا لكن ما اح را ما عظيم للتوقي للشعب للروسي الشجاع ال ف يق ف ي ال ح الحرب الم ارش ال س تلين(وفي بريطاياتعاطف عميق ومشاعر صداقة، أشلفي و جود ها من أيضا، إز الفا للشعوب للروسية، وكلذك وجد تصميم في غلب في الأخير من ا ت لاخاصو ما تاني سيلي إقامة قصدق ة عائم تة تنح ن ة ن ع ني حا ج ة ال روسفي أن يكونوا آمنين في أي جهة حدو دهم الغربية وذلك القضاء في ى أي اخ ما للعدوان ألمان ر ر حن حن بسبربري في لكل ها ل ش روع يبين للدول للطائف في العالم ر ونما حب سوف يفة علي وق ب ل بل كل شي خ ن ن ر ر حب بل ت وصل المنظم والقائم والتزاي مبياي للشعب للروسي وبين شريين للمشرين في ى طفي ا ل ل سي ا. في ى أن من الواجب في ي ّ أن اطم ع بين أي ي كم بعض حقا ئ ق ل ت ي تتعل ق بالض اع ال ح ال في ى أو وبا، وثق أنكم تمر غوف ري أن أعرض لكم الحقائق كما أراها.

٢٠. من ﺑﻴﻦ ﺣﺮﻳﺔ اﻟﻄﺮﻳﻖ إﻟﻰ اﻟﺒﺤﺮ)ﺑﻠﻄﻲ اﻟﺒﺤﺮ اﻷﺑﻴﺾ(درﻳﻜﻲ اﺳﺘﻼم رادار ﺣﻴﺪي ﻓﻲ اﻣﺘﺪاد اﻟﻘﺎرة اﻷوروﺑﻴﺔ. ﻟﻦ ﺗﻬﺪأ ﺣﺎﻟﺔ اﻟﺘﻮﺗﺮ اﻟﻘﻠﻖ ﻟﻜﻞ ﻋﻮاﺻﻢ اﻟﺪول اﻟﻌﺮﻳﻘﺔ وروﺑﺎ اﻟﻮﺳﻄﻰ اﻟﺸﺮﻗﻴﺔ. وارﺳﻮ ﺑﻮﻟﻴﻦ ﺑﺮاغ ﻓﻴﻨﺎ ﺑﻮداﺑﺴﺖ، ﺑﻠﻐﺮاد ﺑﻮﺧﺎرﺳﺖ، ﺻﻮﻓﻴﺎ، ﻛﻞ ﻫﺬه اﻟﻤﺪن اﻟﺸﻬﻴﺮة وﻣﻨﺬوﺣﻮﻟﻬﺎ ﻣﻦ اﻟﺸﻌﻮب ﺗﻨﺘﻘﻲ ﻓﻴﻤﺎ ﻳﻌﻨﻲ أن أﺳﻤﺎءﻫﺎ اﻟﻜﻞ اﻟﺴﻮﻓﻴﺘﻲ. وﺟﻤﻴﻌﻬﺎ ﻋﺮﺿﺔ ﺑﻄﺮﻳﻘﺔ أوﺑﻄﺮﻳﻘﺔ أﺧﺮى، ﻟﻨﻔﻮذ وﺗﺤﻜﻴﻢ ﺑﺤﺴﺐ اﻟﺴﻴﻄﺮة ﺷﺪﻳﺪة ﻣﻦ ﻣﻮﺳﻜﻮ ﻓﻲ أﺣﻴﺎن ﻛﺜﻴﺮة ﻣﺘﺰاﻳﺪة. إﺟﺄن اﻟﻬﻮن اﻟﺤﺮب إﻟﻰ أﺟﻞ أﺟﺎ ﻟﺪ ﻻ ﺧﻼﻟﻪ. وﺣﺪا ﺣﺮﻓﻴﺎ ﻳﻘﺮﻳﻦ ﻣﻘﺒﻞ ﻫﻲ ﻟﺘ اﻟﺒﺎﺗﺎت ﺟﺮى إﺷﺮاف ﻛﻞ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺮﻳﻄﺎﻧﻴﺎ أو أﻣﺮﻳﻜﺎ أو ﻓﺮﻧﺴﺎ. وﻗﺪ اﻧﺘﻼﻗﺖ اﻟﺤﻜﻮﻣﺔ اﻟﺒﻮﻟﻨﺪﻳﺔ ﻓﻲ اﻟﺤﺎﻟﺔ اﻟﻮاﻗﻌﺔ ﻓﻲ اﻟﺮوﺳﻴﺔ ﺗﺸﺘﺎﺟﻢ اﻟﺸﻦ ﻏﺎرات ﺋﺎﺋﻠﺔ وﺟﺰاﺋﺮة ﻓﻲ أﻟﻤﺎﻧﻴﺎ، وﻳﺠﺮّر ﻣﻦ أن ﺗﻜﻮن ﺗﺄﺗﻤﺖ ﻫﺠﻤﺎ اﺟﺮاﻣﻴﺔ ﻟﻠﺸﻌﺐ ﻳﻤﻜﻦ اﻧﺘﺼﺎروه. إن زاﻟﺒﻠﺪﺷﻴﻮﻋﻴﺔ ﺗﻘﺘﻠﻴﻢ ﻳﻜﻦ ﻟﻬﺎ ﺣﺠﻤﻲ ﻟﻜﺮﻓﻴﻜﻞ دول أوروﺑﺎ اﻟﺸﺮﻗﻴﺔ ﺗﻠﺘﻚ، ﺗﻘﻴﺘﺸﻮﻟﺘﻚ اﺗﺼﺎﻟﻬﺎ إﻟﻰ اﻟﻜﻞ ﺗﻮﺗﻮﻓﻮق ﻋﺘﻰ ﻋﺪﻫﺎ، وﻫﻲ ﺗﻮﺳﻊ ﻓﻴﻜﻞ ﻣﻜﺎن ﻓﺮﺳﻴﻄﺎﻧﻬﺎ اﺑﺘﺪاﺋﻴﺔ.اﻟﺤﻜﻮﻣﺎت اﻟﻮﻟﻴﺴﺮﻳﺔ ﻫﻴﺎﻟﻨﻈﺎﻣ اﻟﺴﺎﺋﺪﻓﻴﻜﻞ اﻟﺤﺎﻟ ﺗﻘﺘﻴﺮﺑﺎ، وإﻟﻰ اﻟﻨﻮاﺳﻴﺘﻨﺎﻣﺸﻮﻳﻮﻟﻮ ﻓﻜﺎﻳﺎ، وﺟﻮدﻟﻴﻤﻘﺮاﻃﻴﺔ ﻏﻴﻘﻴﻔﻴﻜﺘﻴﻠﻚ ﻟﻠﺪول.

٢١. ﺗﻮﻟﻴﺎ ﻓﺎرﺳﻜﻴﻠﺘﺎﻫﻢﻗﻠﻖ اﻟﻜﺎﻟﺔ اﻟﻘﻠﻖ وﻓﺰﻋﺠﻌﻰ أﺷﺪ ا ﻧﺰﻋﺎﺟﻤﻦ ﻋﺄءاﺗﺎﻟﻤﻘﺎم ﻓﻲ ﻏﻨﻲ ﻫﻤﺎ وﻣﻦ اﻟﻀﻐﻮط اﻟﻤﻮﺟﻬﺔ إﻟﻴﻬﻤﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺣﻜﻮﻣﺔ ﻣﻮﺳﻜﻮ. وﻗﺪ ﺣﺎول ﻟﻠﺮوﺳﻔﻴﺒﻮﻟﻴﻦ ﻗﺎﻣﺔ ﺣﺰﺑﺸﺒﻴﻦ ﺷﻴﻮﻋﻴﺒﻮﻳﻄﺎﻟﺤﻤﻔﻲ ﻃﻴﻔﺘﻦ ﻓﻲ أﻟﻤﺎﻧﻴﺎاﻟﻤﺤﺘﻠﺔ ﺑﺈﻇﻬﺎر ﻣﺠﺒﺎﺗﻜﻤﻠﻤﺠﺒﺎﺗﺠﻤﺎﻋﺎت ﻣﻦ ﻗﺎدةاﻟﻴﺴﺎر ﻣﺎﻧﻲ. ﻋﻨﺪﻧﻲ ﻃﻲ ﺑﺎﻟﺘﻘﺎﻟﻔﻴﻴﻮ)و(ﺣﺰﻳﺮان)اﻟﻤﻀﻴﺘﺮاﺟﻊ ﺗﺮاﺟﻌﺘﺎﻟﺠﻴﺶ ا ﻣﺮﻳﻜﻲ واﻟﺒﺮﻳﻄﺎﻧﻲ اﻟﻐﺮﺑﺎ وﻓﻘﺎﻓﺎﺳﻴﺮﺑﻤﺴﺎﻓﺎﺗﻔﺼﻞ ﻓﻲ ﺑﻌﺾ اﻟﻤﻨﺎﻃﻖ إﻟﻰ 150 م ﻓﻲ ﺟﻬﺔ ﻋﺮﺿﻬﺎ ﻧﺤﻮ 400 ﻣﻴﻞ، وذﻟﻚ اﻟﻔﺮﺻﻞ ﻟﻠﺮوس اﻟﻘﻔﻨﻔﻲ ذﻟﻚ ﻟ ﻫﺬاﻟﻮﻗﻌﻲ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺷﺎﺳﻌﺄﺗﻠﻚ اﻟﺘﻲ اﻟﺪﻳﻤﻘﺮاﻃﻴﺎت اﻟﻐﺮﺑﻴﺔ ﻗﺪاﻣﺘﻮﻟﺘﻌﻠﻴﻬﺎ.

٢٢. إن ﺣﺎول اﻟﺘﺎﻟﺤﻜﻮﻣﺔ اﻟﺴﻮﻓﻴﺘﻴﺔ ا ﻧﺒﻌﺎﻟﻤﻔﺮدي ﻓﻲ ا أرﺋﻴﺘﻴﻔﻲ ﻓﻲ ﻣﻌﻈﻤﻤﻬﺎدوﻟﻬﺎ اﻟﻤﻠﻴﺔ ﻣﻮاﻟﻴﻠﻨﺸﻮﻳﻮﻋﻲ ﻓﻴﺴﺮﻳﻨﺠﻢ ﻋﻦ ﻫﺬا ﺟﻤﺎﻋﺐ ﺟﻴﺪة ﺧﻄﺮ ﻓﻲ اﻟﻤﻨﺎﻃﻖ اﻟﺒﺮﻳﻄﺎﻧﻴﺔ وا ﻣﺮﻳﻜﻴﺔ،وﻣﻬﺪ ﻣﺎﻧﺎﻟﻤﺎ ﻣﺰوﻣﻴﻘﺒﻘﻮة ﺗﻘﻮة ﺗﺠﻌﻞ ﻣﻨﺎﻟﻤﻮﻓﻴﺎت وﻟﻴﻤﻘﺮاﻃﻴﺎﺗﺎﻟﻐﺮﺑﻴﺔ ﻗﺰرا ﻳﻘﺪاﻳﻌﻠﻴﻬﻢ. ﻣﻬﻤﺎﺗﻜﻦ اﻟ ﻧﺘﻬﺎﺟﺎﻟﺘﻴﺘﻴﻜﻦ أن ﻧﺴﺘﻨﺘﺞ واﺣﺪا ﻣﻦ ﻫﻨﺎﻟﻲ ﺣﻘﺎﺋﻖ، وﻫﻴﺤﻘﺎﺋﻖ ﺣﻘﺎﻓﺎ ﻫﺬه ﻏﻨﻲ اﻟﺴﺖ)أوروﺑﺎ اﻟﺤﺮﻟﻘﻠﺘﻘﻴﺄﻟﻦ اﻟﻨﺎﻟﻨﻬﺎ، ﻫﻠﻴﺘﻴﺘﻀﻴﻔﻲ ﺑﺠﻬﺒﻜﻠﻬﺎ ﻗﻮﻣﺎت داﺋﻢ.

٢٣. إن ﺗﺤﻘﻴﻖ ا ﻣﺮﻓﻲ اﻟﻌﺎﻟﻤﻴﻘﺘﻀﻴﻘﻴﺎم وﺣﺪة ﺟﻴﺪﻳﻔﻲ أوروﺑﺎ ﺗﺴﺘﺜﻨﻰ ﻓﻴﻬﺎ أﻳﺪوﻟﺔ ﺗﺘﻨﻲ ﺣﻮ ﻟﻄﺎﺋﻢ اﻟﻨﻠﻨﺰاﻋﺎﺗﺒﻴﻦ ا ﻋﺮاق اﺻﻠﻴﺎﻟﻘﻮﻳﻔﻲ أوروﺑﺎ ﻫﻠﻴﺘﻴﻔﺠﺮﺗﺎﻟﺤﺮوﺑﺎﻟﻜﻠﺘﻴﺘﻴﺸﻤﺪﻧﺎﻫﺎ أوﺗﻠﻖ اﻟﺘﻴﺘﻴﻨﺸﺘﺨﻔﻲ أزﻣﺎن ﻣﻄﻨﻮﻳﺔ. ﻣﺮﺗﻴﻨﻔﻴﺤﻴﺎﺗﻨﺎ ﺷﺎﻫﻨﺎاﻻو ﺗﺎﻟﺘﺤﺪة ﻓﻲ رﻳﻔﻴﻬﺎ ﻗﻮﺗﺎﻫﺎ إﻟﻰ ﻓﻲ اﻟ ﻃﻲ اﻟﺬي ﺗﺨﻔﻰ ﻗﻮﺗﻪ ﻓﻲ ﺣﺪ، ﺷﺎﻫﺪﻧﺎﻫﺎ ﻗﺪ زﺟّﺒ ﻫﺎﺗﻴﻠﻜﻼﻟﺤﺮوب ﻟﻤﺮة، ﻓﺤﺎﻇﺎ ﻓﻴﻨﻨﺼﺮاﻟﻘﻀﻴﺔاﻟﻌﺎﻟﻴﺔ، وﻣﺎ اﺿﻄﺮﺗﺎﻟﻰ ذﻟﻚ ﺑﻌﺪوﻗﻮع ﻣﺠﺎزر ﻣﺮﻳﻌﺔ ودﻣﺎر ﻣﺨﻴﻒ. ﻣﺮﺗﻴﻨﻜﺎن ﻓﻲ ﻟﻮ ﺗﺎﻟﺘﺤﺪة أﻧﺘﺒﻌﺜ ﻣﺮا ﻟﺴﻴﺐ ﺑﻴﻦ ﻣﻦ ﺷﺒﺒﻞ ﻫﺎﺳﻌﺄﻳﺎ وراءاﻟﺤﺮب،ﻟﻜﻦ ﻟﻠﺤﺮب اﻟﻴﻮم- ﺣﻴﻨﺎﻟﻜﻠﺘﻴﺘﻜﻦ ﻣﻦ أن ﺗﻨﺘﺒﻌﻰ إﻟﻰ أﻳﺸﻌﺐ ﻣﻌﻴﻦ ﻋﺸﺮﻳﺔ وﺿﺤﺎﻫﺎ. ﻓﻲ ﻫﻨﺎ ﺑﻠﻠﻜﻠﻜﺄﺑﺎء أن ﻧﻌﻤﻠﻴﻌﺰﻣ واع ﻋﺎدة ا وﺑﺎﺿﻤﻦ إﻃﺎر ا اﻟﺘﺤﺪوﻓﻘﻴ ﻟﻤﺜﺎق ا.أﺷﻌﺮ أن ﻫﺬا داع ﺻﺮﻳﺤﺈﻟﻰ ﻳﻮاﺳﻰ ﻓﻴﺎﺑﻠﻐﺔ ا ﻫﻴﺔ.

٢٤. أﻣﺎ ﻣﺎﻟﺘﺎرﻟﺤﻴﺪﻳﺎﻟﺬﻳﻬﻴﺘﺪ ﻓﻲ اﻣﺘﺪاد أوروﺑﺎ ﻷﺑﺎب أﺧﺮى ﺗﻘﻠﻖ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺗﺘﺪاﻋﻰ اﻟﺸﺎﻃﻨﻠﺤﺰﺑﻠﺒﻠﺸﻴﻮﻋﻲ ﻓﻴﻄﺎﻟﻴﺎﻟﺘﻴﻠﻤﺘﺄﺛﺮ ﺗﺘﺄﺛﺮ ﺑﺎﻟﻐﺄ ﺿﻄﺮارﻫﻠﻰ ﻣﺴﻴﻜﻠﻴﺪﺑﺮﻟﺸﻴﻮﻋﻲ ﻓﻲ ﻟﻤﺎرﺷﺎل ﻧﻴﺘﻴﻮ)ﺗﻴﺘﻮ(ﻓﻲ ﻣﻄﻠﻌﺖ ﻣﻨﻄﻘﺔ ا ﻳﻄﺎﻟﻴﺔ ﻟﻠﺴﺒﻴﻖ ﻟﻠﻮاﻗﻌﺔ ﻋﻨﺪ

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رأس البحر في بريطانيا. وفى الى الرغم من ذلك فمستقبل إيطاليا في المحك. لذلك يمكن تصور ربناء أوروبا جيدة من دون فرنسا قوية. طوال الجيل التالي سياسية تعمل بتفي سياسة فرنسا قوية، لم أكف قط عن أي امرانبها، و في أحلك الساعات، ولن أكف عن أي امرانبها ن. غير أن في أي أحد من العلم الذي الكثير بعيدة عنا لحدود لروسية، تؤسرفي ها طويلير لخمس سنوشيرو عى متعاملف ي وحدكاملة وطاعتا ما يمالي تنتيتلقاها من مركز لشيوعية. باستثناء دول الكو فى ثل الوطني ولو تالاتحدة عى ثل شيوعية ولو تزال في تز اهدافهم هى إن ا حزابل لشيوعية ولطويلير لخمس تقشيرا حدديا تنزيل ديا تهيل الحضارة المسيحية. هذه حق ق تشقشيرا دقةالوطأة فى هى أي امرى سر دها فى أي عقاب تصرت ق ق بلكثير منصور الا وة الباهرة فى والت الفي سيبيل الحرية ولي يمقراطية، لكن يس من الحكم م قبل أبدا أن تتصد يل ها و جو هله ها مادام ا ن لمي فت.

25. لذلكي هيد و ا كله لى الشرق ص ى، يي هي نزنشوري ايفا قا فيه ي بأبر فيي بي الطا ، والذي ائئنت ظفلي ه، كاني صصيي تبتما هي صلحة رسلي لس وفيي ة، لائن مي بلرف في ري يي ة ائلي مي بتبأ هى أن ا لحرب مع الى ايي لن ن تستمر طوال الصيف وخري فسنة 1945، وكانت متوقع اللحرب مع اليابان أن تست مي ملي ة عشر شهرا آخري عديد من قضاء الحرب مع الى ايي ل في فا هذا الكل الكل كي عو فرللشرق ص ى حق ق الع قال معفة نفة ت قاء لم قضاء ملخص ونللصي ن، حاجة الى أف يي ضفي ى ع ن الضع ف اك.

26. أشعر أني لهزم أن لأصف الذي ببط في ى العلم الشرق ه وغرب. ال قد ائئت وري ز رلب لبر بزت وي غي معامهفقرساي وكنت صصي ري ق معللساس لادي د جورج (الذي كان رئيس الفدالي بي الوطان فى فرساي). عرف يسي، لم ألف قى في ى الكثير من ا يي الى تي فيي دت، لكن فيي ذهني صصورة فى بطع ق الضض عاق عنآ نذاك، وأتألم مي ن أ رن طب مانرا هالي وم فيي تلك ا م، كلا ت ا مالكيبرة والق الق مطلق في ى أن الحر و بق لدولتل الى غ ير ما رجعة، وأن عمبة ا ستكون هى القوة العظمى لكن يالى وم أرى القة نتا ها أحس ها حتى ا مال نت هي هذا العلم الخ لخط رلقوى.

27. ومن ناحية أخرى فإن ا أفضل الفكر للقر للقئلة أن ا نشوب حرب أخرى أمر مفر ف ى مبل لأ ا ش ريك ة ل حدوث. هذا نني ونث ق أن جهارنا تزال ايي بين ان حرونبين لأنن ل ملكا لقوة مظ ل صص ونل مستقبل ، وأشعر أن مفواجبي أن لأحدث بمصر راحة ا ربما أن النا سب ة الوفرص ة متاحت قاتحنا لي. لأعتقد أن رسلي لس وفيي ة تر غبفي لى الحرب. ما ترغبفي ه هوثمرات لحرب والتوسع في غرال محدود لفي ف و ذها و معقد ها. لكن مابي ن غي أن نضع ا نصب أعينها اليوم، مادامفي اليلي وفسفسحة، هو أنن حول لأبدا دونوقوع حروب، وأنن حرص في ى إقام ةلأسس للحرية ولي يمقراطي في ف البلداريك ل مل بأسر معوق ت مكن. لن تزول الصاع، والم خاطا لي تت واجن بأنن نغمض أي عن أعنها ع ها، ولن تزول بأن نتظظفر حسب رؤية ماقدي محدث، ولن تزول أيضل بمم ارستنل سيلس ا تر ضاء. ماخت اجإلي ه هوالتسوية و كل ما أرجأ أن ذلكص عب ا مر وعظمت ا.

28. ما رأيي ته من لأفري قافا حلل فإن ا لروس اثناء الحرب عن ى أوقن أي وقن عن ن ي لى بكرون شي كلكا بأر طلق القوة، يي ي قق رون شي ئ ا لع قق ا ر طلم ل مض ع ف، يي ما الضض عفال عسكري لر. ل الن الس ب ف ى الذهل لي الان م ذه ل قدي م القطائي لتبات واز ان القوى هو م ذهب غير سلي م، يي لكن الن ا أن نع لم لض من من حدودضيق ق ة تغ ري غي أحد مه م ب ل غ ار ب قرق ونا. إن و قت الي يمقراطيات الغربية رجبا الى ى حبن والتزت مت التزا م اصار مل بم بم ادى ء مي ثاق ا التحد ة مسيري لكون ملتنأ ير طائفي تيعزيز هذا لمهاب ادى ء، ولن

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يستطيع أحيانئذ ... هذا ... لكن إن فوق تلك للديموقراطيات أن تعرف تفي واجهها، وإن سجن الكل هذه السنوات ... لا شك أن لكاثت تنت يحققنا جميعا.

29. في المرحلة سريعة، شعرت تبين ذرال الخطر فصحت به ... في صوتي من ذري أبناء البلدي والعلم، لكن أحد ال يعرني بأنى ... لتمام. ولى سنة 1933 البل ىلى سنة 1935 كان من الممكن ... في ذلك الوقت منع درها المروع الذي ... واجهناها، وكان من الممكن أننا جميعا أن نجنب ما قد الآسي التي أطلق ها ... في المشرية. ما من حرب في اليتا ي كانت لتكن ها بسهولة بت تحرلف في أول ه-لظل حرب ل تي دمرت ... و أجزاء كبيرة من ا ... رض في اقادي كانت ي لتكن ها دون إط ... رص لصا واحد. ولكن ال تأ نظلفي اليوقي م زدهرة لكرمة، لكن أحدها شي أن س معني، وواحد ال ... بتلايعني جميعا ك لدوام الكال الشريعة. على الكل الأكلأ يد أن ن سمح ه لهذا ا مر أن يتكرر. وهذا ما يتحقق وصولنا اليوم في سنة 1946- لى إدراك واعل لكل ا ... مو ال تي يتوطنا برس في في ظل السلطة العامة لة منظم ... ة المتحدة، وللحفاظ في لى هذا ا دراك ال واعل ي س نوات عديدة من لسل ... مار ... ه ذا ال منظمة الدولية مع دعم من العالم المناطق ... بال كلي في قبل المل لقوته و ... ت ... ه. ها هو ذا ال حل أن مقدم الهكم لكل اعتر اف في خطتي ... ها تي اعترت ان تكون عون ها "أوتاد ا ... ".

30. ... يستبين أحد بلقو ة ال طئمة ... ل مهراطوري ة ال بريطاني ة والكون نول ث، ... تظنوا إن ترون 46 م ليون شخص في ... قلقين ش ... أنت أن أين اضياجهم من الغذاء، والذي ... ي زرعون في ه ... النصف فقط طحت ى تأء اء أثناء الحرب، أو ن نا ... قي صعوف تي حي كك ع جل ك ض ن ان ا ... ن وصاد ان بل بعد ست ة أعوام من الجهود ال جي في التي بذلناها في لا حرب، ... تظنوا أن ال ن ترى تن خط تن س للحر مان العمة ... ة هذه كم ت خطيط نبي ال عذاب ال مج ي دة، ... أك كم ع دن صف فقر ن من ا ... نل ن ترو ا 70 أو 80 م ليون من ال بريطاني ين يقشير في ... أ ء أحا ء ال عل م و بت ح ي في م عا هم عن نظ ن ا و عن الأ س ل و بح ي ي ان ا و عن قضايا العل لها ت ي ن ن ا صر ه ا ن حن ن فتم. إن دجن اس كان دول الكو ن نول ث ا بقا ... ل الثاني ي ن ظ ... ي ني ة معرك انا ال و ... ت ال متحدة مع كل م ا ين طو ي ع ل يه هذا ا ... ماج من أ ت رف الي ال ج و ف ل ي ال ب ح ف ل ي ل لأحا ء الك ل ... رض و ف ي ال ح ل ي في م لي ط في ال ص ناعة في ال قو ة ال م ع ي ف م ل يكو ن ... ث م ة اخ ... ل أ وا ض ط راب ف ي م يز ان القو ي و ي غ ري ب ي خ وض حرب ... ا ف ع ل ه ا س و ى ال طمع أو ح بال مغا م رة ب ل في لي ال ك س، س ي غم ر ا ... ل م ال ج يع. إن ال ت زم ن الت زا م ال خ ل ص بالب ث ا ق ا ... ل المتحدة و مئ ي ن ق ا دما ب خط و ر ا ش د ة واق ع ة، ... ت ي ... في لي ا ر ض أ ح دم أ و ث ر و ف ه، ... ف ي ر ض س ي ط ر ة م س ت بدة في لي ا ... في ل و ل لن اس، وإن ت ح د ت ك ل ق و ي ب ر ي طا ن ي ا ال م ع ي ة و ال م ا ي ي ق و ن ا ع لا ه ا م ع تي ق ك م ق ن ا ع لا ه و ح د ة أ خ ي ة ف إن ط ري ق الم س تق ب ل س ي كو ن ج ل ي ا، ل ف ل ح س ب ب ال ل ج يع ... ل ز ل إ ن ال ق ط ب ال ق ر ن ق ا دم.

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   م

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 وأتار/ع   ت   م 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 وأتاد   م (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*.

يجب علينا التحقق من أن عمل المنظمة مثمر... وأن هاصرح حقيقي   م.

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;

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… ("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 م. 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 م (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.

<div dir="rtl">علينا التيقن من أن صرحنا مشيد، على رمال متزعزعة بل في صخرة راسية.</div>

   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 على رمال متزعزعة أو أرض سبخة بل في 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.

من أجلوفير ا في لكلمتلك ا   التي   صرر لها،علينا أننحميها منالوحشينالع   ين أ   مالحرب والظيان.

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 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.

فـدارالقضاء وإن شيدت،   يلكن أنيستقيم عملها دونضباط ورجال شرطة.

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 متعينين لكن ليكونهم العاملي ضباطو رجال 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.*

فيغدو عندهم كل شيء مشوها، كل شيء محطم 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*.

يجب علينا التحقق من أن عملها منظمة مثمر...وأن هاصرح حقيقي ل ... د حلبةصراعٍ في مكانٍ يقد الفتقاهم.

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 مكانٍ يفتقد التفاهم (a place that lacks communication).

Moreover, the word 'cockpit' is translated into ساحة حرب (instead of غرفة 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*.

<div dir="rtl">وألأ هاصرح يقفي قحت عمجتت م قهقفس ه رايات ا يوما.</div>

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 مم ا رايات ه سقف تحت عمجت قت (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…

<div dir="rtl">يقول السيد المسيح في الكتاب المقدس: "بيت أبي منازل كثيرة"، لخلص القائمة بين أعضاء الأمم المتحدة...</div>

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.

تتبوأ الولايات المتحدة اليوم ذروة 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: تتبوأ 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 وينزيد من حركة قوات ا مبراطورية 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 ا لأمر على نطاق ضيق ثم يزداد مع نمو الثقة بين الأمم المتقنتا. لكنت تأنى أن أرى هذ ا تراح نفذا...

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 قلأع بئه وواجباته ومسؤولياته التي وصلت ه من غير مسألة فه لكن لم يتهوان عن القيام بها- قطع مئات ال ميل يرقى بالجتماعنا فاليوم ويثريه.

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 الرئيس 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*.

وهذا ما يتحقق بالوصول للوئام..إلى إدراك واعٍ لكل الأمور الوطنية في روسيا في ظل السلطة العامة لمنظمة الأمم المتحدة، وبالحفاظ على هذا الإدراك الواعي ..بعبر هذه المنظمة الدولية.

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 على الأقل فرصة لتقاط الأنفاس وتنظيم أمورنا قبل مواجهة ذاك الخطر. حتى إذا واجهناه، وإن لم ندخر جهدا حينها لمواجهته...

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 حتى حينها/ع ذاك 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 أنني أملك المناسبة والفرصة للقيام بذلك.

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 وأمن 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 زاهر (prosperous) and آمن (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 الفرصة هنا الآن 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 الجيدة التي بُذلت 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 الجهود الحربية 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 جيد/حثيث/متواصل. However, the chosen collocation جهود جيدة 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 عالية it is rendered into سيطرة شديدة (intensive control).

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).

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