

**The Manipulation of Ideology in the Simultaneous
Interpreting of Political Discourse**

Thesis

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By

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Dedication

To the only one whose love runs with my blood...to the cradle of
civilizations...to my country...Iraq.

Acknowledgements

Though my name alone appears on the cover of this thesis, many people have contributed to it. I owe gratitude to all those people who have made this work possible and because of whom my postgraduate experience has been one that I will cherish forever.

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Abstract

The live simultaneous interpreting of political discourse that news outlets offer has become an increasingly important means through which Arab audiences both shape their understanding of, and determine their reaction to, the West. Interpreters have, of course, played a very positive role in this process of understanding the ‘other’, but some have also used their powerful position to manipulate, consciously or unconsciously, utterances towards certain ethnic, political or social agendas. This thesis addresses such manipulation, motivated by the challenge of rectifying Arab audiences’ possible misconceptions about interpreting processes, and in particular as to the impossibility of unmediated access to the source text. The thesis does by applying a modified version of Hatim and Mason’s (1997) discourse analysis-based model of ideology in translation to Barack Obama’s keynote speech ‘A New Beginning’, and to three of its renderings into Arabic, provided by Al-Arabiya, Al-Jazeera and Russia Today. Initial conclusions suggest that the interpreters intervene in order to represent certain ideological positions, among them stances that are anti-Islamophobic, sectarian, and anti-Israeli. These initial conclusions are further tested by applying the same model to another key speech by Barack Obama, ‘A Moment of Opportunity’, again with three renderings, taken this time from Al-Hurrah, Al-Jazeera, and Al-Arabiya. In addition to finding that most of the ideological positions that are evidenced in the interpretations of the first speech are present in the work of the interpreters of the second one, new positions (such as anti-sexism) are also detected. The broad conclusion is that manipulative intervention (resulting from the different constraints under which interpreters live and work) is a defining characteristic of everyday live

simultaneous interpreting into Arabic. So as to potentially lessen the impact of such interventions, the thesis concludes by offering a number of possible solutions, such as the design of specific training programmes.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Since the US-led war on Iraq in 2003, the Middle East and North Africa have witnessed substantial change. During that time, Western politicians started a broad campaign of addressing the Arab public in order both to justify the war and to set out the prospects for a brighter future after years of instability in the region. Most of the speeches given as key vectors of this campaign were, of course, in English. However, because state televisions do not provide simultaneous interpreting into Arabic, audiences had to choose one of the versions offered by a number of satellite networks, such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Al-Hurrah, and Russia Today. As one amongst that broad audience, I listened to some of these speeches on Arabic-speaking satellite networks because, when they were being delivered, I was with friends or family who have no other language than Arabic. Of course, as one who speaks English, I was granted a different perspective on the process itself. At one point I had the chance to hear a very short segment of the source text before the interpreter started to render. What immediately caught my attention was how the interpreter had effectively modified the ideological content of the message. My companions simply did not believe this, such was their overriding belief in the fidelity upon which the process of interpreting is notionally based. One of the reasons for rejecting the very idea of interpreter intervention was that the interpreter has no time to think of how he or she might consciously manipulate the text. But, of course, such intervention might also be unconscious. This experience and these thoughts lie behind this thesis. They provoked my curiosity sufficiently to record the renderings and compare them to the English source texts.

I discovered from the outset that there were many occasions where the interpreters had significantly modified the ideological orientation of the utterances. This study represents a systematic account of how these discoveries were made.

1.2 Aims of the Study

This study revisits the role of simultaneous interpreters who work mainly with political discourse in satellite outlets. Specifically, it examines the conscious and/or unconscious interventions that they make and that result in the modification of the ideological positions present in the source text. Drawing on Bourdieu's social theory of action, it also tries to establish a correlation between these interventions, those of the interpreters, and their employing institutions' agendas, whether social, political, or ethnic. In order to demonstrate such a correlation it offers a modified working model of ideology that can enable researchers in their task of identifying ideologically-motivated interventions that not only simultaneous interpreters but other interpreters and translators implement. In that way this thesis will test the validity of this modified working model in relation to simultaneous interpreting in particular.

1.3. Research Questions

In that way, this thesis seeks to address the following questions:

1. To what extent are the renderings provided by Arabic-speaking satellite channels free from interventions that influence the audience's perception of speaker ideologies?
2. How then might we characterise the role of the interpreter? Is s/he a mediator, an interventionist, a manipulator, or more than that?
3. How might we characterise the ideological motivations behind such interventions?

4. Which one of the target texts is ideologically closest to the source? How is such apparent proximity achieved?
5. What is the most productive approach to reveal modifications to the speaker ideologies? What are the primary strategies employed by interpreters to modify speaker ideologies?
6. Is it possible to determine the role of conscious and unconscious decision making in the interpreting process?
7. Should interpreters carry ethical responsibility for such interventions?

1.4. Research Hypotheses

The thesis makes the following assumptions in order to underpin and frame these central research questions:

1. None of the available satellite networks provide intervention-free live simultaneous interpreting of political discourse.
2. The role of the simultaneous interpreter is that of an interventionist, an intruder, who modifies the speaker's ideologies or even adds his/her own positions in order to serve his/her own personal and institutional agendas.
3. Different issues prompt the simultaneous interpreter to intrude. These forces are, broadly, the relationships between Muslims and the West, between Palestinians and Israelis, between Arabs and Iranians, and within the Arab community issues such as the conflicts between Sunnis and Shia, Fatah and Hamas, the people and their totalitarian regimes; there is also evidence of gender-based positioning.
4. As each network has its own position on what are by and large geopolitical issues, each resulting interpretations tends to offer broadly consistent modifications of the source text.

5. None of the available models for understanding the expression of ideological positions can fully reveal the particular political, social, agendas of translators and interpreters. Very useful work has been carried out, in this regard, by Samia Bazzi. With the Middle East in mind, Bazzi (2009) has developed a discourse analysis-based model in which she points to the hidden socio-political agendas of international and national news outlets through the examination of Arabic/English source and target texts. If we supplement this model, with the systemic functional tools of Appraisal proposed by Martin and White (2005) we find that this hybrid approach is appropriate for spoken renderings, such as occur in interviews, TV shows and, in the specific case of this thesis, political speeches. For that reason, the parameters of this particular study demand a complementary model that brings all of these aspects together. In this respect, although Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of ideology in translation is also seminal, it is modified here in terms of both scope and tools by considering, on one hand, the role of the translator or interpreter not so much as a mediator, but that of an interventionist, and on the other by developing the interpersonal tools it deploys through contact with the ones suggested by Appraisal Theory.
6. It is, of course, hard to determine whether certain ideologically-motivated interpreting decisions are conscious or unconscious. Even if such a question is directed to the interpreters themselves, they may well choose to deny that they were aware of such modifications or they may justify them as being instances of misinterpretation. Bourdieu's theory of social production provides this thesis with a working theory of practice that suggests ways of understanding and ascribing interpreter intervention.

7. Although interpreters' words are the tools through which their group's agendas are promoted, interpreters themselves must acknowledge some degree of ethical responsibility because, while they live and work under certain constraints that have a significant impact on influencing their outputs, these same outputs carry considerable weight within the receiving communities.

1.5. Outline of the Thesis

The study takes the form of five chapters. The current chapter – Chapter One - is an introduction, in which the method, scope and structure of study are set out alongside the research questions, underpinning hypotheses and potential impact of the work. All of this is framed by the geopolitics of the Middle East and North Africa, and the role of Arab media within that context.

Chapter Two, following on from Chapter One's concluding references to Bourdieu, offers a working model of ideology that can be used in order to understand the reasons behind and the potential scale of interpreter intervention. The chapter begins by revisiting the role of the interpreter, discussing how previous understandings of that role fail to account for a number of key aspects of performance. The discussion broadens here to draw upon Hatim and Mason's model of ideology in translation, which distinguishes between the ideology of translating and the translation of ideologies. But, in the context of the controversies of interpreting practice described above, the discussion is concerned to put forward a number of modifications to Hatim and Mason's model that are necessary to develop a more comprehensive, more productive, and ultimately more current model. It is this model that will be applied in the following two chapters.

Chapter Three is the first case study. It involves examination of the live simultaneous interpreting offered by Al-Arabia, Al-Jazeera and Russia Today (RT) for Barack Obama's speech, given in Cairo in 2009, known as 'A New Beginning'. The examination opens by analysing the source text in terms of Appraisal Theory, followed by a detailed analysis of the target texts in order to evidence the ways through which the interpreters have intruded to modify the speaker's different ideologies. This is supplemented by the attempt to connect these interventions with the interpreters' own social, political, and ethnic agendas, all of which are summarized through key examples at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Four provides the second and what might be considered as the corroborating case study. In order to function in this way, it is organised like Chapter Three. The source text in this case, however, is Barack Obama's speech, directed to the Middle East and North Africa in 2011, entitled 'A Moment of Opportunity'. The target texts are taken from Al-Hurrah, Al-Jazeera, and Al-Arabia. In order to underline evaluative vocabulary, a summary of appraisal resources in the source text is presented first. After that, once again, an analysis of the target texts is presented, focusing on the where and why of interpreter intervention. As with the previous chapter, the discussion here closes with a summative statement of the ideological positions that interpreters bring into play.

Both of these chapters are necessarily long and detailed. Taken together they offer powerful evidence of how interpreters very often inflect meaning and ideology from their own positions. It is, therefore, the purpose of the final chapter - Chapter Five - not only to present a broad set of conclusions but to initiate new discussion as to the best ways both to compensate for and to counter this interventionism. The

final implications and the outworkings of the recommendations contained within this chapter will, however, be the fruit of future work.

1.6. Research Methodology

This thesis broadly derives from Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of ideology. However, in view of the fact that this model treats translators and interpreters essentially as enablers of communication, and restricts interpersonal tools of assessment to mood and modality, the discussion offers a range of modifications relevant to the modes and contexts under discussion here. The first suggestion is to treat translators and interpreters as interventionists who manipulate texts to serve themselves and their institutions or group's agendas. The second suggestion is to improve the linguistic tools by supplementing them with those of Martin and White's Appraisal Theory.

As detailed above, this model is then applied to two of Obama's key political speeches addressed to the region and to their simultaneous interpreting into Arabic. The analysis of interpreter intervention is prefaced by a synopsis of the different sets of appraisal resources evidenced by the source text. In order to ensure systematic analysis of this key area, the first speech, dealt with, as noted above, in Chapter Three, is divided into nine sequential parts: the Opening Section; the Issue of Violent Extremism; the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World; Nuclear Weapons; Democracy; Religious Freedom; Women's Rights; Economic Development and Opportunity; and the Closing Section. Such a classification enables a deeper understanding of the sort of ideologies expressed at these different points. Because of the length of the speech, however, only 20% of the simultaneous interpreting of each part is presented for analysis. In these analyses, the focus is on omissions, substitutions, and insertions of evaluative

vocabulary on the part of interpreters, whether conscious or unconscious. Finally, these interventionist decisions are interpreted and assessed in terms of their promotion of agendas other than those of the speaker himself.

In the case of the second speech to which the model is also applied, the same procedures followed in the analysis of ‘A New Beginning’ and its renditions are applied here. This time, however, the speech is thematically divided into four parts only: the Opening Section; the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy; the Pursuit of Peace; and the Closing Section. The analysis of the simultaneous interpreting of both speeches is then folded into the conclusions and recommendations offered in the final chapter.

At this early stage of the thesis, it is necessary to draw the reader’s attention to a number of underpinning issues:

- a. There are a number of interrelated factors that condition the choice of Obama’s political discourse as the only sample for analysis. Firstly, the United States has been and is deeply involved in the conflicts in the Arab World, such as its leadership of the war on Iraq in 2003, as well as its apparently unlimited support for Israel. In this context, therefore, the views put forward in these speeches are representative of American foreign diplomacy and, accordingly, of vital significance and interest to the Arab audience. Secondly, unlike other American presidents, such as Bush, Obama comes from a Muslim family. This special feature has widened the scope of his audience, meaning that Muslims from the Arab World, as well as farther afield, have been anxious to listen to what has been presented as a new approach to the

American-Muslim relationship. Thirdly, the timing of the two speeches was highly significant. Both speeches were given at critical moments: while ‘A New Beginning’ was the first speech to be delivered by the newly-elected president in which he promised to address what has perceived as his country’s hostility against Muslims, ‘A Moment of Opportunity’ coincided with the wave of uprisings known in the media as ‘the Arab Spring’. Fourthly, the speeches are comprehensive and wide-ranging, with the result that the issues addressed in each of them cover most of the terrain that the Arab audience is interested in. That is why each speech had a duration of more than fifty minutes, exceeding the normal time allocated to speeches dealing with foreign policy. In short, while the speeches have been given by only one politician, their contextual significance, thematic range and linguistic dexterity (Obama is a famed and skilfull orator) make of them a source of analysis that is both varied and, at the same time, coherent.

- b. The outlets whose target texts will be analysed are no less deliberately chosen, in each case because of the conflicting agendas that these outlets pursue. These agendas stem from and contribute to their sponsors’ interests (as will be discussed later). For the time being, suffice it to say that it is one of the central assumptions of this thesis, following Bourdieu, that these agendas are first absorbed by the interpreters these outlets choose to employ and whose work they broadcast, and then consciously or unconsciously reflected; in other words, as a result of this, the ideological presence of Al-Hurrah interpreters, for example, varies greatly from those working for of Russia Today. Mapping the different positions adopted and promoted by differet outlets - such

as, for example, the American antagonism to Iran that underpins much of Al-Hurrah's agenda, or the Islamophobia that is resisted by Russia Today, will help our analysis put forward a better understanding of the ethnic, social and political constraints under which interpreters perform. In this regard, we must acknowledge that there are other outlets that also provide live simultaneous interpreting for the sort of speeches that concerns this thesis – the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) and Egypt Satellite Channel (ESC), for example, but these have been excluded from this study not only because of manageability of material but also because the agendas they promote and the audiences they address are less wider than those of Al-Arabiya, Al-Jazeera, Al-Hurrah and Russia Today.

- c. Back translations are provided as literal renditions of the target texts, solely to enable the non-Arabic speaking English reader to recognise the presence of intervention. In other words, there is no attempt on the part of the researcher to suggest that the English translations offered are somehow the most appropriate versions as a number of the back translations are neither grammatical nor semantically acceptable. They are guides.
- d. It must be acknowledged that subjectivity can never be totally excised from analysis and practices such as these and that any final claim to objectivity would be ultimately spurious. In that spirit, the thesis recognises that the interpretation of the conscious or unconscious motivations behind the identified interventions provided in the analyses and conclusions inevitably represents the researcher's own point of view. One might aim for objectivity but must always temper the dangerous belief that objectivity is possible by recalling the inevitable presence of the personal. In the

final analysis, this means that other interpretations, or readings, are also possible.

- e. Following on from the point above, in commenting on the target texts, it is not the researcher's intention to point to what is correct or incorrect and acceptable or unacceptable but rather to identify and evaluate the ideologically-motivated interventions of the interpreters. In other words, the source text, like any other text, is itself open to interpretation, although that condition of openness, as will be discussed in greater detail below, is more limited than most texts by the almost legalistic care with which such key political speeches are crafted. In the final analysis, the overriding concern of this thesis, is to detect intervention, points where interpreters have consciously or unconsciously deleted, substituted, or amended key elements of the speaker's utterance in order to satisfy the agendas of both interpreters and their employing institutions.
- f. Finally, it is important to acknowledge the exceptional constraints – beyond conscious or unconscious ideological manipulation - that increase the possibility of the simultaneous interpreter error. Unlike translators or other non-simultaneous interpreters who can identify a more suitable equivalent in more leisurely fashion, or who can revise their renditions or even contact the author or client to clarify certain terminological uses, the simultaneous interpreter produces a version that is both first and final. In that way, we have to acknowledge that variable factors such as the speaker's speed of delivery, pitch of voice, and use of long sentences, quality of the sound transmission, environmental conditions in the booth, even the interpreter's physiological or psychological state will impact upon choices made throughout the performance of his or

her task. Much training-based work which has been carried out so as to mitigate the impact of such factors. Notable among them are Jones (2002:72), for example, who offers what he calls ‘the Golden Rules’ of simultaneous interpreting, and Riccardi (2005:765) who advises interpreters to develop and employ emergency strategies, but there has also been a steady stream of helpful contributions from others (see Kirchhoff 1976; Lederer 1978; Gile 1995 and Kohn and Kalina 1996). It must be underlined, however, that no strategy can obviate the possibility of ideological intrusion. The example below, taken from Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’, demonstrates the sort of interpreter intervention that arises from what we may loosely term pressures of performance:

Source Text: *In Ankara, I made clear that America is not - and never will be - at war with Islam.*

Al-Arabiya:

تعلمون كما قلت لكم ان امريكا لم ولن تكون في حالة حرب ضد الاسلام هذا ما قلته في انقرة.

BT: You know as I told you, America has not and will not be at War against Islam... this is what I have said in Ankara.

Russia Today:

انا اعلن ان اميركا ليست ولن تكون في حرب مع الاسلام.

BT: I declare that America is not and never will be at war with Islam.

The Al-Arabiya interpreter may not have been able to provide an equivalent to ‘in Ankara’ at first go, but when he recognizes that

he has omitted this, he compensates by producing another statement - 'هذا ما قلته في انقرة' - ('this is what I have said in Ankara'). The Russia Today interpreter, on the other hand, drops 'in Ankara' and shifts the tense of the declaration to the present. In both cases, the interpreter's performance may readily be ascribed not to the promotion of an agenda but rather be seen as arising from interpreting error. We can deduce this with some confidence because of the interpreters' performance in the preceding sentence (for fuller discussion of this aspect, see p.105) where they have hesitated over the speaker's expression 'violent extremism', which the Al-Arabia interpreter renders as 'التطرف و الارهاب' ('extremism and terrorism'), and the Russia Today's interpreter offers 'الارهاب والعنف' ('terrorism and violence'). In other words, the conceptual challenge of Obama's 'violent extremism', both interpreters caused an impediment in terms of their concentration levels and assimilation of the following sentence. There are many examples throughout that demonstrate similar characteristics, and accordingly these have been excluded from the scope of this particular study.

1.7. The Impact of Geopolitics and the Media on Simultaneous Interpreters

In addition to the advantages that natural resources, such as oil and gas, bring to a people, they can also turn their region into a battlefield for superpowers that not only invariably fractures the present, but also extends into the life of future generations. This is true of the Arab World, which comprises, with Iran and Turkey, what is known as the Middle East and North Africa. For centuries, Western powers have exchanged control over this region. The history of Arabs is one of

painful memories. By the last third of the twentieth century, and after the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States had become the main key player in the region, as Americans themselves recognised and asserted. In his State of the Union Speech, delivered on January 23, 1980, President Jimmy Carter stated that ‘any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and any such assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force’. Nevertheless, Americans did not limit themselves to confronting outsiders but decided to stand against Iran, allying themselves with Saddam Hussein, Iraq’s ex-president, against the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Iraqi-Iranian war (1980-1988). Their principal goal was to mobilise Arab countries to provide Saddam with full support in order to end the self-proclaimed Iranian goal of Gulf domination. However, this alliance with Saddam came to an abrupt end when he invaded Kuwait in 1990, with the United States leading the coalition that eventually liberated Kuwait. The events surrounding this whole episode sparked major geopolitical shifts, changing the relationship not only between Arabs and the West, but even extending to divisions within the Arab community itself. For while there was general condemnation of Saddam’s oppressive regime, there was also widespread sympathy for the Iraqis people who were described in the West as the inevitable collateral damage of coalition military action. The West, and Americans in particular, became widely perceived as invaders by the Arab public, especially when Iraq degenerated into radical instability.

One of the far-reaching consequences of the geopolitical shift referred to above, and that has had a profound influence on the Arab-Western relationship, is the development of ‘Islamophobia’, a concept

that was first identified as such in a 1991 Runnymede Trust Report and defined as ‘unfounded hostility towards Muslims, and therefore, fear or dislike of all or most Muslims’, and whose effects of course become especially apparent after 9/11. Altikriti (2010:8) underlines the influence of ‘Islamophobia’ on Muslims in the West, declaring that ‘Muslims throughout the United Kingdom, the United States of America, across Europe and in most countries where they exist as a minority group, have come under scrutiny and in some cases, blatant attacks’. Such discrimination, covert and overt, has led Arabs to rethink their understanding of the West, particularly after the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that were launched as part of the United States’ policy to combat terrorism.

Within this context, the (il)legitimacy of the state of Israel has also profoundly affected the Arab-Western relationship. Across the Arab Homeland, Israel is considered as an occupying entity. Anti-Israeli sentiments have underpinned actions and policies designed to resist Israel and to support Palestinians’ aspiration to live peacefully in historical Palestine. Within the Arab world, there are exceptions to this widespread set of assumptions - Egypt, for example, has an Israeli embassy – but the fact remains that the Israel-Palestine issue provides an inevitable point of departure for the geopolitical analysis of most Arabs, professional interpreters of course among them. As we shall see later, in this respect, it is an accepted truth that lends itself to analysis from the perspective of Bourdieu’s social production.

On the other hand, the relationship among Arabs themselves suffers from disruptions in that there are internally different stances towards both the outcomes of American intervention in Iraq and the struggle of Palestinians to assert their own independence. In the wake of

the American invasion of 2003, Iraq fell victim to ‘a cold war’ between two conflicting parties - Saudi Arabia and its Arab and foreign partners, on one hand, and Iran on the other (Gause 2014). This conflict was primarily fuelled by sectarian divisions. It was publically declared by some Arab leaders and clerks when, for instance, King Abdullah of Jordan warned of ‘a Shi’ite Crescent’, the ex-Egyptian President Mubarak announced that ‘Arab Shi’ite loyalty is always to Iran’ and Saudi clerics ‘have issued a stream of anti-Shi’ite and anti-Iranian rulings that proclaim Arab solidarity with Iraqi Sunnis and legitimize the murder of Shi’ites’ (Wehrey et al. 2009:138). There has been a wide divergence between Arab Sunnis and Shi’ites that has been manipulated by extremists to launch a civil war in some Iraqi cities. In broad terms, although Iraqis have been free to elect their representatives to Parliament, there is scepticism as to the legitimacy of the Iraqi democratic process as a whole because it appears to deny Sunnis some of their rights. Arabs are also divided as a result of the intra-Palestinian conflict between Fatah and Hamas, because of their differing approaches to establishing the state of Palestine. While some accept the two-state resolution and underline the role of diplomatic negotiations, others stand with Hamas and its use of violence against Israel. A very influential aspect is the strong Hamas-Iran tie which is an issue that concerns Arabs, especially Saudis, who try to resist Iranian domination over the region (Morrow 2007). Within Palestine, this conflict has ‘split’ the Palestinian Authority into two sides (Brown 2010:35). Once again these are pervasive issues that extend deep within the everyday consciousness of Arabs.

Another widespread controversy among Arabs relates to the issue of human rights. Across Arab countries, there are restrictions based on

sex, religion, political party, etc. that have influenced the Arab public for years. Although Islam, most Arabs' religion, is based on the principle of Shura (i.e. 'consultation') and has been emphasized on many occasions in the Holy Kuran, Arab leaders hold power for decades with the result that leadership passes across family and dynasty generations with no recognition of democratic choice. Lewis (1993:94) draws a pessimistic yet accurate image of the Middle East in particular when he suggests that '[t]here is no state but only a ruler; no court, but only judge. There is not even a city...but only assemblage of neighbourhoods, mostly defined by family, tribal, ethnic and religious criteria, and governed by officials, usually military appointed by the sovereign'.

Other related aspects, such as equality between men and women, for example, have been far-reaching objectives as well. Undoubtedly, while Islam attaches a dignified status to women, some Arab countries still deny women most of their rights. It is true that women enjoy some freedoms, such as to work or travel in some Arab countries, but there are other countries where women are prevented from, for example, driving. Arguably this is because of the social construction of Arab society, which is heavily based on deeply-rooted tribal conventions. One extreme example occurs in the case of Saudi Arabia, where women are, as Kelly and Breslin (2010:19) put it, 'segregated, disenfranchised, and unable to travel or obtain any medical care without male approval. Gender inequality is built into Saudi Arabia's governmental and social structures, and it is integral to status-supported interpretation'. Such a denial of rights entirely affects people's understanding and causes them to resist this oppression at least conceptually. December 2010 saw a turning point in the people's struggle for rights not only in Tunisia, but across the Arab Homeland. The incident of the street vendor Mohammad

Bouazizi who set himself on fire that day as an act of rejection of tyranny, encouraged people to demand their full and equal rights. The protests have extended to other countries such as Libya, Egypt, Syria, and Bahrain. Such uprisings have led to the re-negotiation of relationships not just inside every Arab nation but also with Western nations, especially of course, the United States.

As can be seen from this necessarily extended account, the Arab individual is subject to an interconnected network of external and internal pressures that will probably shape both his/her understanding of the issues around him/her and the perspectives from which judgments and evaluations are fashioned. In addition to this pervasive pressure on interpreters, who as socially embedded agents are not immune to broader collective analyses and assumptions, another factor that determines their professional performance must be included – that is, the role of the media on them both as audience and as employees who, it is expected, will in public further their organisations' agendas - in other words, serve as an agent for the promotion of these agendas. Of course, such agendas might well differ from the interpreter's own, which results in a kind of unconscious conflict that drives him/her to make contradictory decisions at various times. In this regard, and because 'without media, there would not be any politics and international relations' (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010:21), it is useful here to give a brief account of the politics of the Arab media and how they seek to influence and mobilise public opinion.

Because media discourse, as Van Dijk (2000:36) declares, 'is the main source of people's attitudes and ideologies', Arab leaders in the past have controlled the flow of information and of opinion. This was achieved because in the main 'TV channels have been both state-owned and government-controlled' (Elouardaoui 2013:99). For a long time,

Arabs have been exposed to a ‘uniform public discourse’ broadcast by cable television (Khatib 2009:216). Hence, there was no room for the expression of or access to diverse views. Reasons such as the need to ‘preserve the common Arab cultural heritage as well as secure national unity and political stability’ were among the reasons advanced for such firm state control (Elouardaoui 2013:99). But it is also apparent that ‘political stability’ is the primary reason behind political leaders’ domination of the media: one voice, one interpretation of society and politics. This situation has changed largely with the spread of satellite channels from the late 1990s onwards, so that the majority of the Arab public no longer is compelled to listen to the same voices and watch the same faces. Lahlali (2011:92) confirms the ‘immense change’ that the new Arab media has brought to the public. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that behind each source there are overt and covert aims which are, in turn, determined by the owners or funders. For that reason, they give only ‘the part of the story that serves the agenda of their financier, so it’s clear that only part of the truth is exposed while the other part is buried’ (Hashim 2012). Moreover, it is important to know the channel is broadcasting from is equally important because the political system of that particular country ultimately impacts upon the networks’ agendas (Rough 2007).

News networks are, in that sense, vivid embodiments of the different and conflicting ideological agendas that try to impose themselves on the Arab public. In that sense, the ventriloquizing methods of simultaneous interpreting provide an opportunity to pass beliefs and attitudes to the audience as though those of the external speaker. It is precisely for that reason that in order to understand the constraints or pressures that influence interpreters’ output we review the

ideological orientation of Arabic-speaking news satellite channels, particularly the ones within the scope of this study, which are Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Al-Hurrah, and Russia Today Arabic. Such orientation will provide clues that we can use to discern the ideological motivation behind the interventions that we find in the samples.

1. Al-Jazeera was launched on November 1, 1996. Its name means ‘the Peninsula’, and it is based in Doha. It is managed by ‘a board of directors that is chaired by Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer Al-Thani, a member of Qatar’s ruling family’ (Zayani 2005:17). It has invested its technical and financial capacities ‘to be an effective actor in influencing the people’s attitudes and ultimately their behaviour as it becomes their source of information in the absence of effective formal media in the Arab states’ (Al-Khazendar and Ali 2013:78). Moreover, it has brought ‘a critical approach to Arab journalism’ (Lahlali 2011:117). It was established ‘to correct anti-Arab distortions and to counter dominant perspectives like CNN and BBC’ (el-Nawawy 2006:30). But, in spite of the ‘reputation of an Arab Parliament on air’ (Zayani 2005:17), it has been criticized because it has ‘made it possible for Qatar to impose itself on the regional scene’ (Da Lage 2005:63). Some Arab governments have been critical of it because of its ‘controversial coverage of sensitive issues related to religion, politics, the role of women in society, sex, poverty, unemployment, and so forth’ (Abdul-Majeed and Herring 2008:273). Much of this criticism comes from Saudi Arabia, which was repeatedly attacked by the channel, in contrast to the ‘silent approach towards its sponsor’ (Lahlali 2011:115). It has also been criticized by Western countries, such as the United

States, especially after it broadcast the video of Osama Bin Laden after 9/11. The United States labelled it ‘the mouth of Bin Laden’, so that the channel became the subject of discussion between American and Qatari diplomats such as Colin Powell, who asked the Emir of Qatar to ‘tone it down’ (Lahlali 2011:90). Although its coverage sometimes presents a contradiction, the channel’s main messages show that it is anti-Israeli and anti-American (Alhammouri 2013:39; Andrew et al 2014), anti-war on Iraq (El Bendary 2003), as well as pro-Islam and Hamas (Hanaysha 2011:105). It followed a double standard in the Arab Spring because while it strongly supported the protests in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria, its coverage of the uprising in Bahrain, eastern Saudi Arabia and Oman was timid or non-existent (Souaiaia 2011:3). It was accused of inciting violence and sectarianism in post-war Iraq (Kalrlekar and Marchant 2007: 168).

2. Al-Arabiya was launched on March 3, 2003. It is based in Dubai. It is owned by the Saudi Sheikh Walid al-Ibrahim and managed by another Saudi, who is Abdul Rahman Al-Rashed (Lahlali 2011:109). It was established as a response to ‘eight years of relentless attacks by Al-Jazeera on Saudi political order and the Saudi royal family’ (Alhammouri 2013:31). Unsurprisingly, therefore, it ‘reflects the Saudi Arabian agenda’ (Hanaysha 2011:105) and ‘expresses little criticism of the Saudi regime’ (Lahlali 2011:116). As part of Saudi pan-Arab media, it promotes messages such as liberalism, reformism, moderateness and modernism. It is also ‘Washington-friendly and anti al-Qaida, Hezbollah, Iran or other bodies presenting a challenge to the pax Americana in the Arab World and the governments who form part of that constellation’ (Hammond 2007:10). But, because America

supports the Israeli occupation and was directly involved in occupying Iraq, it promotes anti-Americanism (Fandy, 2007: 68). More specifically, it is anti-Israel (Elmasry et al 2013), ‘anti-Hamas and anti-Muslim Brotherhood views’ (Hanaysha 2011:105). It adopted anti-war on Iraq position (Feuilherade 2003) as well as encouraged violence and sectarianism in post-war Iraq (Karlekar and Marchant 2007:168).

3. Al-Hurrah was launched on February 14, 2004. It is based in Virginia. It is funded by the United States’ government (Khalaf and Ostrovsky 2006) and was established to ‘promote US policies directly to the Arab public’, especially after recognizing the risk that the Arab media pose to the interests of the United States by broadcasting ‘anti-American feeling’ after 9/11 (Lahlali 2011:91, 95). It supported the protests in Egypt and Tunisia and tries to be the ‘voice of the Syrian revolution’ (Saleh 2012). Therefore, it attempted to move the Arab public towards ‘democracy and freedom’ instead of ‘extremism and violence’ (Sefsaf 2004). By doing so, it seeks to present ‘objective and critical news in the promotion of democracy’; however, this has proved to be of ‘limited tenability’ as the channel is not independent (Youmans 2009:47) and remains ‘a victim of US government policies in the region’ in spite of the quality of its ‘journalism and professional staff’ (Lahlali 2011:100).
4. Russia Today (RT) was launched on May 4, 2007. It is based in Moscow, and is a version of international Russia Today’s channels that Putin has launched, and funded, to help the Kremlin enhance ‘its public image and disconnect itself from the antagonist role played in popular media for decades’ (Campbell et

al. 2014). It tries to enable Russia to play a crucial role in the Middle East after the fall of Saddam Hussein, who was one of its active allies, by strengthening its bonds with Iran (Khalaf and Ostrovsky 2006). One of its main agendas is to promote anti-Americanism (Taylor 2015). Specifically, it rejects America's justifications of 9/11 because it views these attacks as an inside job (Rosenberg 2015). Moreover, it endeavours to 'highlight stories that show western countries in a bad or hypocritical light' (O'Sullivan 2014). It is also accused of promoting anti-Israel propaganda. For that reason, Avigdor Lieberman, the Defence Minister of Israel, suggests that it is an 'anti-Israeli channel that to a certain extent it sometimes even surpasses Qatari Al Jazeera'(Ravid 2012). As the purveyor of a political agenda that is different from other channels, this network arranges exclusive interviews with Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president, with Hassan Nasrallah, the Lebanese Hezbollah leader, or with Hugo Chavez, the deceased Venezuelan president (Klimentov 2013).

Within this network of ideological positions, it is small wonder that simultaneous interpreters find themselves caught up in a struggle of powers that attempt to promote their ideologies at the expense of distorting or even delegitimizing other foreign, national and domestic voices. It goes without saying, therefore, that interpreters' ideologies stem from and respond to those of their society and organisation, but possibly with greater influence from their employing organisation. In this context, and because of the impossibility of editing live simultaneous interpreting, it is important to provide convincing evidence that rectifies the public's misconception that they are getting an exact account of the beliefs of the speaker. Moreover, an attempt should also be made to justify why such ideological manipulation occurs. This

requires two important but interrelated elements: an approach that can efficiently discern ideological shifts, and, in conjunction, possible explanations for these changes by examining the consciousness-unconsciousness dichotomy of interpreter performance. While the first of these elements is offered in Chapter Two, the following sub-section provides a key commentary on the nature of ideology and how it is internalized over time so that it becomes hard to distinguish whether a particular interpreter's intervention constitutes a deliberate refraction of speaker intent or a more generalised and largely unconscious reflection of wider assumptions.

1.8. The Nature of Ideology

Ideology is an English-coined word comprising two parts: *idea* and *logy*. It has been offered as a translation of the original French word *ideologie*, proposed by the French philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy in 1796 to mean 'the science of ideas', as opposed to ancient metaphysics. Marx, Engels, and Napoleon have all made key use of this word, not in the same way as de Tracy, but rather as charged with negative connotations. Napoleon called his political opponents *ideologues*, as an allusion to their pettiness, attributing 'all the misfortunes which have befallen our beautiful France' to 'the doctrine of ideologues' (Williams 1983:154-155). Marx and Engels, as Heywood (2003:6-7) notes, connected it with working class delusion, mystification and false-consciousness deriving from the imposition of ruling upper-class beliefs. In his definition of ideology, Engels (in Williams 1983:155), refers to 'a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously indeed but with a false consciousness'. But with the passage of time, particularly in the twentieth century, less negative insights into the nature of ideology have been proposed, where it is viewed as conventions that are 'naturalized or

automatized' (Fairclough 1992:9), a 'way of seeing ourselves as neutral'(Bretons 2001:84-85) or as ensuring that 'events, ways of acting and relationships can be regarded as legitimate or appropriate' (Wooffitt 2005:140). What all of these views have in common is that they characterise ideology from one perspective, normally a subjectively embraced one, which is, that of the person or group that embraces that particular ideology and in doing so distorts or even delegitimizes that of the 'other'. Consequently, the group denaturalizes and resists contrary ideologies because they operate and interpret already from the heartland of their 'natural' ones. A notable example is the relationship between Liberalism and Communism as diametrically opposed constructions of the 'natural order of things'. In other words, a deeply felt ideological position is rarely conceived or experienced by the individual or group as such: it is a natural sense of the world, as everyday as breathing, and any other view is instinctively held to be simply deviant.

Ideology itself has many definitions, most of them offering one core principle, that is, ideology is 'a set of shared beliefs' (Simpson 1993:5; Mason 1994:25; Hatim and Mason 1997:120; Bretons 2001:84; Rayner et al. 2001:8; Calzada-Perez 2003:4; Wooffitt 2005:140; and Pashaei 2011:395). Nevertheless, no set of shared beliefs is comprehensive. The context of this thesis, however, requires some attempt at a comprehensive definition, or working model of ideology. It could be argued then that ideologies are systems of ideas, beliefs, or assumptions that are explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously, expressed by an individual or social group who are normally acting within the same construction of reality. Such individuals or groups are not confined to a particular kind of people (literate vs. illiterate) or class (ruling vs. ruled), but rather are indicative of power

relations that are ultimately concerned with homogeneity of interpretation. The world is as ideology suggests.

Out of the characteristics mentioned above, the way ideology is constructed and then expressed is of course centrally relevant to the context of translation in general and of simultaneous interpreting in particular. To be able to account for that, Bourdieu's sociological theory of language provides a useful framework. It enables us to revisit the role of simultaneous interpreters, the focus of our study, 'as social and cultural agents actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices', especially through the 'valuable and unique contribution to the theorization of the interaction between agency and structure' offered by his concepts of habitus, field, and capital (Inghilleri 2005b:126). However, because these concepts have been already utilised in relation to different translation and interpreting texts and contexts (cf. *The Translator*, 11(2), 2005), their use here will be limited to accounting for the live simultaneous interpreting of political discourse in the specific context of Arabic-language news networks in particular.

Much of the foregoing contextualisation has been eminently, although only implicitly, suggestive of the interrelationship of Bourdieu's key concepts, and of course of their assistance in helping us to understand the roots of interpreter performance. According to Bourdieu, 'field' may be seen as 'a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or capital' (Thompson 1991:14). In this definition, 'field' refers to the social spaces in which interpreters live and work. Media is, of course, just one of these spaces. It influences its employees, including its interpreters, and audiences

through the use of one or all the ‘monetary and non-monetary, as well as tangible and non-tangible forms’ of resources which are ‘economic’, ‘cultural’, ‘social’, and ‘symbolic’ capitals (Bourdieu 1986:242-243). In other words, each of the networks invests the fund that their sponsors provide into the social and cultural status of their group in order to manipulate their audience and employees towards their agendas. As members of this particular social space, simultaneous interpreters are subject to such constraints and pressures. This will inevitably lead them to form what Bourdieu calls their ‘habitus’ of practice, defined as ‘a set of *dispositions* that incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes that are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any rule’ (Thompson 1991:12, emphasis original). It authorizes them ‘to take into account and to account for, the constancy of dispositions, tastes, and preferences’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131). Hence, simultaneous interpreters accumulate an interpreting ‘habitus’ that is based on and works to promote their institution’s agendas where the decision to intervene and modify the source text is not ‘a conscious strategic choice but an effect of his or her specific *habitus*’ (Gouanvic 2005:158, emphasis original). This does not mean, however, that interpreter intervention is solely determined by their habitus because Bourdieu’s sociological theory of action is relational, where any act of intervention is the outcome of the ‘two-way relationship between the objective structures (those of the social fields) and incorporated structures (those of habitus)’ (Bourdieu 1998: vii). To put it another way, neither the networks, i.e. structure nor the interpreters’ personal choices influenced by ‘habitus’ should be studied independently when trying to account for the manipulation of the ideology in the simultaneous interpreting of political discourse, but through the interrelation of both.

The question that emerges from this is how do we account for and assess the impact of media-generated restrictions on interpreter performance at micro and macro levels of their interaction with the texts. One question that remains to be answered before we can fully address that broader issue is how we distinguish between linguistically and ideologically motivated interventions? The following chapter answers this question; it offers a fine-grained set of tools that are framed within a model that is designed to judge both the extent and the potential roots of interpreter intervention.

Chapter Two: Translation and Ideology

2.1. Introduction

The discourse of political speeches is a highly intentional form, geared to maximize audience constituency. Consequently, a range of rhetorical and communicative devices tends to characterize such discourse, their particularity and frame of reference sharpened, very often by professional speech-writers, to be delivered at certain times, in certain places and directed to an identified group of people. When both speaker and audience share the same language, such speeches are usually assessed in terms of the perceived worth of the agendas that they espouse, supported by the powerful impact of their rhetorical and communicative devices. However, when they are delivered in a language foreign to the audience, the intercalated presence of the interpreter becomes an active agent in the process of reception.

It is, of course, through the processes of translation and interpreting that speakers' ideas, beliefs, and points of view are reflected to their foreign audience. In order to fulfil this function, such speakers, like judges in the context of courtroom interpreting, prefer to assume that the filtering process of interpreting is as transparent as possible, a clear window onto speakers' intentions. Such an assumption, however, is rooted more in the idealism of universalist thought rather than the pragmatics of interpreting practice, and in very general terms has been consistently debunked in contemporary interpreting theory (Inghilleri 2005b). It is the central contention of this thesis that, at the most basic level, interpreter renditions involve both conscious and unconscious intervention, which, whatever the motivation may be, affects the communication both of intentions and the devices that frame and communicate those intentions. These interventions spring in the main

from a desire on the part of the interpreter to frame the speech within its context, to ensure that the audience recognizes its relationship with the speaker, to know the extent to which it is considered as other within the ideas, beliefs, and points of view expressed by the speaker. After all, this is what determines the future of the audience's relationship with the speaker. It is what is remembered after the specifics of the speech have faded from memory. The issue becomes more complicated and, given the scale of audiences involved, even more influential in the case of live broadcast simultaneous interpreting where the interpreter has no time for further thinking or revision, and what is said cannot be retrieved, modified or reproduced in a revised version. Such speeches play a significant role in shaping the broad perceptions upon which much of our geopolitics rests.

In the Arab World, such broad acts of representation are no less important than the communicative strategies of interpreters in dealing with individual lexical and semantic items and strings. In the context of live simultaneous interpreting of political speeches directed to the Muslim World, Arabs in particular, this thesis is centrally concerned with the influential interventions of interpreters, through which aspects of the speaker's intentions (about which, more later), particularly at the level of ideology, are modified and, indeed, at times excised. By applying discourse analysis to both interpreter intervention and the source speeches, this work will examine how live simultaneous interpreters negotiate, adapt and, at times, violate the ideological positions that are framed within those speeches. In this regard, one of the most practical approaches used to identify ideologies in both source and target texts, and assess whether they correspond or not, is the critical discourse analysis suggested by Hatim and Mason (1997). This model

(with some necessary modifications noted below) will be the core issue tackled in the present chapter.

2.2. Re-Visiting the Interpreter's Role

For centuries, interpreting has been an essential transcultural medium of communication. Changes at the level of societal, national and international relations have, of course, had profound effects on interpreting and interpreters. In other words, both the practice and its agents are socially and culturally embedded, not immune from the framework of relationships in which they operate. As a consequence of interpreting having established itself as a subdiscipline within Translation Studies, the role of the interpreter is increasingly considered to have shifted from the mere instrumental task of rendering linguistic messages (i.e. a bilingual re-speaker) into being an active participant in the act of cultural exchange that operates within the gap between cultures (Katan1999). In this respect, Pöchhacker and Schlesinger (2002:3) point out that interpreting is an ‘interlingual, intercultural oral or signed mediation’; in other words, the interpreter is the interlingual and intercultural mediator who controls the conditions of communication between participants. But although, as we have seen, it appears that what the interpreter does is limited to an act of interlingual and intercultural mediation, there are other aspects of the role that this thesis will be concerned to investigate.

Following on from the view quoted above, Pöchhacker (2008:12-13) suggests a third type of mediation, which he terms ‘contractual mediation’, one that underlines the broader relationship in which the communicative event between participants takes place. He further emphasizes the cognitive dimension of mediation, leading him to propose a triangulated model of mediation, consisting of cognitive,

contractual and intercultural dimensions as its three corners (ibid: 14-16). However, it should be noted that while Pöchhacker's influential account of the importance of the cognitive dimension is of high value, it is not wholly new. Hatim and Mason (1997:122) hypothesize that translators (and interpreters) as mediators 'intervene in the transfer process, feeding their knowledge and beliefs into the processing of a text'. The implication of both propositions is that the interpreter's 'own knowledge and beliefs' have to be examined as core interpretants in the process (for a detailed discussion of Pierce's interpretant, see Bazzi (2009:19-42)); in other words, the interpreter's intervention stems from his/her ideology or the ideologies imposed on him/her. In this context, Van Dijk's (2006) model of manipulation offers an important clarification in terms of how one's knowledge and beliefs, the building blocks of ideology, are composed. He proposes another triangulated framework, this time of manipulation involving discourse, cognition, and society (ibid: 359-383). The manipulator is assigned a particular social position that is different-privileged-from that of his recipients (whether dominated or clients), expressing power or abuse of power through text and oral communication or even visual messages. Crucially, s/he engages in communication and interaction with the recipients of the interpreting event to affect their mental models (experiences). Consequently, in Van Dijk's model, it is evident that the interpreter is at first manipulated and then becomes a manipulator.

In the context of manipulation, as far as interpreting as a profession is concerned, the institutions for which interpreters work have a marked influence on their performance. Put simply, the interpreter must comply with his institution's policy so as to stay in work. The manipulative power exerted by his institution makes the interpreter a consumer of

ideologies, digested and stored in his mind and then reproduced as though his or her own. Bourdieu (1991) discusses this kind of ‘symbolic power’, asserting that such power is ‘invisible’ and that it ‘can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it’ (ibid:163-164). Moreover, he assumes that it can only be ‘defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit it, i.e. in the very structure of the field in which *belief* is produced and reproduced’ (ibid: 170, original emphasis). Simultaneous interpreters working for live broadcast channels provide a very clear example of how power is first exercised and then reproduced, in the way that channel policy offers a set of doxa, in Bourdieu’s terms, that they reproduce, consciously and unconsciously, for their intended recipients. The issue is, of course, not confined to the Arab World, but, in a context where there are only a few broadcast channels that provide live simultaneous interpreting of political speeches, the practice of ideological segmentation of audience is paramount. The Arab audience, distributed throughout 22 countries, will select a channel on the basis of its ideological position (in terms of religion, ongoing conflicts, relationship with the West, etc.). The resultant practice is that within this habitus, interpreters export ideological positions as though they had been conveyed in the original. Within this context, the interpreter’s role exceeds the limits of the constructive mediator in that s/he becomes a creator and transmitter of meaning, working across a seemingly transparent window that may, in reality, distort or be selective in what it allows the viewer to see.

2.3. Ideology in Translation

With the rapid developments in Translation Studies - most significantly the cultural turn (that recognizes that utterances are at least as responsive to understanding through cultural reference as through solely linguistic analysis) - by the end of the twentieth century, a variety of fundamental contributions to our understanding of the nature and influence of ideology on translation had emerged. It is a central relationship that has been looked at from different angles. Principal among these, Lefevere (1992b), for example, argues for the role of the translator as a rewriter of texts, motivated by his or her ideology or poetics. Niranjana (1992) focuses on the geopolitical frame that conditions interpretation, emphasizing the effect of colonialism in the construction of images of the East. From the perspective of gender, Simon (1996) introduces feminist concerns in translation theory. Their contributions underpin the methodology of this thesis, although there is no space to provide a more detailed account of individual positions.

The primary focus, therefore, will be on Hatim and Mason's influential model which draws on and develops Halliday's understanding of language functions by explicit reference to the body of work on ideology and translation referred to briefly above. These studies, as Hatim and Mason maintain (*ibid*:119), have helped to 'advance our understanding of the way ideology shapes discourse and the way discourse practices help to maintain, reinforce or challenge ideologies'. Their conclusion, the basis for their on-going analysis, is that there is an undeniable connection between ideology and discourse. It is a connection that is clearly established through their working definitions of the two terms. They see ideology as 'the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are collectively shared by a social group' (*ibid*:

120) while discourse is, they write, ‘institutionalized modes of speaking and writing which give expression to particular attitudes towards areas of socio-cultural activity’. The implication is that to trace ideology is to carry out an analysis of discourse. They proceed to outline the model that they will use to discern and track ideologically-generated variations in translation (ibid: 119-135). As clarified in Figure 2.1 below, the model carefully differentiates between the ideology of translating and the translation of ideology. In the former aspect, translation decisions are examined to identify the overriding translational strategy (i.e. foreignization or domestication) while, in the latter, translator mediation is put under scrutiny to assess how it ranges between low and high degrees of mediation in order to affect the transfer of ideologies. In both aspects, they conclude that ‘the translator’s mediation is in itself an ideological issue’ (ibid: 119).

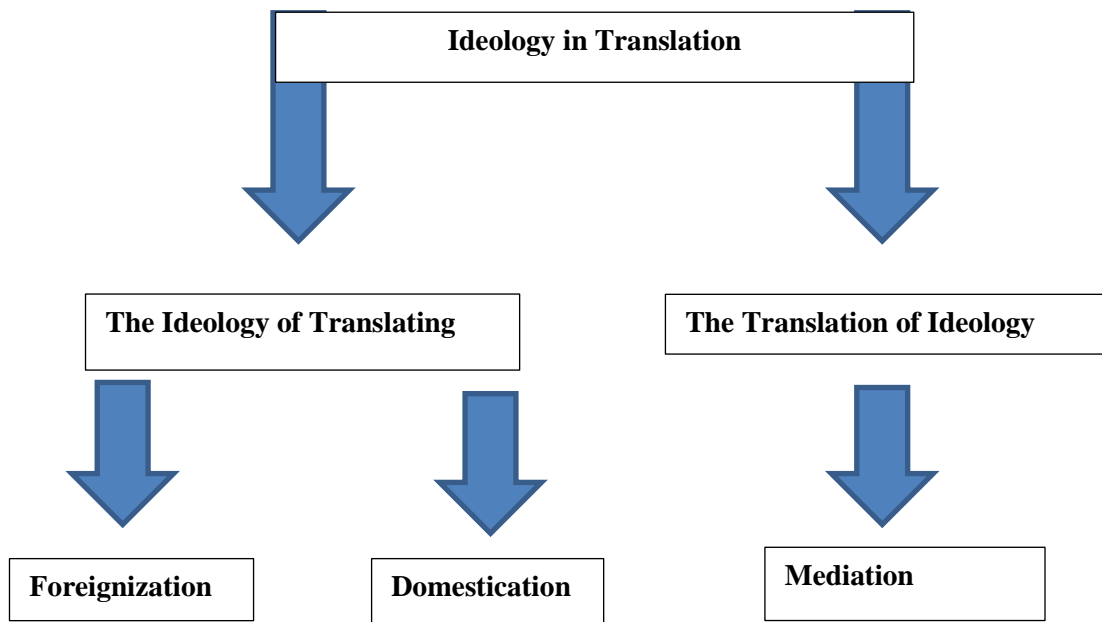


Figure 2.1 Hatim and Mason’s (1997) Model of Ideology in Translation

However, in terms of the scope of the present study, there is one further and highly significant element that requires to be added to the model, as we have already inferred. As a human being living in a certain society at a particular time, there are specific constraints and obligations that simultaneous interpreters cannot avoid, such as the ethnic, social, or political determinants that are rooted in their knowledge of the world, and the interpretants arising from these determinations are reflected within their work, again as we have noted whether consciously or unconsciously. Such ideological shifts or renditions are an essential element of the ideologically-motivated textual manipulation that characterizes their attempts to mediate the source text within the horizon of expectations of the target audience.

2.3.1. The Ideology of Translating

Translator choice, therefore, even at base, has always implied a certain ideology. To choose between apparently essential strategic positions - for example, free vs. literal, formal vs. dynamic, or communicative vs. semantic - in practice, implies choices that reveal ideological positions. Hatim and Mason (1997:120) review these critical functions of ideology, acknowledging that Venuti is the first scholar to demonstrate ‘the ideological consequences of this choice’ through what they consider to be the dichotomy he establishes between foreignizing and domesticating translation. As far as foreignization and domestication are concerned, Hatim and Mason do not necessarily attribute ideological implications to the strategy per se, but argue that regardless of translator intention ‘[i]t is the effect of a particular strategy employed in a given socio-cultural situation which is likely to have ideological implications’ (ibid:121). Venuti, of course, draws heavily on the German philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher (Venuti 1995:19-20) in terms of developing his theory,

aware that Schleiermacher saw translation strategy as serving a critical ideological function within the receiving audience (in this case, the relationship between France and Germany as political and cultural rivals was the central issue). Schleiermacher famously puts forward the idea that there are two primary translating strategies: '[e]ither the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him'. He introduces two terms to convey these strategies, namely *ver frem ende Übersetzung* and *einbürgernde Übersetzung* respectively, from which Venuti offers his dichotomy of foreignization and domestication, where foreignization is seen as 'an ethnodeviant pressure on these values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad' while domestication is characterized as 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values, bringing the author back home'(ibid:20). Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997:59), following on from this, clarify a foreignizing translation as a denomination 'to designate the type of translation in which a TT is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original'. They also define a domesticating translation as the term used to 'describe the translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for TT readers' (ibid: 43-44). Less dispassionately, Venuti (1995:1-2) argues forcefully for foreignization, viewing domestication as an ethically suspect practice emphasizing that a translated text should not simply erase all traces of the original. In the context of the Anglo-American tradition, he justifies his preference for foreignization and opposition to domestication on the basis that this helps 'to develop a theory and

practice of translation that resists target-language values so as to signify the linguistic and cultural differences of a foreign text' (ibid:23).

In conventional textual translation, generally speaking, the choice between domesticating and foreignizing strategies tends to derive from the relationship between translator and text. In the case of live simultaneous interpreting of political speeches, and especially in rendering ideologies, there is little space for domesticating. What is conveyed by the speaker is how he looks to the 'other' and how s/he considers the relationship between the source society/culture/language those of the target audience – essentially a core issue of foreign policy. Any indication, for instance, that privileges or criticizes has to be transmitted to the audience if the speech is to function within the field of discourse for which it is intended. For that reason, in the analysis undertaken and presented later on, foreignization, or any other SL-oriented strategy, is the standard to which interpreters' outcomes are necessarily compared.

2.3.2. The Translation of Ideology

In this context, the focus of analysis centres on the modification of ideologies in and through the act of translation. Hatim and Mason (1997:120-134) investigate a number of linguistic features that account for the translator intervention, including recurrence, parallelisms, overlexicalization, transitivity, style shifting, and cohesion to identify shifts in ideology. The samples they use consist of Farsi, Spanish, and French texts translated into English wherein they identify three degrees (minimal, maximal, and partial) of translator mediation. Importantly, they relate translators' interventions to their role as mediators, where mediation refers to 'the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process feeding their knowledge and beliefs into the processing

of texts' (ibid: 122). In this conclusion, they follow on from Lefevere, who a few years previously, as we have noted, had drawn attention to the manipulative role of the translator of texts, characterizing the agency of the translator in terms of a rewriting that, he concludes, 'manipulates, and...is effective' (1992b:9). The simultaneous interpreter reproduces the speech of others, and in that capacity, in terms of the foregoing theoretical positions, the simultaneous interpreter's agency inevitably entails significant degrees of manipulation. This is not to say, of course, that the entire simultaneous outcome is manipulated, but violation of the speaker's ideological position may well be manipulated. In this sense there are two manipulators, the first being the speaker, who intends to practice a kind of influence on his recipients, the second being the translator or interpreter who, consciously or not, absorbs these manipulations (including ideologies) and portrays them according to what we have termed his or her mental models, in which modification or replacement is an ever-present likelihood. The general account that Hatim and Mason provide of the shifts in ideologies may, therefore, be widened to include manipulation as an additional element, accounting for both interpreter mediation and a preference for overall translation strategy.

Moreover, this manipulation may be treated as a form of intervention that exceeds the 'communicative' limits drawn by Hatim and Mason. Although they broadly condemn this intervention (1997:134), Hatim and Mason try to justify it in terms of 'audience design' or 'task'. In fact, communicative intervention cannot reasonably be the only instigator of such a performance. Other aspects need to be examined here, especially those that are attached to the interpreter's (or his institution's) ideological agenda, whereby s/he consciously or not

reshapes, or ‘reframes’ in Baker’s formulation (2006a), source language messages. One of these is what we can call ‘manipulative intervention’. The way in which we might characterise this kind of intervention derives from recent research carried out in the wake of Hatim and Mason’s contribution, especially under terms such as ‘intervention’, ‘interventionist’, or ‘intervenient being’ that become increasingly widespread after 2005. These attempts that attempt to discern the subjective agency of the translator / interpreter are also based on Halliday’s approach, but with greater emphasis on the interpersonal metafunction which Halliday (2002:199) labels as the ‘intruder’ function. Most significant among these recent advances was the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS) conference held between 11-14 July 2006 at the University of Western Cape, South Africa, that was centred on one major theme: *Intervention in Translation, Interpreting, and Intercultural Studies*. This conference was a turning point in that it directs attention to the risky decisions that the translator/ interpreter undertakes in dealing with the text s/he is rendering. As a consequence, Munday (2007) issued his volume *Translation as Intervention* which consists of a number of the plenary papers delivered at the conference and, as he (ibid: xi) affirms, other papers that were especially invited that, together, focus on translation as a form of intervention with reference to different cultures and disciplines. Building on her previous works (1981,1997), and taking advantage from the encouraging outcomes of the IATIS conference, House (2008) produced a special number of the journal *Trans-Kom* that tackles ‘translation universals’ which is also composed of papers originally delivered at the IATIS conference. House (ibid: 16) draws attention to the dangerous decisions that the translator takes: ‘[m]anipulation or intervention for ideological, socio-political or ethical

reasons, however, well-meant they may be in any individual case, are generally risky undertakings'. But although there is an agreement among those translation theorists on the interventionist nature of translator / interpreter performance, there are two interrelated points to be commented on. First, since intervention takes place as a result of the translator's / interpreter's subjectivity, this increases, if not guarantees, the possibility of the modification of ideologies based on his/her manipulative agenda. The second point is that such translation/interpreting behaviour is not always under the translator's / interpreter's control due to the fact that translators / interpreters are human beings, and it is not possible to avoid, at least, their emotional involvement in the processing of texts, as Maier notably demonstrates (2007:1-17). Hence, with Munday (2009:26), the methodology used in this thesis concurs with House's characterization of risky undertakings but, at the same time, rejects her claim that one can decide where to intervene or not, as if the translator / interpreter were a programmed robot.

Furthermore, the working methodology used throughout this thesis partly accepts Baker's (2006a:105) declaration that '[l]ike any other group in society, translators and interpreters are responsible for the texts and utterances they produce. Consciously or otherwise, they translate texts and utterances that participate in creating, negotiating and contesting social reality'. The principal – but sole - objection to this is that it is unfair to attach full responsibility to translators/interpreters. Their outcomes can signal conscious or unconscious violations for different ideological reasons, but we should also remember that they do not live in isolation. That is to say, as social actors they acquire, or dismiss, experiences through time from what Bourdieu terms 'social

space' or 'field' so that '[i]t is necessary to account for the social space within which interaction takes place' (Bourdieu 2005:18). It is important, therefore, to understand the environment under which translators/interpreters live and work that has influenced their performance, rather than merely holding them responsible for manipulating texts and utterances. In addition, we need also to recognize that a 'field' actually does not have definite limits but 'rather it relates to, and interacts with a network of other social fields' (Jenkins 2002). In fact, as individuals who are members of different 'fields' - i.e. family, groups and institutions – the work of translators/interpreters conforms frequently to a 'habitus' comprising 'unconscious representations [that] are acquired through a lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities' (Wacquant 2006:7). Consequently, translators / interpreters decisions and choices will vary depending on the kind of 'constraints' that they fall under. In most cases, it is possible to anticipate their product orientation by understanding, for example, the policy of the institution for which they work because, according to Bourdieu, '[s]ocial agents are likely to reproduce the conditions of their immediate status, favourable or not, with respect to existing social hierarchies' (Inghilleri 2005a:70). Nevertheless, because '[h]abitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation nor necessarily coherent' (Bourdieu 2000:159), it is possible to identify a contradiction between the translators'/interpreters' position in the 'social space' or 'field' - i.e. their institution - and the set of 'dispositions' that they have acquired - i.e. their habitus. Such a contradiction typically takes place in and across 'zones of uncertainty' which are 'the gaps or spaces between fields' (Inghilleri 2005a:72). Accordingly, it is possible to identify occasions of what we have called 'manipulative intervention' that are based on the translators'/

interpreters' previous experiences that could be at odds with their current position. There is, of course, much more in Bourdieu's approach that could be productive to apply to the context of live simultaneous interpreting (particularly of political discourse), but this short chapter is primarily concerned, as noted above, not with developing analysis of any one constituent element of the methodological core of the thesis, but with tracing the broad genesis of that core. For that reason, we need to turn our attention now to the linguistic tools that reveal ideological deviation from the source text.

Halliday, once again, provides the point of departure here. His Systemic Functional Linguistic approach represents a revolution in the way language is considered. It provides a complete account of the set of linguistic tools used in the analysis of language, an account in which linguistic choices are not arbitrary. In the case of professional interpreter agency this is clearly of significant value in that it implies that behind any linguistic choice there is a certain function that this choice fulfils. It is an approach that has proved its validity for more than half a century now, and has formed the basis, in a variety of linguistic fields, of the work of major theoreticians: in discourse analysis (Lefevere 1992), stylistics (Simpson 1993), and translation studies (Baker 1992 and House 1997). And, as we have already noted, Hatim and Mason (1997) derive their model of ideology in translation from Halliday's approach. Halliday's tools of analysis, therefore, have a role to play in this thesis, filtered through the specific context in which comparative analysis takes place. But first we must be clear as to the essential elements of Halliday's thought, albeit briefly.

According to Halliday (2004), language is used to express three functions or – as he prefers to call them – metafunctions (where

metafunction signifies both the purpose and analysis of language), namely the ideational, interpersonal and textual. Once again, the discussion of these key functions is inevitably truncated here because of pressures of word-count. In the ideational metafunction, language is used to express our experiences of the real world as well as of one's own consciousness, i.e. reflecting both outer and inner worlds through making use of transitivity and voice. Within the interpersonal metafunction, personal and social relationships are enacted concurrently. Language here helps the individual to communicate with society as well as to give him/her the opportunity to express and develop his/her personality, where mood and modality provide useful tools. Finally, within the textual metafunction, language helps to create coherent texts as well as providing the users of such texts with the ability to identify dislocations, such as vague or unrelated sentences. It does so through establishing ties with its components from one side and with the situation from the other, thereby drawing together communicative devices and the imperatives of frame – in other words, analysis based on theme-rheme and textual cohesion. Put simply, the way in which the speaker looks to the outside world, and the rhetorical devices employed to emphasize actions or thoughts, for instance, can be traced through the application of transitivity patterns, where analysis can show the types and numbers of processes used. Moreover, the way the specific speaker views him or herself and others can be examined and clarified by what Halliday refers to as 'voice' analysis – the use of active and passive voices - where being an 'actor' or a 'goal' emphasizes the good deeds of the 'goal' and bad deeds of the 'actor' (for instance 'The police officer shot the old man', where 'The police officer' is the 'actor' and 'the old man' is the 'goal', but in the passive sentence 'The old man was shot by the police officer' although there is a change of participants' position,

‘the old man’ is still the ‘goal’, and bringing him into this initial position changes not only the ideational metafunction but also the interpersonal and the textual, because both mood and thematic organization are modified [cf. Halliday2004:181-182]).

But for the context of interpreting his discussion of the interpersonal metafunction exclusively focuses on mood and modality as the only categories that show how the writer/ speaker expresses his or her attitudes. This has been criticized for being too grammatical in nature and solely narrow in scope. Unconvinced by Halliday’s account, and working with colleagues in the early 1990s, Martin and White (2005:8) note that they ‘began to develop a more-lexically based perspective, triggered in the first instance by the need for a richer understanding of interpersonal meaning in monolingual texts’. The outcome was promising and has resulted in providing a framework termed ‘appraisal’ that centres on the study of evaluation – that is, conveying the speaker’s attitudinal meanings and stance(s). Thompson and Hunston (2000:4) support such attempts and accept that ‘appraisal’ is used to refer to the expression of attitudinal meaning while acknowledging that it is an expansion of Halliday’s original account. Although there are other terms such as ‘stance’ (e.g. Biber and Finegan 1989), and ‘evaluation’ (e.g. Hunston and Thompson 2000) that are used to refer to such a phenomenon, nevertheless, for reasons that will become apparent below, we will adopt ‘appraisal’ and exclude other synonymous terms from the present discussion.

Following on from what has been presented above, therefore, Hatim and Mason’s model has to be modified both in terms of the areas covered and tools used (see Figure 2.2 below). Firstly, because of the impact exercised by manipulation on the translator/interpreter, his/her

role will shift from that of a communicator who mediates between two languages (and cultures, of course) for the sake of maximizing understanding into that of an interventionist who, consciously or not, reflects his/her own ideology to the audience as though it were that of the writer/speaker. Secondly, since it is more likely that intervention takes place at the interpersonal level than the ideational and textual ones, then the best evidence of this kind of intervention is mainly provided by an appraisal framework because it represents the most-up-to-date version of the interpersonal tools, combining the most incisive and relevant elements of previous frameworks. Moreover, because translation/interpretation involves the ‘reframing of narrative’ where our ‘values’ and ‘judgements’ control the selection of elements that need to be acknowledged or otherwise undermined (Baker 2006a:76), it is useful to focus on the deletion, addition and substitution of appraisal resources for they will, more than any other linguistic tool, reveal the translator’s/interpreter’s (de)selectivity. In the current context, to best unveil how simultaneous interpreters intervene manipulatively in the rendering of political discourse, an analysis of how evaluation is reflected in the source and target texts has to be carried out through the use of a full appraisal framework whose particular relevance to the study of ideology in translation is discussed in the sub-section that follows.

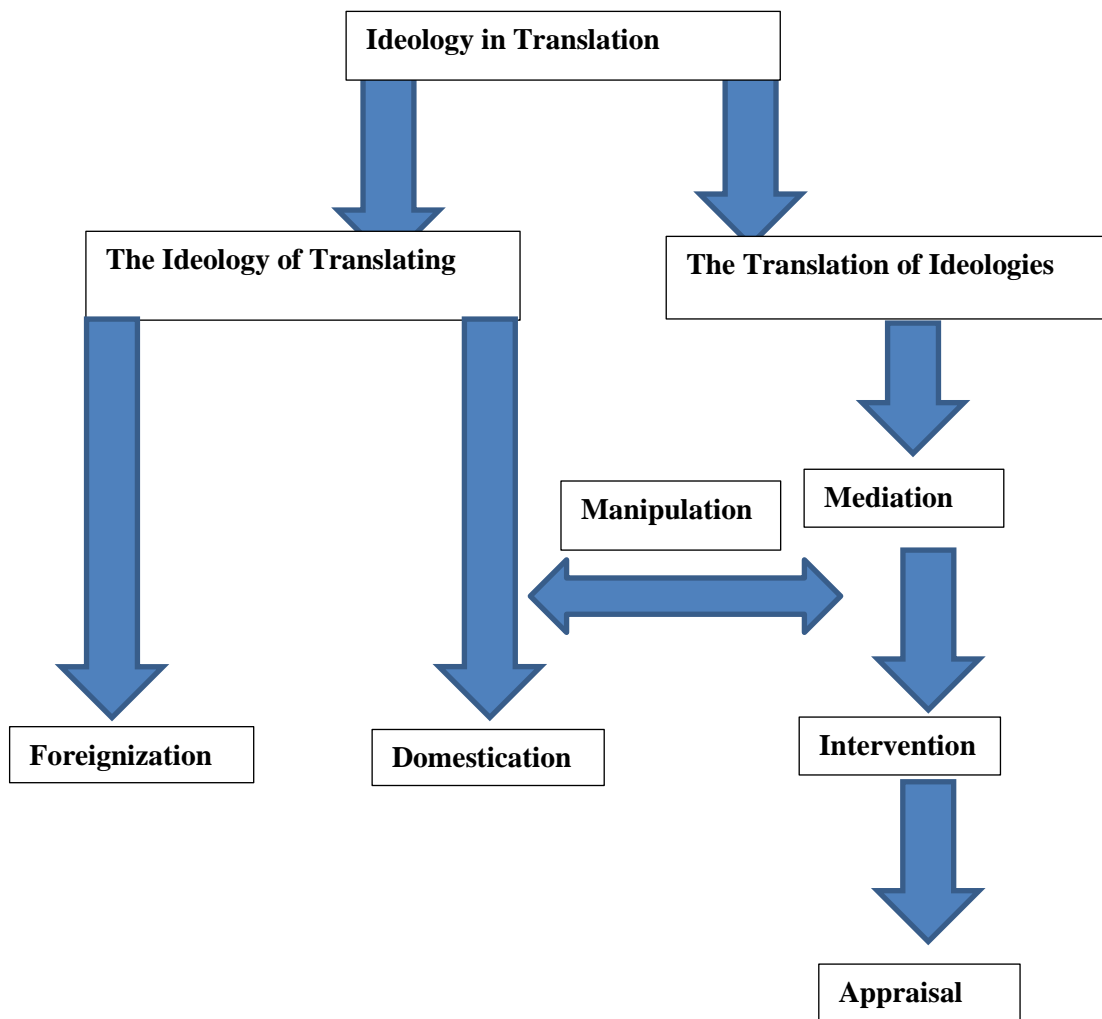


Figure 2.2 Hatim and Mason's (1997) Model of Ideology in Translation Modified

2.4. The Study of Evaluation and Ideology in Translation

The significance of the study of evaluation in language should not be underestimated simply because evaluation is an integral part of meaning. They – that is, evaluation and meaning - cannot be considered in isolation because ‘each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value’ (Volosinov 1973:105). Writers/speakers use language to communicate with the world; to reflect these values and,

moreover, as Halliday (2002:199) shows, they ‘intrude’ into the communicative situation where they express their ‘attitudinal’ meaning or ‘intersubjective’ position. There is a rich heritage of studies on evaluation in monolingual texts in different contexts, but such research has been overlooked in translation scholarship generally, except for work by Munday (2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) and several others. Translation/interpreting involves the substitution, and sometimes the deletion, of a lexical item or more and this will lead to a difference in values promoted. Even within the same language, Volosinov (1973:105) accentuates that any ‘change in meaning is, essentially, always a *reevaluation*: the transposition of some particular word from one evaluative context to another’ (original emphasis). In this respect, evaluation and ‘reevaluation’ definitely take place in the process of translating/interpreting. Therefore, since appraisal’s primary task is to express as well as to show the writer’s/speaker’s interposition, it is helpful to apply the interpersonal network of appraisal tools to the translator’s/interpreter’s work in order to identify where in the translated/interpreted text ‘reevaluation’, which, in turn, entails certain degree of violating the writer’s/speaker’s ideology, actually takes place.

‘Evaluation’, ‘stance’, and ‘appraisal’ are among the most common terms that are currently used to refer to the linguistic study of evaluation. They share one common characteristic - that is, their focus on the functionality of language in use. Yet, there are other aspects that dictate the preference for the application of ‘appraisal’ in the context of this thesis; among them are the following. Firstly, ‘appraisal’ deals with modality as an independent system where both, of course in addition to mood, compose the interpersonal level of meaning. ‘Evaluation’ and ‘stance’, on the other hand, cover both modality and attitudinal meaning

(Thompson and Hunston 2000:4-5). This makes the process of sourcing attitudes and their intended recipient more difficult; the application of 'appraisal' makes these elements easier to identify since it distinguishes among positive or negative attitudes towards people ('affect'), their behaviour ('judgement'), as well as the valuation of things ('appreciation') (Martin and White 2005:35). Secondly, in each of its subsystems, 'appraisal' provides elaborative sets of parameters such as 'affect', which classifies feelings in terms of 'un/happiness', 'in/security', 'dis/satisfaction, and 'dis/inclination'(ibid:48-52). This detailed categorization helps to identify the kind of attitude conveyed and facilitates analysis of their relation to the types of evaluations reflected therein. 'Evaluation' and 'stance' do not offer the same detailed branching of parameters. On the contrary, 'evaluation' for instance, is confined to one single, if essential parameter, that is, good-bad, to which the other three (certainty, expectedness, and importance) 'can be seen to relate' (Thompson and Hunston 2000:25). Thirdly, 'appraisal' proposes a network of semantic resources that expresses and inspects how attitudes are amplified (either sharpened or softened) as well as how strongly the writer/speaker is aligned to these attitudes, under the subsystems 'graduation' and 'engagement' respectively (Martin and White 2005:92-94). The adjustment of attitudes and the degree to which the writer/speaker supports or opposes the value positions promoted in a text - i.e. his/her stand - are of great significance, particularly in tracing even the pieces of information that can contribute to his/her overall textual evaluations - i.e. ideologies. But neither 'evaluation' nor 'stance' enables such the full expression and investigation of amplification or engagement as 'appraisal' does.

Moreover, since appraisal ‘is concerned with evaluation’ (Martin and Rose 2003:22), and it is a new typology of evaluation (Martin and White 2005:7), then, as emerges from the discussion above, appraisal is relevant to the study of ideology in the way that it provides a set of resources that can be used to express as well as analyse writer/speaker and translator/interpreter outcomes to see how and why s/he is intruding. White (2001) emphasizes this aspect in his comment on Appraisal Theory, stressing how it provides ‘the linguistic resources by which text speakers come to express, negotiate and naturalise particular intersubjective and ultimately ideological positions’. In the light of such a proposal, and because the translator/interpreter is already a text writer/speaker, then s/he plays the same role - that is, the expression, negotiation and naturalization of his/her ideological position. Finally, as will be reflected on below, an examination of the different appraisal resources shows that such a framework provides the most comprehensive study of the impact of the interpersonal in language, addressing in particular the puzzling interposition of the writer/speaker into the communicative situation. Bednarek (2006:32), for instance, declares that ‘[t]he contribution of Appraisal Theory to the study of evaluation can hardly be overestimated since it provides the only systemic, detailed, and elaborative framework of evaluative language’. Coffin (2006:14) also uses the theory and investigates its analytical significance in individual texts, grouped texts, and institutional discourse in ‘capturing the global evaluative patterns’. Hence, since our central purpose is to find convincing evidence that can clearly, extensively, and systematically reveal how the simultaneous interpreter’s ideology is mixed with that of the speaker’s - and even prioritized - an appraisal framework offers an entirely accountable network that underpins and enables that central purpose.

2.5. Appraisal

Appraisal, therefore, stems from and accounts for the interpersonal function of language. In its early stages, it was focused on writing in the workplace and secondary school under the literacy project *Write it Right* at the University of Sydney. But with time, the results that it provided motivated researchers to extend its scope to include other fields and contexts, such as literature (e.g. Rothery and Stenglin 2000), academic writing (e.g. Hood 2004), and media discourse (e.g. Bednarek 2006). More specifically, appraisal is concerned with the following aspects (Martin and White 2005:1):

1. The interpersonal in language, with the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate.
2. How writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise, and how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise.
3. The construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments.
4. How writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities or personas, how they align or dis-align themselves with actual or potential respondents, and how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience.

These core functions reveal a number of issues to do with the conveyance of interpersonal meaning. Firstly, although appraisal covers a wide area, as is clear above, there is still a kind of interrelatedness amongst the fields conveyed. Crucially, this is based on the fact that when the writer/speaker expresses his/her positive or negative attitudes, s/he shapes the features of his/her identity from which his/her stand is

judged – that is, the point at which recipients are invited to share, or reject, these evaluations and occupy the same, or an opposite, position. Secondly, since appraisal functions within the borders of whole texts, it is important, therefore, to avoid selecting pieces of texts and study them independently because such analysis will be neither systemic nor comprehensive. Thirdly, it is worth mentioning that appraisal is both a means and an end. It is a means in the sense that it provides the writer/speaker with the linguistic mechanisms - i.e. tools - through which, for instance, s/he expresses attitude. Choices made are of vital importance because they provide him/her with the set of alternatives that can best express his/her evaluations and, as a result, help the audience to interpret these assessments and infer their intended meanings. At the same time, appraisal is an end because behind such choices there is/are particular goal(s) that the writer/speaker wishes to accomplish, which is what pushes him/her to intrude into the communicative situation. Finally, it is quite evident that Appraisal Theory is a theory both of and about ideology. By expressing his/her evaluations, the writer/speaker invites the audience to join him/her and, regardless of those who will either support or oppose those evaluations, will lead to communities of ‘shared feelings and values’ - i.e. ideologies. While it is certainly true that the writer/speaker reflects these feelings and values, they are not exclusively his own simply because s/he is already a member of a community.

As we can see from the foregoing discussion, the writer/speaker is a producer of texts who is interpersonally involved in their making. Consciously or not, s/he is subjectively present to occupy a particular position in relation to the material conveyed, as well as to those addressed. In this respect, the translator / interpreter is the second-order producer of texts so that his/her presence is undeniable. This is

inevitably related to his/her 'reaction' to the text at hand since s/he is already a 'reader' who has to respond in a particular way. Martin and White (ibid: 206), in this regard, confine the writer's/speaker's reading positions to three types, in terms of whether s/he adopts the same position - i.e. ideology - conveyed by a text, opposes it, or concentrates on a single aspect that neither rejects or accepts the text as a whole - positions that are characterised as 'compliant', 'resistant', and 'tactical' respectively. The same goes for the translator / interpreter - that is, s/he can reflect the same position of the source text, oppose it, or a combination of both. Nevertheless, one cannot generalize the preference for any one of these responses unless a linguistic analysis throughout the use of appraisal semantic resources is carried out in both the source and target texts to see whether they, roughly speaking, correspond or not in terms of the ideology intended by the speaker/writer as compared to the one depicted by the translator / interpreter.

Before proceeding to analyse interpreter intervention in the speeches of Obama, it will be useful to present a brief account of Martin and White's exhaustive, and interrelated, map through which appraisal enables the systemic expression, and identification, of evaluation in texts. First and foremost, appraisal differentiates between positive and negative attitudes towards people, issues, situations and so forth. These attitudes are either feelings, judgments of human behaviour or evaluations of things or natural phenomena. As can be noticed in Figure 2.3 below, within the category of **attitude** (original emphasis), there are three main sub-resources namely **affect**, **judgement**, and **appreciation**:

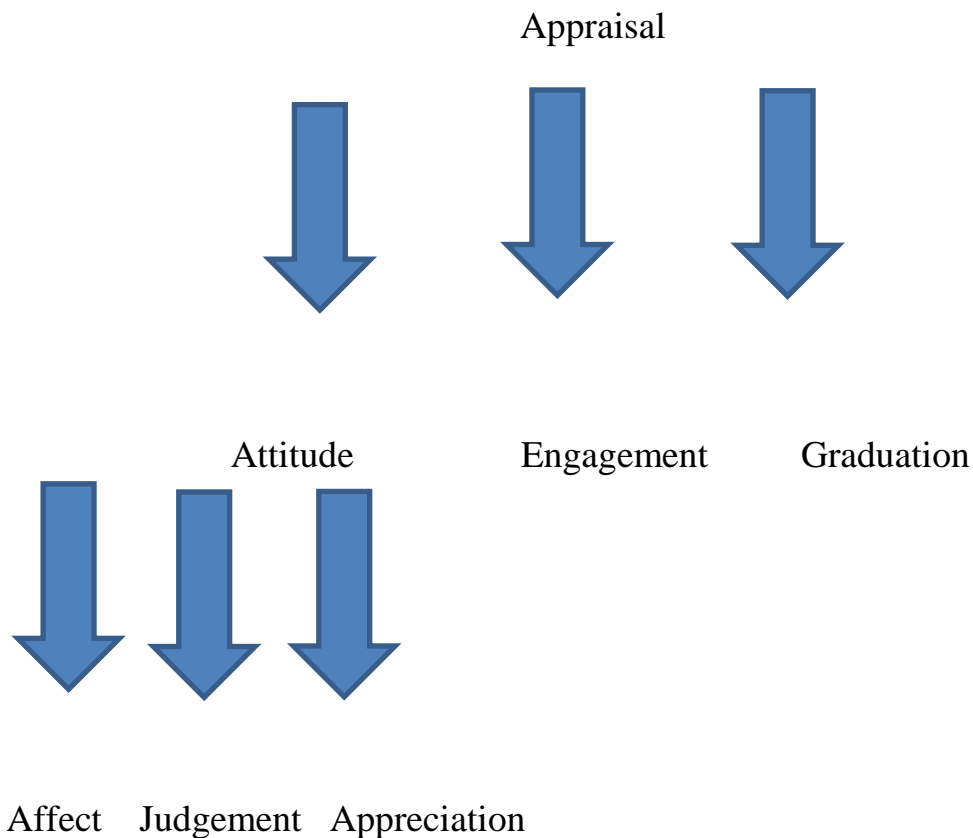


Figure 2.3 Appraisal Framework (Martin and White 2005)

As for **affect**, it is fundamentally concerned with ‘emotional reactions’. Moreover, depending on the surge of feeling, **affect** is then classified into four variables which are ‘un/happiness’, ‘dis/satisfaction’, ‘in/security’, and ‘dis/inclination’ - see, for example, Bill Clinton’s use of the word ‘remorse’ to express his feeling of ‘unhappiness’ which he intensifies through another appraisal indicator ‘profound’, which is related to another semantic resource that we will shortly come across:

Mere words cannot fully express the profound remorse I feel for what our country is going through and for what members of both parties in Congress are now forced to deal with (Clinton, I am profoundly Sorry, December 11, 1998).

Judgement, the second sub-type of **attitude**, evaluates people’s behaviour in relation to ‘social esteem’: their ‘normality’, ‘capacity’ and

‘tenacity’, and ‘social sanction’: their ‘veracity’ and ‘propriety’. In the following extract, for instance, especially through the underlined words, George W. Bush evaluates Saddam’s actions by relying heavily on the parameter of ‘social sanction’ of negative ‘prosperity’ in particular to get Americans’ support to launch war on Iraq:

...a murderous tyrant, who has already used chemical weapons to kill thousands of people. This same tyrant has tried to dominate the Middle East, has invaded and brutally occupied a small neighbor, has struck other nations without warning, and holds unrelenting hostility towards the United States (Bush, Speech to America, July 9, 2002).

Thirdly, **appreciation** conveys our estimation of things or natural phenomena according to three variables, which are ‘reaction’, ‘composition’, and ‘valuation’. Ronald Reagan’s evaluation of Berlin is a good example that shows the use of the three variables; ‘reaction’ in (beauty), ‘composition’ in (place of freedom), and ‘valuation’ in (feeling of history) as can be seen below:

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak in this place of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination (Reagan, Tear Down this Wall, June 12, 1987).

In fact, the speaker/writer adopts a particular stance towards each of the kinds of **attitude** set out above. These stances are crucially revealed to the audience using lexico-grammatical choices that strategically designed to drive him/her take a similar, contrary or undecided position.

This second domain of meaning is termed **engagement**, of which there are four possibilities of alignment: **disclaim** ('denial' or 'counter-expectancy'), **proclaim** ('concurring', 'pronouncement', or 'endorsement'), **attribute** ('acknowledgement' and 'distancing'), and **entertain**. One clear example of **disclaim** is that of George W. Bush, who rejects the views that 'War on Terror' should be confined to Americans because they are the ones who are threatened. This firm stand is revealed below through words such as 'not', 'however', and 'just':

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom (Bush, Address to Congress, September 20, 2001).

The final sub-system of appraisal is **graduation**. It is concerned with grading. It is divided into **force** and **focus** depending on whether the graduated resource, which is either an attitude or a stance, is gradable or non-gradable. Within **force**, moreover, the degree of evaluation is adjusted in terms of either 'intensification' or 'quantification'. In the example below, William Jefferson Clinton plays on both the intensity and quantity of negative feelings to maximize the impact of his evaluations:

You have lost too much, but you have not lost everything. And you have certainly not lost America, for we will stand with you for as many tomorrows as it takes (William Jefferson Clinton, Oklahoma Bombing Memorial Prayer Service Address, April 23, 1995).

In the final analysis, the terminology that Appraisal Theory offers is broad and requires illustrative examples to clarify the area that each of its variables covers. Nevertheless, always bearing in mind the limitations

of the word count of this thesis, we note that such reflection at this particular point would be excessively descriptive (indeed, the whole set of resources is extensively covered in Martin and White [2005]), while, on the other hand, it would divert attention from the core issue of the study - interpreter manipulation of ideology. For that reason, there is a sub-section in each of the next two chapters designed to contextualize the framework in a way that offers a deeper understanding of the ideological contribution of each of these semantic resources.

Chapter Three: Ideology in Barack Obama's 'A New Beginning' and its Simultaneous Interpreting

3.1. Introduction

According to the model of ideology in translation suggested in the previous chapter, indicators of appraisal are the vehicle through which the speaker's ideology is manifested in the text. Consequently, any attempt to translate or interpret these indicators should provide an equivalent that can best depict what the translator perceives to be their intended meaning. Although there may be circumstances where the translator's or interpreter's intrusion is justified in terms of dealing with a particular culture-specific lexicon that needs to be adapted to suit the target audience, this requirement lessens or even disappears in a text that has already been designed for a particular audience, as is the case with Barack Obama's speech 'A New Beginning' which is aimed at specifically addressing Muslims around the world. However, before moving ahead to investigate interpreter intervention, it will be useful to draw the ideological map of the source text by presenting a summary of the appraisal resources deployed.

3.2. A Synopsis of Appraisal Resources in Barack Obama's 'A New Beginning'

'A New Beginning' is one of Obama's first speeches delivered in his 'Apology Tour', through which he tries to establish a kind of reconciliation of the relationship between the West in general and America in particular on one hand, and Muslims around the world on the other. It is delivered on June 4th, 2009. As its title indicates; the speech is intended to offer a new paradigm that could repair the image of America damaged during the Bush presidency which sanctioned military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. The timing and place of delivery

are of crucial symbolic importance. It comes at a time when the social gap created by Colonialism and the Cold War has grown wider as a result of the hostile reactions of the West towards Islam, perceived as a source of terror. As for its place, Egypt's central position in the Arab and Islamic World is confirmed by the presence within its borders of Al-Azhar, one of the most prominent Islamic institutions, its status as the birthplace of civilizations, as well, of course, as its role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

It is therefore not surprising that Jonathan Favreau, the Director of Obama's speechwriting, and his team spent much time and effort producing the speech in a way that reflects the president's intentions for its designated audiences. However, there is also an eye to non-Muslim audiences as well. The speech, in other words, is local and global at the same time. It is within this dual context that we fully understand the speaker's recognition of the way that the media disseminates a new kind of power, a soft one, through persuasive rather than military means. The speaker, for example, frequently attempts to transcend geopolitical boundaries by his use of the inclusive 'we', so that the renewal the speaker calls for is achieved through the mechanisms of conviction and not of imposition or coercion.

These exceptional historical and social circumstances, in this way, freight this speech with an ideological intention that is best discerned through the appraisal framework. To be fair, the limited space devoted here could not provide an illustrative version for the manifestation of all aspects of social power. But the aim of the present study restricts us to examining the semantic resources as indicators of ideology whose absence or rough equivalence could divert the beliefs and assumptions the speaker communicates. In this respect, the appendices provide a

useful guide that readers can refer to see the vast quantity and quality of resources used. Before going to the examination of the text, however, it is important to clarify that the written version used here is the one available on the official website of the White House. Moreover, to guide us to trace the speaker's evaluations systematically, as well as their renditions into Arabic later on, I divide the speech into numbered sentences. Consecutive sentences discussing the same theme, in turn, are grouped under a separate sub-heading. Hence, the speech will fall into nine parts as shown below:

1. The Opening Section (sentences 1-75).
2. Violent Extremism (sentences 76-126).
3. The Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World (sentences 127-180).
4. Nuclear Weapons (sentences 181-198).
5. Democracy (sentences 199-214).
6. Religious Freedom (sentences 215-233).
7. Women's Rights (sentences 234-244).
8. Economic Development and Opportunity (sentences 245-270).
9. The Closing Section (sentences 271-300).

In what follows, we are going to see how the speaker creatively employs different appraisal resources to express his positioned attitudes in a way intended to stimulate as much emotional complicity with his audience as possible.

In the opening section, and after articulating his positive attitudes towards the audiences and their culture, he justifies the current 'tension' between his nation and theirs, a situation which he blames on factors that are beyond his and their control especially Colonialism, the Cold War, 9/11, and wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. In order to intensify the

persuasive force of the speech, he skilfully develops a complex interplay between positive and negative attitudes. For example, perceiving that the audience will not tolerate criticism of Islam from an American speaker, he praises its role in the progress of humanity as well as its relationship with America to the extent that Islam becomes ‘a *part* of America (emphasis is mine here and in all the following ones)’. This is counterpointed against negative perceptions (e.g. ‘*tension* rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy *debate*’) and judgements (e.g. ‘America is not the *crude stereotype* of a self-interested empire’) to nudge the audience towards the view that America has the right to self-defence, especially after the attacks of 9/11. Moreover, he uses a series of markers to amplify these attitudes so as to guarantee maximum effect (e.g. ‘a time of *great tension*’). More importantly, even at the outset of his remarks, we can see that he wants to restrict the audience’s attention to the positions he adopts. For that reason, he shows his general sympathy for their general position and assumptions by the use of a range of effective rhetorical devices (e.g. recognition in ‘I *know* there is a lot of publicity’ and concession in ‘*but no* single speech can eradicate years of mistrust’).

The first substantial issue that the speaker addresses is violent extremism. Before moving on to identify and interpret his ideology, however, it is important to examine why he uses such a sub-heading. The speaker’s excision of the word ‘terrorism’, used frequently and notoriously during George W. Bush’s presidency, and use of the less critical, and arguably more common, ‘extremism’ implies two things: an attempt to persuade extremists to abandon violence and, on the other hand, a cover term that refers to individuals and institutions who sympathise, whether emotionally or ideologically, with Al-Qaeda’s

agendas. It is the negativity that this sub-heading suggests which permeates the speaker's attitudes throughout this part. An examination of his apparent feelings shows that he relies heavily on the variables of graduated insecurity (e.g. '9/11 was *enormous trauma*') and of dissatisfaction (e.g. 'provoked *strong differences*') to invoke a sense of external pessimism, allowing the speaker to offer his resolution. Moreover, the speaker both intensifies and quantifies the parameters of impropriety of his negative perceptions - e.g. '*ruthlessly murder*' and 'the *narrow hatred* of a few'. Again this is counterpointed by his positive appreciation of Islam (e.g. 'the *enduring faith*') and Iraq, in illustration of the merit of his nation's military intervention (e.g. 'Iraq's *democratically-elected* government'). This apparent respect is designed to leave no room for scepticism as to the speaker's sincerity, especially when he quotes from the Holy Koran (e.g. 'the Holy Koran *teaches* whoever kills an innocent, it is as if he has killed all mankind; and whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind'). Indeed, through this range of appraisal resources, the speaker manifests a desire to defend his nation's actions after 9/11 in a way that Muslims might not only accept, but also be ready to understand and forgive in the event of any future attacks. The speech is extremely well crafted in this regard, bringing into the relationship a multitude of amplified negative and positive evaluations whose interplay between pragmatic concession and sympathetic recognition is geared towards strengthening speaker-audience ties. Of course, for that principal objective to be achieved, the speech needs to be reliably interpreted.

In the section in which he comments on the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab World, the speaker shows his nation's continued support for Israel. There is clearly a calculated appeal here to

American and non-American Jews, at the expense of Palestinians whose mode of resistance is described as ‘violence’. His persuasive rhetoric in this instance noticeably lacks the citation of Koranic verses that permit the right of self-defence if someone threatens Muslims’ land, money, and integrity, indicating the speaker’s partial perspective of the conflict. However, this recognition is also offset by concession, with a special focus on feelings of unhappiness (e.g. ‘*devastates* Palestinian families’), insecurity (e.g. ‘the constant *hostility* and attacks’) and dissatisfaction (e.g. ‘the *humiliation* of segregation’), reflecting once again how skilfully the speaker tries to lead the audience to believe in the uselessness of the continuation of this conflict, thereby preparing the ground for his preferred solution. On the other hand, he exhaustively criticizes anti-Semitic violence, from the Third Reich (e.g. ‘Jews were *enslaved, tortured, and gassed* to death’) to Hamas (e.g. ‘threatening Israel with *destruction*’), reinforced by the accumulation of the indicators of impropriety in this part. Through these devices, he re-states his nation’s position that ‘we’ stand firmly with Israelis against whoever obstructs the achievement of their legitimate aspirations. This is also obvious in his appreciation of American-Israeli ties (e.g. ‘America’s *strong bonds* with Israel are *well-known*’), which he emphasises repeatedly in order to dispel any possible uncertainty about the relinquishing of unquestioning support. Moreover, these attitudes are effectively tuned through intensification (e.g. ‘this *most* painful memories’) and quantification (e.g. ‘the *daily* humiliations *large and small*’). This intensification effectively closes down any multiplicity of opinions so that now, for example, ‘Hamas *must* put an end to violence’. The clarity of these provisional conclusions is reinforced by a mix of indicators of denial (e.g. ‘the United States *does not* accept’) and counter-expectancy (e.g. ‘the *only* resolution’), all of which lead to a

single proposition, that is full American support for an independent and secure Israel.

Although the sub-heading the speaker offers in terms of the issue of nuclear weapons is general, he develops this particular context by reflecting exclusively on the Iranian nuclear programme. The link with the previous section is clear: Iran's refusal to accept the legitimacy of the Israeli state as well, of course, as its support for Palestinian armed resistance. In addition, the speaker is fully aware of the disapproval voiced by most Arab countries of the Iranian intrusion into the region under the guise of assisting the Palestinian people. The intention is clear: this provides the opportunity for a coalition, even if undeclared, involving America, Israel, and most Arab countries standing together against a single enemy. To that end, the use of evaluative language is devoted to the isolation of Iran from both Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Accordingly, the speaker focuses on the parameters of insecurity (e.g. 'a hugely *dangerous* path') and dissatisfaction (e.g. 'rather than *trapped* in the past') to frame his attitudes towards Iran, which he blames for their 'cold' conflicts. Positive intention is now made clear - this is the only section of the speech so far in which he inclines twice ('my country is *prepared to move forward*' and '*we are willing* to move forward'), which may be interpreted as an indication of admitting the inherent difficulties and dangers (not least among them, of course, to Israel) of any military confrontation with Iran. Moreover, there is just one occasion where he criticises the impropriety of Iranian behaviour ('act of *hostage-taking* and *violence* against US troops and civilians'). On the other hand, he devotes a number of positive judgements to encouraging Iran to participate in a fruitful dialogue that is based, as he suggests, 'on the basis of mutual *respect*' and commitment that are '*at*

the core of the Treaty'. This is clearly diplomatic language of the highest order, carefully nuanced and cautiously expressed. In order to reinforce the positive nature of this language, his feelings, judgements, and appreciations (as well as his stances) are uttered with special force through the use of intensifiers (e.g. 'proceed with *courage, rectitude, and resolve*') and quantifiers (e.g. '*decades* of mistrust'). As far as the speaker's intersubjective positioning is concerned, we can see that there is limited room for relying on the subjectivity of propositions conveyed because the speaker's presence is plainly recognizable. This is so clear in his use of the indicators of proclaim (e.g. 'I have *made clear*') and disclaim (e.g. '*no* single nation should pick and choose') which are double those of entertain (e.g. 'there *will* be many issues'). In other words, he wants the audience, especially Iranians, to recognise the approach that he offers to legitimise the Iranian proliferation program.

As is the case with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the issue of democracy is of great significance to Muslim audiences, especially because in most Arab countries there have been dynastic power structures, variously legitimised by different labels such as monarchy. In order to invest his audiences into the principles of democracy, the speaker uses evaluative language whose amplified attitudes are dominantly positive. His feelings, for instance, show his sympathy with those who are willing to break the bonds of suppression (e.g. 'all people *yearn* for certain things'). These feelings, furthermore, coalesce into the image of a bright future where people enjoy full and equal rights in a system that enjoys American support (e.g. 'America respects the right of all *peaceful, law-abiding* voices to be heard'). More importantly, his appreciations are entirely positive and focus on America's commitment to democracy (e.g. 'I do have an *unyielding* belief'). The alignment

frame within which these attitudes are offered reveals the speaker to be strongly present throughout this section, again to narrow the argument. That is why there are just a few examples of entertain (e.g. ‘you *must* maintain your power’) compared to the abundant indicators of denial (e.g. ‘there is *no* straight line’) and counter-expectancy (e.g. ‘these are *not just* American ideas’) through which the speaker disclaims any possible perception of partiality.

In this context, Islamic tolerance is the central aspect of religious freedom to be addressed by the speaker. In doing so, he brings a religious dimension to the relationship between Muslims on the one hand, and with the West on the other. Noticeably, he moves beyond any restriction of the tension between these two groups to the historical, social, and political factors that he aspires to relegate to the past. But, in order to create a kind of balance, at times he makes new concessions, engaging in a ‘soft’ criticism of intolerance in Western countries. To convince his audience to interact with him constructively, the speaker follows the same pattern of situating graduated attitudes that he employs in his treatment of the preceding issues. In other words, he plays on positive (e.g. ‘worship *freely*’) and negative (e.g. ‘*tragic violence*’) feelings, finally prioritizing negative ones so as to point out the need for a more positive reaction towards the West. His judgements, moreover, show a seemingly equal criticism of Muslims and Americans, but with a key difference in intensity because, whereas he disregards violence that Muslims encounter in America and focuses on that hardship that ‘zakat’ generates (‘rules of charitable giving *made it harder* for Muslims to fulfill zakat’), he criticises what he characterises as a Muslims’ reactions to other faiths (‘*measure* one’s belief *by a rejection* of another’s’) as well as their inter-faith conflicts (‘the *divisions* between Sunni and

Shia’), but counters these criticisms with recognition that ‘Islam has a *proud* tradition of tolerance’ and tradition of achievements that ‘we see [...] in the *history* of Andalusia and Cordoba’. These are strategic articulations of esteem in whose light the audience may judge the validity of other expressed attitudes. That is to say, because the speaker shows his deep understanding and valuation of the audiences’ beliefs, any resistance to other attitudes articulated in the speech is intended to be much less likely. The same persuasive construction is also evident in the expression of the speaker’s alignment. Although on certain occasions he states his position through indicators of proclaim (e.g. ‘*that is why* I am committed to working with American Muslims’) or disclaim (e.g. ‘*but* it is being challenged in many different ways’), he assigns the audience the opportunity to examine the propositions and discover their subjectivity or objectivity through his use of a higher number of indicators of entertain (e.g. ‘faith *should* bring us together’). The overall intended impact is to generate a higher degree of receptivity in the receiving audience in order to implant the attitudes of the so-called ‘new beginning’. But, as this thesis is concerned to demonstrate, between intention and reception there intrudes the third-party agency of the interpreter.

In comparison to that of other topics, the issue of women’s rights is allocated relatively minor attention in the speech, as may be seen from the limited number of sentences used to address the issue (which in turn, of course, has an impact on the amount of evaluative language that may be obtained). The speaker is, of course, aware that his attitudes will be, in general terms, welcomed by female audiences, establishing a relationship of mutual recognition that will increase the area of shared beliefs and assumptions between the speaker and audience, designed

once again to facilitate the acceptance of other stances and assumptions. The issue of women's rights, not without controversy of course, is folded into a sense of the social injustices that mar Muslim community life, in contrast to those of the West - America in particular. That is to say, one of the factors that contribute to the powerfulness of Western communities is the recognition of women's rights, with the implicit assumption that to deny these rights militates against progress and prosperity. The speaker's appraisal resources, therefore, aim to promote such values which are plainly reflected in his graduated positive feelings (e.g. 'our *common prosperity*'), judgements (e.g. 'our daughters can *contribute just as much as* our sons'), and appreciations (e.g. 'a woman who is *denied education is denied equality*'). His stance is persuasively negotiated through a number of indicators of proclaim (e.g. '*I know* and you can tell from this audience') and disclaim (e.g. '*I reject* the view of some in the West'), reinforced by constructions of entertain (e.g. '*I am convinced* that our daughters can contribute') that stretch the argument to its, in terms of the dynamic of the speech, logical conclusion.

This opens broadly into the wider, but related, issue of economic development and opportunity, and although the title is notionally technical, we still may perceive the speaker's use of evaluative language (although to a more limited extent than was hitherto deployed) in which he focuses on the key themes of the Obama presidency, the merits and demerits of 'change'. More specifically, he relies anew on recognition of insecurity (e.g. 'this change can bring *fear*') and concession of dissatisfaction (e.g. 'while America in the past has *focused on oil and gas* in this part of the world') in order to convince his audience to accept the tenets of the new beginning his speech is concerned to promote. He supports these feelings by manipulating the fear of the worst excesses

globalization, fears that are particularly prevalent in conservative societies. This atmosphere of induced negativity is clearly intended to prompt the audience to engage with Obama in his search for an appropriate third way to save their society from corruption and stagnation on one hand, whilst on the other protecting it from the intrusive levellings of globalization. It is at this key juncture that the speaker begins to negotiate his attitude, initially through the expression of strong feelings of inclination, that he uses twice ('we *seek* broader engagement' and 'Americans are *ready* to join with citizens and governments') in order to urge the audience to engage with his roadmap for peace and prosperity in Muslim communities. To that end, his appreciations are also positive (e.g. 'the *astounding* progress') in order to encourage his audience to participate with him in the forging of a better future. In all of these sub-layers of attitude, there is an emphasis on the capacity of language to exert maximum impact on the audience. That is why, even more repeatedly than in earlier sections of the speech, the speaker here uses a set of intensifiers (e.g. 'these things we *most* cherish about') and quantifiers (e.g. 'also *huge* disruptions') that are intended to maximise the obtained reaction. It is vital that the speaker successfully implicates himself in this negotiation of trust: in other words, he leaves the audience in no doubt as to his own personal stance as a further element of persuasion. Such a position is identifiable through the multiple use of indicators of proclaim (e.g. 'I also *know* that human progress cannot be denied') and disclaim, especially of counter-expectancy (e.g. '*but* also huge disruptions and changing communities').

The ultimate objective of the closing section of the speech is to present the speaker's solution to the internal difficulties that Muslims face, as well as to how they can act to soften their relationship with the

West. The entire intention of the speaker's reliance on different kinds of evaluative language has been to lead the audiences to the point where they may identify Obama's plan as a panacea for a whole raft of current problems. An examination of this section reveals the same tendency to the investment of graduated attitudes. In other words, put succinctly, Obama's amplified feelings and judgements are negative while his appreciations are positive. He wants the audiences to compare the dark side, their present situation, to the bright one that he creatively draws as the best available alternative, the most logical option. This broad counterpointing is evident in his professed feelings of insecurity (e.g. 'there is so much *fear*') and dissatisfaction (e.g. 'there are many Muslims and non-Muslims who *question*') and the patterns of relationship that currently underpin the geopolitics that he is concerned with (e.g. 'it is easier to *start wars* than to end them'). Through this atmosphere of frustration, he draws the audience towards his plan, which is exceptionally presented to be 'the right path', 'a rule', 'truth', 'a belief', and 'faith'. To reach the shore of security and prosperity, therefore, the speech suggests, the audience must consider the beliefs and assumptions set out and legitimised in 'A New Beginning'. Additionally, and in order to strengthen these positions, his own position within them is presented as enshrining the new position at the fulcrum of the three religions. This is very clear in his indicators of denial (e.g. 'a belief that *isn't* new, that *isn't* black or white or brown, that *isn't* Christian or Muslim or Jew') and of counter-expectancy (e.g. '*but* we can only achieve together') that are, moreover, enriched by the rhetorically-rich endorsement (e.g. 'The Holy Koran *tells*', 'The Talmud *tells*', and 'The Holy Bible *tells*').

The detailed analysis above, as well as the tables in Appendix 3, presents an overview of appraisal resources deployed within each individual section of ‘A New Beginning’, and as agents of the central flow and movement of the speech. Indeed, such an analysis provides a thorough and comprehensive map of the speech’s evaluative orientation. As the text unfolds, we see how the speaker creatively plays on a set of graduated positive and negative attitudes to communicate beliefs and assumptions that are at times potentially controversial (e.g. ‘suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away’) or may be held as self-evident at others (e.g. ‘The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements’) in order to convince his audience to adopt a particular position depending on his own. It is also evident that there is a decline in the use of evaluative language as the text moves inexorably towards its conclusion. Table 3.1 below presents the overall number of appraisal resources in this speech.

**Table 3.1 The Sum of Appraisal Resources in Barack Obama’s ‘A
New Beginning’**

Issue	Attitude			Engagement	Graduation	Totals
	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation			
The Opening Section	37	51	32	53	63	236
Violent Extremism	20	22	13	44	25	124
Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	30	26	20	35	23	134
Nuclear Weapons	11	7	5	16	7	46
Democracy	8	16	5	21	7	57
Religious Freedom	5	4	9	13	5	36
Women’s Rights	3	2	4	14	8	31
Economic Development	6	6	8	12	13	45
The Closing Section	8	6	10	19	8	51
Total	128	140	106	227	159	760

The limitations of space of a doctoral thesis mean that there is no scope to undertake a more detailed analysis of the increase/ decrease in the number of the indicators of appraisal or any one of its subtypes. The prime focus of this research is on how these carefully contrived patterns and modulations are rendered into Arabic, with the knowledge that any modification of indicators will ultimately misrepresent the speaker's intended evaluation. Intention here is crucial, and we must remind ourselves that this is a carefully crafted speech specifically designed to serve a well thought-through and clearly envisaged objective. How that intention is violated in the act of interpretation becomes the subject of the rest of this chapter.

3.3. Ideology in the Simultaneous Interpreting of Barack Obama's 'A New Beginning'

The purpose of this particular section is to analyse the extent to which appraisal indicators are reflected in Arabic throughout the analysis of the live simultaneous renderings of the individual interpreters working for Al-Arabia, Al-Jazeera, and Russia Today (henceforth Int.1, Int.2, and Int.3, respectively). However, unlike other studies of appraisal in translation and interpreting (for example, Munday 2012), this analysis exceeds the limits of the individual word indicators in order also to identify any substitution, addition or deletion that may affect the expression of evaluation within the boundaries of the sentence. That is to say, the indicator itself is an integral part of a proposition whose meaning is dependent on the other components, so that any change, insertion or deletion for these components will inevitably modify the attitude promoted in that particular sentence, which will, in turn, affect, to a varying degree, the text's evaluative meaning. In a manner similar to the appraisal analysis of Obama's speech of the section of the thesis

preceding this one, this stage of the examination also takes into consideration the thematic organization of the text. It should be noted, however, that the overwhelming quantity of indicators occurring in the three interpreted versions means that only 20% of the sample can be examined in our attempt to track interpreter interventions, conscious or unconscious, in the text. Whatever interventions are identified will then be analysed to assess the extent to which the interpreters' ideological agendas are discernible from their choices and solutions.

3.3.1. Interpreter Intervention in the Opening Section

As is clear from the foregoing discussion, this section of the speech is of vital importance. Here the speaker sets out his stall, investment attitudes intended to prepare the ground for improving the image of the United States that has been damaged by the shift in foreign policy since 9/11 - the amount of text devoted to the opening comprises a full quarter of the entire speech. For that reason, fifteen separate units – in the main, full sentences – have been selected from the opening section of the speech in order to analyse the extent to which interpreter mediation and/or intervention impact upon the transference of the speaker's attitudes and stances – always bearing in mind that the original speech is a special utterance in which intentionality is carefully crafted and delivered.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 7)

We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world - tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate.

Int.1:

نَجْتَمِعُ فِي فِتْرَةٍ تَتَّسِمُ بِكَثِيرٍ مِنَ التَّفَاوُتِ بَيْنَ الْوَلَايَاتِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ، وَالْعَالَمِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ، هَذَا التَّوْتَرِ الَّذِي كَانَ قَدْ زُرِعَ فِي فِتْرَاتٍ سَابِقَةٍ.

BT (Back Translation): We meet at a period characterized by a lot of difference between the United States and the Islamic World; this tension has been planted in previous periods.

Int.3:

نحن نلتقي في وقت يسوده التوتر بين الولايات المتحدة والمسلمين حول العالم هذا التوتر مبني على حقائق تاريخية.

BT: We meet at a time dominated by tension between the United States and Muslims around the world; this tension is based on historical facts.

This early sentence expresses the core importance of the speech. We have come to the real heart of the matter: Obama wants his audience to perceive that the relationship between his nation and Muslims has reached a critical stage. He implicitly admits that previous administrations, such as that of Bush, have failed to win the hearts and minds of Muslims because in all their approaches Muslims have been demonised and victimised. By pointing to the failures of history, therefore, he attempts to convince his audience to accept a new approach. In that context, Int.1 and Int.3 make interventions that are significant both in terms of their discernible positions and of the way in which audience response may be conditioned at this crucial stage.

Firstly, Int.1 renders ‘at a time of great tension’ into ‘فترة تتسم بكثير’، ‘من التفاوت’ (‘a period characterized by a lot of difference’), where the speaker’s graduated feeling of insecurity - ‘tension’ - is modified into a non-synonymous replacement. The matter becomes yet more

complicated when the interpreter renders the clause ‘tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate’ into ‘هذا التوتر’ (‘this tension which has been planted at previous periods’). Although he uses the exact equivalent of ‘tension’, (‘توتر’) on the second occasion, he still disturbs audience comprehension – or, more dangerously, potentially implants unwanted connections of cause and effect - by linking ‘التفاوت’ and ‘التوتر’ (‘difference’ and ‘tension’ respectively). Importantly, therefore, in this regard, the deletion of an expression of attitude, which references the depth of the tension, is highly significant (‘that go beyond any current policy debate’). Finally, the interpreter changes ‘Muslims around the world’ into ‘العالم الإسلامي’ (‘the Islamic World’), which is a more essentialised frame of reference. Taken in conjunction, these interventions accumulate to transmit a different message emerging from the one ostensibly intended by the speaker. Arguably, it would seem that the interpreter intervenes in all of the positions above in order to shift the speaker’s core meaning from historically-rooted tensions to an ongoing difference, thereby conditioning an audience response that diverges from the one that the speech anticipates. This intervention reveals empathy with that audience – that is, a position of identification - when he shifts from the specificity of ‘Muslims’ to the more general and less personalized ‘Islamic World’. In this way, the spectator/listener perceives a diminished attitudinal position that frees him/her, as a Muslim individual, from active responsibility for the condition of relations with America. The speaker-audience relationship is qualitatively modified.

Int.3 raises two issues. He interprets ‘at a time of great tension’ as ‘وقت يسود التوتر’ (‘a time dominated by tension’). Noticeably, the speaker’s gradation ‘great’ is ignored in Arabic, but this has a marginal

effect because the verb 'يسودة' ('dominated') partially compensates for the lack of the intensifier. Moreover, the interpreter subtly modifies the meaning of the clause 'tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate' into 'هَذَا التوتر مبني على حقائق تاريخية' ('this tension is based on historical facts'). Here, in addition to the deletion of the relative clause that qualifies the nature of these 'forces', the interpreter renders 'rooted' into 'مبني', ('based'), an equivalent that does not communicate the depth and strength of the speaker's attitude towards this tension – in other words, his professed anxiety, thereby, as is also the case with Int.1, divesting the utterance of much of its intention to imply a shared complicity. This change in the perception of the speaker's evaluation may serve to bring the audience closer at this particular position, but this strategy may later backfire if the audience senses a disconnection between the attitudes suggested here and the ones that occur later. This discrepancy may eventually lead to the speaker's loss of credibility, a factor of enormous significance in the subsequent evaluation of the speech as a whole.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 8)

The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.

Int.1:

فَالْعَلَاقَةُ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْغَرْبِ تَمْتَدُّ عَلَى قُرُونٍ سَابِقَةٍ مِنَ التَّعَاوُنِ؛ لَكِنْ هَذَا التَّعَاوُنُ لَمْ يَخُلْ مِنَ
الْأَزْمَاتِ وَالنِّزَاعَاتِ.

BT: The relationship between Muslims and the West extends across previous centuries of cooperation, but this cooperation was not without crises and conflicts.

Int.3:

تتضمن عصورًا من التفاعل والتعايش بالإضافة إلى الصراعات.

BT: Includes centuries of cooperation and co-existence in addition to conflicts.

In this sentence, Obama reflects more widely on the relationship between Islam and the West, amplifying his previous position, crucially bringing in judgments that are both positive ('co-existence and cooperation') and negative ('conflict and religious wars'). In this respect, although the audience may accept his negative judgements, the positive ones seem to be unrealistic because the occupiers (i.e. Western powers) have denied the rights of the native peoples and dictated their demands through violence and repression. Consequently, the analysis shows that Int.1 and Int.3 make significant interventions in regard to the expression of these judgments.

At the outset, Int.1 omits 'co-existence' and changes 'conflict and religious wars' into 'الأزمات والنزاعات' ('crises and conflicts'). Moreover, he shifts the speaker's 'Islam' to 'المسلمين', ('Muslims'), a reversal of a decision taken in the previous sentence that further misleads the audience in that the speaker was patently referring to the religious doctrine rather than its followers. At this stage, we may wonder whether the interpreter's manipulation of the text in order to alter this proposition is an attempt to bring speaker viewpoint into his position, an initial suspicion that subsequent analysis will confirm or refute. The suspicion is indeed strengthened in the next item, in which he omits 'co-existence', thereby denying a more peaceful sense of the West's on-going relationship with Islam. Moreover, he eviscerates the sense of geopolitical tension of its possible religious character when he replaces

‘religious wars’ with ‘الأزمات’ (‘crises’). This shift of orientation is a significant violation (through substitution) of the speaker’s attitude. Our suspicion might well begin to coalesce around the view that the interpreter is pursuing a strategy designed to reflect stronger attitudes than the speaker expresses in order to prompt discord amongst the audience. Such disagreement would, in consequence, weaken the sharing of views that could have otherwise strengthened the ties of understanding between the speaker and his audience.

Similarly, Int.3 crucially modifies the meaning of this sentence. He deletes its entire subject - ‘The relationship between Islam and the West’. This deletion, in turn, forces the audience to relate the complement to ‘historical forces’, which is part of the preceding sentence. He also deletes ‘religious wars’ and pluralizes ‘conflict’. His decisions, therefore, deform the speaker’s message through a strategy of concision that over-simplifies the speaker’s conceptualization of this relationship, with the result also that the kind of bond he is seeking to establish with his audience is diminished and jeopardised at this key moment of the speech.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 9)

More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.

Int.1:

وَمُؤَخَّرًا هَذِهِ النِّزَاعَاتُ كَانَتْ قَدْ وَصَلَتْ إِلَى حَدِّ الاستِعْمَارِ، وَفَتْرَةِ الحَرْبِ البَارِدَةِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ فِيهَا غَالِبِيَّةُ الدُّوَلِ العَرَبِيَّةِ الإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كَانَتْ تُعَامَلُ عَلَى أَنَّهَا دُوِيَلَاتٌ صَغِيرَةٌ بِصَرَفِ النَّظَرِ عَنِ آمَالِهَا، وَطُمُوحَاتِهَا.

BT: Recently, these conflicts have led to colonialism and the period of the Cold War wherein the majority of Islamic Arab states have been treated as if proxies regardless of their hopes and ambitions.

Int.2:

وفي الأوقات مؤخرًا زادت هذه التوترات بفعل الحقب الاستعمارية التي حرمت المسلمين من الحقوق وفي الحرب الباردة البلدان الإسلامية كثيرًا ما عوملت وكأنها وكيلة ومن دون تطلعات احترام لتطلعاتها.

BT: In the recent times, these tensions have increased because of colonialism that denied Muslims their rights and a Cold War where Muslim countries were often treated as proxy without regard to their aspirations.

Int.3:

ومؤخرًا تصاعد هذا التوتر من قبل الاستعمار والحرب الباردة التي تعرض لها العالم الإسلامي بشكل كبير مع احترامنا لتطلعاتهم الكبيرة.

BT: And recently, this tension has been dominantly fed by colonialism and the Cold War that the Islamic World has encountered widely with our respect to their huge aspirations.

The speaker here reviews some of the historical events that have contributed to the current tension. In contradistinction to his attitude in the preceding sentence, this has the hallmarks of objectivity: he acknowledges that the West has mistreated Muslims. He uses notably evaluative language in order to convince his contemporary audience that they are not responsible for this tension because colonialism and the Cold War have worked to widen the gap between 'us'. How this critical attitudinal position is communicated in the interpreted versions becomes a significant question.

Firstly, scrutiny of Int.1 allows us to see clearly that the evaluative vocabulary is replaced or omitted altogether. In that regard, we notice how the interpreter maintains a tendency of inaccurately rendering ‘tension’ - here he uses ‘النزاعات’ (‘conflicts’), which he then proceeds to insert into a radically different chain of historical cause and effect. The speaker’s ‘tension has been fed by colonialism’ becomes ‘هذه النزاعات ‘ كانت قد وصلت الى حد الاستعمار’, (‘these conflicts have led to colonialism’), thereby presenting a wholly different analysis of history, one that to the speech’s audience may well be more in keeping with their own sense of the colonial past. Furthermore, he deletes the relative clause ‘that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims’, which is an important piece of contextualizing information in this regard, conveying the speaker’s attitude towards colonialism. There is also a significant geopolitical shift, again setting out a different context, when the interpreter changes ‘Muslim-majority’ countries into ‘غالبية الدول العربية الاسلامية’ (‘the majority of Islamic Arab states’). It might be felt that one can understand the shift of the verb ‘fed’ into ‘قَدْ وَصَلَتْ’ (‘led’) because the interpreter might easily have misrecognized the initial consonant. But there is other evidence that points to ideologically-motivated intervention; two other instances reveal how his position incurs a similar modification of the speaker’s viewpoint. This is discernible in the inconsistent rendering of ‘tension’ here as ‘النزاعات’ (‘conflicts’), where previously it was interpreted as ‘تباين’ (‘difference’) - a variance that establishes a different ordering of events and of history in the minds of the audience. The other occasion is the rendered scope of the Cold War, whereby he excludes Muslim-majority countries, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, from being treated as proxies and limits the negative effect to a particular Muslim ethnicity - that is, Arabs. Clear evidence is emerging here to support our initial

suspicion of ideologically-motivated intervention as he presents his interpretation of the influence of the Cold War.

Int.2 also intervenes noticeably. He replaces ‘Muslim-majority countries’ by ‘البلدان الاسلامية’ (‘Islamic countries’), thereby extending the scope of the speaker’s focus. Unlike the particularizing view of Int.1, Int.2 generalizes the influence of the Cold War, revealing his view that this war has not only had a negative impact on Muslim-majority countries, but also on Arab and non-Arab Islamic states as well. Although no evidence exists to substantiate such a view, when it is offered as the speaker’s view it will both unduly persuade the uninformed, and negatively impact on the informed listeners’ and reviewers’ assessment of the validity of the entire speech.

Int.3’s rendition significantly omits the speaker’s explanation of the negative impact of both colonialism and the Cold War on Muslims and Muslim-majority countries. In addition, he uses ‘العالم الإسلامي’, (‘the Islamic World’) as an equivalent to ‘Muslim-majority countries’, which once again is misleading in terms of geopolitical spread. But more importantly, he renders ‘without regard to their own aspirations’, which is related to the Cold War into ‘مع احترامنا لتطلعاتهم الكبيرة’, (‘with our respect to their huge aspirations’). He inserts a graduation indicator - ‘الكبيرة’ (‘huge’) – which, in conjunction with other decisions, may contribute to a single conclusion, namely, that of the interpreter’s attempt to avoid situating issues of colonialism and the Cold War in the context of existing tension. This ignoring - or concealing – of the speaker’s positively-oriented assessment provides a different standpoint from which the audience may judge the speech overall.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 10)

Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

Int.1:

فضلاً عن ذلك التغيرات الكاسحة التي قدّمتها الحضارة، والعولمة قد أدت إلى كثير من المسلمين للنظر إلى الغرب بصفتهم أعداء لهم.

BT: Moreover, the sweeping changes that civilization and globalization brought have led many Muslims to view the West as their enemies.

Int.2:

أيضاً التغيرات التي جاءت بها العولمة والحدثة جعل الكثير من المسلمين ينظرون بعين العداة إلى الولايات المتحدة باعتبارها تنظر بعين العداة للإسلام.

BT: Also the changes that globalization and modernity brought have led many Muslims to look through the eye of enmity to the United States because it looks through the eye of enmity to Islam.

Int.3:

مضافاً إلى ذلك التغير الذي أحدثته العولمة والحدثة التي جعلت من العالم الإسلامي كعدو للتقاليد الإسلامية.

BT: Moreover, the change brought by globalization and modernity has made the Islamic World an enemy of Islamic traditions.

Obama here continues expressing his attitudes about the factors that have led to the tension, particularly what motivates some Muslims to declare their hostility towards the West. His argument seems to be unsatisfactory: what is the relationship between the sweeping change that modernity and globalization brought on the one side, and the

hostility of some Muslims on the other? Such relationship could be accepted only in one sense, which is, if this change has been employed by some in the West to threaten or weaken Islam so Muslims' hostility was just a reaction. Let's now move to assess the interpreters' performance.

Int.1's rendition indicates two issues that need attention. Firstly, the interpreter substitutes 'modernity' by 'الحَضَارَةُ' ('civilization') providing an entirely different equivalent. Secondly, he renders 'to view the West as hostile' into 'لِلنَّظَرِ إِلَى الْغَرْبِ بِصِفَتِهِمْ أَعْدَاءَ لَهُمْ' ('to view the West as their enemies'). In both cases, therefore, the interpreter changes the speaker's intended meaning. But, it seems that only the second issue indicates the interpreter's recognition of such a view. This can be distinctly seen in the use of the word 'أَعْدَاءَ' ('enemies') which does not correspond to the speaker's 'hostile' because to be hostile towards someone does not necessarily mean that he is an enemy. We can say, therefore, that the idea of enmity attached to Muslims has transferred to the audience because it represents the interpreter's understanding - his interpretant - of the behaviour of many Muslims in response to the change brought by modernity and globalization which, in turn, may be interpreted as an aspect of the interpreting 'habitus' he has developed as a result of working under the constraints of Al-Arabiya.

Int.2's version substitutes 'the West' by 'الولايات المتحدة', i.e. 'the United States', a potentially dangerous metonym. In addition, he renders 'to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam' into 'يَنْظُرُونَ بِعَيْنٍ الْعَدَاءِ إِلَى الْوَالِيَّاتِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ بِاعْتِبَارِهَا تَنْظُرَ بِعَيْنِ الْعَدَاءِ لِلْإِسْلَامِ' ('to look through the eye of enmity to the United States because it looks through the eye of enmity to Islam'). Indeed, there is no reference here either to the United States or its hostility towards Muslims, potentially indicating that the

interpreter perceives that modernity and globalization have made the United States an enemy of many Muslims, an echo in turn of Al-Jazeera. As with other excerpts analysed in this chapter, in the case of such an interconnected speech, this intervention has the clear potential to influence the absorption of the attitudes not only here, but also in the contexts that follow.

Int.3, on the other hand, presents an interpretation that starts unremarkably but ends on a more questionable note. The speaker's graduation 'sweeping' is deleted in his interpretation, but more significant is evidence that the speaker's attitude has undergone a crucial shift of representation in the way that 'the Islamic World is an enemy of Islamic traditions' is wrongly imputed to him. The interpreter is revealing a bias towards conservative views that seek to protect Islam from the corruption that comes in the wake of technological advancements, an issue that emerges from a rendering whose target is radically different to what the speaker is communicating. It is a target rooted in the agenda of Russia Today, concerned to downplay American and Western influence, which he has taken upon himself part to perform through his interpretation. The potential implications of this act of representation are hugely significant in terms of the audience's level of engagement with, and ultimate sympathy with, the overall intentions of the speech. The example is characteristic of the outworkings of the habitus of the intermediary in terms of deviating the message of the original into the pre-existing conceptions and interpretations that underpin a strikingly different reception on the part of this audience.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 11)

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims.

Int.1:

وَكذلك فَإِنَّ الْمُتَطَرِّفِينَ كَانُوا قَدْ سَاهَمُوا فِي زرع هَذِهِ الفكرة بَيْنَ أَقلِّيَّةٍ مِنَ المُسْلِمِينَ.

BT: And also extremists have participated in planting this idea among the minority of Muslims.

Int.2:

كما أَنَّ المتطرفين استغلوا هَذِهِ التوترات وفي صفوف قليل من المُسْلِمِينَ.

BT: And also extremists have exploited these tensions among few Muslims.

Int.3:

وقد استغل المتطرفون هَذِهِ التوترات وهم يمثلون الأقلية من المُسْلِمِينَ.

BT: Extremists have exploited these tensions, and they represent the minority of Muslims.

Obama's evaluation here is presented as factual in that it purports to identify the real reasons behind the emergence and extension of violent extremism – that it is was one side effect of Western policy. Nevertheless, the three renditions into Arabic modify this attitude significantly.

Int.1's presence is noticeable. He ignores the speaker's negative evaluation of extremism by deleting the attributive adjective 'violent'. He also replaces 'these tensions' by 'هَذِهِ الفكرة' ('this idea'). Moreover, he deletes the force of the attitude indicated by 'but potent'. On the other hand, 'هَذِهِ الفكرة' ('this idea') refers explicitly to the interpreter's rendering 'لِلنظر الى الغرب بصفتهم اعداء لهم' ('to view the West as their enemies'), mentioned in the preceding sentence, as his use of the demonstrative 'هذه' ('this') makes clear; in terms of the traditional evaluations of equivalence, this may be regarded as an inadequate

interpretation because, in addition to his intercalated focus on enmity, the conflation of ‘idea’ and ‘violent extremism’ suggests the positive outworkings of armed action. In doing so, he appears not to accept the violent nature of extremism because his employer adopts and promotes such acts as forms of resistance towards the hostility that accrues to Islam.

Similarly, Int.2 deletes both ‘violent’ and ‘but potent’. This can be understood in the same way as Int.1.

In the case of Int.3, however, which appears similar, these are not the only interventions because he expands the implication of the whole sentence when he uses the third person plural pronoun ‘هم’ (‘they’) to refer to extremists, whereas the speaker intends that it is just a minority of Muslims who are implicated in tension. This emphasis arises in all probability from a defensive response on the part of the interpreter towards views that equate violent extremism to Islam. The interpreter’s Muslim solidarity, or his employer’s (politically motivated) solidarity, therefore, comes to the surface and leads the audience into what is essentially at this point a simplification of Obama’s original intention both to pinpoint the way in which violent extremism infiltrates public life, and to stress that only a small percentage of Muslims necessarily accept the validity of such an infiltration.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 12)

The attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries but also to human rights.

Int.1:

وَالهجمات الَّتِي وَقَعَتْ فِي الحَادِي عَشْرٍ مِنْ سبْتَمْبِرِ عام 2001؛ وَكَذَلِكَ الجُهُودُ المُسْتَمْرَةِ
لِلْمُتَطَرِّفِينَ لِلانْحِرَاطِ بِعُنْفٍ ضِدَّ المَدِينِيِّينَ؛ قَدْ أَفْضَتْ إِلَى النَّظَرِ إِلَى الإِسْلامِ فِي دَوْلَتِي بِأَنَّ
المُسْلِمِينَ هُمْ أَعْدَاءُ لِأمْرِيكا، وَأَعْدَاءُ لِأوربا وَكَذَلِكَ هُمْ ضِدَّ حُقُوقِ الإِنْسَانِ.

BT: And the attacks that have happened in 9/11/ 2001 and also the continued efforts for extremists to engage in violence has led to viewing Islam in my country...that Muslims are enemies of America and enemies of Europe, and they are also against human rights.

Int.2:

هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر واستمرار جهود هؤلاء المتطرفين لشن عمليات عنف ضد
المدنيين جعلت الكثيرين ينظرون بأن الإسلام.

BT: The attacks of 9/11 and the continuity of the efforts of those extremists to carry out violent operations against civilians have led many view that Islam....

Int.3:

وهجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر والعنف المستمر ضد المدنيين من قبل هؤلاء المتطرفين لا
يمثل رؤية الإسلام تجاه أميركا والعالم الغربي فقط ولكن ضد البشرية أيضاً.

BT: And the attacks of 9/11 and the continued violence against civilians from those extremists do not represent the vision of Islam towards America and the Western World alone but against humanity as well.

The attitudes expressed in this portion of the opening section are important because through them the speaker justifies the view of some Americans towards Islam after 9/11. This, in a sense, addresses the crux of the problem. It is a statement that raises a number of questions from a Muslim perspective. Is it true that only 'some' Americans view Islam as hostile? Is it true that such hostility is the sole reaction to 9/11? Answers

to these questions may be gleaned from the interpretation of America's actions on the ground before and after 9/11, and it is from such interpretations that we see the three interpreters offer versions that their audiences in all likelihood accepting as transparent windows into the original.

Int.1's intrusion is undeniably influential. He deletes and substitutes elements that are essential to the speaker's evaluation. Although he adequately renders the subject, the complement has some interventions. Firstly, the speaker says 'some' Americans who view Islam as hostile. Secondly, Islam rather than Muslims is the target of their disapproval. Thirdly, in a careful use of diplomatic language, Islam is viewed as 'inevitably hostile' not as an outright enemy. Fourthly, the interpreter substitutes 'Western countries' by Europe. Interventions of this kind may no longer be simply ascribed to error or accidental misinterpretation because if we go back to earlier contexts, we identify similar alterations, of 'Islam' into 'المُسْلِمِينَ' ('Muslims' in sentence 8) and the shift of 'hostile' into 'أعداء' ('enemies' in sentence 10). This accumulation provides evidence that begins to support the conclusion that these decisions emerge from the interpreter's 'habitus' rather than the vicissitudes and contingencies of performance.

Int.2's intervention is no less evident. His interpreting is dominated by deletions, which modify the speaker's intended attitude. Whether the interpreter's intrusion is conscious or unconscious, it appears that these instances have been tailored to serve the interpreter's interest in under-estimating the reflected influence of extremists in deforming the image of Islam after 9/11, which, in turn, could be read in two different ways: either an attempt to promote a positive atmosphere between the speaker and his audience by avoiding the tension this

attitude might evoke, or, more likely, a rejection of the idea that the hostility of Americans started only after 9/11. This final interpretation gleans more credence because if we go back to the interpreter's rendering of sentence 10, we can see that this sense of caution is absent when he reshapes this crucial relationship from his own particular perspective.

Int.3's rendering requires special attention. Although he provides a complete idea, it differs in substance from its source counterpart. The speaker's 'and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence' is not 'العنف المستمر' ('the continued violence'), but more important is the shift of the whole proposition when he deletes the essential elements of the final part of the sentence 'has led some in my country to view' and 'as inevitably hostile'. Among these alterations, there is one central overarching idea that the interpreter modifies, that is, of the view of some Americans of the hostility of Islam, suggesting instead that the apparent hostility of Islam springs from a deeply-embedded isolationism. The imputation is grave because the audience may well understand read this declaration as an insult to their religion that will disable any further engagement with the speaker's conciliatory intentions.

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 13)

This has bred more fear and mistrust.

Int.3:

وهذا يولد غياب ثقة كبيرة وعداء كبير.

BT: And this breeds big mistrust and big hostility.

This short sentence comes as a conclusion to the factors reviewed so far, in that the speaker uses both affect (fear) and judgment (mistrust) to

summarise his attitude towards a vicious circle. Once again Int.3's intervention is evident, and worthy of further comment. He substitutes 'fear' with 'عداء' ('hostility'). Moreover, he frames the speaker's proposition in a way that suggests that this is a new development, disconnected from what has come before. Nevertheless, reinforcing the sense of 'hostility' at this particular point is of crucial significance because it supports and extends the import of his preceding interventions, emphasising the interpreter's (and of course his employer's) own evaluation of the relationship between Islam and the West. The speaker concedes that there is 'mistrust' that has escalated because of the other incidents but, at the same time, he does not suppose that much 'hostility' has come to define the existing relationship between America and Islam. What the audience understands, in contradistinction, is that hostility permeates the relationship and, indeed, may be taken for granted.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 14)

So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, and who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity.

Int.1:

إِذْنُ طَالَمَا عَلاَقَاتِنَا كَانَتْ مَعْرِفَةٌ بِحُكْمِ خِلاَفَاتِنَا فَإِنَّا سَوْفَ نُمَكِّنُ هَؤُلَاءِ الَّذِينَ يَسْعَوْنَ إِلَى إِشْعَالِ
فَتِيلِ الْكِرَاهِيَّةِ بَدَلًا مِنْ تَحْقِيقِ الْأَمْنِ وَالْعَدَالَةِ.

BT: So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who are trying to stoke the flames of hatred rather than achieve security and justice.

Int.2:

وطالما أن علاقتنا تحدد بالاختلافات فسوف نمكن ونعطي القوة للذين يريدون الكراهية وليس السلام أولئك الذين يريدون النزاع وليس التعاون الذي من شأنه أن يساعد كل شعوبنا على تحقيق التقدم والرخاء.

BT: So long as our relationship is defined by our differences we will enable and empower those who want hatred rather than peace, those who want conflict rather than cooperation that can help all our people to achieve progress and prosperity.

Int.3:

وطالما كانت علاقتنا تحكمها خلافاتنا نحن سنعمل على زيادة قوة هؤلاء الذين يروجون للصراع وليس التعاون لتحقيق العدالة والرفاهية.

BT: So long as our relationship is defined by our difference we will work to empower those who promote conflict rather than cooperation to achieve justice and prosperity.

Here, the speaker expounds upon the future consequences of continuing the relationship between Islam and the West along old lines. He stresses that the bases of the historical relationship need to be reviewed and improved so as not to empower violent extremists and their affiliates. In point of fact, he appears to underestimate the critical moment this relationship is undergoing because he is telescoping the factors causing tension into mere difference. Is it difference that motivates violent extremists to expand their reach to attack Western countries? Is it difference that justifies the constant hostility towards Muslims living in Western communities? Contemporary violence and hostility are rooted in a tragic history and a deep ideological conflict that requires an urgent remedy. This observation provides the broad interpretant for all three interpreters.

Int.1's intervention is significant. He takes the decision to alter significant components of the main clause, replacing the two relative clauses that indicate the speaker's negative judgment by an equivalent that does not adequately represent the ideas summarised above. Moreover, he ignores 'that can help our people' and replaces 'justice and prosperity' with 'الأمن والعدالة' ('security and peace'), translating 'الأمن' ('security') into 'prosperity'. These changes suggest that the differences in question will strengthen the promotion of hatred, rather than security and justice. In fact, although prosperity can never be achieved without security, the speaker's emphasis is on cooperation, not security. The interpretant from which the interpreter is working (of how the West and violent extremists have responded to their differences) provides his audiences with a startlingly incomplete view of the consequences of the current tension.

In similar fashion, Int.2 also substitutes 'justice and prosperity' with 'التقدم و الرخاء' ('progress and prosperity'). Although the speaker suggests that cooperation can achieve justice, the interpreter's rendering is marked by a sense of scepticism. Changing the outcome of cooperation from 'justice' to 'التقدم' ('progress') serves to lessen the value the speaker attaches to enhancing this relationship.

Int.3 deletes 'those who sow hatred rather than peace' and 'that can help all of our people', depriving the audience of a fuller understanding of what the speaker is trying to communicate. Such deletions centre on a single aspect of the speaker's judgment, that is, the empowerment of those 'who sow conflict rather than cooperation', that he relates in turn to the achievement of 'justice and prosperity', thereby introducing an ostensible contradiction whereby the speaker is perceived to be justifying the acts of violent extremists. It is possible that this

broadly impressionistic view might indeed derive from the interpreter's own lived experience and /or his adherence to the agenda of his employers, but the import of this intervention, taken in conjunction with the cumulative impact of other such interventions, introduces a note of extraordinary paradox that threatens to destabilise the reception of the entire speech.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 16)

I have come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect; and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive, and need not be in competition.

Int.1:

لَقَدْ أَتَيْتُ الْيَوْمَ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ؛ وَأَحْمَلُ فِي حَقِيْبَتِي بَدَايَةَ جَدِيْدَةً بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِيْنَ فِي أَنْحَاءِ الْعَالَمِ،
وَالْوَلَايَاتِ الْمُنَّجِدَةِ مَبْنِيَّةً عَلَى الْاِحْتِرَامِ الْمَشْتَرِكِ، وَعَلَى الْمَصَالِحِ الْمَشْتَرَكَةِ مِنْ جِهَةٍ، وَكَذَلِكَ
حَقِيْقَةً مَفَادَهَا أَنَّهُ يَجِبُ أَنْ لَا نَكُوْنَ بِصِفَةِ مُتَنَافِسِيْنَ.

BT: I have come today to Cairo carrying a new beginning between Muslims around the world and the United States that is based on mutual respect and mutual interest on the one side, and also a fact that means we must not be competitors.

Int.2:

وقد جنئت إلى هنا إلى القاهرة لأسعى وراء بداية جديدة بين الولايات المتحدة والمسلمين في
أنحاء العالم على أساس من الاحترام المتبادل والثقة المتبادلة على أساس أن أمريكا والإسلام
ليستا تنافسان فيما بينهما.

BT: I have come to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world based on mutual respect and

mutual trust and on the basis that America and Islam are not in competition with each other.

Int.3:

جئت إلى القاهرة هنا للبحث عن بداية جديدة بين الولايات المتحدة والعالم الإسلامي حول العالم التي تكون مبنية على الاحترام المتبادل والمصالح المتبادلة. ويجب أن لا تكون الولايات المتحدة في تنافس مع العالم الإسلامي.

BT: I have come to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and the Islamic World around the world that is based on mutual respect and mutual interest and that the United States must be in competition with the Islamic world.

This sentence is attitudinally loaded in that it carries the full weight of the speech's objectives: it offers the foundations for this new beginning. Although the call for this beginning, as Obama suggests, will be based on mutual interest and mutual respect, it requires subtle and careful preparation and execution. One would expect the three interpreters to reflect the speaker's entire proposition, but examination shows that they have intervened to delete 'are not exclusive' ('ليس حصريين'), which marks a key component of the proposed future relationship between the United States and Muslims. It is an omission that elides the comparison the speaker draws at this particular point. Three possible interpretants suggest themselves: either the interpreter thinks that America is exclusive, or Islam is exclusive, or both are independently exclusive. In other words, irrespective of whether or not the inclusion of Obama's notion of exclusiveness would have been accepted or rejected by the audience, the key issue for the purposes of this thesis is that they, the audience, were denied the right to make their own minds on the issue.

Excerpt 10 (Sentence 19)

I know that there is a lot of publicity on this speech but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have all the complex questions that brought us to this point.

Int.2:

وأعلم أن هناك الكثير من الإعلان والحديث عن هذا الخطاب لكن أدرك أنه لا خطاب وحده يمكنه أن يحل كل المشكلات ولا نستطيع أن نرد على كل الأسئلة المعقدة التي جاءت بنا إلى هنا.

BT: I know that there is a lot of publicity on this speech but I realize that no single speech can solve all the problems and we cannot answer all the complex questions that brought me here.

Int.3:

لأن خطاب واحد لا يمكنه أن يغير هذه الفكرة في هذه الليلة ولا يمكن أن يضع نهاية للصراعات التي جاءت بي إلى هنا.

BT: No single speech can change this idea at this night and cannot put an end to the conflicts that brought me here.

Prior to Obama's arrival in Cairo, there had been much speculation in the media about the possible topic(s) of his address. This sentence alludes to that intense interest as he acknowledges that this particular speech only makes the beginning of a potentially long process of rapprochement. What is key here is this sense of a beginning has been made, perhaps against all the odds, but nonetheless one that carries within it the seeds of hope for a greater quality of mutual understanding.

The impact of Int.2's intrusion is evident: the speaker's emphasis on the deep-rootedness of mistrust is replaced by 'كل المشكلات' ('all the problems'), an equally attitudinal rendering that shifts the speaker's

attitude from a judgment of circumstances whose negativity may be positively challenged into a feeling of dissatisfaction. 'المشكلات' ('the problems') cannot meaningfully stand here for 'years of mistrust' because it is a rendering that is context-dependent. In other words, what we see in this instance indicates the outworking of an inherited or inculcated belief that the current situation is not characterized by mistrust alone, but by other profound ideological ones, which militate against communication and cooperation. Ironically, of course, the act of interpreting itself becomes yet another barrier to fuller understanding. Both the cause and the result of what we might term the interpretative deviance identified here echo Int.1, suggesting that both interpreters are working from a broad-based perception of geopolitical relations.

Int.3's intervention is also significant, in part through his deletion of the speaker's indication of stance in 'I know', folding the rest of this main clause into 'لأن خطاب واحد لا يمكنه أن يغير هذه الفكرة' ('no single speech can change this idea'). The speaker's underlining of 'years of mistrust' is misleadingly interpreted into 'هذه الفكرة' ('this idea'), effectively leading the audience to supply their own understanding of what 'this idea' might be – the deletion of the main and subordinate clauses 'I know that there is a lot of publicity on this speech but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust' serves to excise the semantic domains of 'this idea'. It is possible, of course, that this ambiguity arises because the interpreter was unable to fully capture the speaker's words (not least because he was concerned with the insertion of his comment 'لكن نحتاج الى وقت كبير' ('but we need great time') in the rendition of the preceding sentence). But when he renders 'nor can I answer in the time that I have all the complex questions that brought us to this point' as 'ولا يمكن أن يوضع نهاية' 'للصراعات التي جاءت بي إلى هنا' ('nor it can put an end to the conflicts that

brought me here’), he is imbuing his rendering with a sharpened sense of crisis and pessimism that moves the speech from its diplomatic intention and locates its impact squarely within what he sees in generalized terms as the lived experience of its recipients.

Excerpt 11 (Sentence 24)

Part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience.

Int.1:

وَهَذِهِ الْقَنَاعَةُ مَبْنِيَّةٌ مِنْ خِلَالِ خِبْرَتِي.

BT: And this conviction is based on my experience.

Int.2:

وهذه قناعة متجذرة في نفسي.

BT: And this conviction is rooted in me.

Int.3:

وهذا نابع من خبرتي الشخصية.

BT: And this stems from my personal experience.

The speaker here resorts fully to the personal, declaring that he relies in ‘part’ on his experiences as a Christian, who has Muslim grandfathers and lived in a Muslim-majority country for a period. The marked presence of his stance is intended to signal a paradigm shift in American affairs, designed to convince his audience’s that America is different today because of the interrelation between the President’s own experience and, crucially, his capacity for effective and dispassionate analysis.

All three interpreters reduce this crucial interrelation. Int.1 and Int.2 render ‘part of this conviction’ into ‘وهذه (ال) قناعة’ (‘and this

conviction’) while Int.3 similarly disregards the political aspect in ‘ وهذا ‘ (‘and this stems from my personal experience’). It might be interesting to speculate here as to a common interpretant, namely Islam’s conception that divine laws stem from the same source and aim at a single principle (being the dignified co-existence of all human beings). This, in turn, leads us into a wider observation in the context of interpreter manipulation. We have moved beyond the range of more individuated social and political interpretants identified above to the shared assumptions of religious belief, which in this case have imposed a common interpreter orientation.

Excerpt 12 (Sentence 27)

As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

Int.1:

وَفِي شَبَابِي عَمِلْتُ فِي مُجْتَمَعِ شِيكَاغُو وَكُنْتُ قَدْ تَلَقَّيْتُ الْكَثِيرَ مِنَ الدُّرُوسِ الدِّينِيَّةِ.

BT: In my youth, I worked in Chicago community and have received many religious lessons.

Int.2:

وَكشَابِ عَمِلْتُ فِي شِيكَاغُو حَيْثُ الْكَثِيرُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الَّذِينَ يَجِدُونَ رَاحَةً فِي تَطْبِيقِ مَعْتَقَاتِهِمُ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ.

BT: As a young, I worked in Chicago where many Muslims find relief in practicing their Muslim beliefs.

Int.3:

وَكِرْجَلِ شَبَابِ عَمِلْتُ فِي مَكَانَاتٍ فِيهَا مُسْلِمِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ لِلْحِفَاظِ عَلَى كِرَامَتِهِمْ.

BT: As a young man, I worked at places where Muslims work to keep their dignity.

The core implication of this sentence is that America is a country where Muslims are respected, and worship freely. The evaluative dimension of the utterance emerges from the clear correlation that the speaker seeks to establish in the audience's mind between the fair recognition of Islam and the requirements of American national interest. In practice, however, this evaluative aspect is significantly weakened in all three renderings.

Int.1 omits 'where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith' consequently presenting a proposition that focuses solely on the speaker's work and religious education. This interpreter, once again, effectively questions the idea that Muslims live a peaceful and dignified, life, reflecting Al-Arabiya's perspective on the impact of Islamophobia. The result is that the speaker's attempt to provide evidence of his country's tolerance, as a way of to winning his audience's attention and respect, and of preparing the ground for positive engagement with his diplomatic mission, is impeded by the intermediary presence of the interpreter.

Int.2's intervention is, on one level, no less apparent. He replaces the attitudinal indicators 'dignity and peace' with 'راحة' ('relief'), once again leaving it to the audience to decide what the reasons for that 'relief' may be. One such construal might be the inference that 'dignity and peace' lead to 'راحة' ('relief'), which at least partially reflects the speaker's intended meaning. But the rendering, at the very least, has introduced a disconnect into the flow of the speech itself.

Int.3's version is more problematic. Firstly, he widens the scope of the issues involved by replacing 'Chicago' with 'مكانات' ('places'), so that his broader and more insidious implication that the speaker has seen Muslims struggle to find dignity is presented as a more widespread problem. Consequently, the speaker's attitude is changed from a

constructive element that bridges the gap into a destructive one that echoes the agenda of Russia Today to invoke anti-American sentiment. What comes across is a feeling of being both upset by and sympathetic to the situation of American Muslims. It is quite possible that such a feeling could mark a turning point in terms of the audience's potential engagement with the strategic objectives of the speech itself.

Excerpt 13 (Sentence 32)

And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

Int.1:

وعبر التاريخ قَدْ أظهر الإسلام للعالم من خلال أفعاله إمكانية التسامح الديني وكذلك المساواة بَيْنَ كافة الأعراق.

BT: And across history, Islam has shown to the world throughout (his) actions, the possibility of religious tolerance among all races.

Int.3:

وهذا كَذَلِكَ منطلق من قدرته عَلَى التعايش مع بقية البشرية.

BT: And this stems also from (his) ability to co-exist with the rest of humanity.

Following on from his efforts to persuade his audience that contemporary America is a tolerant society, attested to by his own personal experience, the speaker broadens his approach to an appreciation of Islam, noting how Muslims across history have translated Islamic instruction into constructive practice. It is a meditation on history that, at this point, serves as an invitation to his audience to rethink its relationship with the West, an invitation that acknowledges and moves beyond the emotional hurt that comes in the wake of discrimination.

Int.1, on one hand, deletes ‘through words’, which functions as an important indicator of the speaker’s graduated attitude towards thoughtful negotiation and action. It might be construed that the interpreter’s intervention in this case is ultimately directed towards a view that Islamic principles are invariably transformed into practical actions, but, although such feelings of ‘belongingness’ may have filtered the speaker’s attitude in terms of a deep-rooted understanding of the sacred nature of Islam, the speaker’s intention is not necessarily impeded because the rendering itself remains attitudinally positive.

Int.3, however, inserts modifications that affect the speaker’s intended attitude; the sustained deletion of ‘throughout history’, ‘through words and deeds’, and ‘the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality’ specify the ways in which Islam has contributed to other cultures. Together, these alterations seem to serve one particular aim, which is to repress the speaker’s appreciation. This might be justified in the interpreter’s mind by a sense that the speaker’s words are offset by American military interventionism. Be that as it may, the undoubted impact of the intervention is the erosion of the potential for audience complicity at this point.

Excerpt 14 (Sentence 40)

That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn’t.

Int.1:

فضلاً عن التجارب التي عشتها، وَعَلَّمْتَنِي بَأَنَّ الشَّرَاكَةَ بَيْنَ الْإِسْلَامِ، وَالْعَرَبِ يَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ
لَيْسَ كَمَا هُوَ الْحَالُ الْآنَ.

BT: In addition to the experiences that I have lived and taught me that partnership between Islam and the West must not be as it is the case now.

In this sentence, the speaker's key use of the word 'partnership' as shorthand for a shared solution to the accelerating tensions between America and Islam is offset by the position of power which gives the speech its tenor. The implication is that America is the more powerful side and therefore the one who decides the shape of the relationship with Islam. The scope of the speaker's evaluation is, however, modified by Int.1 in his replacement of 'America' with 'الغرب' ('the West'). It could be that this is a straightforward metonymic usage, but there is other evidence that the interpreter is reflecting the agenda of his television channel, namely the mission to disseminate the message of Islam through all Western countries. Evidence supports this interpretation as the reflection of professional habitus occurs with the closing part of the sentence, which he renders as 'يجب أن يكون أليس كما هو الحال الآن' ('must not be as it is the case now'), expressing a sense of frustration that filters into and unequivocally colours the speaker's attitude.

Excerpt 15 (Sentence 55)

And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations - to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families our communities, and our God.

Int.1:

وأعتقد أن أمريكا تحمل هذه الحقيقة بأن بأنها يجب أن تتعايش مع هذه الديانات فكلنا نتشاطر بعض المبادئ للعيش بسلام وأمن ولنحصل على التعليم والتربية والعمل بحس من الكبرياء ولنعشق أفراد أسرتنا وكذلك أفراد المجتمع والرب.

BT: And I think that America holds this truth that it should co-exist with these religions because we all share the same principles: to live in peace and security, to get learning and education, to work with a sense of dignity and to love our families as well as community members and God.

Int.2:

ونعتقد أن أمريكا تعتقد في داخلها الحق أن بأي مراحل من مراحل الحياة يحق مشاركة الجميع في تحقيق طموحاتنا، أن تعيش بأمن وأمان وسلام وأن نحصل على حق العمل والعيش بكرامة وأن نحب عائلاتنا وجالياتنا وإلهنا.

BT: And we think that America holds within her the right at any stage of life the right to share with all achieving their aspirations: to live in security and peace, and have the right to work and live with dignity and to love our families, our community, and our God.

The speaker's evaluation here is concerned to enhance Muslim perception of America by relating American values to human rights, necessary because the far-reaching and controversial decisions of previous administrations, such as the launch of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, have meant that America has become the symbol of hostility to Muslims. His objective here, to stress that this hostility does not belong to or represent America today, is reinforced by the evaluative 'believe', once again stamping the speech with the force of his presence. Nevertheless, Int.1 and Int.2 render 'I believe' as 'اعتقد' ('I think') and 'نعتقد' ('we think') respectively, a difference in the force of the modality that expresses a more tentative and less personally-committed stance. It is interesting that both interpreters excise the personal stance of the speaker, and while this can happen when the interpreter is required to re-speak, one may also sense that in this case, it is because the presence of the speaker does not tally with a construction of his country that they

have gleaned as members of institutions concerned to counter American domination. In other words, what is emerging from even apparently trivial interventions such as this is an image of the interpreter as an agent of resistance.

3.3.2. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Violent Extremism

At this transition in the speech, the speaker turns to the issue of violent extremism as the principal source of geopolitical tension, negotiating the topic in a slightly different way from the opening in that he relates it to his country's war in Afghanistan, which was because of 'necessity', and the war in Iraq, which was 'a war of choice'. His central purpose here is to justify American responses in the wake of 9/11 as a legitimate if painful endeavour to combat violent extremism. To examine the extent to which his views have been transferred accurately or transparently to the audience, ten sentences, and their respective interpretations, are considered below.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 76)

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.

Int.1:

القضية الاولى التي علينا أن نطلع بها التطرف والإرهاب في كافة أنحاء العالم.

BT: The first issue that we have to know is extremism and terrorism around the world.

Int.3:

أول مسألة علينا مواجهتها هي الإرهاب والعنف في كل المناطق الموجودة.

BT: The first issue that we have to confront is terrorism and violence in all the existing areas.

After preparing the ground to reflect on the different sources of tension, the speaker begins to address violent extremism by exhorting his audience to join him to ‘confront’ it. In his recognition that force has must give way to diplomacy, he encourages Muslims to actively participate in narrowing the ideological gap between America and Islam that nourishes the violence of extremists. Although there are just a few evaluative keywords that the speaker uses to achieve his purpose, two interpreters fail to provide intervention-free rendering at this key moment of the speech.

Indeed, Int.1 intervenes on more than one occasion. First, he presents ‘التطرف والإرهاب’ (‘extremism and terrorism’) as an equivalent of ‘violent extremism’, introducing ‘terrorism’ to the non-graduated ‘extremism’ as though the speaker is going to deal with two attitudinal issues separately. Second, the speaker’s ‘in all its forms’, used to implicate all manifestations of violent extremism, is rendered as ‘في كافة أنحاء العالم’ (‘around the world’), indicating not simply a spatial dimension not indicated in the source text, but also an allusion to different causes of violence. These interventions seem to have one particular function, which is, to divert the audience’s attention from the purpose of the speaker to his (the interpreter’s) own understanding. The decision to attribute terrorism to the speaker’s concerns reflects Al-Arabiya’s judgment that external views of Islam are forged more by the reality of ‘الإرهاب’ (‘terrorism’) than the more diplomatic language of the speaker allows for.

In similar fashion, Int.3 uses ‘الإرهاب والعنف’ (‘terrorism and violence’) to stand for ‘violent extremism’. Moreover, he misleadingly changes ‘in all its forms’ into the much more imprecise ‘في كل المناطق الموجودة’ (‘in all the existing areas’), leaving room even for the

interpretation that the speaker considers such forms of violence across the territories in question to originate no less from the American presence – once again, reflecting closely the doxa of an agent of Russia Today.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 84)

I am aware that some question or justify the events of 9/11.

Int.1:

فإنني مدرك أنه ما زال البعض الذين يظهرون يشككون بأحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر.

BT: I am aware that there are still some who appear...question the events of 9/11.

Int.3:

أنا واثق أن هناك من يسأل كيف ترون هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر.

BT: I am confident that there is who asks ‘how do you justify the attacks of 9/11?’

The central issue here is the speaker’s awareness that 9/11 is not universally understood as an outright act of terrorism, and that there exists a variety of opinions among Muslims as to how and why these attacks were carried out. The sentence is necessarily short and direct in order to achieve maximum resonance of recognition among its receiving audience; the interpreter responses, however, are no less marked by their own presence.

Int.1 decides to delete the verb ‘justify’, which is a primary indicator of the speaker’s evaluation, thereby restricting attention to a single attitudinal position - that of simply questioning the attacks (which is open to much wider interpretation than justifying them). These attacks

must not be interpreted as acts of terrorism unless their motives are re-examined because there might be certain legitimacy behind them, such as the American hostility towards Islam. If carried out, the interpreter might think, the investigation will influence more people, especially Americans, to press decision-makers to reassess their country's foreign policy to amend it in a way that respects all races and religions. In fact, to make it seem that the speaker is focusing on the idea of enquiry weakens his, and America's, stance that he has stated to affect his audience in the preceding sentence ('we did not go by choice, we went because of necessity') which means that the interpreter appears to be unconvinced that there is a 'necessity' to occupy other countries at all.

Int.3, on the other hand, totally shifts the meaning of the sentence because, instead of showing the speaker's awareness in relation to the views of some Muslims, the interpreter reflects the speaker's confidence that there are those who query America's justification for these attacks. As one who acquired Russia Today's set of doxa, which we were able to see in previous examples, it seems that the interpreter himself has such query and needs an explanation from someone who is supposed to have a complete and convincing answer other than the 'necessity' excuse introduced in the preceding sentence. Although the speaker may explain later, what is clear is the way the interpreter modifies the attitude to mirror Russia Today's dissatisfaction with existing justifications of 9/11 that is transformed to the audience as if the speaker's.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 87)

And yet Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale.

Int.1:

لَكِن القاعِدة اختارت وبطريقة لا تتصف بالرحمة بقتل هؤُلاء الأشخاص وحصلت على الميزة عن هذِهِ الهجمات وحتى الآن إنهم ينوون بالاستمرار بعملية القتل على نطاق واسع.

BT: But Al-Qaeda mercilessly chose to kill those people and has gained credit for these attacks and even now they intend to continue killing on a massive scale.

Int.3:

مع هَذَا القاعِدة قررت بدم بارد اغتيال هؤُلاء الناس. وحتى الآن يعلنون عن نيتهم وتصميمهم بالقتل بشكل جماعي.

BT: And yet Al-Qaeda decided with a cold blood the assassination of those people and even now state their intention and determination and to kill on a massive scale.

This sentence reflects Obama's evaluation of Al-Qaeda after 9/11, and in particular of their continued activity, of which civilian populations carry the brunt. This is set against an awareness that even more people may die if America does not continue to take action against Al-Qaeda. Significantly, for this is a crucial and sensitive topic, two of the three renderings into Arabic do not depict this evaluation.

In Int. 1's version, we can see that 'claimed' is altered to 'حصلت' ('gained'), a significant modification that allows for the interpretation that Al-Qaeda's reputation has grown as a result of their actions. The interpretant here is, in all likelihood, the interpreter's that 9/11 has fulfilled Al-Qaeda's objectives in terms of drawing attention to the negative consequences of American militarism. The negative

consequence of this intrusion, in terms of how it may mislead the audience at this particular point, is that it indicates that Al-Qaeda is strong enough to stand up to America.

Int.3 effects a potentially influential substitution by rendering ‘murder’ into ‘أغتيال’ (‘assassination’), which moves the discourse from the realm of the legal/criminal to the political/expedient (reinforced by his deletion of ‘claimed credit for the attack’). The use of the term ‘أغتيال’ in the present context marks the complexity of the interpreter’s attitude, sympathy on one hand with victims, but offset by acknowledgment that it is American decision making that has instigated politically-motivated violent response.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 88)

They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach.

Int.1:

هناك جيوب للقاعدة في دول أخيرة وتسعى هذه الجيوب لتوسيع أماكنها.

BT: There are affiliates for Al-Qaeda in last countries and these affiliates try to expand their reach.

Int.2:

أتباعها وأنصارها يحاولون توسيع نطاق تأثيرها.

BT: its followers and supporters try to expand its influence.

Here the speaker reminds his audience that Al-Qaeda’s borders do not stop at Afghanistan and Pakistan, but that some individuals support its ideology throughout the world, supporters who, in turn, work to convince others to join them. This understanding of the threat posed by the supporters of Al-Qaeda is significant, and to reflect the speaker’s

intention needs to be completely and clearly reflected in the rendering. Nonetheless, Int.1 and Int.2's interventions are crucial in this respect.

Therefore, Int.1 intrudes significantly when he confusingly renders 'in many countries' as 'دول أخيرة' ('in last countries'). It is a shift that leads to minimising the way in which the speaker has underlined the risk of these affiliates, because the usage is ambiguous, stemming from the difficulty, or indeed the impossibility, of relating 'last' to any particular countries. The intervention is puzzling, and it may well be that it reflects simple interpreter error, although in the overall context of his performance it is yet another contributory factor to an undermining of the central messages and intentions of the speech. In such a context, even simple error has a significant role to play.

Int.2's intervention is more intelligible in terms of the ongoing interpretant of Al-Jazeera policy, which as we have noted is broadly sympathetic towards Al-Qaeda. He deletes 'they have affiliates in many countries', thereby effectively minimising the serious threat posed by Al-Qaeda's affiliates and supporters that the speaker has highlighted. Once again, it is worth noting here that, while the example of intervention appears to be minor, the cumulative effect, the 'drip' impact of such individual intrusions, is highly significant in the context of the delivery and understanding on the part of the audience of the speech as an overall set of messages.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 104)

Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism - it is an important part of promoting peace.

Int.2:

فالإسلام ليس جزءاً في التصدي للعنف والكرهية بل هو جزء أساسي في الترويج لمبدأ السلام.

BT: For Islam is not part of combating violence and hatred but it is a primary part of promoting peace.

Int.3:

الإسلام لا يساهم في تطوير الإرهاب لكنه يساهم بشكل كبير في بناء السلام في العالم.

BT: Islam does not take part in promoting terrorism, but it hugely takes part in building peace in the world.

This sentence supplies an important counteractive balance to what has gone before, in that the speaker evaluates Islam in terms of refuting any relationship between Islamic principles and those of violent extremism, shifting Muslims' perspective away from the contingency of politics to the abiding essence of religion. This represents a key strategic goal of the speech, and as such provides an important transition between recognition of the reality of the past and present on one hand, and hopeful evaluation of a pathway to future peace, on the other.

Int.2 interprets 'violent extremism' through an amalgam of 'العنف' ('violence') and 'الكراهية' ('hatred'), effectively turning the speaker's strength of judgment on the wrongness of action into an evaluation of stance. Once again there is a set of doxa, in the sense that Bourdieu uses the term, that is more wholly intelligible from the perspective of the Al-Jazeera agenda, in that it serves to insert the speaker's positive attitude towards the ethics of Islam into a corrosive reflection more reminiscent of conventional distrust of the attitudes of Muslims in general.

Similarly, Int.3 uses the word 'الإرهاب' ('terrorism') to stand metonymically for 'violent extremism', although these terms are not interchangeable. The interpreter's rendering counters to some extent the diplomatic articulation of the speaker, echoing similar types of interpretation on his part (noted above and below) that reflect Russia

Today's concern to count Western misconceptions of Islam. The audience's likely perception of an American co-relation between Islam and terror, will, once again, hinder the positive reception of the speech.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 110)

Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.

Int.2:

وعلى الرغم من أنني أعتقد أن الشعب العراقي هم أفضل حالاً في النهاية بعد التخلص من طغيان صدام حسين لكنني أعتقد أن الأحداث الأخيرة في العراق ذكرت أمريكا بضرورة بناء تحالف وإجماع دولي واستخدام الدبلوماسية هو أفضل لحل مشاكلنا كلما كان ذلك ممكناً.

BT: Although I think that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off the tyranny of Saddam Hussein but I think that the events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to build international consensus and coalition and that the use of diplomacy is the best solution to our problems whenever possible.

Int.3:

وأنا في نهاية الأمر أؤمن أن العراق سيكونون أفضل وأصبحوا أفضل من خلال تخلصهم من الإرهاب الذي كان يقيمه صدام حسين ونحن نسعى لحل مشاكلنا هناك في أي فرصة تسنح لنا.

BT: And I ultimately believe that Iraq will be better, and they become better by getting rid of the terrorism that Saddam Hussein was practicing, and we are looking to solve our problems there whenever possible.

This sentence introduces an important note of concession, where the speaker expresses some measure of doubt as to the efficacy of American

military action to ‘liberate’ Iraq from the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. In this regard, Obama’s criticism of his predecessor, Bush, is clear. It is a criticism that is predicated upon his emphasis on the role that diplomacy might have played, instead of the decision to go to war. This is an important evaluation not just in terms of stressing the speaker’s anti-war position, but also his willingness to learn from the mistakes of the past, and it is designed to prepare the way for parallel reaction from his audience.

Int.2’s intervention, once again, undercuts the impact of the speaker’s personal presence, once more rendering the speaker’s ‘I believe’ and ‘I also believe’ in both cases as ‘أعتقد’ (‘I think’), effectively distancing the speaker and audience.

Int.3’s intrusion is potentially more influential. The most obvious decision he takes is to use the word ‘الإرهاب’ (‘terrorism’) instead of ‘الطاغية’ (‘the tyranny’). Whether Saddam could be called a terrorist or not introduces an extraneous and diversionary question into the speaker’s purpose. He further misleads the audience by deleting the second clause of the sentence ‘I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus’, and replacing ‘to resolve our problems whenever possible’ with ‘ونحن نسعى لحل مشاكلنا هناك في أي فرصة تسمح لنا’ (‘we are looking to resolve our problems there whenever possible’), with the result that the speaker’s attitude to his own country’s involvement in Iraq is severely problematised. The deictic limitation that occurs with the uncalled for insertion of ‘هناك’ (‘there’) reduces the speaker’s sense of a global commitment to diplomacy to trouble-shooting in the wake of military intervention in Iraq, thereby imputing a sense of defeat to allied forces in

Iraq which the speaker never implies (but which is a key implication of the Russia Today agenda).

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 116)

That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all our troops from Iraq by 2012.

Int.1:

ولهذا فإننا سوف ننفذ اتفاقيتنا بسحب القوات في مطلع جولاى وإزالة كافة القوات المتبقية في العراق في الثاني عشر من شهر يوليو.

BT: That's why we will accomplish our agreements to withdraw the troops by the beginning of July and remove all the remaining troops in Iraq on July, 12th.

Int.3:

لذا خضعنا لأوامر الحكومة الديمقراطية العراقية المنتخبة وسنسحب جميع المدن في تموز الحالي وسنسحب جميع قواتنا في عام 2011.

BT: Therefore, we have submitted to the orders of the elected Iraqi democratic government, and we will withdraw from all cities in the present July and withdraw all our troops in 2011.

To emphasise that 'Iraq's sovereignty is its own', the speaker enumerates the concrete steps the United States is taking to return power to the Iraqi people. The first step is to remove American troops. He is careful to avoid all intimation of military defeat by stressing that this withdrawal has been achieved through negotiation with the authorities now in place. In this respect the renderings of Int.1 and Int.3 are significant.

Int.1 deletes the key reference to ‘Iraq’s democratically-elected government’ as an agent in the terms of withdrawal. In the preceding and following reference to the Iraqi government, he successfully renders the phrase into Arabic, and it is only when the legitimacy of the government is declared (‘democratically-elected’) that the interpreter opts for intervention. The implications of this are clear, in that, like Al-Arabiya, he suggests that since elections were carried out under the full supervision of the United States, then their results have been unfairly manipulated to bring to power those who support American policy.

Int.3 reverses the speaker’s attitude, in the quite extraordinary way in which he changes the opening of the sentence from ‘we will honor our agreement’ into ‘خضعنا لأوامر’ (‘we have submitted to the orders’), thereby implying that the speaker is admitting that his country has been defeated in Iraq and has no option but to obey the government’s order to send home all American troops. The interpretant upon which this rendering is based reflects that of sentence 110 above - Russia Today’s rejection of the legitimacy of military intervention in Iraq – and from it the audience gleans a submissive image of the United States acknowledged by its very President. The rendering is entirely subversive of the original speech, imparting to its audience a new understanding, a misleading one, of a country held by most to be the greatest military power in the world today.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 119)

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter our principles.

Int.1:

وأخيرًا لا يمكن لأمريكا أن تحتفل أي طرف من الإرهابيين وعلينا أن نعمل على تعزيز هذه المبادئ سويًا.

BT: And finally, America cannot tolerate any extremism by terrorists, and we must work together to strengthen these principles.

Int.2:

لهذا السبب لن نقبل أي عنف من أي من المتطرفين ولن نغير ولن نتخلى عن مبادئنا.

BT: That's why we will never tolerate any violence by any of the extremists, and we will never alter or give up our principles'.

Int.3:

وكما أمريكا لا تحب العنف من قبل الإرهابيين يجب أن لا نغير مبادئنا أو ننساها.

BT: And as America does not like violence by terrorists, we will not alter our principles or forget them.

At this point the speaker strikes a balance between his country's unwavering response to violent extremism and its firm adherence to principles that are based on global human rights. It is crucial to take cognizance of the exhortative tone of this adherence in that it evokes the fact the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have resulted in huge numbers of civilian victims. Moreover, it is impossible not to sense an overtone of criticism of the American authorities at Guantanamo Bay. This is a very important concession, albeit only an implied one. It is highly significant for the audience to hear from the new President that some of his people, formerly in power, have violated human rights. It is an implication that appears to herald a new honesty.

Int.1's intervention is influential, especially in the ways in which he diminishes the diplomatic intention of the speech, replacing 'violence by

extremists' with 'تطرف من الإرهابيين' ('extremism by terrorists'), although Obama is careful not to use the word 'terrorism', or indeed any of its derivatives, not only here but throughout the whole speech. Moreover, he changes the structure of the second clause, so that it becomes an invitation to the audience to participate in promoting the resistance of extremism by inserting the word 'سوية' ('together'). It may be that he considers this exhortation to be within the spirit of Obama's attempt to sow the seeds of cooperation, or it may reflect impatience with the validity of American principles. But the fact remains that the speaker's important attempt to show the audience that the new American President is a man of ethical principles, on whom Muslims can rely and with whom they can feel secure, reverts back to the principle of unity that has been established in the previous sentences.

Int.2's rendition also overlooks the central parallelism of the sentence. His use of 'لهذا السبب' ('that's why'), 'لن نقبل' ('we will never tolerate'), 'ولن نغير' ('we will never alter'), and 'ولن نتخلى' ('will never give up') adds new evaluations to a text in which the speaker is articulating a consequence or reaction, not decisions that show his resolution not to tolerate, alter, or give. Like Int.1, the interpreter is ostensibly expressing scepticism as to the speaker's capacity to balance reactions and principles.

Int.3's intervenes in his use of 'لا تحب' ('does not like') rather than 'can never tolerate' and, more significantly, 'الإرهابيين' ('terrorists') rather than 'extremists'. Moreover, he inserts 'أو ننساها' ('or forgets them'), which has no equivalent in the source text, because the speaker is talking exclusively about altering these principles, not forgetting them. In this case, however, unlike Int.1 and Int.2, the speaker's parallelism is maintained. However, the intensification of the attitudinal 'extremists' to

be ‘ارهابيين’(‘terrorist’) may imply the interpreter’s, and Russia Today’s, perception of America’s understanding of extremism which he has underlined on more than one occasion. As a result, the negative connotations that ‘terrorist’ evokes in the minds of the audience may counter the more evaluative intention of the speaker.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 120)

9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country.

Int.3:

الحادي عشر من سبتمبر كان مشكلة كبيرة بالنسبة لبلدنا.

BT: 9/11 was a big trouble for our country.

The use of the word ‘trauma’ here is geared to elicit empathy. Int.3 hinders the communication of this structure of feeling in his transformation of it into ‘مشكلة كبيرة’ (‘a big trouble’), which marks a shift in the domain of feelings from unhappiness to resentment, once again communicating the image of an angry nation and a sense of instability that derives from Russia Today’s anti-American agenda.

Excerpt 10 (Sentence 121)

The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideals.

Int.2:

فالعصب والكرهية التي فجرها مفهوم لَكِنَّ في بعض الحالات أدى بنا إلى التصرف بشكل يخالف أفكارنا وقيمنا ومثلنا العليا.

BT: The anger and hatred that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideas, values, and ideals.

Int.3:

الخوف الذي ولده كان غير محتمل وفي أوقات تصرفنا بشكل مخالف لتراثنا وأفكارنا.

BT: The fear it provoked was unbearable and at times we acted contrary to our traditions and ideas.

The speaker is concerned here to balance the impact of 9/11, indicating his stance in relation to both negative feelings ‘fear and anger’, and judgment ‘contrary to our ideals’. He revisits the idea of violating American principles introduced in sentence 119, indicating his rejection of the disproportionate reactions that followed in the wake of 9/11.

Int.2’s intervention is no less patent. He interprets ‘anger’ accurately but fails to provide the adequate equivalent for ‘fear’, because he uses ‘الكراهية’ (‘hatred’) instead. This kind of intrusion is highly significant in that it causes the speaker to admit, in the minds of his listeners, that one of the reactions of the attacks is hatred against Muslims, an interpretation that this particular interpreter has reflected frequently because it promotes Al-Jazeera’s analysis of the situation. The audience will read such a feeling as a justification for American military aggression, a reading that eliminates the possibility of any new beginning.

Int.3’s interventions at both of these junctions are also significant, in that deletes ‘anger’, thereby focussing the audience on the speaker’s feeling of ‘fear’. In addition, he intensifies this by converting the meaning of ‘understandable’ into ‘غير محتمل’ (‘unbearable’). Moreover, the speaker’s graduated counter-expectancy stance, indicated by ‘but in some cases’, is entirely omitted. These are interventions that offer one reading: the unbearable extreme fear of Americans which has led them to act contrary to their ‘traditions and ideas’. As a consequence, the

audience receives an over-simplified understanding of the speaker's feelings and justifications. Once again this echoes the perspective of Russia Today, namely that the United States acts out of simple motives of fear, hatred and aggression.

3.3.3. Interpreter Intervention in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World

In this next phase of the speech, the speaker deals with this source of tension not only in terms of the relationship between Israel and Palestine, but extends his frame of reference to include the whole Arab World. This extension is based, of course, on American awareness that, regardless of their political and ethnical divisions, there is a considerable degree of unity among Arabs when it comes to the Palestinian issue. Importantly, therefore, Obama counterbalances this unity by stressing that Israel is not alone either, but has the support of the United States. There is an acute balance to be struck here within this section, an evaluative equilibrium that is of vital importance to the audience-speaker relationship; accordingly, eleven sentences, and their renderings, are analysed below to enable us to judge the extent of interpreter intervention.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 127)

The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

Int.3:

والتوتر الآخر الثاني الذي نريد أن نناقشه هُوَ الوضع بَيْنَ الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين.

BT: And the other tension... the second that we want to discuss is the situation between Palestinians and Israelis.

This apparently uncontroversial sentence provides the sub-heading of the second issue. What is significant here is that Obama is explicit about the role that Arab countries play – and must play - in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He is aware that some of America’s closest allies in the Arab World have been pushed by their people to lessen or even end any cooperative relationship with Israel. For that reason, he seeks to draw another parallel, pointing out to both leaders and people that any strengthening of their relationship with Israel will automatically bring about a strengthening of the Western-Arab relationship, with all of the implications for a new geopolitical beginning that this entails. In spite of the fact that this sentence is to the point, Int.3 amends it. Firstly, instead of referring to ‘the second major source of tension’, the interpreter offers ‘التوتر الثاني’ (‘the second tension’), detracting from the flow of the speaker’s argument. This is an intervention that, in all likelihood, however, occurs as an instance of concision rather than a conscious or unconscious infiltration of agenda. But that it occurs at a moment signalling a key change in the speech is, nonetheless, concerning. Secondly, and much more significantly in terms of the speaker’s subsequent argument, the interpreter overlooks the third party involved in the relationship, ‘the Arab World’. While the speaker emphasizes the role of Arabs in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the interpreter reflects Russia Today’s sympathy with the Palestinian issue by highlighting Israel alone as an active participant in the generation of tension in the Palestinian conflict. This is an ideologically motivated omission that effectively conceals an important aspect of the speaker’s understanding of the consequences of an Israeli-Palestinian conflict that extend into the Arab World as well.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 130)

It is based upon cultural and historical ties and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

Int.1:

فهي مبنية على أواصر تاريخية وثقافية وكذلك إن الطموح اليهودي هو موجود بتاريخ لا يمكننا أن ننكره الآن.

BT: It is based on historical and cultural ties and that the Jewish ambition exists in a history that we cannot deny now.

Int.2:

ويستند إلى روابط ثقافية وتاريخية وعلى الاعتراف بأن تطلعات امتلاك وطن قومي يهودي متجذر في تاريخ مأساوي لا يمكن نسيانه وإنكاره.

BT: It is based on cultural and historical ties and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish national homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be forgotten or denied.

Int.3:

والعلاقة التي تربط أمريكا مع إسرائيل مبنية على روابط ثقافية وتاريخية والاعتراف بحق اليهود في بناء دولة يهودية وهو أمر لا يمكن أن ننكره.

BT: The relationship that bonds America with Israel is based on historical and cultural ties and the recognition of Jews' right in building a Jewish state and this issue we cannot deny.

The speaker is compelled at this point to explain the deep-rootedness of the relationship between America and Israel. As frequently happens with such diplomatic texts, two messages are being sent simultaneously. On one hand, he reassures Israel that he will continue the same approach as his predecessors, while on the other, he reminds Palestinians and Arabs

that any aggression against Israelis cannot be justified. This is already a controversial message, and Obama and his speech writers choose their words with notable care.

An examination of Int.1's version reveals that he has intruded to delete the evaluative and empathetic 'tragic', followed by the insertion of the limiting pronoun 'نا' ('we') to the relative clause 'that cannot be denied'. Both of these decisions clearly modify the speaker's intended attitude; the deletion of 'tragic', on the one hand, prevents the audience from comprehending the depth of the speaker's negative feelings in his analysis of Jewish history. The addition of the plural indicator 'نا' ('we'), on the other hand, which in this case excludes the listening audience, has the effect of signalling that the history being referred to by the speaker is solely one between Israel and the United States. There is no question that the interpreter is aware that there many, such as Al-Arabiya and its audience, who are much less sympathetic to the 'Jewish tragedy' because Israel is still seen as an illegitimately occupying force.

Int.2's intervention is evident on two occasions. Firstly, he interprets 'a Jewish homeland' as 'وطن قومي يهودي' ('a Jewish national homeland') where 'قومي' ('national') is added to emphasize the reality of Israeli nationalism. Secondly, he renders 'that cannot be denied' as 'لا يمكن نسيانه او إنكاره' ('that cannot be forgotten or denied'), intensifying the impact of this history through the insertion of 'لا يمكن نسيانه' ('cannot be forgotten'). Both cases are characterized by additions that serve to complicate the speaker's attitudes in the minds of his audience. On one hand, 'a Jewish national homeland' poses a grave threat not only to Palestinians but to other Arab nationalities, while, at the same time, 'لا يمكن نسيانه او إنكاره' ('that cannot be forgotten or denied') recognises the speaker's assertion that any attempt to deny or forget the credibility of

the Jewish aspiration will not be easy. From the perspective of the Arab audiences, this is, to put it simply, a mixed message.

Int.3's intrusion is also clear. He deletes 'rooted in a tragic history', an important indicator that evaluates Jewish suffering, a deletion that, as is the case with Int.1 and Int.2 above, is predicated upon Russia Today's policy at this time of only divorcing Israel from a wider Jewish past and only considering it in terms of its current occupation of Palestine.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 134)

Denying that fact is baseless, ignorant, and hateful.

Int.1:

إن إنكار هَذِهِ الحقيقة لا يعد مسألة صحيحة و لا يوجد له أي أساس.

BT: Denying this fact is an incorrect issue and is baseless.

Int.3:

وهذا أمر غير مرحب به.

BT: And this issue is unwelcome.

This sentence expresses the speaker's attitudes towards those who deny the suffering of Jews across history, especially the Holocaust. Because he condemns the actions of the Third Reich, i.e. Nazi Germany, his criticism ostensibly goes beyond the limits of the Arab World, but in the context of this speech, his frame of reference is undeniable.

Int.1 rendition reflects only one aspect of those who deny - 'baseless' - while the other two aspects 'ignorant and hateful' are overlooked. Moreover, the interpreter inserts in the text the notion of the much less provocative 'لا يعد مسألة صحيحة' ('incorrect issue'), implying that this is not what is currently at stake, resulting in an abridged version

where the audience is prevented from fully understanding the speaker's insights (which might well have met with a more resistant reaction).

Int.3's rendering poses complex issues of interpretation for his audience in that the speaker's two main objectives – the fact of Jewish suffering and the impossibility of denying it - are both left incomplete. The interpreter seems to reject both the speaker's emphasis on fact, as well as the validity of any negative evaluation of whoever denies such a 'fact' – once again the perceived illegitimacy of the Jewish struggle constitutes a deep-rooted doxa.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 135)

Threatening Israel with destruction - or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews - is deeply wrong and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis these most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

Int.1:

وإن تهديد إسرائيل بالدمار أو تكرار هذه الصورة النمطية هي مسألة غير صحيحة وهذا سوف يأخذ اليهود في ذكرياتهم إلى الأحداث التي عاشوها في التاريخ السابق.

BT: Threatening Israel with destruction or repeating this stereotypical image is wrong and this will take Jews back to their memories of the events that they have lived in the previous history.

Int.2:

تهديد إسرائيل بمحوها من الوجود أو تكرار الصور النمطية ضد اليهود هو خطأ فادح ولا بد أن يثير في أذهان وذاكرة اليهود أن السلام الذي تستحقه شعوب المنطقة لن يتحقق.

BT: Threatening Israel to erase (wipe) it from on existence or repeating the stereotypical image against Jews is a great mistake and must provoke the minds and memories of Jews that peace that the people of this region deserve will not be achieved.

Int.3:

أن نهدد إسرائيل بالدمار وهذا أمر خاطئ لأنه يخدم استعادة اليهود لهذه الذكريات المؤلمة التي تعرض لها أجدادهم في الوقت الماضي.

BT: For us to threaten Israel with destruction is wrong because it serves to remind Jews of these painful memories that their grandfathers have exposed to in the past time.

This sentence sets out the speaker's evaluation to acts of hostile opposition to Israel, even they derive from the reactions of Palestinians or other states that support Palestinian rights, such as Iran. Most of the words he uses here are attitudinally loaded, requiring careful – indeed cautious – rendering.

Notwithstanding the easily discernible sensitivity of the speaker's intentions, Int.1 deletes major parts of the speaker's evaluations - namely 'vile', 'deeply', 'this most painful' and 'while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve', a concerted act of intervention that prevents the audience from understanding the speaker's feelings, judgment, and graduation, all strategically employed to pave the way for the speaker's overall purpose. It is an intervention that conceals the speaker's concern for Israel, as well as downscaling how the threat to Israel can play might destabilize the region. As is the case above, these alterations may be read as a softening of the speaker's assertion of the significance of the threats, so that once again Israel is considered to have left itself morally open to attack, or as the outworking of a belief that acts of Palestinian resistance cannot delay or even prevent peace in the region.

Int.2's intrusion may be clearly identified. First of all, he replaces 'destruction' with 'دمار' by 'بمحوها من الوجود' ('erase (wipe) it from on existence'). Moreover, he deletes 'these most painful memories', a clear

indicator of the speaker's graduated negative feeling, a decision that in turn reflects Al-Jazeera's anti-Israeli stance in its implied suggestion that Israel should not only withdraw from Palestine but indeed be erased (or wiped) as a state. This intense feeling is emphasised by overlooking 'these most painful memories' in a rendering that places less stress on painful history. In consequence, the speaker's effective appeal on behalf of Israel is blocked in a way that both infiltrates the speech as a whole, and that, as such interventions accumulate, serve to present a sense of history, geopolitics and shared purpose very different from the one Obama sought to communicate.

Int.3's rendering also overlooks some of the indicators through which the speaker expresses his evaluations. It is clear that the interpreter modifies the speaker's attitudes by ignoring not simply a word or two, as one might expect given the pressures of simultaneous interpreting, but whole clauses, notably in disregarding 'or repeating vile stereotypes', 'deeply', 'this most', and 'while preventing the peace that the people of the region deserve'. Like Int.1, although to a lesser degree, the interpreter downscales the significance of the anti-Israel threat and underestimates the impact this may play in destabilizing the region. Indeed, the implication that an audience will take from his rendering is that such threats are the only way that Palestinians might re-assert their rights to an independent state of their own, a construal that sits squarely with Russia Today's agenda in the Middle East, through which it garners widespread Arab support through its alignment with the Palestinian people.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 139)

They endure the daily humiliations - large and small - that come with occupation.

Int.1:

ويعانون ما يعانوه كلَّ يوم بسبب ظروف الاحتلال.

BT: And suffer what they suffer every day because of the occupation.

Int.3:

ثم عاشوا باضطهاد كبير وأتى مع الاحتلال الذي تعرضوا له.

BT: Then they lived under a great oppression that has come with the occupation they have encountered.

This sentence presents an important counter-balance in its reflection on the suffering of the Palestinian people, focussing on one particular aspect, that of the humiliations encountered in everyday life. Of crucial importance here is his description of Israel as an occupying power. Although it is a key concession, viewed as positive by his Arab audiences, it contradicts his preceding evaluation of Israel as a legitimate entity. But the introduction of the idea of occupation, a deliberate echoing of the Arabic term, remains forceful, intended to linger in the memory of his listeners as a marker of trustworthiness. However, interpreter intervention restricts the audience's capacity to formulate its own judgement on this important issue.

Int.1's offering of 'ويعانون ما يعانوه' ('suffer what they suffer') for 'humiliation' provides only a general heading, open to various interpretations. It is likely that the interpreter has disregarded the exact equivalence in line with an assumption that the consequences of the Israeli occupation are not confined to 'humiliation'. Images of murdered

women and children, the massive destruction of Palestinian houses, and of innocent men jailed for years without trial, are constantly broadcasted by his employing institution, Al-Arabiya. Whether or not the audience's engagement with the speaker's evaluation is influenced is, in this case, a moot point, because the rendering still transmits the speaker's awareness of Palestinian suffering.

Int. 3 also intrudes at this particular point in his tightened rendering of 'the daily humiliations large and small' as 'باطْطهاد كبير' ('under a great oppression'). The cumulative impact of his interventions in the preceding examples suggests emphatically that this is a rendering that springs from his consistent interpretant, which is his broad-based and unequivocal support for the Palestinian cause.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 152)

But it was not violence that won full and equal rights.

Int.1:

تأكدوا أنه هناك أيضاً أعمال عنف.

BT: Be sure that there were violent acts as well.

Int.3: No rendering.

Here the speaker emphasizes that the most effective way that black Americans achieved their aspirations was through peaceful protests, encouraging Palestinians (and Arabs) to pursue the same peaceful strategy (although Israel is effectively excluded from the implication). His alignment with Israelis is, therefore, clear. Another interpretation may be construed from this declaration, in this case concerning the effectiveness of the armed approach of some Palestinian groups.

Int.1's intervention is crucial because, in addition to the shift of the speaker's stance from denying into proclaiming, he produces a proposition that reflects an attitude not originally indicated by the speaker: while the speaker underlines the role of peace in achieving black people's rights, the interpreter implies that they have used violence to achieve their ends. The suggestion is that resistance cannot be considered under the simple rubric of violence at all, perhaps deriving from the conviction that violence in an active way to put an end to discrimination, oppression and denial.

Int.3's intrusion is absolute. He omits the sentence, effectively closing off communication on this point between speaker and audience.

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 156)

It is a sign of neither courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus.

Int.1:

فتخيلوا إطلاق الصواريخ على الأطفال النيام أو تفجير امرأة بنفسها في حافلة.

BT: Imagine shooting rockets at sleeping children or blowing up a woman on a bus.

Int.3:

لَيْسَ هناك شجاعة في إطلاق الصواريخ على النساء والأطفال.

BT: There is no courage in shooting rockets at women and children.

In this sentence, the speaker emphasises peaceful resistance to Israeli occupation through his criticism of Palestinian suicide attacks and rockets, of which, in his emotively negative evaluation, 'sleeping

children' and 'old women' are the primary victims. To the Arab ear, the criticism will, of course, sound partial.

Int.1 deletes 'it is a sign of neither courage nor power' and instead inserts the verb 'فتخيلوا' ('imagine'), effectively turning the speaker's declaration into an invitation, indicating the interpreter's probable rejection of the speaker's evaluation of Palestinian resistance - that is to say, as he did in sentence 152 above, he appears to support armed Palestinian operations against Israel.

Int.3's version, on the other hand, deletes key aspects of the speaker's evaluation - 'nor power', 'sleeping', and 'blow up old women on a bus'. As an act of political sympathy to the Palestinians, which we have detected in other interpretative decisions that he has made on this issue, the interpreter's rendition is offered in what may be felt to be a spirit of disagreement with the speaker, so that although the audience can still perceive parts of this negative evaluation, the disregarded elements seriously weaken the emotive impact of his declaration.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 160)

Hamis does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have responsibilities.

Int.3:

حماس لديها بعض الإسناد من الشعب الفلسطيني ولكن هناك أيضاً من يعارضها لأنها لا تمثل
طموحات الشعب الفلسطيني.

BT: Hamas does have some support among the Palestinian people, but there are those who oppose it because it does not represent the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

This is a particularly interesting sentence (coupled with the following one), in which the speaker addresses the role of Hamas (and its fighters) in terms of intensifying the Israeli-Palestinian conflict rather than working to promote peace. There are two important aspects that demand attention here. On one hand, Obama's recognition of Hamas is made apparently grudgingly ('does have some support'), which allows his words to be taken covertly as a message of support to other Palestinian parties -Fatah in particular. On the other hand, his emphasis on 'responsibilities' gives him some freedom to negotiate a more 'peaceful' approach of ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with Hamas. Nonetheless, among the three versions into Arabic, only Int.3's rendering is problematic because, although the first clause conveys the same attitude (except for the dislocation of 'بعض' ['some']), the interpreter intervenes notably in the rest of the sentence. The speaker's implication of Palestinian opposition to Hamas is accentuated by the intercalated denial of any univocal relationship between the aspirations of Hamas and those of the Palestinian people. In other words, there is now an overt sense that Hamas may well not be a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people – effectively eliminating, in the process, the positive tone of the speaker's call to Hamas to assume their 'responsibilities'.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 161)

To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, and to unify the Palestinian people.

Int.1:

بأن تلعب دورًا في الوفاء بأحلام الفلسطينيين وأن تسعى لتوحيد الشعب الفلسطيني.

BT: To play a role in fulfilling the Palestinians' dreams and to try to unify the Palestinian people.

Int.3: No rendering.

The speaker follows on here by focussing on the two positive roles that Hamas might play. Interpreter intervention, however, contravenes the clarity of his proposition.

Int.1 initial interpretation of 'Palestinian aspirations' 'بأحلام الفلسطينيين' ('the Palestinians' dreams'), where the political discourse evident in 'aspirations' is reduced to a more ineffectual, if equally emotionally strong, choice. Moreover, he continues to distance the speaker's attitude from his audience in his elongating of the verb 'to unify' to 'يسعى لتوحيد' ('to try to unify'). Although it appears that the interpreter admits the difficulty of establishing an independent Palestinian state, there is an implied tone of scepticism, indicated by his insertion of the verb 'يسعى' ('try'), as to the role Hamas might play in unifying the Palestinian people. Al-Arabiya, of course, is known for its bias to Fatah, so whether his interpretation comes from conviction (doxa) or inculcated expediency (habitus), the interpreter's version serves to diminish the speaker's trust in the potential of Hamas.

More momentous is Int.3's decision to omit this sentence, so that in addition to the insertion of the negative attitude towards Hamas in the previous sentence, he deletes any positive ones that may be construed here. Of course, one might surmise that his previous addition has caused him to miss this phrase, but his overall performance consistently suggests the outworking of an ideological position that is different to that of the speaker. It is a position that, in this instance, emphasizes a lack of conviction in Hamas as a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Excerpt 10 (Sentence 166)

It is time for these settlements to stop.

Int.1:

ولقد حان الوقت لوقف أعمال العنف.

BT: It is time for the violent acts to stop.

In this sentence, the speaker expresses a clear attitude to Israeli settlements, in a statement in which, on one hand, he offers a rare criticism of Israeli policy and actions, while at the same time disregarding Israel's military campaign against Palestinian civilians. This apparent imbalance is addressed by Int.1, who shifts the speaker's 'settlements' to 'أعمال العنف' ('violent acts'). It is a significant violation in that it indicates both the interpreter's and Al-Arabiya's support for those Palestinians who have not only lost their houses as a consequence of the settlements, but who have also been subject to disproportionate violence. The declaration might well prompt a sympathetic reaction from the audience, but it is largely unwarranted. Moreover, listeners are denied access to the speaker's original declaration, which is the ultimate rejection of the settlements whose value to the speaker-audience relationship is much greater than the mere rejection of violence. Nevertheless, an interesting conclusion emerges from this, which is that the interpreter is not hostile to Obama's relationship with his audience *per se*, but intervenes sporadically in that relationship from the perspective of his own ideological position.

Excerpt 11 (Sentence 169)

Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

Int.1:

إن التطور في حياة الشعب الفلسطيني يجب أن يكون جزءاً لا يتجزأ من عملية السلام وعلى إسرائيل أن تأخذ خطوات عملية لإحداث هذا التغيير والتطور .

BT: Progress in the life of the Palestinian people must be undividable part of the process of peace and Israel must take practical steps to remark this change and progress.

Int.2:

لأن التحقق في الحياة اليومية للفلسطينيين يجب أن يكون جزءاً حيوياً حاسماً لا يتجزأ من السعي للسلام وعلى إسرائيل أن تقدم على خطوات ملموسة لتحقيق مثل هذا التقدم.

BT: Because achievement in the daily life of Palestinians must be undividable, crucial, vital part of pursuing peace and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

Int.3:

يجب أن ينتهي العنف الذي يتعرض له الشعب الفلسطيني الذي يجب أن يكون جزءاً أساسياً من الخط والمسار إلى السلام ويتوجب على إسرائيل أن تتحمل مسؤوليتها تجاه ذلك.

BT: The violence that the Palestinian people confront must end which must be a primary part of the way to peace and Israel must live up its responsibility towards that.

This sentence indicates the speaker's evaluation of the 'progress' that Palestinians have the right to achieve once Israel recognises their legitimate aspirations. However, none of the interpreters provide an intervention-free rendering. Interestingly, all three interpreters intervene at the same point, effectively intensifying the role of daily improvement in the life of Palestinians in achieving peace by respectively adding 'جزءاً' (undividable part), 'جزءاً حيوياً حاسماً' (undividable, crucial, vital part) and 'أساسياً' (primary). It is clear from these interventions that they view the Israeli occupation as a major stumbling block on the road

to peace, and of course this is not the first time, as we have seen, that they have aligned themselves with the Palestinian cause (which is, in turn, a shared agenda promoted in common by Al-Arabiya, Al-Jazeera and Russia Today). Although the speaker underlines the role of progress, the weight attributed by the renderings is misleading because it lets the audience build a more positive, but ultimately groundless, understanding.

3.3.4. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons

In his discussion of this source of tension, the speaker narrows the scope of his targeted audience. He portrays Iran as the only source of nuclear threat not just within the Middle East, but globally. However, as his consideration of the topic is restricted in comparison with the other subjects that concern him, the amount of identifiable evaluative language in this part of his speech is also reduced. Accordingly, only four excerpted sentences are offered for analysis here.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 182)

This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Int.1:

فهذه القضية كانت موضع جدل بين الولايات المتحدة وجمهورية إيران الإسلامية.

BT: This issue has been a point of controversy between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The speaker here explicitly declares his country's opposition to Iran's illicit nuclear programme. But Int.1 makes an intervention that is significant both in terms of his discernible position and of the way in which audience response may be conditioned. His transformation of 'a

source of tension' into 'موضع جدل' ('a point of controversy') represents a shift that hardens the variable of insecurity into that of dissatisfaction. Influenced by Al-Arabiya's anti-Iranian agenda, the interpreter may believe that Americans are reluctant to put an end to Iranian illicit nuclear because they should not only harden sanctions on Iran, but may also terminate diplomatic negotiations. But, on the other hand, the audience will be misleadingly led to evaluate the American-Iranian relation to be dominated by controversy and not the more diplomatic 'tension'.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 185)

Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians.

Int.1:

ومنذ الثورة الإسلامية إيران لعبت دورًا أيضًا في أخذ الكثير من الأسرى الأمريكيين من المدنيين.

BT: Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has also played a role in taking many American prisoners of civilians.

Int.3:

وبعد وصول الحكومة الإسلامية للقيادة الإسلامية في إيران بدأت بأخذ الرهائن وانتهاج العنف.

BT: And since the Islamic government has taken control of Islamic leadership in Iran, it started to take hostages and to be violent.

In this sentence, the speaker reviews sources of tension between the United States and Iran, which he tellingly locates within the establishment of Islamic rule. In doing so, he tellingly ignores that Iranians was acting in response to America's refusal to extradite

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iranian ruler from 1941 until the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Int.1's intrusion, on one hand, takes place through addition and substitution. Firstly, he inserts the up-scaling quantifier 'الكثير' ('many') to maximize the number of 'victims', and then replaces 'acts of hostage-taking and violence against US troops and civilians' with 'الأسرى المدنيين الأمريكيين من المدنيين' ('American prisoners of civilians'), whereby he focusses on civilians without any attempt to render 'troops'. Although the speaker is inclusive in indicating both civilians and soldiers, the interpreter is selective, and indeed emphasizes this selection by the insertion of the graduation indicator 'الكثير' ('many'). As a reflection of Al-Arabiya's anti-Iranian stance, the interpreter effectively suggests that Iran is an irresponsible power whose actions are targeted only against civilians (an interpretant which may be politically, socially, or, more likely, ethically motivated and which is evident on every occasion he evaluates Iran). Although the speaker's attitude is still negative, the reflected intensity is geared to prompt a stronger audience reaction.

Int.3's intervention also acts as an intensifier because he ignores 'against US troops and civilians'. In doing so, he extends the scope of violence to reflect what can be taken as Iran's general hostility. The example is worth noting because is his employer's sponsor – that is, Russia – has a good relationship with Iran, so that his implication that Iran poses a grave threat not only to American civilians or troops, but all people seems to stand at odds with the notion of professional habitus. It reminds us, however, that there is always scope for interpreter omission and modification that are also instigated by the pressure of the task itself. It is for that reason that we are centrally concerned not to identify

interventions as solely sporadic events, but as part of extended chains of ideological interpretation.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 189)

It will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve.

Int.2:

انا أدرك أنه من الصعب تجاوز عقود من عدم الثقة لكن علينا أن نتصرف بشجاعة وبصواب وتصميم وعزم.

BT: I realize that it is hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we should act with courage, rectitude and resolve.

Int.3:

أنا متأكد أننا سنستمر بشجاعة وتصميم.

BT: I am sure that we will proceed with courage and determination.

This sentence reflects an admission of difficulty in terms of solving the problems that dominate his, i.e. Obama, nation's relationship with Iran and, at the same time, shows his resolution to overcome tension. Such a declaration denotes, on one hand, a recognition of the failure of previous dealings with Iran, and that it is now time to rely on diplomacy. This assertion of good intention, however, is also set against the implication that any military confrontation with Iran would be potentially devastating. In spite of the fact that these stated evaluations are key to American policy towards Iran, and are unequivocally stated, two interpreters undertake interventions.

Int.2 shifts 'It will be hard' to 'انا أدرك أنه من الصعب' ('I realize it is hard'), so that the speaker's negative appreciation shifts towards

engagement. However, such substitution will have little effect on the way underpinning attitudes are communicated.

Int.3's intervention, however, is more influential. Noticeably, the deletion of some elements of the sentence affects the depiction of evaluations because the interpreter overlooks the speaker's appreciation 'It will be hard', the graduated judgment 'years of mistrust', as well as the graduated tenacity of behaviour 'courage, rectitude, and resolve'. Nevertheless, the only conclusion to be drawn from such deletions is that the interpreter seeks to focus exclusively on the positive aspect of the speaker's evaluation. Instead of the strategy the speaker follows by showing hardships then determination, the interpreter directly encourages the audience to feel that they have the power to overcome disruptions. As a result of such filtration, the audience is prevented from fully comprehending the negative side of the attitude the speaker wishes them to accept.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 198)

And I am hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

Int.2:

وأنا واثق أننا جميعًا في هذه المنطقة نلتزم بهذه القضية.

BT: And I am confident that we all in this region are committed to this issue.

Int.3:

وأنا كلي أمل بأن جميع البلدان في المنطقة تشارك في الرؤية.

BT: And I am fully hopeful that all countries in the region share this vision.

This final sentence on the issue of nuclear proliferation comes by way of provisional conclusion, and reflects the speaker's positive feelings in

relation to the future of this issue. Whether or not this reflects the reality on the ground is moot, but Obama primarily seeks to inculcate in his audience the belief, once again, that they have an essential role in creating the future of their region. However, two of the intended interpreters feed their own evaluations into the sententious nature of this declaration..

Int.2 hardens the speaker's feelings into engagement by rendering 'I am hopeful' as 'وأنا واثق' ('I am confident'). Moreover, he substitutes 'can share this goal' with 'نلتزم بهذه القضية' ('are committed to this issue'), where, in addition to replacing 'goal' with 'issue', he changes the modality of the proposition, which produces a different, and ultimately stronger, degree of evaluation. Indeed, showing the speaker's confidence that the audience shares this issue with him may suggest that the interpreter is ultimately confident that all, willingly or not, share the speaker's attitudes. Be that as it may, the speaker's appeal to the audience's feeling is lost and the emotive force of this provisional conclusion lessened.

Although Int.3 succeeds in articulating the speaker's feelings, he depicts 'goal' as 'رؤية' ('vision'). Reflecting Russia Today's coordinated policy of underplaying the potentially positive nature of America's role, as we have already seen on previous occasions, he suggests that the speaker is in thrall to what is at best a notion, without plan or support. As a result, the audience's response to the speaker's invitation to share the 'goal' is considerably weakened, moving as it does from the terrain of the pragmatic to the conceptual.

3.3.5. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Democracy

As with the brief section of the speech above, the speaker's identification of democracy as a source of tension in the region receives relatively scant attention, so that once again our analysis of interpreter intervention will focus on just three sentences, as follows.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 200)

I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.

Int.1:

أعلم أنه كان هناك جدالات كثيرة حول تعزيز الديمقراطية في السنوات الأخيرة وأن الكثير من هذا الجدل يرتبط بالحرب التي دارت في العراق.

BT: I know there have been many controversies on the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.

Int.2:

فأنا أعلم أنه كان هناك تناقضات وإثارة الجدل حول الترويج للديمقراطية في السنوات القليلة الماضية وكثير من ذلك يرتبط بالحرب على العراق.

BT: For I know there have been contradictions and controvercies about the promotion of democracy in the previous few years and much of that is connected to the war on Iraq.

The speaker's reflection on the issue of democracy, characterised of course by controversy in the region especially in the aftermath of the US-led coalition to 'liberate' Iraq, shows that American justification of this war has been widely rejected. Although there is an implied acceptance that Saddam might eventually have been removed by the

Iraqis themselves, the speaker also defends his nation's previous stance on the promotion of democracy. The issue is a potentially disruptive one in the context of the appellative function of this speech, and requires careful onward transmission to receiving audiences.

Int.1 augments 'controversy' as 'جدالات كثيرة' ('many controversies'), up-scaling the speaker's projection of dissatisfaction. Such an action may in itself denote the accepted difficulty in promoting democracy in the region, or it may also imply widespread frustration at the fact that some countries in the region have failed to address traditional power structures. It is difficult to be more precise than that on this occasion, but the consequence remains the same, namely that the audience will be misleadingly attracted to accept the speaker's seemingly sympathetic evaluation.

Int.2 provides 'تناقضات وإثارة الجدل' ('contradictions and controvercies') for 'controversy. While the speaker does not mention contradictions, the interpreter imports this second aspect into the text as an effective intensifier. Indeed, as with Int.1, this interpreter may also recognise that the cause of democracy in the region is seriously weakened because it works against the interests of powerful dictatorships. In fact, Al-Jazeera's impact on such an interpretant is clear, in that the interpreter is in all likelihood influenced by the channel's relentless criticism of Saudi Arabia and its non-democratic ruling elite. Consequently, the interpreter's expression of negative feelings surfaces to intensify the speaker's attitude in an unpredicted way.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 204)

America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election.

Int.3:

أمريكا لا تمثل ولا يمكنها أن تملي ما هو الأفضل لكل أمة.

BT: America does not represent and cannot dictate what is best for every nation’.

This sentence continues the justification of support for democracy, so that it is important, in that spirit, that the speaker denies any attempt at manipulating emerging or potential democracies. That is to say, America is characterised as a legitimate and impartial international superpower that uses its influence to free people from dictatorship. However, Int.3 intrudes significantly, not only by deleting aspects of the speaker’s evaluations, but also by introducing others, such as ‘America does not represent...what is best’ or ‘America cannot dictate what is best’. Such a degree of intervention may at this juncture simply be the result of the interpreter’s hostility to America, which has been a constant of his performance (see, for example, sentence 198, above.) This apparently deeply-held conviction, in turn, may spring from Russia Today’s anti-American agenda, one that is deeply hostile to American intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 211)

And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments - provided they govern with respect for all their people.

Int.1:

وسوف نسعى لتحقيق الأهداف شريطة أن تكون مبنية على السلام والاحترام.

BT: We will work to achieve the goals on the condition that they are based on peace and respect.

The speaker here sends out an important signal to the emergence of democratic governments, and through that to popular democratic sentiment. The signal employs both positive feelings and judgment of behaviour to consolidate this message. Int.1 deletes most of the speaker's statement in order to accommodate his own substitution of 'governments' with 'اهداف' ('goals'), an alteration that serves to exclude the speaker's welcome of 'elected, peaceful governments'. One possible justification is that the interpreter is cautious about the popular impact of Obama's words – in other words, the interpreter, and of course, his employer Al-Arabiya (owned by a Saudi Sheikh) will not be happy if democratic movements prevail in the region. As a result, this intervention has ruptured the transmission of the speaker's encouragement to demand democratic governments and the audience's perception that this concerns them too.

3.3.6. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Religious Freedom

The speaker addresses this source of tension as a means of counterbalancing perceived Islamophobia in the West. It is a short section, but designed as an important bridge into the hearts and minds of his listeners. Accordingly, he seizes the opportunity to praise Muslim communities where Christians worship freely, and sets this against overt criticism of some Western countries that place restrictions on Muslim freedom, such as banning the hijab in public places. The intended impact of the section is highly significant in the overall strategy of the speech, and it is no doubt deliberate in terms of that purpose that the content of the section is kept to a minimum. For that reason, only four representative sentences, and their renderings, are selected here.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 215)

The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

Int.2: No rendering.

Int.3:

المسألة الخامسة التي يجب أن نتعامل معها سوياً هي مسألة التعايش.

BT: The fifth issue that we must address together is the issue of co-existence.

It seems extraordinary that a key transitional sentence like this should undergo any degree of interpreter intervention. However, Int.2 opts to omit this sentence, deleting in the process the speaker's invitation to his audience to 'address together'. In addition, the audience will invariably be puzzled by the abrupt move from democracy to tolerance (sentence 216 below). Of course, in the highly pressured environment of simultaneous interpreting, one may always justify the omission of minor words, especially if there is any indication of hesitation or redundancy. But to delete a whole sentence that acts as a sub-heading on which the following reflection heavily depends is not only professionally questionable, but within the body of evidence of ideological manipulation that this thesis is concerned to adduce, it can also be seen as part of an ongoing agenda. In that regard, it is likely that the key phrase 'religious freedom' is problematic for the interpreter because it is a problematic term for Al-Jazeera; indeed it is a topic that threatens the stability of certain communities in the Middle East and North Africa with whom Al-Jazeera has strong bonds and brings into play in the interpreter's mind sectarian conflicts that have cast a gloomy shadow on the internal security of certain countries, such as Iraq, Iran, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt - in each of these countries, there is a minority sectarian group which claims to be oppressed by the majority one. In

that case, omission might well be seen as preferable to opening a potential hornet's nest.

Int.3's version is characterised by the key switch from 'religious freedom' to 'التعايش' ('co-existence'), which of course misdirects the focus of the audience. As with Int.2 above, we might also assume that the interpreter wishes to avoid any embarrassment that the term 'religious freedom' might cause for him, or Russia Today; this would explain why he decides to shift the audience's attention to another area, which is at least cognate. Interpreters are, of course, trained to make their renderings as usable as possible, meaning by that term that their end-users should be able to grasp meaning and relevance with clarity; that has clearly not happened in this instance as the audience will struggle to bridge the conceptual gap between religious freedom and co-existence.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 222)

Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's.

Int.1:

وبين بعض المُسْلِمِينَ هناك اتجاه لفرض الديانات على البعض ومن خلال تحدي ديانات الآخرين.

BT: Among some Muslim there is a tendency to impose religions on some by challenging others' religions.

Int.3:

هناك بَيْنَ بعض المُسْلِمِينَ من يرفض عقائد الآخرين.

BT: There are some Muslims, who reject others' faiths.

Developing from his concessive appreciation of Islam as a religion of tolerance, the speaker recognises the challenges to tolerance that remain. One such challenge that may be implied here is the Sunni-Shia divide (wherein. Shia are viewed by some – in the main extremist - Sunnis as Kuffar, i.e. disbelievers, and are viewed accordingly as non-Muslims). Implicit, therefore, in these words is an exhortation to his Muslim audience to perceive the risk of such a divide, and to work to promote tolerance among the different sects.

Int.1's rendition modifies not solely the speaker's evaluations but indeed the whole proposition. For instance, the speaker's negative appreciation 'disturbing' is deleted, with the result that the audience is prevented from understanding how the speaker's evaluation this 'tendency'. But, signally, the speaker does not refer to the authoritarianism or challenge of particular religions, which is the attitude imputed to him by the interpreter. Arguably, the interpreter's version is based on a sense that calls for religious freedom in the Middle East and North Africa are aimed at endorsing certain sectarian beliefs at the expense of others. Such an interpretant, which seems to be confirmed by his intervention in the previous example, may be rooted in the policy of Al-Arabiya, which is a Sunni outlet (for whom, for example, Shia protests in Bahrain are targeted towards expanding the Shia domination that Iran represents). The impact of his intervention is that the audience's attention is distracted from the speaker's evaluation 'measuring through rejection' to the interpreter's 'imposition through challenge', which may well lead the audience to infer unwarranted conclusions.

More influential is Int.3's rendition, which both overlooks 'disturbing tendency', a choice of words that articulates the speaker's attitude, and changes the speaker's variable of 'measuring through

rejection' into a direct rejection. This hardening may reflect the interpreter's own experience, but, be that as it may, it leads to a biased understanding here and in sentence 215 that has caused him, therefore, to toughen the speaker's more modulated attitude.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 224)

And fault lines must be closed among Muslims as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

Int.1:

وإذا ما كنا أكثر صراحة مع أنفسنا هَذِهِ النقاط يجب أن تعالج بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وكذلك أوجه الشقاق بَيْنَ السُّنَّةِ وَالشَّيْعَةِ وَخَاصَّةً فِي الْعِرَاقِ.

BT: And if we want to be franker with ourselves, these points must be treated among Muslims and also the aspects of division between Sunni and Shia particularly in Iraq.

Int.2:

وإذا ما كنا صريحين وصادقين يجب أن نرى أن الشقاقَات بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مثلاً الاختلافات بَيْنَ الشَّيْعَةِ وَالسُّنَّةِ أدت إِلَى عَنفٍ مَأْسَاوِيٍّ فِي الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْخُصُوصِ.

BT: And if we were frank and honest, we must see that the divisions among Muslims, for instance, the differences between Shia and Sunni, have led to tragic violence in Iraq in particular.

Int.3:

وإذا ما كنا صادقين يجب أن يكون هناك تعايش بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ أَنفُسَهُمْ لِأَنَّ الْعَنفَ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ السُّنَّةِ وَالشَّيْعَةِ قَدْ قَادَ إِلَى عَنفٍ مَأْسَاوِيٍّ بِوَجْهِ الْخُصُوصِ فِي الْعِرَاقِ .

BT: And if we were honest, there must be co-existence among Muslims themselves because the violence between Shia and Sunni Muslims has led to tragic violence particularly in Iraq'.

The speaker now explicitly refers to the conflict between Sunnis and Shia, with the purpose of encouraging his audiences to think about ways of narrowing the ideological gap. To do so, he invites them to think of the civil war in some Iraqi cities after the US-led invasion in 2003, implying that although Americans have been held responsible for the emergence of this violence, they are no longer active players in Iraq and that, in consequence, the imperative of peace is now the sole responsibility of the Muslim population. Two interpreters intervene.

In the case of Int.1, the speaker's entertained negative appreciation 'fault lines', which is an important indication of his attitude to the Sunni-Shia relationship, is substituted by 'وإذا ما كنا أكثر صراحة مع 'أنفسنا هَذِهِ النِّقَاطُ' ('and if we want to be franker with ourselves, these points') which indicates both a modified stance as well as lightening 'faults lines' to the more everyday 'points'. More important is the interpreter's decision to ignore, or rather avoid, transferring the attitudinal 'tragic violence'. These alterations cause the original evaluation to lose the emotive intensity that the speaker intends. This may signal that either the interpreter does not accept that the Sunni-Shia conflict has such an importance or, more likely, that the conflict is indeed important, but he decides to omit the speaker's reflection of it because it goes against Al-Arabiya's stance.

Int.3's version reproduces a similar conclusion to that of the speaker; there is, however, an important alteration to its opening. As with Int.1, the interpreter here overlooks the indicator 'fault lines' that underlines the speaker's negative attitude and substitutes it with 'تعايش' ('co-existence'), thereby intensifying the sense of conflict between both groups. This is further emphasized by the interpreter's substitution of the evaluative word 'divisions' with 'العنف' ('the violence') that the

rendering suggests to dominate the relationship between the two groups. This process of intensification of the divisions between Sunni and Shia, which we have also come across in the preceding examples, is an overt reflection of Russia Today's policy, which has tended to emphasize the ideological differences and situation of conflict between these sectarian groups.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 229)

Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit - for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear.

Int.1:

وهذا الأمر سوف يدفعني أيضًا لأعمل على أن أجعل المُسْلِمِينَ أن يعبدوا بالطريقة كما يحلو لهم وفقاً للمبادئ الإسلامية.

BT: And this issue will urge me also to work to make Muslims worship the way they like according to Islamic principles.

Int.3:

لذا سأحث أيضًا البلدان الغربية لعدم التعرض للمسلمين وإعطائهم الحرية في ممارسة طقوسهم.

BT: I will urge also Western countries to not to confront Muslims and give them the freedom to practice their religion.

In this sentence, the speaker reflects on the lack of religious freedom of Muslims in some Western countries. This evaluation is essential because through it the speaker tries to establish solidarity with his audiences by sharing their concerns, importantly avoiding criticism of the United States and instead directing the audiences' attention to unnamed Western countries. He is endeavouring to build rapport with his audience, provide

a sense of sympathetic engagement. Nevertheless, this key process of bridge-building is interrupted by Int.1 and Int.3.

On one hand, instead of casting this sentence under the appropriate rubric of religious freedom, Int.1 articulates it to the preceding one through his use of the linking ‘وهذا الأمر سوف يدفعني’ (‘and this issue will urge me’). Moreover, the speaker’s attitude itself is funnelled from urging Western countries to ‘avoid’ the restrictions that prevent Muslims from practicing their religion as they see fit into a declaration of self-motivation. This is further complicated in the audience’s mind by the fact that the examples of these restrictions are omitted, leading to the conclusion that the interpreter is concealing the speaker’s particular address to Western countries to allow more freedom to Muslims. There is an implied sense in the interpreter’s version that he believes that the speaker is morally obliged, before he moves to instruct other Western countries, to be credible and begin by guaranteeing the freedoms of American Muslims.

On the other hand, Int.3’s interpretation impacts negatively upon the accurate depiction of the speaker’s proposition because, as with Int.1, he misleadingly renders this sentence as though a consequence of the previous one. The speaker’s immediate commitment to dealing with this core issue is distanced from the audience by the interpreter’s use of the future ‘سأحث’ (‘I will urge’), whereby the audience is given a clear sense that Muslims are still denied access to the free practice of their religion. It may be that this simply reflects an ingrained sense of oppression, but it is extended by the hardening of the speaker’s ‘avoid impeding’ into ‘لعدم التعرض’ (‘not to confront’), implying a clash between Muslims and the countries where they are resident. Finally, the example the speaker uses to illustrate one aspect of restrictions placed on female

Muslims' freedom is entirely deleted. The only conclusion to be drawn from this analysis of this particular piece of interpreting is that the interpreter is unconvinced by the speaker's words - he deletes most of the aspects that indicate the speaker's current determination and modifies current commitment into a much vaguer general reflection that the speaker 'will' act. This represents a significant weakening of the speaker's core attitude in relation to this issue, and of course, reflects negatively from the point of view of the audience on the sort of concrete commitment that any new beginning entails.

3.3.7. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Women's Rights

This issue is identified by the speaker as a source of tension, but it is a controversial one with the result that he gives it very little attention. For that reason, the interpretations of only two sentences are analysed below.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 235)

I know and you can tell from this audience that there is a healthy debate about this issue.

Int.1:

أعلم ومن خلال الحضور الذي يجب أن يجتمع في هذه الجامعة بأن هناك نقاشات حامية
الوطيس حول هذه الموضوع.

BT: I know from the audience that should gather in this university that there are heated debates about this subject.

Int.2:

انا أعلم بإمكانكم أن تعرفوا من ردة فعل الحاضرين هنا أن هناك الكثير من الجدل الصحي.

BT: I know that you can know from the audience's reaction that there is a lot of healthy debate.

Int.3:

أنا على علم ويمكننا أن نخبر من خلال هذه القاعة بأن هناك جدال كبير حول هذه النقطة.

BT: I know and we can tell from this hall that there is a big debate about this issue.

The speaker here introduces the issue of women's rights in a way that is designed to demonstrate both awareness and concern about the situation of women in Muslim countries. His use of 'healthy debate' is telling in terms of acknowledging progress, and as evidence of this progress, he asks the audiences present at Cairo University to look around at the number of women present. However, he is also cautious not to be seen to overtly criticise countries such as Saudi Arabia, where women's rights is much more controversial. This section is, therefore, brief and somewhat elliptical because Obama foresees the danger of losing the support of a number of regimes. The section is brief, but delicately balanced and, in terms of its writing, very carefully crafted.

Int.1 presents the opening adequately; the rest of the sentence, however, reveals intervention - clearly seen in the change from 'you can tell from the audience' to 'ومن خلال الحضور الذي يجب أن يجتمع' ('from the audience that should gather'), where the speaker's invitation to his audience to survey their own gender composition is misleadingly transformed into a deductive act on the part of the speaker, further complicated by the switch of modality from 'can' to 'يجب' ('should'). Indeed, the general tendency of this version tends to be oriented towards intensifying the speaker's attitude, so that in the audience's perception of the speaker's attitude of ongoing progress is substituted by a greater sense of intensity, although the broad scope of the remarks remains the same.

Int.2's intrusion is no less visible; although he accurately renders the positive attitude indicated by 'healthy', nevertheless, he upscales it

through the insertion of 'الكثير' ('a lot of'). Moreover, he deletes 'at this issue', leading to a more diffused general application of the attitude. However, the upscaling is probably more influential than the deletion in directing the audience's understanding of and response to the speaker's intention. Evidentially, as with Int.1, the interpreter appears very aware of the denial of women's rights, which he further quantifies as a lot of 'الكثير' ('a lot of'). As a result, the feeding of this awareness into his interpretation will sharpen the audience's sense of the speaker's more cautiously modulated position.

There are two points at which we can identify intervention on the part of Int.3. Firstly, he changes the direction of 'you can' to 'يمكننا' ('we can') to indicate the speaker, and maybe himself as well, but more important is the deletion of 'healthy', and the use of the quantifier 'كبير' ('big'). This bathes the speaker's utterance in a much more neutral tone, and allows listeners to supply their own interpretation of the moral and political dimensions wholly latent in the word 'big'.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 236)

I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality.

Int.2:

أنا أرفض وجهات نظر بعض الناس في الغرب بأن المرأة التي تغطي رأسها وتختار ذلك هي أقل مساواة لكن أيضاً أن المرأة التي تحرم من التعليم أيضاً تحرم من المساواة.

BT: I reject the views of some people in the West that a woman who covers her hair and chooses that is less equal but also a woman who is denied education is denied equality.

Int.3:

هناك رأي في الغرب أن المرأة التي تغطي شعرها تكون ذات حقوق أقل ولكن أنا لا أؤمن بهذا إطلاقًا لا يجب ان تحرم المرأة من حقوقها في التعلم.

BT: There is an opinion in the West that a woman who covers her hair has lesser rights but I do not believe in that at all, woman must not be denied her rights in education.

This sentence deepens the theme of women's rights, indicating the speaker's concession as to the inequality suffered by veiled women in the West, balanced by his recognition that women's education remains an issue of significant concern. There is a crucial balance to be struck here.

Int.2's intervention is not so significant, being largely limited to the deletion of 'I do believe', that is strongly indicative of the speaker's personal stance. Nonetheless, it is an intervention that does not appear to be deliberate, and indeed may well be a misinterpretation because 'لكن' ('but also') reveals that the interpreter has linked the usage to the preceding clause, so that it refers back to the issue of the veil rather than forwards into the topic of education.

Int.3's intrusion is evident because, although the interpreter roughly reflects the same meaning for the first part of the sentence, he fails to render the second part accurately, transferring 'but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality' into the much more assertive 'لا يجب ان تحرم المرأة من حقوقها في التعلم' ('woman must not be denied her rights in education'). The sloganistic nature of this utterance is not arbitrary, signalling Russia Today's support of women's rights. This is a very clear example of an interpretant spilling out to replace the speaker's more cautiously expressed evaluation, so that the audience's

reaction to the evaluation reflected in the rendering will be correspondingly stronger (whether positive or negative).

3.3.8. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity

Having addressed these six sources of tension, the speaker turns his attention to the scope for progress, inevitably relying on evaluative language here. The five sentences below once again constitute a representative selection drawn from this key transitional section.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 247)

The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence.

Int.1:

فالتلفزيون والإنترنت قد يقدمان المعرفة لكن هناك الكثير من أحداث العنف فضلاً عن المشاهد الجنسية.

BT: The television and internet may bring knowledge, but there are many acts of violence in addition to sexual scenes.

Int.2:

الإنترنت والتلفزيون يمكن أن تكون أدوات لنقل المعرفة ولكن أيضاً العنف والإباحية.

BT: The internet and television can be tools to transfer knowledge but also violence and sexuality as well.

Int.3:

الإنترنت والتلفاز يمكن أن يوفر معلومات قيمة ولكن في ذات الوقت يمكنه أن ينقل العنف والجنس الغير مبرر.

BT: The Internet and television can bring valuable information but, at the same time, can bring violence and mindless sexuality.

The speaker here reflects both on the internet and television as advances introduced by globalization and on the moral issues that these advances generate. Implicitly, therefore, he is accommodating Muslim fears that that modern media may be offensive to Islam, particularly through the explicit depiction of sex and violence. Once again, this section of the speech is balanced between recognition and concession.

Int.1's rendition modifies the speaker's proposition in several ways. Firstly, he changes the modal 'can' to 'قد', i.e. 'may', which weakens the original attitude. Secondly, reinforcing this, he deletes 'and information' which is the other positive aspect that characterises the internet and television. Thirdly, the interpreter deletes 'offensive' and 'mindless', effectively mounting a rejection of all sex and violence. All of these decisions effectively weaken the speaker's evaluations, so they lose the original emphasis and careful modulation.

Int.2 deletes 'and information' as well as 'offensive' and 'mindless'. As it is with Int.1, but arguably to a lesser degree, the interpreter softens the speaker's evaluations, once again conveying the sense that the interpreter rejects all public expressions of sexuality and violence, whatever their characteristics. For that reason, the interpreter has intruded in a way that to maintains the original negativity, but entirely flattens the distinctions that the speaker has intended to reflect.

Int.3's version also reveals alterations. He adds 'قيمة' ('valuable') to maximise the positivity of 'information', but deletes 'knowledge' that the speaker underlines as the second positive aspect of globalization. In addition, he dislocates 'الغير مبرر', ('mindless') as well as ignoring 'offensive'. In this case, it may well be that, because he has deliberately expended time and effort inserting his own perspective on 'information'

into the test, he has compensated by deleting ‘offensive’ and dislocating ‘mindless’.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 248)

Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and changing communities.

Int.1:

التجارة قَدْ تقدم الثروات لِكُنْ هناك الكثير من المساوى والتغيرات التي قَدْ تطل المجتمعات.

BT: Trade may bring wealth(s) but there are many disadvantages and changes that may affect communities.

As is the case with the preceding sentence, this one indicates an evaluation that is both positive and negative in terms of underlining the advantages and disadvantages of trade. Int.1’s interventions follow the same tendency that he has shown in the preceding sentence. Firstly, he weakens the modality the speaker has used by replacing ‘can’ with ‘قد’ (‘may’). Moreover, he deletes both ‘new’, that indicates the focus of ‘wealth’, and ‘and opportunity’, which the speaker has used to reinforce the positive nature of his proposition. Additionally, he shifts the specificity of the negative attitude ‘huge disruptions’ into ‘الكثير من’ (‘many disadvantages’). Amongst all these decisions, the weakening of modality may be the most significant one because it imputes scepticism about the benefits of ‘trade’ to the audience, thereby casting a more negative interpretation over the rest of this section of the speech.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 249)

In all nations - including my own - this change can bring fear.

Int.1:

ففي كلّ الدول في العالم بما في ذلك الولايات المتحدة هَذَا التغيّر قد يحدث الخوف.

BT: In all states of the world including the United States, this change may bring fear.

Int.2:

ولكلّ الدول والمجتمعات بما في ذلك الولايات المتحدة هَذَا التغيّر يأتي معه جالبًا الخوف.

BT: For all states and communities including the United States this change comes bringing with it fear.

The mood of this sentence is once again placatory and concessive. Change brings fear and resistance in its wake. Obama strives to establish a key commonality with his audience.

Int.1's substitution of 'can' by 'قد' i.e. 'may' where, as in the preceding examples, weakens the speaker's appraisal, but the impact on the audience is minimal, even though this is a constant tendency.

Int.2 intrudes at the same place, but now the modality 'can' is altered to a simple present, which gives the attitude a strength that the speaker does not indicate. It may be that this is based on an interpretant that globalization is tantamount to fear, so that it loses its sense of potential benefit. As a consequence, the audience is driven to interact with stronger evaluations, which distracts from the positive thread Obama is weaving through his speech.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 254)

The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.

Int.2:

والأمر نفسه ينطبق على التقدم الذي حقته بلدان إسلامية من كوالالمبور إلى دبي.

BT: The same is true for the progress that Islamic countries have achieved from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.

Int.3:

ونفس الشيء ينطبق على البلدان المسلمة والمثال هو دبي.

BT: And the same is true for Muslim countries an example of that is Dubai.

This sentence proceeds to offer evidence of positive contribution of globalization within Muslim-majority countries. His particular reference to Kuala Lumpur and Dubai, of course, underline his nation's role in enabling acceptable progress in these two countries. Implicitly, therefore, he invites faith in the American model of progress because it strives to improve while respecting tradition. The blend of attitudes of recognition (to paraphrase, 'things must change') and concession ('but not in a frightening way') encapsulates the intent of the entire speech.

Int.2's version is immediately characterized by deletion of the speaker's appraisal 'astonishing'. Moreover, the alteration of '-majority' is also significant because it appears to show that the speaker is saying that Malaysia is properly an Islamic country, which the audience will know is incorrect. There are two possible implications here. Firstly, in terms of his own negative appraisal of globalization previously, the interpreter appears unwilling to characterize such progress as 'astonishing'. Secondly, he rejects considering Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates as Muslim-majority (rather than straightforwardly Muslim) countries. Although the latter possibility may reveal ethnic bias, the impact of Al-Jazeera's attempts to play down the positive

aspects of American globalization seems to be clearer. Be that as it may, the modified evaluations will serve to lead the audience to draw inferences other than those intended by the speaker.

Int.3's version ignores the speaker's important evaluation 'the astonishing progress' so that in the minds of the audience the current sentence is probably confusingly linked to the preceding one. Moreover, the domain of such progress is also altered by the deletion of '-majority,' leading the audience to think that the speaker is addressing Muslim countries, supported by the interpreter's focus on Dubai as the sole example given. As in the case of Int.2 above, ethnic bias is a factor in his interpretation of this sentence.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 258)

But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century and in too many Muslim communities there remains underinvestment in these areas.

Int.1:

لَكِنْ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ نَتَأَكَّدَ بِأَنَّ الْإِبْتِكَارَ هُوَ عَمَلَةُ الْقَرْنِ الْحَادِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ فِي الْكَثِيرِ مِنَ الْمَجْتَمَعَاتِ
الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ الْآنَ بَاتَ عَلَيْهَا أَنْ تَسْتَمِرَّ فِي هَذَا الْمَسَارِ.

BT: But all of us must be sure that innovation is the currency of the 21st century and many Muslim communities now must continue in this direction.

Int.2:

وَلَكِنْ كَلْنَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ نَدْرِكَ أَنَّ التَّعْلِيمَ وَالْإِبْدَاعَ هِيَ عَمَلَةُ الْقَرْنِ الْحَادِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ وَأَيْضًا فِي
الْكَثِيرِ مِنَ الْمَجْتَمَعَاتِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ مَا يَزَالُ هُنَاكَ نَقْصٌ فِي الْإِسْتِمَارِ فِي الْعِنَصْرِ الْبَشَرِيِّ فِي هَذَا
الْمَجَالِ.

BT: But all of us must recognize that education and creation is the currency of the 21st century and also in many Muslim communities there remains an underinvestment of the human resource in this area.

The speaker warms to the dominant theme of this section of the speech, urging Muslim communities to strenuously encourage education and innovation. At the same time, crucially, he criticises some Muslim societies for underestimating the power that is vested in their citizens. Both Int.1 and Int.2 interrupt this important interplay of evaluation.

In the case of Int.1, the rendition of ‘recognize’ into ‘نتأكد’, i.e. ‘be sure’ is effective because the offered equivalence is stronger than the original. It is an emphasis that extends to altering the speaker’s ‘will be’ to ‘هو’ (‘is’). Moreover, the interpreter deletes ‘education’, which is the primary aspect the speaker wishes to underline, and ‘too many’ is down-scaled ‘في الكثير’ (‘in many’), effectively changing the focus of the sentence. Finally, the speaker’s overall appreciation itself is lost because ‘بات عليها أن تستمر في هذا المسار’ (‘must continue in this direction’) simply constitutes an invitation to continue encouraging innovation.

Int.2’s version also shows a shift in modality from ‘will be’ to ‘هي’ ‘is’. In addition, the graduation indicator ‘too’ is ignored, which narrows the scope of the intended countries. To a lesser degree than Int.1, this interpreter also seems to strengthen the speaker’s positivity and weaken his negativity in the way underinvestment is characterised solely in terms of ‘human resource’.

3.3.9. Interpreter Intervention in the Closing Section

In this final part of the speech, the speaker sums up the kind of relationship that he seeks to create between America and Muslims, encouraging them to participate in forging a beginning that must be built

on ‘mutual interest and mutual respect’. Significantly, he establishes a connection between his own proposal and divine words from the Holy Koran, The Talmud, and the Bible. This allows him to creatively play on evaluative language in order to convince the audience that this is the only way to promote peace between his nation and theirs. These are crucial concluding views, and the rendering of six key sentences is offered below.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 272)

But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world we seek - a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected.

Int.1:

لَكِنْ يَقَعُ عَلَيَّ كَاهِلُنَا مَسْئُولِيَّةٌ لِلْعَمَلِ نِيَابَةً عَنِ هَذَا الْعَالَمِ الَّذِي نَمْتَلِئُهُ هَذَا الْعَالَمِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَعُدْ فِيهِ مَكَانٌ لِلْمُتَطَرِّفِينَ الَّذِينَ يَهْدِدُونَا وَيَعُودُ الْجُنُودُ الْأَمْرِيكِيُّونَ وَكُلُّ دَوْلَةٍ تَشْعُرُ بِالْأَمْنِ وَأَنْ تُسْتَعْمَلَ الطَّاقَةُ النَّوَوِيَّةُ لِأَهْدَافٍ سَلْمِيَّةٍ فِي عَالَمٍ تَسْتَطِيعُ الْحُكُومَاتُ أَنْ تُقَدِّمَ الْخِدْمَاتَ لِشَعْبِهَا وَأَنْ تَعْمَلَ عَلَى ضَمَانِ حَقُوقِ كَافَّةِ أَطْفَالِهَا.

BT: But we have a responsibility to work on the behalf of the world we represent and this world where there is no place for extremists who threaten us, and American troops have come back and every state is secure and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes, a world where governments can provide services to their people and work to ensure the rights of all their children.

Int.3:

معها ولكن لدينا مسؤولية مشتركة تجاه العالم الذي نبحث عنها. هذا العالم الذي يجب أن لا يكون فيه مكان للإرهابيون ليهددوا الشعوب. عالم يكون فيه الفلسطينيون والإسرائيليون آمن يعيشون جنباً إلى جنب. وعالم تكون فيه استخدام المجالات النووية للاستخدامات السلمية. ويجب عالم فيه احترام واحترام الأطفال.

BT: But we have a shared responsibility towards the world we seek, this world in which there is no place for terrorists to threaten people, a world where Palestinians and Israelis are secure side by side, a world where nuclear fields are used for peaceful purposes and a world where children must be respected.

This sentence is crucial because it summarises the aim of each of the issues discussed. Its accurate rendering, therefore, will enable the audience both to understand and interconnect the main points of the speech, as well as its reiterative aspect serving to counter the sort of ambiguities and misrepresentations that we have seen to have been occurring throughout.

There are a number of substitutions in Int.1's version that lead, in turn, to a differing effect emerging from each of these pieces of evaluation. For example, offering 'للعمل' ('to work') instead of 'to join', and 'الذي نمثله' ('that we represent') instead of 'we seek' slightly modify the speaker's central proposition. But, at the same time, there are others that exert a greater influence, such as 'كل دولة تشعر' ('every state is'), where the two intended peoples (Israelis and Palestinians) are excised in favour of a much blander generalization. In addition, the interpreter shifts the strength of modality by rendering 'governments serve' into 'تستطيع الحكومات أن تقدم الخدمات' ('governments can provide services'), a key diminution of the speaker's democratic spirit. Arguably, two

important aspects have driven the interpreter to intrude. Firstly, as an individual who lives and works, in the Middle East, he may feel that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the only threat, especially when set against the consequences of wars in the region, such as the Gulf Wars, whose impact continues to be felt. Effectively, therefore, this strong desire for security for all people extends the speaker's limited scope, but also reduces it to bland moralising. Secondly, the interpreter simply may not accept that governments' primary concern is the dignified lives of their people, but rather that of maintaining existing power structures. Such an interpretant, which may, of course, be based on his own experiences, leads him to modify the speaker's position from 'serve' into 'تستطيع... ان تقدم الخدمات' ('can provide services').

Int.3 intrudes on two occasions. Firstly, he hardens 'extremists' into 'الإرهابيون' ('terrorists'). Moreover, he ignores 'and American troops have come home', which reflects an incomplete picture of Obama's own personal contribution to stability. But of these decisions, only the replacement of extremists with 'الإرهابيون' ('terrorists') seems ideologically-motivated, in that once again, the interpreter appears to be influenced by Russia Today's continuing assertion of American hostility towards Islam. Consequently, he interprets (in both senses of assessing and rendering) the speaker's evaluation in terms of what he considers to be the 'truth', rather than through the more diplomatic 'extremists'. The repeated reference to 'terrorism' and its derivatives at this stage of the speech may well radically condition against speaker's intended outcomes.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 277)

Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress

Int.3: No rendering.

This sentence marks a key moment of recognition as to the difficulty of launching a ‘new beginning’. Such difficulties are now elevated to the geopolitical plane by an implied reference to those who try to widen the gap between the Muslim world and the West. The clarity of this recognition is crucial if the optimistic ending of the speech is to be effectively primed. Int.3, however, ignores the whole sentence. It is, of course, difficult to attribute motive to silence, but our analysis of previous interventions and manipulations leads to the possible conclusion that the interpreter refuses the sentence on the basis that Muslims in general and Arabs in particular, are those targeted. This may be because he connects the reference here to ‘division’ to its only other occurrence (in sentence 224), where the speaker is referring to the ‘tragic violence’ in Iraq between Sunnis and Shia. But the impact in terms of the receptivity of the speech is debilitating.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 279)

Many more are simply sceptical that real change can occur.

Int.1:

والبعض الآخر يرون بعين من الشك بأن هذا التغيير لن يحدث.

BT: And some other sees through an eye of suspicion that this change will not occur.

Int.2:

كثيرون فقط يتشككون من احتمال وقوع تغير حقيقي.

BT: Only many are sceptical that real change can occur.

Int.3:

هناك العديد ممن يشكون بهذا.

BT: There are many who question this.

This sentence completes the review of the obstacles that stand in the way of the ‘new beginning’ by referring to the simple human attribute of scepticism, a view that may be discernible among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Both the import and intended impact of the utterance are, apparently, clear.

Int.1 changes some aspects of the speaker’s evaluation. First, he down-scales the number of people that the speaker believes to be sceptical, substituting ‘many more’ by ‘البعض’ (‘some’). Secondly, he replaces ‘skeptical’ with ‘يرون بعين من الشك’ (‘see through an eye of suspicion’), which marks a significant strengthening of the negative position: while the speaker implies that there are many who are difficult to convince, the interpreter’s equivalent suggests that there are some who show distrust, i.e. doubt the reliability of this change. Thirdly, the interpreter modifies the degree of the speaker’s attitude by altering ‘can occur’ to ‘لن يحدث’ (‘will not occur’). Fourthly, he overlooks ‘real’ which is an important indicator that validates the ‘change’. These are all significant interventions that show the interpreter’s interpretant, which is intense distrust of the change that America seeks to promote.

Less powerful is Int.2’s rendition. The speaker’s ‘many more’ is altered to ‘كثيرون فقط’ (‘only many’) where, instead of establishing an association with what has been mentioned so far, the interpreter suggests that the numbers who are sceptical are significant (not merely in comparison). That said the modification is of bare interest and might

reasonably be regarded as an instance of misinterpretation, especially if we note that ‘only’ is adequately rendered, but dislocated.

Int.3’s version, on the other hand, is rather more problematic because the interpreter changes the primary focus of the speaker’s attitude towards the possibility of change, leading the audience to relate ‘يشككون بهذا’ (‘question this’) to the preceding sentence in a way that undercuts the positive message Obama wishes to transmit. It may well be that the interpreter and / or Russia Today have no faith in America’s commitment to positive change, and that they are instinctively reflecting their own position in this rendering. To do so, the interpreter may not believe in this ‘real change’. Effectively though, an intrusion such as this, denies the audience’s right to understand the speaker’s central purpose.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 280)

There is so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years.

Int.3:

وهناك خوف كثير نعم هناك غياب ثقه كبير بيننا.

BT: And there is much fear, yes there is big mistrust between us.

In one of the shortest sentences in the speech, the speaker offers one of his most significant recognitions, drawing on both up-scaled negative feeling (fear) and judgment (mistrust). Even so, Int.3 obstructs the flow of the graduated attitudes offered therein. He is potentially more destructive of the sort of complicity with his audience that Obama has striven to generate throughout his speech. His insertion of ‘نعم’ (‘yes’), with which he emphasizes the reality ‘mistrust’, could be seen as merely a rhetorical marker and, indeed, it is true that the attitudes have not been affected. But the is much more significant insertion of ‘between us’ not

only intensifies the mistrust, but locates it squarely into the relationship between Muslims and the US. It may be that that is implied in the more diplomatic words uttered by Obama, but put like this the interpreter's rendering is the recognition of sharp division rather than a challenge to be confronted.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 284)

The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort - a sustained effort - to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.

Int.1:

لَكِن السَّوَال هُوَ أَنَا إِذَا مَا كُنَّا نَعِيش بِطَرِيقَةٍ لِنْتَحَارِب أَمْ لِنَشْتَرِك فِي هَدَفٍ وَاحِدٍ وَفِي أَرْضِيَّةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَالتَّرْكِيز عَلَى مُسْتَقْبَلٍ نَصَبُو لِنَحْقِيقَهُ لِأَطْفَالِنَا وَاحْتِرَامِ كِرَامَةِ كَافَةِ أَفْرَادِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ.

BT: But the question is whether we live in a way to fight or share a single goal on a single ground and focus on a future that we seek to our children and respect the dignity of all human beings.

Here the speaker calls for a shared response. It is a formulaic sentiment where common purpose is sited unspecifically so as to have a fit-for-all relevance. In that sense, one would not expect interpreter intervention at this stage. Of the three versions, Int.1's, however, is questionable on the basis of an intervention by substituting 'pushes us apart' by 'لنتحارب' ('to fight'). Arguably, as have noted throughout, the ideological stance of Al-Arabiya is that that the West is indeed engaged in a war against Islam, thereby obviating the need to be diplomatic in his choice of a soft verb. What supports such an interpretation of his rendition is that there are a number of such interventions - for example, the ones in sentence 10 - which have similar implications. The intervention here is dangerous, as it shifts the focus from disagreement into a military struggle, which the

audience might read as an acknowledgement that America views Islam as an enemy.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 292)

We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

Int.1:

فنحن لدينا القوة لتجعلنا لنصل إلى العالم الذي نصبو به ولكن هَذَا لن يتوقف إلا إذا ما امتلكننا الشجاعة.

BT: We have the power that enables us to make the world we seek but this will not stop unless we have courage.

Int.2:

نحن لدينا القدرة لتحقيق وتشكيل العالم الذي نريده فقط إذا ما تحلينا بالشجاعة لاستغلال بداية جديدة.

BT: We have the power to achieve and form the world we seek only if we have the courage to make use of a new beginning.

Int.3:

لدينا القدرة على خلق العالم الذي نبحث عنه لكن فقط إذا ما كَانَتْ لدينا الشجاعة لأن نبدأ من جديد لدينا ما في داخلنا.

BT: We have the power to make the world we seek but only if we have the courage to start from the beginning. We have what is inside us.

At this climactic point of the speech, the speaker continues in rich rhetorical vein, encouraging his audience to join with him to launch ‘a new beginning’; crucially he reminds them that it is in their power to do

so. Moreover, he invites them not to forget the accumulation of positive and negative events and experiences that they have shared.

The interpreters, however, uniformly do not provide an equivalent for ‘keeping in mind what has been written’, referring to the Holy Scriptures mentioned earlier. This leads to a lack of understanding of this essential tri-cultural basis on which the speaker’s ‘new beginning’ will be based, in all likelihood because such a shared purpose between Christianity, Judaism and Islam is extraordinarily difficult to promote in the Arabic-speaking world. There is still the transmission of the speaker’s message of hope, but the focus of that appeal remains outside the problematic set of political and military relationships in the Middle East that it was the speaker’s primary purpose to address.

3.4. Conclusion

The interpreter, like any human being, acquires or dismisses beliefs across time depending on the evidence s/he obtains from the environment in which s/he lives and works. Narrative theory (Baker, 2005; 2006a) convincingly demonstrates that everyone possesses their own religious, social, cultural, economic and political understanding of the world, which consequently determines his/her standards of interaction with other individuals of the same or different communities. Such understandings are stories rather than truths, although we frequently inherit them as such. Frequently, in the case of interpreters, those inherited or self-developed understandings will lead to conflict, conscious or unconscious, with professional standards of perceived neutrality. According to these professional standards, the interpreter is responsible for the transmission of the narrative of the other, without the right to obstruct or alter worldviews because they do not serve his/her personal or institutional agendas.

All of that, of course, is easier said than done. It is now commonly accepted that translation and interpreting alike are not neutral activities, but are rather manipulative and interventionist. Indeed, the term ‘the manipulation school’, which includes scholars such as André Lefevere, José Lambert and Susan Bassnett, was coined as early as 1985 in the wake of Theo Herman’s *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*. Having examined the three renderings of ‘A New Beginning’, we have sufficient evidence to declare, firmly and unapologetically, that in all of them the speaker’s views have been displaced and compensated for by the interpreters’ own, which in turn are derived from their own habitus. In other words, as a result of the strong impact of their professional assumptions and narrative identities, these interpreters have been found to have intruded, consciously or not, in their renderings, amending the target text so as to establish an easier correspondence with their own, and of course their institutions’, understanding of the different aspects approached. It is true that most interventions reflect a shared perspective, of variable intensity, which may be attributed to a broad cultural response to the issues conveyed in the speech; nevertheless, there are also individual decisions that allow us to discern a particular interpreter’s vision. The summary classification that follows highlights the most prominent collective and, at times, individual interventions, allowing us finally to establish an ideological mapping of explicit interpreter presence (the tables in Appendix 5 set this out in greater detail).

1. Anti-Islamophobia

Interpreters, inevitably, have an ingrained sense of a broad hostility in the West, an awareness of a historical attitude that in recent years has hardened into the phenomenon widely known as ‘Islamophobia’. This

ingrained sense, with its range of associated religious, social and political assumptions, feeds into the text that the interpreter is about to generate at the same time as he (they are all men in this particular instance) is processing the input material, such is the pressurised environment of simultaneous interpreting. Within this environment, none of these interpreters were prepared to be anything other than present within their versions of Obama's words. Characteristic of such interventions, calculated and unconscious, is Int.1's substitution of America in 'partnership between America and Islam' (sentence 40) into 'الغرب' ('the West') where he feels to be influenced the West's hostility to Muslims. A similar tendency can be distinguished in Int.2's rendering, especially his shift of the speaker's violent extremism in 'Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism' (sentence 40) into 'للغنف و الكراهية' ('violence and hatred'). Most prominent is Int.3's stand who inserts 'المسلمون يعملون للحفاظ على كرامتهم' ('Muslims work to keep their dignity') instead of 'many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith' (sentence 27) when the speaker was, in fact, evaluating his own nation's capacity for religious tolerance.

2. Anti-Globalization

Regardless of the constructive role that globalization might play in the development of Muslim communities, all of the interpreters are preoccupied by a shared perception of a broader agenda behind globalization, which is Western hegemony. In that sense, globalization is viewed as a powerful threat to traditions, culture and public morality, so that the interpreters are constrained to act as focuses of localised resistance. We can note such concerns in, for instance, Int.1's shift of 'the Internet and television can bring knowledge and information' (sentence 247) into 'فالتلفزيون و الانترنت قد يقدمان المعرفة' ('television and

Internet may bring knowledge’). Although he omits ‘information’, his decision to alter the modality from ‘can’ into ‘قد’ (may) seems to be employed to weaken the role of globalization. Int.2’s interventions are also significant, especially in sentence 10 where he changes ‘the West’ into ‘الولايات المتحدة’ (‘the United States’), potentially indicating that he perceives that modernity and globalization (reflected on in the sentence) have made the United States an enemy of many Muslims. Although Int.3 also intervenes (see, for example, his omission of ‘information’ in sentence 247), his anti-globalization stand is less noticeable.

3. *Pro-Islam*

The interpreters are naturally fully attuned to Islamic principles and beliefs, so that when the speaker appears not to give full weight or due understanding to these, they tend to insert their own more considered and indeed empathetic versions. This is particularly evident whenever they feel that the speaker has unduly connected Islam and violent extremism. Such aspect of the stand can be clearly seen, for example, in Int.1’s rendition of ‘Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality’ (sentence 32) into ‘قد أظهر الاسلام للعالم من خلال افعاله امكانية التسامح الديني وكذلك المساواة بين كافة الاعراق’ (‘Islam has shown to the world throughout [his] actions, the possibility of religious tolerance among all races’) where he omits ‘through words’. The interpreter’s intervention, in this case, is ultimately directed towards a view that Islamic principles are invariably transformed into practical actions. On the other hand, there is a perceptible sense of their evaluation of hypocrisy on the part of the speaker, detected in what they appear to consider his over-evaluation of Islam because they choose equally strong evaluative vocabulary in their interjection of what they clearly consider to be a more accurate version

of the West's deeply-rooted misunderstanding. A clear example occurs where Int.3 uniformly replaces 'violent extremism' and its derivatives with 'الارهاب' ('terrorism') and its derivatives (see, for example, sentence 76).

4. Rejection of Issues Related to 9/11

Although the speaker attributes the motivations of 9/11 to the hostility of Muslim violent extremists, influenced by Al-Qaeda, the interpreters' position suggests a more complex understanding of the root causes of the event, attributing it in no small part to the ongoing conflict between the West and Muslims across the world. That is to say, the interpreters view the attacks from a position of some understanding. This is evident in Int.1's declaration that Al-Qaeda has achieved its intended goals because he changes 'claimed credit for the attack' (sentence 87) into 'وحصلت على الميزة عن هذه الهجمات' ('has gained credit for these attacks'). More influential is the tone that Int.3 adds to this attack when he replaces 'murder' in 'and yet Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people' with 'أغتيال' ('assassination') which moves the discourse from the realm of the legal/criminal to the political/expedient. In that way, they offset the speaker's deeply emotional reaction with a more clinical discourse.

5. Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment

To delegitimise Israel and to support an independent Palestinian state is a parallel aspiration shared by most Muslims, and by Arabs in particular. Accordingly, the interpreters' strong solidarity with those they consider to be their brothers in religion leads them to intervene and modify the speaker's evaluation. They show their sympathy with the suffering of the Palestinian people on more than one occasion. They also express support

for both diplomatic and armed channels used by Palestinians to establish their state. A clear example is Int.1's intervention in sentence 156 to divert the speaker's criticism of armed Palestinian resistance by rendering 'it is a sign of neither courage nor power' into 'فتخيلوا' ('imagine'), effectively turning the speaker's declaration into an invitation. On the other hand, they condemn the existence of the state of Israel as well as lessen or deny the sacrifices of the Jewish people. This can be seen in Int.3 version of sentence 134: he transforms 'denying that fact is baseless, ignorant, and hateful' into 'وهذا أمر غير مرحب به' ('and this issue is unwelcome'). That is to say, the interpreter seems to reject both the speaker's emphasis on the fact of Jewish suffering and the impossibility of denying it. In this respect, it is important to recognise that Int.3's interventions in this regard are more measured because, unlike Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera, whose anti-Israeli stance is unwavering, Russia Today is linked to a Russian-Israeli diplomatic relationship which improved after the dissolution of the USSR, although it was temporarily interrupted when Russia strongly criticised Israel for its military campaign in Gaza (2008-2009).

6. Anti-Iranian Sentiment

The commonly-held view of Iran as a source of significant discord not just regionally, but globally impacts on the interpreter interventions in the related evaluations of the speaker. Such interventions are influenced by the intense argument for mobilization against Iranian Shi'ite dominance in the region that some Arab countries put forward. They, therefore, tend to exploit their position in order to express a profound disquiet about the Iranian government, especially Int.1 and Int.3, commenting in particular on its criminality towards American civilian hostages in sentence 185 because while Int.1 renders 'acts of hostage-

taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians' into 'أخذ الكثير من' ('take many American prisoners of civilians'), Int.3 transforms it to 'بدأت باخذ الرهائن وأنتهاج العنف' ('started to take hostages and follow violence'). Int.2, on the other hand, strengthens his evaluation of the American stand against Iran when rendering Obama's 'I'm hopeful' as 'أنا واثق' ('I'm confident') when the speaker is commenting on the push for nuclear disarmament in the region and within Iran in particular (sentence 189).

7. *Opposition to the US-led War on Iraq*

Muslims, as well as many in the international community, had opposed the war in Iraq before, during and after it took place, in great part because it was in breach of the United Nations' Charter. Among Muslims, especially, there is a widely accepted belief that the war was an occupation by latter-day crusaders. The interpreters are unanimous in their apparent adherence to such a belief, to judge by frequent change of discourse and word. Int.1 in sentence 116, for instance, entirely rejects the legitimacy of the Iraqi government because he renders 'we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government' to 'فأننا سوف ننفذ أتفاقياتنا' ('we will accomplish our agreements') where the reference to the government and its legitimacy is deleted, implicitly suggesting that a government established through occupation will only serve to promote the occupier's dominating political agenda. Most obvious is a desire to communicate a sense of the United States suffering defeat, when Int.3 changes this same piece of text, i.e. 'we will honour our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government', to 'خضعنا لأوامر الحكومة الديمقراطية العراقية المنتخبة' ('we have been submissive to the elected Iraqi democratic government').

8. *Pro-Democracy and Pro-Women's Rights*

The arduous struggle for democracy and women's rights in some Muslim countries can be seen to exert a strong influence on the interpreters' decisions, and there is considerable evidence pointing towards their support for this struggle. One obvious example is their intensification of the evaluative word 'controversy' that the speaker applies to struggle for democracy in Islamic countries (sentence 200): Int.1 changes it to 'جدالات كبيرة' ('many controversies') and Int.2 to 'تناقضات واثارة جدل' ('contradictions and provocation of controversy'). Another example is Int.1 and Int.2's intensification of Obama's diplomatic evaluation of the 'healthy debate' on women's rights (sentence 235) that Int.1 shifts into 'نقاشات حامية الوطيس' ('hot debates') while Int.2 offers 'جدال كبير' ('great debate').

What is offered below in tabulated form is the final summary of the interpreters' ideological positions as discerned through their interventionist tactics and decisions in this substantial sampling of their renderings.

Table 3.2 Interpreters’ Ideological Map in Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Ideology Manipulated	Number of Sentences Which Indicate Intervention	Int.1(Al-Arabiya)	Int.2(Al-Jazeera)	Int.3(Russia Today)
Anti-Islamophobia	19	yes	yes	Yes
Anti-Globalization	4	yes	yes	Yes
Rejection of Issues Related to 9/11	3	yes	yes	Yes
Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment	8	yes	yes	Yes
Anti-Iranian Sentiment	3	yes	yes	Yes
Opposition to US-led War on Iraq	4			
Pro-Islam	3	yes	yes	Yes
Pro-Democracy and Pro-Women’s Rights	3	yes	yes	Yes

This table also shows the overall number of sentences in which these positions are adopted. As is clear, the intensity with which these positions are reflected varies. In accordance with this variance, we can arrange the positions in terms of frequency of occurrence, ranging from anti-Islamophobia at the top and moving down to the less prominent stances, such as those that reflect positions that are pro-democratic and pro-women’s rights – see also Figure 3.1. This might be interpreted as demonstrating that the most important ideological constraint that affects the interpreters’ performance is their personal or their institutions’ reaction to the so-called War on Terror, seen in these instances as a campaign not directed against terror but against Islam itself. Interpreter solidarity with other Muslims, in this instance we may feel, drives them

to resist such a war by consciously or unconsciously manipulating the text. Another important ideological constraint concerns the Israel-analyses.

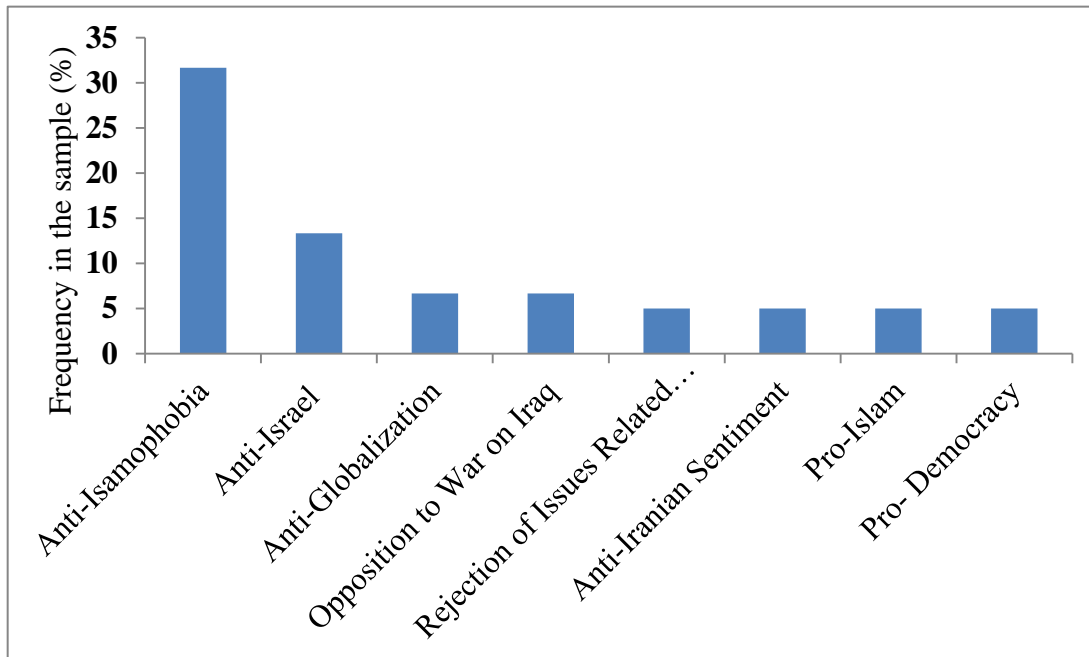


Figure 3.1 The Intensity of Ideological Positions Adopted in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Our conclusion seems clear. However, the sort of interventionism we have seen in ‘A New Beginning’, cannot be more generally assessed unless we obtain more evidence of interpreter bias. For that reason, we have selected another speech given by Obama and directed to the same audience, but importantly of different content and in a different context. The media outlets that provide the Arabic versions also vary to some extent. The next chapter, then, provides important corroborating evidence that allows us to begin to gauge how widespread interventionism may be.

Chapter Four: Ideology in Barack Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity' and its Simultaneous Interpreting

4.1. Introduction

The conclusions obtained from the preceding chapter's analysis of Barack Obama's 'A New Beginning' and its simultaneous interpreting support the assumption of the inevitability of interpreters' conscious or unconscious intervention. However, I believe that this intervention is relative. In other words, the degree to which interpreters intervene varies from one text to another and likewise from one interpreter to another, where the more powerful the text is to the interpreter, the clearer his/her intervention will be. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, the expansion of the sample to include interpreter interventions in a different speech would constitute an important reference point for clarifying the results gleaned from the first analysis. This is the main purpose of the current chapter, which provides the examination of another speech - Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity'. In what follows, as in the previous chapter, a brief appraisal analysis is carried out in order to identify indicators of the speaker's evaluation that enable us to locate and interpret the main ideological positions taken by the speaker and, in the second part, to investigate how these indicators are transferred by the respective interpreters into the target text.

4.2. A Synopsis of Appraisal Resources in Barack Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity'

Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity' is the speech that offers America's new vision of the Middle East and North Africa in response to change that is taking place under what was dubbed in the media 'The Arab Spring'. Delivered on May 19th, 2011, its importance stems from the fact that it was delivered two years into Obama's presidency, in which

he succeeded, as he underlines on a number of occasions, both in bringing about the death of Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden, and ordering American troops home from Iraq. The upheaval evident in the region had convinced the American administration that the regimes set in place and maintained by American intervention would sooner or later fall; emerging from this is a clear reinforcement of the need to pursue the policy of conquering the hearts and minds of emerging players – concretely, the protesters – in order to safeguard primary American interests and influence.

For that purpose, and in order to best manipulate the President's targeted audiences, the speech, written by chief White House speechwriter at that time, Jonathan Favreau and his team, is well crafted so as to emphasise the role of the United States as a superpower whose diplomatic, economic, and even military support is indispensable to the success or failure of any attempt at change. Moreover, it is important from the American perspective that the intended receptors of the speech do not perceive past American support for the old regimes to have been somehow wrong or misguided. The covert implication is that the protest movement needs to free itself from the past; a blind eye to the failures of that past will ensure continuing American influence and domination. On the other hand, the shift in US foreign policy to which the speech refers reflects a re-positioning of the alternate powers in the region that the audiences must fully understand. This purpose emerges with greater clarity when one examines the degrees of criticism that the speaker levels towards current regimes, ranging from taking action through military intervention in Libya to the verbal condemnation of violence against protesters in Syria and Bahrain, or the lack of respect for the rights of religious minorities in Saudi Arabia.

Nevertheless, before examining the views that shape the speaker's evaluative map, it is important to clarify that the written version used in the analysis is the one available on the official website of the White House and not versions offered elsewhere in the media. Furthermore, following the methods of classification used in Chapter Three, for the purposes of systematic analysis, I have divided the speech into numbered sentences, with consecutive sentences that deal with the same theme being grouped together under a separate sub-heading. Accordingly, the speech is arranged in four sections:

1. The Opening Section (sentences 1-89).
2. The Promotion of Reform and Support for the Transition to Democracy (sentences 90-193).
3. The Pursuit of Peace (sentences 194-252).
4. The Closing Section (sentences 253-267).

In the opening section, the speaker tries to establish terms of agreement with his audiences. The only effective way to set out such terms is by showing his support for the changes sweeping through the region, which he compares to his own nation's historical struggle. Although the reasons behind this shift in foreign policy are as yet unclear to the audiences, what is immediately clear is that the movements for change are empowered by American support. This position of shared purpose is creatively reflected in the speech by the marked use of evaluative language. Obama's expresses clear feelings of satisfaction, for example, towards what America under his leadership has achieved (e.g. 'we've *broken* the Taliban momentum' [emphasis mine here and in the following examples]) as well as his country's understanding of and sympathy to the uprisings (e.g. 'The United States of America *welcomes* change'). On the other hand, in order to elicit audience identification

with his nation and to offset any potential criticism for its support of dictatorships in the past, the speaker notably plays on the variable of insecurity (e.g. ‘after years of *war* against Al-Qaeda and its affiliates’). Moreover, he shows himself to be deeply aware and involved in his audiences’ hardships through his own clear understanding of their feelings of dissatisfaction (e.g. ‘this *lack* of self-determination- the chance to make your life what you will’). Importantly, he endeavours to develop this sense of shared understanding into joint purpose through his positive judgements of attempts to get rid of tyrant regimes (e.g. ‘the people have *risen up*’) which mirror those of his nation (e.g. ‘the dignity of Rosa Parks as she *sat courageously* in her seat’). In terms of his negative judgements, Obama informs the audiences that ‘we’ Arabs and Americans suffer the same hardships because while you (i.e. Arabs) are repressed by leaders (e.g. ‘power has been *in the hands of a few*’), we are attacked by Al-Qaeda and its affiliates (e.g. ‘Americans have been seared by *acts of hostage-taking* and *violent rhetoric* and *terrorist attacks*’). But, in order to sustain and push forward the agenda of shared purpose, the speaker’s expresses predominantly positive appreciations both of the extent and intentions of change (e.g. ‘those *shouts of human dignity* are being heard across the region’) and of American interests that this change will protect (e.g. ‘America’s interests are *not hostile* to people’s hopes; they are *essential* to them’). This potent blend of positive and negative attitudes is to prompt the audience into an analysis of the dangers of the present tempered by shared hope for the future. The up- and down-scaling of these evaluations are designed to produce a substantial impact on audience recognition of both the validity of the analysis and the urgency of hope. For that reason, the number of intensifiers and quantifiers (e.g. ‘following a decade defined by *two costly* conflicts’) is high – indeed very few evaluations are left

ungraduated. Significantly, in respect of these attitudes, the speaker's intersubjective positioning is strategically and persuasively negotiated, very skilfully at the outset to open up the topic ostensibly so as to push the audiences towards a sense of freedom to choose their own stance. This is evident in the sizeable number of indicators of entertain (e.g. 'I *believed* then-and I *believe* now') and attribute (e.g. 'Al-Qaeda's agenda had come *to be seen* by the vast majority'). But in order not to distract the audiences from intended strategic purpose, the speaker also narrows the argument through reliance on the indicators of proclaim (e.g. '*there must be no doubt* that the United States of America welcomes change') or disclaim (e.g. '*not* every country will follow our particular form of representative democracy). In the final analysis, the potent mix of different attitudes and stances is geared to convince its audiences of the value of interrelatedness between two different groups, not just Americans and Arabs, but more broadly between Christians and Jews on one hand and Muslims on the other.

To that end, although the first sub-heading presents two keywords, namely 'promotion' and 'support', the speaker presents a strong case for – in other words, a justification of - his nation's new understanding of the factors behind recent upheaval in the region. His evaluations frame these current factors, such as oppressive regimes, as though only recently discernible, a somewhat disingenuous profession that most observers would readily discount. The prime reason for this initial set of justifications is, therefore, to recognise that American policy in the region has gone too far to be dependent upon any power elite. From now on, he emphasizes, America will adopt a stance that is more supportive of the people rather than of leaderships. To prompt audiences towards accepting this apparent turn in American policy and to believe in its good intentions in the future, the speaker skilfully draws on evaluative

language in all of its sub-types. This section of the speech is peppered with strong articulations of feelings of trauma (e.g. ‘the image of a young woman dying in the streets is *still seared* in our memory’), insecurity (e.g. ‘but in Libya, we saw the prospect of *imminent massacre*’), and dissatisfaction (e.g. ‘when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, decades of *provocation* will come to an end’), all of which are designed to chime with emotional landscape of his listeners. His positive feelings reinforce this by indicating America’s available support to help the people put an end to the tyranny of repressive regimes, primarily depicted through his inclination twice (‘we *intend* to provide assistance to civil societies’ and ‘we *look forward*’). Additionally, a series of judgements manipulate audiences towards positive images of capacity (e.g. ‘parliamentarians who are *developing* reform’), tenacity (e.g. ‘entrepreneurs are *brimming with* ideas’), veracity (e.g. who *speak uncomfortable truth*’), and propriety (e.g. ‘all *peaceful and law-abiding* voices’). In that respect, his negative judgements, which are greater in number, are wholly devoted to the criticism of ruling regimes in Libya (e.g. ‘the most *extreme* example is Libya, where Muammar Qaddafi *launched a war* against his own people’), Syria (e.g. ‘the Syrian regime has chosen *the path of murder and the mass arrests* of its citizens’), Iran (e.g. ‘Iran’s *intolerance* and Iran’s *suppressive measures* as well as its *support of terror*’), Bahrain (e.g. ‘*mass arrests and brute force* are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain’s citizens’), as well as ‘the red tape’ and ‘patronage’ in countries that does not mention by name. These negative judgments are specifically offset by fundamentally positive evaluations of popular achievements in the region (e.g. ‘in Iraq, we see the prospect of a *multiethnic, multi-sectarian democracy*’), intensified in turn by a wealth of graduation indicators (e.g. ‘the *greatest* untapped resource’) and

quantifiers (e.g. ‘their *full* potential’) which occur much more frequently than those of focus (e.g. ‘*genuine* and *inclusive* democracy’). The quality and quantity of graduation indicators in the speech allows us to surmise that the speaker is preparing the ground for the acceptance of other attitudes that might otherwise be resisted. Accordingly, in order to win hearts and minds through the power of persuasion, the alignment framework within which these graduated attitudes are negotiated becomes significant. Obama gives the audiences the opportunity to examine each proposition before he offers his stance, which explains so why much space is allocated to opening up the argument through entertain (e.g. ‘we *intend* to provide assistance to civil society’) compared to the lesser one given to closing it through proclaim (e.g. ‘*let me be clear*, America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices’) and disclaim (e.g. ‘*but* America is to be credible). Ultimately, the play on the different appraisal resources clearly reflects the pre-determined authoritative status that America occupies in the region, in terms of which it claims the right to promote its own approach to democracy.

In the next section of the speech, concerned with the pursuit of peace, the central theme the speaker tackles is the Israeli-Arab conflict. This issue is a top priority for Americans in light of the change to the sub-powers in the region after the recent upheaval. So, in order to establish a sympathetic relationship with his audience, among whom there will be new leaders, the speaker turns to a consideration of their suffering, for which he shows sympathy and support, and then gradually moves to draw attention to America’s primary interest, which is the safeguarding of Israeli security. His reflection on this issue stands in this context, therefore, as a reminder to newly emergent leaderships of the

inviolability of Israeli existence. In support of this reminder, he purposefully declares that American-Israeli ties are ‘unshakable’ and are ‘rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values’, effectively indicating the existence of two distinct groups, America and Israel privileged on one hand, and the Arabs in an inferior position on the other. The complexity of this message is offered through a range of evaluative language. Because he perceives the emotional depth of the Palestinian situation, the speaker skilfully plays on negative feelings that cast a shadow not only over Palestine and Israel, but the Middle East as well. This is obvious in his expressed feelings of insecurity (e.g. ‘this *conflict* has come with a *larger cost* to the Middle East’) and of dissatisfaction (e.g. ‘suffering the *humiliation* of occupation’). But his judgements are exclusively targeted at condemnation of the violence that Israelis suffer (e.g. ‘if Hamas insists on the path of *terror* and *rejection*’) which reveals a clear commitment to the legitimacy of Israeli aspirations. Moreover, to help both conflicting parties put an end to their hardships; he reaffirms the only possible resolution, one that he has repeatedly suggested - the establishment of two independent states. His appreciations underline the value of this plan which he claims to be the only ‘choice’ that could be made (‘a *choice* between hate and hope...between the shackles of the past and the promise of the future...a choice that must be made by leaders and the people...it is a choice that will determine the future of the region’). Moreover, most of the offered attitudes are inflated to ensure ultimate acceptance of the plan, for instance in the high number of intensifiers (e.g. ‘a conflict that has *grinded on and on and on*, and sees *nothing* but stalemate’) and quantifiers (e.g. ‘a *lasting* peace will involve two states for two people’). Finally, the speaker’s intersubjective positioning confirms his tendency towards persuasive rhetoric by prioritizing indicators of entertain (e.g.

‘The United States *believes* that negotiations *should* result in two states’) and attribute (e.g. ‘for Palestinians, it *has meant* suffering the humiliation of occupation’). Within this, there are particular positions where the speaker wants his audiences to recognize his stance in order to encourage them to identify with his position. For that reason he tends to close the argument from time to time through the employment of indicators of proclaim (e.g. ‘now, *ultimately*, it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to take action’) and disclaim (e.g. ‘*no* peace can be imposed upon them-*not* by the United States; *not* by anybody else’). In the final analysis, the interplay of these different appraisal resources results in a strategic text designed to win hearts and minds.

In the closing section, the speaker moves away from any sense of implicit and explicit threat or criticism coming from his audiences in order to strengthen a sympathetic bond with them as the prime condition for a shared purpose – hence the significant comparison that he draws between his nation’s struggle and that of the people of the region. The emphasis is on solidarity, mutual understanding, a shared history of struggle that will enable a joint purpose, cemented through a range of qualitatively rich evaluative language, that will confront insecurity and difficulties (e.g. ‘for all the *challenges* that lie ahead’). There is a unity of purpose here (e.g. ‘our nation was founded through a *rebellion* against an empire’) expressed through powerful parallelisms between America (e.g. ‘our people fought a painful civil war that *extended freedom and dignity* to those who were enslaved’) and the Arab Homeland (e.g. ‘we see it in the courthouse square where the people gathered to celebrate a *freedom that they have never known*’). Emerging from these parallels is a vision, an amalgam of graduated attitudes (e.g. ‘a world that is *more* peaceful, *more* stable, and *more* just’) and quantification (e.g. ‘*across*

the region, these rights that we take for granted are being claimed with joy’). It is crucial that his audience build to such a conclusion themselves, that they be co-creators of the vision, so that the central strategy of the speech he employs is to give the audiences the opportunity to determine their alignment through opening up the argument. The use of indicators of disclaim three times (e.g. ‘there is *no* straight line to progress’) in comparison to eleven uses of entertain (e.g. ‘and I *would* not be standing here today’) are geared towards assuring audience engagement with the speaker’s analysis, and ultimately complicity with the vision that he finally sets out.

The discourse analysis of the source text (see Table 4.1 below, as well as Appendix 4)) provides illustrative evidence of the way in which the speaker invests all types of appraisal resources in order to manipulate his audience. We can follow his graduated attitudes and stances moment by moment and recognise, for example, the illocutionary analyses that he wishes to underline for his audiences and for them to consider carefully (e.g. ‘the greater untapped resource in the Middle East and North Africa is the talent of its people’) or ones of a more perlocutionary nature (e.g. ‘as we did in the Gulf War, we will not tolerate aggression across borders and keep our commitment to friends and partners’). Nevertheless, in consequence of the overall constraints of the length of the speech, Obama invariably prioritises some value positions over others through the qualitative variance of the semantic resources he uses. Moreover, within the same sub-system, the variables or parameters are skilfully presented in order to persuade his audiences of the validity of his views. For instance, throughout the speech, he notably places greater emphasis on the effects that feelings can achieve rather than those arrived at through judgement or clinical evaluation. In turn, out of the

four parameters of feeling - happiness, satisfaction, security and inclination - he relies heavily on those of satisfaction and security. Table 4.1 shows the overall number of evaluative indicators in the speech:

Table 4.1 The Sum of Appraisal Indicators in Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Issue	Attitude			Engagement	Graduation	Totals
	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation			
The Opening Section	33	38	33	67	60	231
Promoting Reform	11	57	22	98	58	246
The Pursuit of Peace	22	5	25	61	39	152
The Closing Section	5	6	7	15	8	41
Total	71	106	87	241	165	670

Of course, even a brief attempt to examine any kind of appraisal resources within the same issue or across the four issues will be rewarding because it can tell us much about the different beliefs and assumptions that the speaker promotes holistically throughout the text. For instance, it is significant to note how the speaker relies heavily on the variable of judgement in his discussion of how to promote reform, while he resorts to affect when talking about the promotion of peace. But in order not to be sidetracked into a fully comprehensive discourse analysis that would not only take up the very short space available here,

but would also distract from our key focus on indicators of appraisal as implicatures of ideology, the principal focus of the section that follows is to discover any interruption to the identified indicators that could influence the audiences' understanding of the ideology that the speaker is concerned to outline.

4.3. Ideology in the Simultaneous Interpreting of Barack Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity'

This section is primarily concerned with judging the extent to which appraisal indicators, as points of ideology, have been uninterruptedly rendered into Arabic or not. The methodology for analysing the interpretation of 'A Moment of Opportunity' follows the same guidelines as those applied in the previous chapter. The three versions of live simultaneous interpreting this time, however, involve interpreters working for Al-Hurrah, Al-Jazeera, and Al-Arabia, (henceforth Int.1, Int.2, and Int.3 respectively). Once again, as a result of pressures of space, an analysis of only 20% of the sample is offered, in the attempt to find and assess the degree of correlation between interpreter interventions and interpreters agendas (linked, of course, to the agendas of their employing organisations).

4.3.1. Interpreter Intervention in the Opening Section

The amount of text in this section comprises more than one-third of the speech, where the speaker skilfully relies on evaluative language in order to nudge the audience towards his own attitudes. Specifically, after articulating his thanks, he negotiates 'change' in the Middle East and North Africa according to a positive perspective from America, where he makes a significant connection between his own nation's struggle and that of the region. However, the degree of transparency through which these views are communicated and received plays a crucial role in

ensuring that the speech (which as we have noted elsewhere is a finely crafted piece of writing carefully geared to elicit particular responses) occasions the intended reaction among its listeners. Therefore, to check the performance of interpreters in their relaying of these first evaluations, eighteen sentences are examined below, along with the attempt to understand the context of these evaluations.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 3)

I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.

Int.1:

وأنا طبعًا أرتاح إليها وأتكل عليها كلَّ يوم وهي من أفضل وزيرات الخارجية في تاريخ بلادنا.

BT: I, of course, like her and count on her every day and she is one of the best female Secretaries of State in our country's history.

Int.2:

أنا أعتد عليها في كلِّ يوم وأعتقد أن التاريخ سيذكرها كواحدة من أروع وزراء الخارجية في تاريخ أمتنا.

BT: I count on her every day, and I think that history will remember her as one of the greatest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.

Int.3:

أعتقد أنَّها تعد من أفضل وزراء الخارجية التي حصلت عليها أمتنا.

BT: I think she is one of the best Secretaries of State that our nation has got.

Before the speaker steps up to deliver this speech, Hillary Clinton gives a very short introduction in which, in addition to welcoming the President and the invited audience to the State Department, she reflects

on the improvement of America's image in the world that she and her colleagues in the diplomatic core have worked to achieve. This achievement, she declares, is based on the President's vision, which they have been resolute in applying. By saying that, of course, she is not personalizing the achievements, but rather drawing a distinction between the leadership of the Democratic Party and that of the Republicans represented by Bush. It is within that same context that Obama's sentence is concerned to convey his evaluation of the positive role that Clinton, as Secretary of State, has played in this declared success, thereby reinforcing the implication that if America is led by Democrats, it will be more powerful, more prosperous, and ultimately more secure. Let us assess the extent to which this opening evaluation is communicated by the three interpreters in a way that might approximate to what we consider to be transparent.

In the first instance, Int.1 (who is female) undertakes an intrusion, mainly through addition and modification. To all intents and purposes, she brings to the text an attitude that is influential. This is clear in her insertion of 'وأنا طبعًا أرتاح إليها' ('of course I like her'), where the speaker shows his confidence in his Secretary of State, but he not in the effective way that the way the interpreter suggests. One could argue that this decision on the part of the interpreter taken at face value may be a simple misinterpretation, but there two other consecutive interventions that lead to the conclusion that there is a pattern to her modifications: firstly, she shifts modality from 'she will go down' into 'وهي' ('she is'), an equivalent which is much stronger than the original and, secondly, she adds the plural feminine indicator 'ات' to distinguish the gender of the previous secretaries of state (although there have been only two other females in the post, Albright and Rice). Al-Hurrah is a liberal news

broadcaster, and it may be that the interpreter felt able to insert her own personal evaluation, drawing, consciously or not, from her own feminism. Be that as it may, the audience is being moved toward the perception that the speaker tends to denigrate the accomplishments of previous male secretaries because of his friendship with Clinton, which in turn, in the perception of an Arabic-speaking audience, may portray the speaker as a man easily led by his feelings. At this stage of our analysis, the point seems minor, but in the cumulative effect of similar intrusions throughout the speech, the seeds of an interpretant may be beginning to emerge. In any event, in terms of this perception, the speaker-audience relationship will be channelled in a particular direction from the outset, and could alter the ongoing absorption of evaluations that the speaker is concerned to communicate in the rest of the speech.

Int.2's intervention is also evident. He shifts the evaluative verb 'believe' into 'أعتقد' ('think'). Although the equivalent is evaluative as well, especially in English, there is in Arabic a downscaling of the value position, as we noted in a similar example in the previous chapter. In other words, the interpreter has weakened the speaker's stance in relation to the status of Hillary Clinton when considered against that of other secretaries of state. This might potentially be attributed to the interpreter's sense of dissatisfaction with Clinton's actions in the Middle East, and we should note in turn that any such level of dissatisfaction may well be influenced by the fact that the ideological agenda of his employer is more pronounced than that of many other Arab-speaking outlets, concretely, of course, Al-Hurrah in the previous example. Once again, as we noted previously, there is scope for such an interpretation to begin to colour the impact and effect of the rest of the speech.

Int.3, in the same way, changes ‘I believe’ into ‘أعتقد’ (‘I think’). Moreover, he disregards the speaker’s first utterance of friendship towards Clinton by omitting ‘I count on Hillary every single day’, a decision that quickly comes to reflect the interpreter’s emerging apparent aim to undercut the speaker’s stance. Once again such an intervention may denote dissatisfaction with Clinton’s performance in the arena of Middle Eastern politics. By concealing and modifying the speaker’s positivity, there is a chance that this act of interpretation will lead the audience to believe Obama is lukewarm in his estimation of Clinton’s achievements, sparking a sense of contradiction or discord in the audience’s mind that, once again, might serve to disturb the ties that the speaker is anxious to establish with his audience.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 4)

The State Department is a fitting venue to mark a new chapter in American diplomacy.

Int.1:

وزارة الخارجية خير مكان لبدء فصل جديد للدبلوماسية الأمريكية.

BT: And the State Department is the best place to mark a new chapter for American diplomacy.

Int.2:

إن وزارة الخارجية هي المكان الأمثل لتأشير فصل جديد في تاريخ الدبلوماسية الأمريكية.

BT: The State Department is the ideal place to mark a new chapter in the history of American diplomacy.

The import of this sentence seems clear; it is an apparent act of politeness in which the speaker displays his positive appreciation of the

State Department as an appropriate venue to set out his new approach for American diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa in the wake of the recent wave of protests. But why does he do so? Is it necessary at this time to emphasise the status of the State Department? What is the relationship between the venue for the speech and the protests across the region that the speech will reflect upon? Is there any sense of a backtracking from the apparent new beginning offered between America and Muslims in Cairo and other cities in his ‘Apology Tour’? Although these questions are, at least at this stage, difficult to answer in any definitive way, one possible response is that Obama may be subtly reminding the protesters that the legitimacy of their movements will best be served if they correspond to the aims of American foreign diplomacy (represented here by the State Department), the direction of which will now shift towards popular manifestations rather than ruling regimes. Crucially, the communication of such a key evaluation is modified in two versions. Both Int.1 and Int.2 intrude at the same point; they fail to fully depict the speaker’s appreciation of the State Department. It is possible that they dismiss it as an irrelevant detail, but the impact of the omission remains. As can be seen above, whereas Int.1 renders ‘a fitting venue’ into ‘خير مكان’ (‘the best place’), Int.2 uses ‘المكان الأمثل’ (‘the ideal place’), bestowing on both versions an exaggerated symbolic value. Such a symbolism, reflected as the speaker’s, may have an adverse impact on the audience because it implies that declarations uttered elsewhere, such as the speech delivered in Cairo, have a lesser value than the one delivered here. Instead of a coherent and consistently developing foreign policy, the danger is that this heightened symbolism will infer the injection of contingency, making the speech more opportunistic and juncture-driven than part of a developing response to the region. The point made here is, once again, small, but the cumulative

nature of the applied interpretant bestows a variant direction on the interpreted speech.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 8)

More may follow.

Int.2:

وكثير سيلحقون بهم.

BT: And many will follow.

One of the substantial issues that Obama is keen to address almost from the outset is the ‘extraordinary change’ that has been launched in the region through the medium of the ‘Arab Spring’ that aims at bringing about regime change in a number of countries. As well as being rooted in Tunisia and Egypt, he surmises that this democratic wave may extend to other Arab countries; but because these people have lived for decades under dictatorship, it cannot be guaranteed that these protests will displace existing regimes – hence the modal verb ‘may’. Such a usage, in terms of its subjective evocation of possibility, may also, of course, be seen as encouragement to other peoples in the region who at this very moment are considering launching their own wave of protest. In other words, Obama may be suggesting that whatever the power of the present regimes, they may be defeated by a popular uprising that the Americans may well support. Nevertheless, this covert suggestion is made explicit by Int.2 in the shift of modality from ‘may’ to ‘س’ (‘will’). Al-Jazeera, the organisation for which he is working, supports most of the uprisings of the Arab Spring, with the result that the interpreter seems to be convinced that more leaders will be removed. The danger, of course, is that the audience will read this evaluation as a declaration that may be

taken for granted because America will use all its influence to support the displacement of dictatorships. Once again, the reception of the speech is being nudged in a different direction from the one ostensibly intended by the speaker himself.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 11)

Now, already, we've done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts.

Int.1:

لقد فعلنا الكثير لتغيير سياستنا الخارجية بعد أكثر من عشرين عامًا من الحروب أو حربيين صعبتين.

BT: We've done much to shift our foreign policy after more than twenty years of wars or two hard wars.

Int.2:

لقد قمنا بالكثير لتحديد ملامح سياستنا الخارجية بعد سنوات من الأزمات.

BT: We've done much to draw the features of our foreign policy after years of crises.

Int.3:

لقد قمنا بما هو فيه الكثير لتعزيز سياستنا الخارجية في مواجهة هذه التغيرات.

BT: We've done what is much to strengthen our foreign policy in front of these changes.

In this next example, Obama notes that during the previous two years of his term, he has devoted much time and effort to avoid being trapped in 'costly' conflicts, as his predecessor Bush was. He expresses clearly negative feelings especially in relation to the consequences of American

wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Clear questions emerge from this: what is the reason for recalling this tragic history? Does he want the American people as well as the international community not to forget the failures of Bush's administration? Does he want them to remember the number of victims in these two wars? The implication is that his message reinforces the view that not only is America safer, but the whole world too, thanks to his rational decision of repudiating the future use of military force. If such questions have indeed been planted in his audience's mind, then interpreter intervention in this section is potentially far-reaching.

There are several instances in the act of interpretation where Int.1's presence is readily discernible. She deletes the 'Now, already' that limits the temporal dimension of the speaker's reflection, and expands 'a decade' to 'أكثر من عشرين عامًا' ('more than twenty years'). This is set against her hesitation in interpreting 'two costly wars', which she initially renders as 'الحروب' ('wars'), before acknowledging them from a more neutral perspective as 'حربين صعبتين' ('two hard wars'). Her initial rendering is interesting in the context of extending the duration of the speaker's negative feelings to double the intended period, with the immediate implication for her listeners that American policy during the previous two decades has not been successful, thereby implicating the First Gulf War as a wrong decision (in addition to the Second Gulf War and the war in Afghanistan). The effect is clear; although the speaker has not criticized either American military intervention in 1991 or the airstrikes that targeted Iraqi facilities in the 1990s, the audience may mistakenly perceive the interpreter's evaluation to be that of the speaker.

Int.2's intrusion is no less notable. He overlooks 'Now already', changes the verb 'shift' to 'تحديد' ('draw'), and substitutes 'a decade' by

‘سنوات’ (‘years’), and ‘two costly wars’ by ‘الأزمات’ (‘crises’). These modifications may arguably signal two things: firstly, the interpreter may not believe that America has tried to shift policy because it is still following the same line as previous administrations. Secondly, he may also reject the negative feelings indicated in ‘a decade defined by two costly wars’ because he is convinced that, regardless of their costs, these conflicts are viewed only as ‘crises’ in an ongoing situation that has pertained for a much longer time. In both cases, the anti-American stand of his employer, Al-Jazeera, clearly impacts on his interpretative decisions.

On the other hand, Int.3 presents a concise version where he deletes ‘Now already’ and ‘following a decade’, and shifts ‘defined by two costly wars’ into ‘في مواجهة هذه التغيرات’ (‘in front of these changes’). These interpreting decisions make the speaker’s evaluation less evocative, so that it receives less attention in interpretation than in the original speech. This is quite evident, for example, in altering the speaker’s ‘shift’ into a different indicator (i.e. ‘تعزيز’ (‘strengthen’)) or in softening ‘two costly wars’ to mere ‘تغيرات’ (‘changes’). The audience’s reaction, which the speaker is painstakingly trying to stimulate, has been, therefore, interrupted in a way that will obstruct their acceptance of the speaker’s evaluations.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 15)

Bin Laden was no martyr.

Int.3: No rendering.

Obama is notably proud of the impact that his administration has had upon Al-Qaeda in killing its leader, Osama Bin Laden, whom he evaluates in ethical terms as ‘no martyr’. No one, of course, can deny

American involvement in the death of Bin Laden, but in the Arabic-speaking world to evaluate him as no martyr is more questionable: Obama is not a Muslim, nor does he have a sufficient understanding of Islamic convention and procedures to be able to decide whether Bin Laden deserves to be classified, either technically or wholeheartedly, as a martyr or not. Whether he is aware or not that such an evaluation may not be taken for granted, he certainly offers it as an indication of his support for those Muslims who condemn Bin Laden's activities. Nevertheless, this communication of a negative judgement is interrupted by Int.3, who disregards the whole sentence. Such disregard may be rooted in a belief that Bin Laden may indeed be viewed in religious terms as a martyr because he is a jihadi who was sacrificed in his protection of Muslims and Islamic beliefs from their enemy. To excise Obama's evaluation from the interpreted speech implies a more positive evaluation of Bin Laden than the speech certainly declares, and in doing so introduces another note of confusion in terms of the relationship between speaker and audience that the speech is intended to engineer.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 18)

Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents.

Int.2:

بن لادن ورؤية المبنية على القتل.

BT: Bin Laden and his murderous vision

Int.3:

بن لادن ورؤية الدموية التي كانت قد افضت إلى نتائج كارثية.

BT: Bin Laden and his bloody vision that has led to disastrous outcomes.

In this sentence, the speaker admits the risk that Bin Laden might yet influence some Muslim attitudes. By doing so, he underlines the consequent hostility of a variety of Al-Qaeda affiliates towards the West, seeming to recognise in the process the view of some in the West that Muslim communities are threats to national security. Although this negative evaluation is important, its transference into Arabic is interrupted by Int.2 and Int.3.

On one hand, Int.2 omits ‘won some adherents’, potentially revealing his dissent as to the notion of partial support for Al-Qaeda. That is to say, because he is working for Al-Jazeera, which is frequently held, as we noted in the introductory chapter, to be a mouthpiece for Bin Laden, he may feel it necessary to omit the speaker’s (under)estimation of Al-Qaeda’s followers.

On the other hand, Int.3 produces an incomplete proposition that shifts the speaker’s focus from ‘won some adherents’ to ‘قد افضت الى نتائج كارثية’ (‘has led to disastrous outcomes’). This forceful intervention may be to reveal Al-Qaeda as an active entity which is already strong enough to cause ‘disasters’ to whoever opposes its ideology, especially the United States, a decision which may well be linked to the interpreter’s intervention in terms of disregarding the negative evaluation of Bin Laden in the preceding example. As with Int.2 above, it is an intervention geared to distort the common ground the speaker is trying to establish with his audience.

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 24)

It’s the same kind of humiliation that takes place every day in many parts of the world - the relentless tyranny of governments that deny their citizens dignity.

Int.1:

وهذا ما يحصل كلّ يوم في أنحاء كثيرة من العالم عندما نرى القمع.

BT: And this is what takes place every day in many places of the world when we see the repression.

Int.2:

فهو يحدث كثيرًا في مناطق الشرق الأوسط بسبب الحكومات الطغيانية المستبدة التي تحرم مواطنيها أبسط حقوقهم.

BT: And it takes place in the areas of the Middle East because of the despot tyranny governments that deny its citizens their simplest rights.

Int.3:

نفس القصة تحدث في أماكن عديدة من العالم. الحكومات التي تقوم باستخدام القمع على شعوبها.

BT: The same story takes place in many places of the world, the governments that use repression against their people.

This sentence is loaded with evaluation in the way that it depicts the speaker's negative attitudes in relation to the non-elected regimes not only in Tunisia, Egypt or the Middle East, but around the world. Significantly, he describes such regimes as ruling through 'humiliation' and imposing 'relentless tyranny'. The specific reference is clearly implied: in the Middle East in particular, peoples are denied their democratic rights by kings, emirs, sultans, regimes in turn that have enjoyed full American support over the years. The topic is sensitive and Obama's specific wording carefully gauged to create maximum impact among his audiences.

Int.1 folds the speaker's graduated emphasis into 'قمع' ('repression'), a general equivalent that underestimates the source evaluation. In doing so, she effectively lessens the negative impact that the reference to 'humiliation' may generate to Arabs who place a premium on dignity. One might suppose, therefore, that because she works for Al-Hurrah, which is a Washington-funded outlet, her goal is to promote American influence and values so that when she considers 'humiliation' too strong an evaluation on the part of the President.

Int.2's intervenes on three occasions. Firstly, he too ignores the negative evaluative indicator 'humiliation' and only provides 'هو' ('it') as an equivalent. Secondly, he inserts the graduation indicator 'كثيراً' ('on a large scale'). Thirdly, he substitutes 'in many parts of the world' by 'في مناطق الشرق الأوسط' ('in the areas of the Middle East'). Finally, he inserts 'المستبدة' ('despot') to up-scale the speaker's judgement. Taken together, these decisions derive from a clear interpretant, which is a sense of the illegitimacy of certain governments in the Middle East. Moreover, he acts to restrict the speaker's criticism to a particular country in the region – in this case, Saudi Arabia because of its troubled diplomatic relationship with Al-Jazeera's sponsor, Qatar. Because Al-Jazeera was the basic tool that Qatar used to attack the lack of democracy in Saudi Arabia, the interpreter first acquired and then reflected this antagonism, leaving his own audience to come to their own conclusions as to which specific country in the Middle East that Obama is ostensibly referencing.

Int.3's intrusion is also clear. He substitutes 'humiliation' with 'قصة' ('story') and ignores 'the relentless tyranny'. Both decisions work to down-scale the speaker's intended intensity, in all likelihood because of a sympathy with such methods. In other words, because of the influence of Al-Arabiya which is managed by a Saudi Sheikh – that is,

one of the ruling Saudi Royal Family, the interpreter is keen to downplay hereditary power structures as repressive and anti-democratic.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 28)

In America, think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston who refused to pay taxes to a King or the dignity of Rosa Parks as she sat courageously in her seat.

Int.1:

أمريكا أيضًا بدأت في بوسطن بهذه العملية عبر كرامة روزا بارك التي جلست بشجاعة في مقعدها.

BT: America also started in Boston this process through the dignity of Rosa Parks who sat courageously in her seat.

Int.3:

أمريكا أيضًا تفكر في أشخاص مشابهين في تكساس وفي أماكن أخرى الذين أيضًا قدموا تضحيات مشابهة.

BT: America also thinks of similar people in Texas and other places who have also provided similar sacrifices.

The speaker here draws an explicit comparison between the struggle of the Tunisian people, represented by the young vendor who sparked the flames of the revolution, and that of the American people. In doing so, he emphasizes the legitimacy of recent protests in the region. Moreover, he encourages people to peacefully demand their rights (an invocation to peaceful protest that is belied by the sending of American troops to Iraq in 2003 and by American collusion with NATO and other regional partners in the displacement of Gaddafi at the time of this speech).

Int.1 intrudes at one point, omitting one of the two pieces of evidence the speaker adduces, which is, ‘think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston who refused to pay taxes to a King’. It is an omission that may well be based on a professional awareness for a need for concision, but the choice still reflects a decision to keep the focus on Rosa Parks. That is to say, as a female, the interpreter may want the audience to exclusively see the substantial contribution of women to the establishment of American civil liberties - and, by analogy, the role that women can play in the Arab community, if they are given the chance. Such an interpretant is in that sense motivated by Al-Hurrah’s liberal ethics, deployed to encourage Arab women to demand their basic rights.

Int.3, on the other hand, generalizes the speaker’s attitude by omitting the particular examples drawn from history, underestimating the specific contribution both the Patriots and Rosa Parks through his more dismissive ‘أشخاص مشابهين’ (‘similar people’) as an equivalent for both. Moreover, he leaves ‘Boston’ as ‘في تكساس وفي أماكن أخرى’ (‘in Texas and other places’). Although Texas is clearly introduced because of its homophonic similarity to ‘taxes’ and can genuinely be attributed to interpreter error, the interpreter’s intervention here remains suffused with a vagueness that will only serve to distance the audience from the speaker’s attempt to build bridges across time and space.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 29)

So it was in Tunisia, as that vendor’s act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country.

Int.2:

هَذَا ما حدث في تونس هَذَا الرجل الشاب بحكم يأسه من وضعة تحرك.

BT: So it was in Tunisia, this young man, because of the despair of his situation, has acted.

This completes the comparison the speaker makes in the preceding one sentence. Moreover, it indicates his justification of Tunisian uprising, on the basis of a parallel between his particular situation and the broader suffering and oppression of the people. But the flow of these particular views is exclusively filtered by Int.2 who presents a very concise version, in which the speaker's emphasis on the direct relationship between the vendor and the Tunisian uprising itself is lost. It may be that the interpreter seeks to downplay the impact of the personal sacrifice of the vendor (who set himself on fire). Other than that it is hard to detect any hidden agenda here, but the fact remains that the audience is precluded from the emotive relationship between personal sacrifice and courage, and widespread resistance.

Excerpt 10 (Sentence 34)

In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of a few.

Int.3:

وهناك دول أخرى كانت السلطة تتركز بيد الاقلية.

BT: And there are other states where the power concentrated in the hands of the minority.

Although the speaker recognises that there are a number of free nations in the Middle East and North Africa, he also reflects his disapproval for the way 'too many countries' in the region are ruled, especially by restricting leadership to a particular group of people (in many cases

royal dynasties). Bearing in mind American ties with such countries, this is a declaration by the President that seems to herald new policy.

Int.3, however, shifts the speaker's focus by rendering 'too many countries' as 'دول أخرى' ('other countries') and 'a few' into 'الاقلية' ('the minority'). Both interventions seemingly reflect the interpreter's antagonism towards countries where the minority, whether political, tribal or sectarian, holds power, an interpretant that may well reflect Al-Arabiya's opposition to the denial of Sunnis' right to govern in Syria and Iraq. In consequence, although there will be sections of the audiences who respond positively to this declaration, there will also be those, mainly those who advocate or hold positions in such regimes, who will feel especially singled out by Obama.

Excerpt 11 (Sentence 39)

Nor can people reach their potential when you cannot start a business without paying a bribe.

Int.2:

في أماكن كثيرة لم يستطع أحد أن يبدأ بمشروع ما لم يدفع الرشى.

BT: In many places, no one can start a project unless pays bribes.

The speaker continues to criticize leadership in the region, evaluating as frankly as possible the corruption of governing institutions. The speaker is clearly addressing those countries in the region which hold gas and oil resources, but Int.2 intervenes to divert the audience's attention to a more generalised plane by substituting 'Nor can people reach their potential' with 'في أماكن كثيرة' ('in many places'). Arguably, the speaker's appeal to his audience sentiment as a way of strengthening ties seems to embarrass the interpreter, and Al-Jazeera, at this particular position. That

is to say, because the Qatari government is potentially implicated within this criticism, the interpreter has decided to intervene.

Excerpt 12 (Sentence 41)

The West was blamed as the source of all ills, a half-century after the end of colonialism.

Int.3:

وكان يعاب على الغرب أنه لم يتقدم بالعون رغم أنه قد مضى سنوات من الاستعمار.

BT: The West was blamed that it has not provided support even if years of Colonialism have passed.

The speaker here reflects on the excuses put forward by some regimes to justify their oppressive tactics, suggesting that some leaders have tried to relate their countries' situations to factors that are out of their control, such as the influence of the colonial powers in the past. Obama's position is interesting in that he concedes the wrongs of the colonial period, but supplements this concession, by strongly denying that these wrongs can still be considered as somehow operative in people's lives in the Arab World at present. Blame, it is implied, must be laid squarely at the door of current ruling regimes. Int.3's intervention, however, denies the audience access to the exact depiction of this evaluation, softening the terms of the speaker's negative appraisal by changing 'the source of all ills' to 'لم يتقدم بالعون' ('has not provided support') and 'a half-century' to the more general 'سنوات' ('years'). In doing so, the interpreter seems to imply that those who blame the West, referred to by the speaker, are either Muslims or Arabs, so as an act of solidarity, he intervenes to blunt the negative sense of the evaluation.

Excerpt 13 (Sentence 43)

Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power or taking it away from somebody else.

Int.1:

التأكيد على الانقسامات القبلية والاثنية والطائفية استغلتها السلطات.

BT: The emphasis on the divisions of tribe, ethnicity, and sect were used by the powers.

Int.3:

ورؤية القبائل العرقية وكذلك الطوائف الدينية والتلاعب كلها كانت هي الأساس.

BT: And the vision of racism, tribes and also religious sectarians and smuggling all of these were the basis.

This sentence tackles another obfuscatory factor that leaders in the region have used. The speaker presents himself as cautiously aware of the conflicts that such leaders have sown among citizens by playing, for instance on divisions between Sunni and Shia in order to effectively divide and conquer. This recognition of the way some countries in the Arab World are governed is a positive one, yet seems to be deployed in this particular context to serve America's interests in the specific guise as a warning that such strategies will not be tolerated by the international community.

Int.1 omits 'as a means of holding power, or taking it from somebody else', probably once again in the name of concision, although in support of Obama's goals, she may believe that there is rhetorical force to be gained by such emphatic concision.

Int.3's rendition, however, requires special attention. It is true that he might have misinterpreted 'divisions' as 'رؤية' ('vision') but the other alternatives appear to be more consciously intended to distract the audience's attention from the negative judgements of the speaker - there is little left in his rendition that allows the audience to relate to the speaker's focus on the manipulation of power and the specific abuses of that power. Moreover, the interpreter confuses the issue even further through his deployment of 'التلاعب' ('smuggling') and 'كلها كانت هي' ('all of these were the basis'), which prevent the transference of the speaker's main evaluations as they run counter to Al-Arabiya's own position.

Excerpt 14 (Sentence 45)

Satellite television and the Internet provide a window into the wider world - a world of astonishing progress in places like India and Indonesia and Brazil.

Int. 1:

التلفزيونات ووسائل الاتصال عبر الإنترنت وغيرها تنقل الأخبار عبر العالم ما يحصل في الهند في إندونيسيا في البرازيل.

BT: Televisions, Internet communications, and others transfer the news across the World... what takes place in India, Indonesia, and Brazil.

Int.2:

الفضائيات والإنترنت توفر نافذة نحو العالم الواسع الكبير وفرص التطور في الهند وإندونيسيا والبرازيل.

BT: Satellite televisions and the Internet provide a window into the wide World and the opportunities of progress in India, Indonesia, and Brazil.

Int.3:

فشاشات التلفزة والمحطات الأخرى كلها تظهر لنا ما يحدث وهذا ما نراه في الهند واندونيسيا والبرازيل.

BT: Television screens and other channels all of them show what takes place and this what we see in India, Indonesia, and Brazil.

The speaker provides a global frame from which to consider the stasis of life in a number of countries in the region, referring positively to the role of the media in creating and cementing global awareness. All three interpreters, significantly, overlook the speaker's positive appreciation indicated in 'astonishing progress', possibly because the comment reflects negatively on some countries in the region where progress has been noteworthy. Be that as it may, the impact of their intervention is that the issue of progress is diluted and is instead transferred into a sense of the global village – a reminder, in other words, that the whole world is watching to see what transpires here.

Excerpt 15 (Sentence 63)

We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes; they're essential to them.

Int.2:

سوف نستمر بعمل هذه الأشياء بقناعة راسخة بأن مصالح أمريكا ليست خطرًا لآمال الشعوب بل هي ضرورية لها.

BT: We will continue to do these things with a firm belief that America's interests are not a danger to peoples' hopes, but they are necessary to them.

Int.3:

سوف نستمر في دعم هذه المبادئ من خلال إيماننا الراسخ أن مصالح أمريكا لا تعد عدائية
لطموج الشعب.

BT: We will continue to support these principles with a firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's ambitions.

In this sentence, the speaker clarifies his stance in relation to America's interests in the region, informing the audience that America under his presidency will follow the same approach as his predecessors. Key to this sentence is the sense of consonance between American policy in the region and the newly emerging aspirations of its peoples. This consonance is geared to provide an important bridge into the rest of the speech.

Int.2 substitutes 'hostile' with 'خطرا' ('a danger'). There is a cognate relationship, but as an equivalent, it occasions an important shift from unfriendliness to life-threat. The difference seems minimal in terms of extension, but in terms of emotional impact within the context of accumulated interventions, the rendering is significant. What it reveals is the recognition of America from within a particular interpreting habitus, developed and consolidated through Al-Jazeera's anti-American stance, particularly its criticism of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This is a very interesting example in which the interpreter's beliefs effectively intensify and displace the more measured and diplomatically expressed evaluations of the speaker.

Int.3, on the other hand, omits the speaker's positive evaluation 'they're essential to them', apparently accepting the non-hostility of America's interests but also effectively precluding the possibility of American influence – or potential influence – in the region.

Excerpt 16 (Sentence 64)

We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks.

Int.2:

نعلم أن لا أحد سيستفيد من قوة نووية في المنطقة ومن هجمات القاعدة الوحشية.

BT: We know that no one will benefit from nuclear power in the region or Al-Qaeda wild attacks.

Int.3:

نعتقد أنه لن يستفيد احد البتة من سباق حرب نووية أو من خلال عمليات هجوم دموي.

BT: We think that no one at all will benefit from a nuclear war race or bloody attack operations.

Here, the speaker continues to oppose the threat of violence in the region. Nevertheless, Ints. 2 and 3 perform subtle shifts of perspective. Int. 2 replaces the idea of an arms race with the more neutral 'nuclear power', effectively making an ecological rather than military point. Int.3 omits 'Al-Qaeda' and broadens the geographical reference of the original. In both cases, the speaker's intended impact is severely blunted.

Excerpt 17 (Sentence 71)

I believed then - and I believe now - that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals.

Int.1:

وأعتقد كما اعتقدت في حينه أن مصلحتنا ليست فقط في استقرار الدول ولكن أيضاً في حق تقرير المصير للأفراد.

BT: And I think, as I thought at that time, that our interest is not just in the stability of states but also in the self-determination of individuals.

Int.3:

وأعتقد واعتقدت انذاك وأعتقد الآن أنه لدينا حصة ليس فقط في استقرار الامم بل أيضاً في كرامة الأفراد.

BT: And I think and I thought that time and think now that we have a share not just in the stability of nations but also in the dignity of individuals.

As in the preceding sentences, the speaker works from previous to present positions in terms of American foreign policy in the region, declaring specifically that the securing of the legitimate rights of people is a key moral goal of that policy. What is significant here is that neither Int.1 nor Int.3 transfers this stance transparently because they render the evaluative verb 'believe' into the weaker (in Arabic) 'أعتقد' ('I think'). In the case of Int.3, on the one hand, this choice does not seem to be accidental (see, for example, sentence 64), and seems to rest upon a generalised antagonism to America, so that he rejects American commitment to 'the stability of nations' and 'the self-determination of individuals' in the belief that America pursues its own interests, especially the safeguarding of Israel and dominating oil and gas resources. Int.1's performance, on the other hand, may be an instance of what Bourdieu call's 'zones of uncertainty' (see Chapter Two, section 2.3.2) where, because of the overlap among the social spaces or fields that she belongs to (in this case a pro-American channel in the Middle East), she is reflecting attitudes that contain their own contradictions. Here, although the interpreter works for a Pan-American outlet, her

intervention, as in the case of Int.3's above, seems to weaken the speaker's stance.

Excerpt 18 (Sentence 83)

The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region.

Int.2:

الولايات المتحدة ترفض استخدام العنف ضد شعوب المنطقة.

BT: The United States rejects the use of violence against the people of the region.

Int.3:

الولايات المتحدة الولايات المتحدة لا توافق على استخدام العنف في المنطقة.

BT: The United States the United States does not accept the use of violence in the region.

In both this and the following sentence, the speaker points to the principles underpinning American policy in the region. Primary among them is America's opposition to the use of violence and repression, indicated here. There is an unstated contradiction, however, in the fact that a number of the dictators in the region have been America's most loyal partners and allies. The audience's perception of this seemingly supportive statement, however, is filtered by Int.2 and Int.3 alike, when they omit 'and repression' from their renderings. Although the speaker declares American opposition to any form of oppression, the interpreters focus only on violence. It is an omission that reveals their disquiet that speaker's indictment of governments that overtly use violence, such as Syria and Libya, might spread in their audience's perception to include

their own sponsoring nations, namely Qatar and Saudi Arabia. It is an omission that may well have disappointed potentially large numbers among Obama's audiences.

4.3.2. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of the Promotion of Reform and Support for the Transition to Democracy

This part, which comprises slightly more than one-third of the speech, addresses American support for political and economic reform that is not limited to Egypt and Tunisia, but that can also extend to other countries in the region. Obama seeks to assert his credentials as an honest broker through critical assessment of both enemies – for example, Libya and Syria - and friends – for instance, Bahrain. In this case, his focus is on religious tolerance and women's rights as two effective ingredients in the stirring of progress, strategically employing a range of stances and attitudes to communicate these insights. Twenty sentences, and their renderings, have been selected in order to capture that range.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 90)

First, it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region, and to support transitions to democracy.

Int.3:

اولا سوف تكون سياسة الولايات المتحدة مرتكزة على تعزيز الديمقراطية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا.

BT: First, the policy of the United States will be based on promoting democracy in the Middle East and North Africa.

The speaker here conveys the basis of his country's policy on reform in the region, emphasising that opposition to oppressive regimes will garner American approval and support. It is a declaration that implies

that America will use all its influence to bring into power a new Washington-friendly generation. The import of such a declaration to the people and to leaders alike is almost immeasurable. And yet Int.3 reduces this scale of intended reference by reducing American determination to both ‘promote reform’ and ‘support democracy’ to the latter. The omission is subtle but effective because the ruling elite of Saudi Arabia, Al-Arabiya’s sponsor, also embraces the rhetoric of reform, but remains fully committed to the maintenance of its own power structures. In other words, it is as if the interpreter has excised any sense of criticism of his sponsoring regime on the part of the American administration.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 91)

That effort begins in Egypt and Tunisia, where the stakes are high - as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave, and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and the Arab world’s largest nation.

Int.1:

هَذَا المجهود بدأ فِي تونس ومصر وطبعًا تونس كانت الأولى عَلَى هَذَا الطريق وأيضًا مصر هِيَ حليفة لأمريكا وهي أهم دولة فِي الشرق الأوسط.

BT: And this effort began in Tunisia and Egypt and, of course, Tunisia was the first on this way and also Egypt is an ally of America and it is the most important state in the Middle East.

Int.2:

وسوف أبدأ هَذَا الجهد فِي تونس وفي مصر حيث إن هناك الكثير ما هو عَلَى المحك لأن تونس كانت فِي طليعة هَذَا التغيير وإن مصر هِيَ أكبر دولة فِي العالم العربي وكانت حليفًا استراتيجيًا لنا.

BT: And I will begin this effort in Tunisia and Egypt where much is on a stake because Tunisia was at the vanguard of this change and Egypt is the largest state in the Arab World and was a strategically for us.

Int.3:

وهذه الجهود قد بدأت في مصر وتونس حيث كانت الفرص مرتفعة. وكانت تونس هي التي قادت هذه الحركة و مصر كانت شريكة طويلة الامد وسوف تظل دول أخرى.

BT: And these efforts have begun in Egypt and Tunisia where the chances were high, and Tunisia was who led this movement and Egypt was a long-standing partner, and it will extend other states.

This sentence states American support for Egypt and Tunisia. Obama's evaluation of the situation in these two countries is positive, especially the one pertaining to Egypt. His audience, however, while of course recognising Egypt's status amongst the Arab countries, might also sense that Egyptian-Israeli ties also lie more squarely behind American support. The renderings below modify the speaker's positive appraisal.

Int.1 contrives to divert the speaker's evaluation because she brings into the context 'وطبعًا' ('of course'), omits 'the stances are high' and 'a longstanding', intensifies the speaker's appreciation of Egypt to 'وهي اهم دولة في الشرق الاوسط' ('and it is the most important state in the Middle East'), as well as shifting the verb 'begins' into the past. Although each of these alterations may have variable effects, the shift in the speaker's attitude to Egypt seems the most significant as it probably is an indication of the interpreter's own national bias. It is an intervention that may well alienate other nationals.

Int.2 intrudes on two occasions: he changes 'begin' to 'سوف ابدا' ('will begin') and 'is' into 'كانت' ('was'). Arguably, the shift into 'سوف'

ابدا' ('will begin') derives from a failure on his part to recognize current American support to the intended countries. But more important is the shift of 'is' to 'كانت' 'was'. Int.2 is effectively contesting the speaker's appreciation of Egypt, in all likelihood because America's strong ally, President Hosni Mubarak, has removed from power. This last intervention is potentially significant, in that it could lead the audience- especially Egyptians- to think that America is considering abandoning its former ally.

Similarly, Int.3 also changes the tense of both 'begins' and 'is', which may have the same effect as Int.2's intervention, but with greater intensity because he down-scales the significance accorded to Egypt through the omission of 'the Arab world's largest nation'. However, these are not the only points of intervention: the interpreter is actively present when he inserts his own evaluation 'وسوف تَطالُ دول أُخرى' ('and it will extend other states'). Taken in conjunction with the other interventions in this sentence, the interpreter appears to be suggesting that America will do what it can to push change in countries other than Egypt or Tunisia because the current governments have failed to safeguard its interests. Consequently, the response of not only the Egyptian audience but also of audiences across the whole region might be very different to what the speaker had clearly intended, especially in terms of the misleadingly inserted American support that 'وسوف تَطالُ دول أُخرى' ('and it will extend other states') implies.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 92)

Both nations can set a strong example through free and fair elections, a vibrant civil society, accountable and effective democratic institutions, and responsible regional leadership.

Int.1:

وكلتا الدولتان تقدمان نموذجًا لمجتمع مدني نشيط ولمؤسسات ديمقراطية ولسلطة مسؤولة والانتخابات الحرة.

BT: Both states set an example of vibrant civil society, democratic institutions, responsible authority, and free elections.

Int.2:

وهذان البلدان قد يقدمان نموذجًا يحتذى به لوجود مجتمع مدني حر وانتخابات ومؤسسات ديمقراطية ومسؤولية وقيادة إقليمية مسؤولة.

BT: Those two countries may set an example to be followed for there is a free civil society, democratic elections and institutions, and a responsible regional leadership.

Int.3:

هاتان الدولتان وضعتا مثال لانتخابات الحرة والنزاهة و لمجتمع مدني نابض بالحياة ولاقامة مؤسسات ديمقراطية ووضع نموذج لقيادة مسؤولة على المستوى الاقليمي.

BT: These two states set an example of fair and free elections, a vibrant civil society, and the establishment of democratic institutions and set an example of a responsible regional leadership.

This sentence expresses the speaker's positive appraisal of Egypt and Tunisia, whose peoples have struggled for civil rights through peaceful protest. Moreover, there is an invitation extended to other countries to follow the same path. Int.1 and Int.3, however, intrude at the same points, modifying the speaker's stance and attitude by omitting 'strong' and 'effective' and shifting 'can set' to 'يقدمان' ('set'). Although this does not entail any significant modification of the speaker's evaluations, the up-scaling of modality carries some weight. This final change does not appear to be error-driven, especially in the case of Int.1, because it

echoes her subsequent decisions to overestimate Egypt. Similarly, Int.2 intervenes to change the speaker's stance to a weaker one, rendering 'can' as 'قد' (may). In doing so the interpreter casts doubt on the value of democratic change in Tunisia and Egypt. In all three versions, therefore, the audience's recognition of what the US-supported democratic change in these countries has ultimately achieved has been effectively weakened.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 95)

The most extreme example is Libya, where Muammar Qaddafi launched a war against his own people, promising to hunt them down like rats.

Int.1:

أسوأ الأمثل والأكثر تطرفاً هو مثال ليبيا حيث قام معمر القذافي بإطلاق حرب ضد شعبة
وقال إنه سوف يصطادهم كالجرذان.

BT: The worst and most extreme example is Libya where Muammar Al-Qaddafi launched a war against his people and said that he will hunt them down like rats.

Having reflected glowingly on the democratic wave in Egypt and Tunisia, the speaker moves to express his rejection of the repression that the Libyan people live under, referring in the process to Qaddafi's famous threat to hunt down his opponents like rats. Int.1's intervenes interestingly, this time to intensify Obama's evaluation. She inserts a markedly negative attitude - 'أسوأ الامثلة' ('the worst example') - into the text, a decision that may be personal, or that might also reflect Al-Hurrah's relentless criticism of Qaddafi.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 98)

Had we not acted along with our NATO allies and regional coalition partners, thousands would have been killed.

Int.1:

لو لم نتصرف مع الشركاء ومع حلف شمال الأطلسي لقتل الآلاف.

BT: Had we not acted along with our partners and with NATO, thousands would have been killed.

This sentence indicates the possible consequences if America had delayed intervention in Libya. In other words, the speaker is trying to convince an audience that he might consider largely sceptical that America's participation in the coalition was necessary. Much of this scepticism, which Obama and his writers are clearly addressing in this instance, is rooted in the widespread belief that regime change in Libya has, in reality, been a long-term American goal. Significantly, Int.1 fails to transfer the speaker's evaluation transparently. She changes 'regional coalition partners' to the indefinite 'الشركاء' ('partners'), suggesting, possibly because of Al-Hurrah constraints, that the major role in Libya was played by America and its NATO allies, obviating the need to acknowledge countries in the region who, it may be surmised, played only a minor one. Once again, the change seems minimal, but in the context of a political speech, rich in signifiers, the regional partners who have been involved in the war against Qaddafi may feel justifiably slighted.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 102)

The opposition has organized a legitimate and credible Interim Council.

Int.2:

المعارضة نظمت مجلساً وطنياً انتقاليًا مشروعًا يمارس المهام.

BT: The opposition organized a legitimate Interim national council that is practicing missions.

Int.3:

والمعارضة تقوم بتنظيم مجلس شرعي.

BT: And the opposition is organizing a legitimate council.

The speaker here reveals his support for the steps taken by the Libyan people to cast off the burden of Qaddafi's dictatorship, in particular the establishment of the Interim Council through which the Libyan opposition has organized itself. Implicitly, he draws attention to the positive outcomes of American military intervention in Libya, effectively playing down the deep instability within the country that has ensued in its wake. The sentence is, in this way, determinedly upbeat.

Int.2 inserts 'وطنيًا' ('national') and 'يمارس المهام' ('practicing missions'). These insertions suggest an evaluation of the Council that, echoing Al-Jazeera policy of supporting most of the recent protests in the region, emphasises that this council is national and, significantly, not one that follows foreign agendas. Precisely for that reason, he declares that the Council is legitimately active in terms of launching its reform initiatives. This serves to highlight the issue in a way that Obama does not, and so that it will the audience's attention, either positively or negatively, in a way that Obama has not foreseen.

Int.3 also intervenes in the speaker's appreciation, omitting 'credible' and 'Interim', so that audience focus is on a single key aspect - that is, the legitimacy of the council. As with Int.2, it is an omission that effectively strengthens the positive evaluation of the Council.

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 103)

And when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, decades of provocation will come to an end, and the transition to a democratic Libya can proceed.

Int.2:

إِذْ عَقُودٌ مِنَ الْاِسْتَفْزَازَاتِ سَتَنْتَهِي وَالْاِنْتِقَالَ إِلَى لِيْبِيَا دِيْمَقْرَاطِيَّةٍ سَوْفَ يَبْدَأُ.

BT: Therefore, decades of provocation will end, and the transition to a democratic Libya will start.

Int.3:

وَعِنْدَمَا يَرْحَلُ الْقَذَافِي سَوْفَ تَنْتَهِي عَقُودٌ مِنَ الطَّغْيَانِ وَسَوْفَ يَحْدُثُ هُنَاكَ اِنْتِقَالَ إِلَى لِيْبِيَا دِيْمَقْرَاطِيَّةٍ.

BT: And when Al-Qaddafi goes away, decades of tyranny will end and a transition to a democratic Libya will take place.

This sentence articulates a key commitment to a future marked by the inevitability of Qaddafi's departure. It is a commitment that reflects the aspiration of the Libyan people who, with the help of America, NATO, and the regional partners, will be able to win their full and equal rights. It is a future sense, in other words, that speaks of unswerving policy rather than vicissitude.

Int.2's version does not provide an equivalent for the first clause 'And when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power', instead

inserting ‘اذن’ (‘therefore’) which implies a linkage that is wholly artificial given the impact of the clause that he has deleted. This may be a result of interpreter mismanagement, or it may reflect a cynicism as to the possibility that Qaddafi (the Arab World’s longest-ruling leader) will ever be removed from power. But, significantly, the audience’s perception of the speaker’s confidence that Qaddafi will voluntarily or forcibly go away is blocked and replaced by a sense of confusion as to the flow of the speaker’s argument.

In similar style, Int.3’s rendering diverges from what we have ascertained as speaker intention, intruding at several key points. He omits ‘inevitably’ and ‘is forced from power’, and intensifies ‘provocation’ as ‘الطغيان’ (‘tyranny’). Arguably, there are two different interpretations that spring from these interventions. On one hand, like Int.2, this interpreter suggests doubt as to whether supported Qaddafi can be driven from power, while on the other, he also offers the implication that Qaddafi is a tyrant whose wrong-doing cannot be conveyed solely by the speaker’s milder ‘provocation’. But, in both cases, the audience’s recognition of the positive future that the speaker expects for Libya is significantly modified.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 104)

While Libya has faced violence on the greatest scale, it’s not the only place where leaders have turned to repression to remain in power.

Int.3:

عندما واجهت ليبيا العنف على اعلى درجاته فهذا لم يكن فقط يتوقف على الطغيان الذي ظهر على يد القائد.

BT: When Libya faced violence on the greatest scale, this was not only dependent on the tyranny that has been revealed on the hands of the leader.

The speaker here prepares the ground for the introduction of other examples of situations of repression that he believes America and the region must oppose. This view is modified by Int.3, in great part because Al-Arabiya has consistently adopted a strong anti-Qaddafi stance so that, accordingly, the interpreter changes the indicator for Qaddafi's behaviour to the more emotive 'الطغيان' ('tyranny'), rather than 'repression'. More important is the fact that he restricts the scope of people's suffering to Libya, in contradistinction to the speaker's wider frame. Once again this particular interpreter is uncomfortable with the idea of 'repression' because the exact transference of this evaluative indicator, as noted in sentence 90, runs counter to the interests of the Saudi Royal Family. The result is that many among Obama's audiences will feel themselves excluded from his frame of reference in this particular instance.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 109)

The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests.

Int.2:

الحكومة السورية يجب أن تتوقف عن إطلاق النار على المتظاهرين وتوقف العنف ضد المحتجين السلميين.

BT: The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and stop violence against peaceful protesters.

Int.3:

الحكومة السورية عليها أن تتوقف عن إطلاق النار على المتظاهرين الذين يبحثون عن الديمقراطية.

BT: The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators who are pursuing democracy.

The ground has been prepared to deal with the Syrian issue, at that time, of course, an incipient problem. There is a clear indication that the demands of the people are legitimate, an evaluation of some importance because it declares American opposition to the suppression of the Syrian protesters. Once again, the point to be made is delicate because in other places, such as Saudi Arabia, acts of protesters are equally suppressed, to diplomatic silence on the part of America.

Int.2 inserts 'توقف العنف' ('stop violence'), apparently in reflection of the interpreter's ultimate sympathy with the Syrian protesters and in line with Al-Jazeera's strong opposition to Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad. Although the intrusion is minimal in terms of modifying impact, the instance indicates once again interpreter presence in texts that audiences might suppose to have been rendered transparently.

Int.3, on the other hand, overlooks 'and allows peaceful protests' and inserts a relative clause modifying the demonstrators, namely 'الَّذِينَ ، يبحثون عن الديمقراطية' ('who are pursuing democracy'). This may be because he is consciously or unconsciously driven, through alignment with Al-Arabiya's ethically-motivated anti-Assad agenda, to sympathise with the demonstrators. At the same time, moreover, his intrusion conceals the speaker's emphasis on the peacefulness of these protests, so that what the audience perceives is the speaker's ultimate support for the Syrian uprising, peaceful or not.

Excerpt 10 (Sentence 110)

It must release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests.

Int.1:

وتطلق سراح السجناء السياسيين وتتوقف عن حملة الاعتقالات.

BT: And release political prisoners and stop the wave of arrests.

Int.2:

يجب أن تتوقف عن الاعتقالات العشوائية.

BT: It must stop random arrests.

Int.3:

ولا بد لهما أن تقوم باطلاق كافة السجناء.

BT: And both must release all the prisoners.

The speaker specifies actions that the Syrian regime must undertake. The language, within the context of a diplomatic speech, is forceful and uncompromising, designed to establish common ground between the American administration and the vast majority of his listeners. Yet, as noted above, these listeners will also be aware of American tolerance of other repressive regimes in the Arab World, especially in the Middle East.

Int.1 omits ‘unjust’, so that her version appears to question the legitimacy of all arrests. The interpretant in that regard is clear, in that it is perceptibly influenced by Al-Hurrah’s opposition, reflected from Washington to Bashar Al-Assad. The impact is an intensification of the speaker’s attitude.

Int.2 alters the speaker's attitudes in his omission of 'release political prisoners', thereby keeping the audience's focus on the 'arrests'. As with the intervention in the preceding example, this decision also appears to be prompted by his employer's opposition to Al-Assad. As a result, part of the audiences may feel that the American President has ignored the sacrifices of political prisoners who have spent years in jail, and relentlessly focusses on the present waves of mass arrests.

Int.3's version is also questionable in that it overlooks the kind of prisoners to be released, i.e. 'political' ones, as well as 'unjust arrests'. However, the ambiguity generated by his insertion of 'لهما' ('both') suggests that these relatively minor interventions are instances of misinterpretation or simple error.

Excerpt 11 (Sentence 113)

So far, Syria has followed its Iranian ally, seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression.

Int.3:

حتى الآن سوريا قد اتبعت نفس النهج الإيراني.

BT: So far, Syria has followed the same Iranian approach.

This sentence, in which the speaker points to the strong ties between Syria and Iran, apparently conditioned by the cold war between Saudi Arabia and its Sunni allies, on the one hand, and Iran and its Shia allies (Syria in particular) on the other. Implicit here is the reason why America has aligned with Saudi Arabia. This delicate articulation of regional politics and national influence is, nonetheless, modified by Int.3, who omits 'its Iranian ally' (which shows how close the

relationship is). He also ignores ‘seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression’ and provides a very general equivalent ‘نفس النهج الإيراني’ (‘the same Iranian approach’), to disregarding the speaker’s evaluation because it seems not to match his more intense interpretation of Iran’s political, financial and military support for Bashar Al-Assad. It is an interpretant that, as we have already had cause to mention, is based on Al-Arabiya’s strong opposition to these two, Shia-led, countries. It may well be that at this point the audience will feel that the speaker is excessively diplomatic in terms of his evaluation of the Iranian-Syrian axis.

Excerpt 12 (Sentence 114)

And this speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime, which says it stands for the rights of protesters abroad, yet represses its own people at home.

Int.3:

بل بدلًا من أن تدعم حقوق التظاهر تقوم في قمع شعبها في عقر دارها.

BT: But instead of standing for the rights of protesters, it represses its own.

This criticism of the Iranian government communicates an implicit message to America’s partners currently experiencing instability because of protests, Bahrain in particular, that the United States is aware of Iranian intervention and will stand with their allies to maintain their security. However, Int.3’s version obstructs the speaker’s criticism of Iran crucially by overlooking the full opening of the sentence, i.e. ‘And this speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime’. As in the preceding example, the interpreter hinders the transference of the speaker’s

evaluation because, although negative, it is too diplomatically expressed to be fully applicable to Iran. In consequence, what is indicated here will frustrate that part of the audience who are hoping for a more resolute stand to Iranian influence in the region.

Excerpt 13 (Sentence 125)

Nevertheless, we have insisted both publicly and privately that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, and we will - and such steps will not make legitimate calls for reform go away.

Int.1:

ونحن شددنا علناً وخلف الكواليس أن القوة والعنف تتعارض مع حقوق الإنسان للمواطنين في البحرين وهذه الخطوات لن تغير المطالبة بالشرعية للإصلاح.

BT: And we have insisted publically and behind the scenes that force and violence are at odds with the human rights of Bahraini citizens and such steps will not change the calls of legitimacy of reform.

Int.2:

لكننا أصرينا علناً وفي الأوساط الخاصة أن القوة يجب أن لا تستخدم ويجب أن تحترم الحقوق المشروعة لشعب البحرين وإن هذه الخطوات لم تجعل المطالب المشروعة بالإصلاح تختفي.

BT: But we have insisted publically and privately that force must not be used and the legitimate rights of the Bahraini people must be respected and such steps will not make legitimate calls for reform go away.

The speaker here declares opposition to the Bahraini government's response to protests. His criticism, however, is offset by his previous description of Bahrain as a long-standing ally whose security the Americans are committed to safeguarding. On one hand, he refers to

Bahraini protests in an attempt to show wider American support for the protests in an undifferentiated way, but the reality is that Bahrain occupies an important strategic position in relation to the greater enemy, Iran.

Int.1 begins by ignoring ‘Nevertheless’, which functions as an important indicator of the speaker’s stance. Secondly, she interrupts the two examples of repression in her omission of ‘mass arrests’ and shifting of ‘brute force’ to ‘القوة و العنف’ (‘force and violence’), and thirdly, she alters ‘go away’ to ‘لن تغير’ (‘will not change’). These decisions suggest an understanding of the Bahraini protests that chimes with Al-Hurrah’s support for the Bahraini government against apparent Iranian intervention in Bahraini internal affairs; the implications is that the ‘mass arrests’ and ‘force and violence’ are legitimate responses to the disruptions of such Iranian-supported demonstrations. One of the potential consequences of this intervention is that Obama appears oblivious to and unconcerned by the ‘mass arrests’ used every day to silence the Bahraini demonstrators.

Int.2 succeeds in conveying the speaker’s stance, yet down-scales the reflected negative judgment. This is evident in his decision to omit ‘brute’ and replace ‘mass arrests’ by the general ‘ويجب أن تحترم الحقوق’ (‘the legitimate rights of the Bahraini people must be respected’). The interpreter, in this way, is apparently reticent about revealing the speaker’s full criticism of the Bahraini government, once again reflecting an official line of his channel. And, as is the case with Int.1, a sizeable proportion of listeners may be less inclined to accept the speaker’s now seemingly superficial evaluations.

Excerpt 14 (Sentence 129)

In Iraq, we see the promise of a multi-ethnic, multi-sectarian democracy.

Int. 2:

ففي العراق نرى أن هناك بوادر ديمقراطية تعددية الطوائف وتعددية السياسة.

BT: In Iraq, we see that there are promises of multi-sectarian and multi-policy democracy.

Int.3:

وفي العراق راينا الديمقراطية التي تقوم على اثنية متعددة.

BT: In Iraq, we saw the democracy that is based on multi-ethnicity.

The speaker turns to Iraq, saluting the achievement of the Iraqi people who have just started to experience democracy after years of dictatorship, a notable achievement for a society characterized by ethnic and sectarian divisions. However, it is only since the US-led war in Iraq in 2003 that these divisions have manifested themselves as extremists from both major sects in Iraq - Sunnis and Shia –resorted to violence, and tensions grew between Arabs and Kurds. In that way, the speaker's emphasis on democracy is geared towards diverting the audiences' attention from the negative role that American intervention has played in this country. Both Int.2 and Int.3, however, falter in their relaying of the kind of democracy he admires.

Int.2 replaces 'multi-ethnic' by 'تعددية السياسة' ('multi-policy'), so that the speaker's positive evaluation is replaced by a sense of the instability of Iraqi democracy. In abandoning the exactly available equivalent 'متعددة الاثنيات' ('multi-ethnic'), the interpreter reflects, once

again, his employer's strong opposition to Iraq's democratic process after 2003.

Int.3, on the other hand, omits the second characteristic, that is, the multi-sectarianism of democracy, effectively transmitting the sense that while democracy in Iraq is 'multiethnic', in that it has given Arabs and Kurds their right to elect their own representatives, it is not inclusive of all sectarian groups, especially of Sunnis. Indeed, it is a common analysis on the part of Iraqi and many non-Iraqi Sunnis that, although people are notionally free to elect their own representatives, the nature of the democratic process prioritizes Shia rights. This would be the position of Al-Arabiya, with the result that the audience may interpret Obama's reflected attitude to be either for or against the interests of their own sectarian grouping, which will strongly impact on their perception of the rest of the speech.

Excerpt 15 (Sentence 132)

But Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region if it continues its peaceful progress.

Int.1:

ولكن لا بد للعراق أن يلعب دورًا أساسيًا في المنطقة لو استمر على هذا الطريق.

BT: But Iraq must play a key role in the region if it continues this way.

Int.2:

لكن العراق إذا ما استمر في تقدمه السلمي فإذا ما فعل ذلك.

BT: But Iraq, if continues its peaceful process...if it will do so....

Int.3:

لَكِنَّ العِراقَ سَوفَ تَلعَبُ دورًا هَامًا إذا ما استَمرَّت في تَقدمها السِياسِی.

BT: But Iraq will play an important role if it continues its political progress.

Here, the speaker surmises about the role a national Iraq might play in the region. It is an evaluation, however, that is belied, in the minds of many of his listeners, by the fact that Iraq has a fraught relationship with other Arab countries because its Shia-led government stands accused both of discriminating against Sunnis, as well as allowing Iran to dominate the country. Iraq, to put it succinctly, has not returned to the position it enjoyed in the Arab World before 2003. This sentence is loaded with American aspiration rather than reflecting any commonly held view of the reality on the ground.

Int.1 renders 'peaceful progress' as 'هَذَا الطریق' ('this way'), effectively excising the speaker's emphasis on peace. This may suggest a recognition that present day Iraq is not peaceful, a suggestion shaped by her employer's coverage of the conflict between Sunnis and Shia, which has left many innocent victims on both sides. More importantly, from the perspective of the audience, the 'way' which the speaker refers to is left disconnected, so that each listener is left free to supply his or her own interpretation of the current situation.

Int.2's offers an incomplete proposition that, even more acutely than Int.1, leaves Obama's assessment hanging in the air. It is as though any faith in the speaker's evaluation has similarly trailed off, breaking the thread of connection with his audience. The resulting silence, in its own way, echoes his employer's hostility to the war in Iraq and its rejection of the possibility of positive consequences.

Int.3's intrusion, on the other hand, demonstrates how the modification of a single attitudinal indicator - i.e. 'peaceful' to 'السياسي' ('political') – shifts the speaker's intentions. These words are not synonyms, and one cannot help but feel that they are not used as such, because there is a string echoing here of Al-Arabiya's concern with the injection of violence into the post-war democratic process in Iraq. From the perspective of the audience, the failure to distinguish clearly between political process and violence may well confirm a deeply-rooted sense that their co-existence represents a price worth paying.

Excerpt 16 (Sentence 133)

And as they do, we will be proud to stand with them as a steadfast partner.

Int.1:

ونحن بفخر سنكون إلى جانب العراق.

BT: And we proudly will be beside Iraq.

Int.2:

سنبقى نحن جاهزين للوقوف إلى جانبهم كشركاء أيضًا.

BT: If it will do so, we will be prepared to stand with them as partners as well.

The speaker underlines American ties with the supposedly new Iraq. But the unsaid also carries much weight: America will relinquish support if Iraq backpedals on the model of established democracy it has inherited. Once again, the double nature of the sentence, its explicit assurance and implicature, demands careful professional interpretation.

Int.1's omission of 'And as they do' and 'as a steadfast partner' excises much of the positive tone of the sentence. This may be the result

of a search for concision, but it also suggests a degree of solidarity on the part of the interpreter with the Iraqi people that leads her to belie Al-Hurrah's official line. If such solidarity is indeed her interpretant, it may have prompted a preceding shift of 'we will be proud' to 'ونحن بفخر سنكون' ('we proudly will be'), which implies a sense of paternalism that offsets Obama's ostensible discourse of partnership.

Int.2 also reflects the more negative implicature of the sentence, omitting the evaluative indicator 'steadfast' (a clear interpretant that we can relate to sentences 129 and 132), which states the interpreter's, and Al-Jazeera's, opposition to the situation in which post-war Iraq finds itself. Interestingly, although he includes 'شركاء' ('partners'), it stands out in a cooler sense of commitment than the one expressed by the President.

Excerpt 17 (Sentence 137)

We must also build on our efforts to broaden our engagement beyond elites, so that we reach the people who will shape the future - particularly young people.

Int.3: No rendering.

The speaker widens the lessons that, in American estimation, may be learned from the achievements and potential of Iraqi democracy through this positive evaluation of the constructive role that young people can play in terms of securing a more equitable future. It is, of course, an attempt to harness the impact of recent protests in the region, so that the so-called Arab Spring becomes a tool of American foreign policy. Interestingly, while Int.1 and Int.2 supply more or less appropriate versions, Int.3 disregards the whole sentence. Once again, this reflects disquiet as to Obama's frame of reference. The reference to elites and

the implication that real power might lie elsewhere sits uneasily with the politics of Al-Arabiya and Saudi Arabia alike. This is tantamount to an act of censorship.

Excerpt 18 (Sentence 144)

In the 21st century, information is power, the truth cannot be hidden, and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on active and informed citizens.

Int.1:

لا يمكن أن تخفى الحقيقة وشرعية الحكومات تأتي عبر إعطاء المعلومات للمواطنين.

BT: The truth cannot be hidden, and the legitimacy of governments comes through providing information to the citizens.

Int.2:

ففي القرن الحادي والعشرين لا يمكن إخفاء الحكومة ومشروعية الحكومات وفي خاتمة المطاف ستعتمد على دعم شعب مطلع على الأمور.

BT: In the 21st century, truth cannot be hidden and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on the support of informed people.

Obama supplements his appeal for democracy in the region with a call to develop a knowledge-based society where information is valued and opinion freely expressed. This connects directly with his perception of the potential of the protests to bring about a revolution in the attitudes and structures of Arab societies. The sentence contains a potent discourse of value and aspiration.

Int.1's omits 'In the 21st century, information is power', immediately undercutting the speaker's positive estimation of the role

information has to play. Moreover, she shifts the speaker's stance indicated in 'will ultimately depend' to 'تأتي' ('comes'), and finally she modifies 'active and informed citizens' to 'إعطاء المعلومات للمواطنين' ('providing information to citizens'). Together, these interventions have little impact on the overall sense of positivity of the speaker, as one might expect in the case of this interpreter; however, the change in focus from active citizenship to knowledge disseminated by government indicates a failure to fully communicate the aspirational vision offered by Obama.

Int.2's ignores both 'information is power' and 'active', again undercutting the force of aspiration for his audience who, in turn, might well be hesitant about trusting the role of place information and the active responsibilities of citizens. As with Int.1, the contraction of these values has a relatively minor impact on the audience's overall perception of the speaker's purpose; but it also demonstrates how interpreters at times infuse their work with the perceived values and assumptions of the receptors.

Excerpt 19 (Sentence 155)

And for this season of change to succeed, Coptic Christians must have the right to worship freely in Cairo, just as Shia must never have their mosques destroyed in Bahrain.

Int.1:

لو أردنا أن تنجح مصر يجب أن يحق للمسلمين والأقباط أن يقوموا بالتعبد بحرية وكذلك الشيعة في البحرين.

BT: And if we want Egypt to succeed, Muslims and Copts must have the right to worship freely and also Shia in Bahrain.

This sentence addresses the issue of religious intolerance. The parallel Obama draws between successful change and the destruction of mosques is important, but it could be argued that it lacks wider focus. The actions he mentions have a metonymical status that runs the risk of being taken as a reference to isolated examples of intolerance. In particular, he might have elaborated a more extensive criticism of the Bahraini government, rather than condemning the Iranian role in such action, as we have previously noted. Int.1 opts for an enhanced generalization of the speaker's attitude. The primary frame of reference is limited to Egypt, while the issue of the Shia in Bahrain is added almost as an afterthought. We have already noted her alignment with the Bahraini government in sentence 125, and there is the implication of an underlying belief, on her part, that Shia launch demonstrations, supported by Iran, to bring in a government that does not represent the aspirations of Sunni Bahrainis. The issue is a delicate one, and the clumsy rendering by Int.1 reveals a cautious mental processing on her part; but in the final analysis, she denies the audiences their right to perceive the American support for Shia demonstrators in Bahrain.

Excerpt 20 (Sentence 159)

The region will never reach its full potential when more than half of its population is prevented from achieving their full potential.

Int.3: No rendering.

Here, the repetition of 'full potential' allows the speaker to make a rhetorically forceful point about the relationship between progress and women's rights. This has been a thread throughout the speech, but is brought to its highly significant conclusion here. As such it is a criticism of governments' policy, but it is also carefully deployed to garner the

support of women, couched as it is the language of achievement rather than the more inflammatory discourse of rights. Int.3 omits the whole sentence. As sentence 3, this silence reflects apparent doubt as to the potential role that women can play in the Middle East and North Africa, on the basis of the record in women's rights of his employing institution's sponsor – that is, Saudi Arabia. Obama's speech writers had clearly foreseen the possible objections to this sentence, but even their softened discourse fails to smuggle it past an interpreter whose work infuses the act of relaying with censorship.

4.3.3. Interpreter Intervention in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace

The proportion of the speech devoted to this comprises less than one-quarter of the overall text, and it is characterised by the deployment of relatively fewer evaluative indicators. In particular, it focuses on the consequences of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and proposes how the establishment of two independent states can serve peace and prosperity in the region. The tone is appropriately dispassionate; Obama is now appealing more to minds than hearts. Nine representative sentences are analysed.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 195)

For decades, the conflict between Israelis and Arabs has cast a shadow over the region.

Int.3:

وعلى مر عقود فإنّ الازمة بينّ الإسرائيليين والعرب كانت تلقي بظلال سوداوية على المنطقة.

BT: For decades, the crisis between Israelis and Arabs was casting a gloomy shadow over the region.

The central metaphor here embraces a range of problems: in addition to the immediate effects on Israelis and Palestinians, there is the issue of disagreement among Arab countries on whether to cooperate with Israel, or the role of Iran, who has strong ties with Hamas – which is why Obama has already declared his determination to safeguard Israel’s security against Iranian intervention. The metaphor of shadow incites a heuristic force among its listeners that, in Obama’s calculation, invites to action, to the dissipation of that shadow. Int.3, however, inserts additional evaluation ‘سوداوية’ (gloomy), through which Obama’s sombre depiction begins to tip over into rhetoric. Of course, this intervention demonstrates an intense sympathy on the part of the interpreter with the Palestinians (as we have already seen). It is also a clear line from Al-Arabiya. The intervention is small scale, but it provides another interesting example of interpreter intrusion whose cumulative effect significantly shifts the degree of interpreter presence in the speech.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 196)

For Israelis, it has meant living with the fear that their children could be blown up on a bus or by rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them.

Int.3:

الإسرائيليون يعيشون بخوف دائم من أن أبنائهم قد يكونوا عرضة لحادث تفجيري اثناء تواجدهم في حافلة المدرسة على يد احد الأشخاص الإرهابيين.

BT: Israelis live in a permanent fear that their sons may be exposed to a blast incident while they are on a school bus on the hands of one of the terrorist people.

This sentence draws on powerfully evaluative keywords ‘fear’ and ‘pain’, as well as ‘children’ (twice) in order to prompt some sort of empathy. However, once again, Int.3 intervenes significantly, in this case because he presents a proposition that, although meaningful, is incomplete. Indeed, more than half of the elements of the sentence which is ‘or by rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them’ are excised. Moreover, we also note the insertion of some attitudinally-loaded words such as ‘دائم’ (‘permanent’) and, especially, ‘على يد احد’ (‘on the hands of one of the terrorist people’), which on one hand suggests a marked degree of uncertainty in the way that the interpreter is processing Obama’s words, while on the other, consciously or not, may serve to push his audience to interpret Obama’s language as intemperate. In the light of previous examples of the interpreter’s, and Al-Arabiya’s, solidarity with Palestinians, it is hard not to see this intensification of discourse as a deliberate ploy geared towards strengthening attitudes against the President.

Excerpt 3 (Sentence 208)

For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure.

Int.3:

بالنسبة للفلسطينيين ان الجهود بالنسبة للاعتراف بشرعية إسرائيل.

BT: For Palestinians, efforts in relation to admitting the legitimacy of Israel.

The speaker offsets the sympathy he has expressed for the Palestinians in the preceding sentences by a reminder to his audience of the inevitability of an independent Israel. There is a clear hierarchy of

support that, whether it is to the liking of interpreters and audiences alike, should be articulated clearly in Arabic. Int.3, once again, intervenes strongly, omitting the speaker's 'end in failure'. Not only does this suggest a belief that the Palestinian will prevail in their opposition to the Israeli state, but it also allows Obama's clear thought process to trail away, with the possible implication that the audience may feel that Obama recognises the possibility of the Palestinians achieving their goal.

Excerpt 4 (Sentence 209)

Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state.

Int.2:

والقيام في عمل رمزي في الامم المتحدة لن يخلق دولة فلسطينية.

BT: And carrying out symbolic action in the United Nations will not create a Palestinian state.

This sentence clearly articulates the speaker's view of the futility of the diplomatic efforts of the Palestinian Authority to delegitimize Israel. Once again at the heart of this sentence is an acknowledgment of hierarchy; the clear threat is that America will not hesitate to use its veto against any such action (while there are members of the Permanent Five who are supportive of it). Obama's strategy is emerging here: the solution he is putting forward to the Israeli-Palestinian crisis is the only way forward that the United States will countenance. This is diplomatic hardball. Int.2, however, omits 'to isolate Israel' and 'in September'. Although the latter omission may have a marginal impact, the former is important because it conceals the kind of Palestinians' action that the

speaker believes to fail. His interpretation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict seems clear: he is convinced that Palestinians will defeat Israeli, at least diplomatically. Though his nationality may have taken part in the formation of such interpretation, Al-Jazeera's strong pro-Palestinian position may have the greater impact. As a result, the audience's reaction may not be affected as s/he can still perceive the speaker's general evaluation.

Excerpt 5 (Sentence 210)

Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection.

Int.2:

ولو أن حماس استمرت على مسيرة العنف والإرهاب لن يحقق هذا الاستقلال.

BT: Even if Hamas continues the path of violence and terror, this will not achieve this independence.

Int.3:

والقادة الفلسطينيون لن يقوموا بتحقيق الازدهار إذا ما استمرت حماس على تبني طريق العنف والإرهاب.

BT: And Palestinian leaders will not achieve prosperity if Hamas continues to adopt the path of violence and terror.

This is tantamount to a direct address to Palestinian leaders to the effect that the only obstacle that stands in the progress of their people is not the Israeli occupation but the strategies that Hamas itself uses to resist it. In other words, there is a subtle shift in Obama's focus, in that he seeks to break the mould of political unity in Palestine. However, the audience's perception of this message is disturbed both by Int.2 and Int.3, who

harden the speaker's evaluation by shifting 'rejection' to 'العنف' ('violence'). It is possible that this intervention may signal the interpreters' opposition to Hamas, which in the case of Int.3 we have already seen as being linked to his absorption of Al-Arabiya's strong line on Fatah. Int.2's performance, on the other hand, may be another instance of what Bourdieu's 'zones of uncertainty' (see Chapter Two, section 2.3.2) where, because of the overlap among the social spaces or fields that he belongs to (in this case a pro-Hamas channel), he is reflecting attitudes that contain their own contradictions. Here, although the interpreter works for Al-Jazeera, which is a pro-Hamas outlet, his intervention, as in the case of Int.3's above, seems to intensify the speaker's judgement. It is true that the attitude in both renderings is still negative, but Hamas and its followers may prove yet more resistant to Obama's message because of the sense that he is underestimating the diplomatic role that they play in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.

Excerpt 6 (Sentence 214)

And we will stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums.

Int.1:

وسنكون ضد كل المحاولات للانتقاد في هذا المجال.

BT: And we will be against all attempts of criticism in this field.

Int.3:

وسوف نقف امام أي محاولات قد تأتي إلى هذا الامر.

BT: And we will stand against any attempts that can come to this issue.

Although Obama concedes Palestinian right to self-determination, all of the processes and actions that Palestinians have taken to isolate Israel are opposed by the Americans. Once again, this diplomatic hardball, coming close to an assertion to Israel is diplomatically immune. In other words, he is attempting to force his listeners to recognise that change through methods currently being deployed is impossible. This will, in theory, prepare the ground of his proposed solution, but such a dialectical approach is dangerous because it depends on due emphasis from each interpreter. Moreover, there is the risk that the audience may potentially observe that this stance does not qualitatively differ from his predecessors', with the result that their attitudes will harden.

Int.1 and Int.3's both interrupt the transference of 'criticism in international forums' because neither Int.1's 'لانتقاد في هذا المجال' ('of criticism in this field') or Int.3's 'قَدْ تاتي إلى هذا الامر' ('that can come to this issue') specifies the kind of behaviour that the speaker and his nation will oppose. While Int.1's intervention appears to be an instance of misinterpretation, Int.3's intrusion suggests support for the diplomatic efforts that attempt to counter the Israeli occupation, a pro-Palestinian position that the interpreter has repeatedly shown in earlier examples. In terms of audience reception, interaction with the speaker's ideas will certainly be diverted because the particular action that Americans seek to oppose, i.e. criticism in international forums, has not been made available to them.

Excerpt 7 (Sentence 217)

Technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself.

Int.3:

والتكنولوجيا قَدْ يصعب على إسرائيل أن تدافع عن نفسها.

BT: Technology may make it harder for Israel to defend itself.

The speaker here seems to be reflecting on the technology upon which Hamas attacks against Israel depend. The point marks an important concession before once again leading to the subsequent recognition that such violence will be of no avail. This new dialectic is interrupted once again by Int.3 who renders 'will' as 'قد' ('may'). Although the equivalent the interpreter provides is also evaluative, it weakens Obama's stance. It could be that the interpreter is using the concessive 'قد' ('may') to indicate Obama's dialectical approach in this section of the speech, but the most direct import is that Israeli capacity to resist is called into question.

Excerpt 8 (Sentence 220)

The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation.

Int.2:

فأمال اليهود لن تتحقق باستمرار احتلال اجرامي.

BT: The hopes of Jews will not be fulfilled throughout the continuation of a criminal occupation.

Int.3:

ان حلم اليهود بدولة لا يمكن أن يتحقق من خلال وجود احتلال.

BT: The dream of a Jewish state cannot be fulfilled throughout the existence of an occupation.

The speaker turns to the Israelis, urging negotiations as the only path to proper autonomy. Significantly for his audience, he evaluates present-

day Israel as a permanent occupier, which represents a concessive shift that the audience may respond to well.

Once again neither Int.2 nor Int.3 transfers the due force of Obama's declared evaluation. They both overlook 'democratic' as well as interrupting the graduation indicator 'permanent'. Moreover, Int.2's personification of the Israeli state as an essentialised 'Jews' marks a significant shift from political discourse to ethnic characterization. The implication here is that both interpreters are continuing to work from a profoundly ideological interpretant, made manifest in interventions designed to undercut the supposed legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. Such a stance is made even clearer in Int.2's rendering, through his notable hardening of 'اجرامي' ('criminal') from 'permanent', a siren example of an interpretative rendering wholly rooted in this clear interpretant.

Excerpt 9 (Sentence 227)

We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states.

Int.1:

ونعتقد أن هَذِهِ الحدود يجب أن تركز على خط العام 1967 مع بعض التبادلات المقبولة بها لتكون هناك حدود واضحة ومعترف بها لكل من الدولتين.

BT: And we think that these borders should be based on the 1967 line with some agreed swaps, so that clear and recognized borders are established for both states.

Int.2:

ونحن نأمل أن حدود إسرائيل و فلسطين يجب أن تستند إلى حدود 1967 مع مبادلة اراضي متفق عليها كي تكون حدود آمنة لكلا البلدين أو الدولتين.

BT: And we are hopeful that the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with the swaps of agreed on lands so that secure borders are established for either countries or states.

Int.3:

نعتقد أن الحدود بين الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين يجب أن تكون مبنية على حدود عام 1967 مع الاختلافات البسيطة بحيث يتم تأسيس هذه الحدود لكل من الدولتين.

BT: We think that the borders between Palestinians and Israelis should be based on the 1967 lines with simple differences so that these borders are established for each of the states.

The speaker moves towards the synthesis of his argument, which is the proposed solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, namely that of two independent states. The key evaluative indicator here is the verb 'believe', but there is a perceptible shift in the three versions in terms of the stance offered by this verb: while Int.2 uses 'نأمل' ('we hope'), Int.1 and Int.3 use 'نعتقد' ('we think'), whose difference in Arabic we have had occasion to note previously. There may be a number of reasons why the interpreters choose these verbs, linked to their own views as to the morality or plausibility of Obama's solution, but as far as the audiences are concerned, the sense of doubt that the Arabic equivalents 'نأمل' ('we hope') and 'نعتقد' ('we think') reflect may well lead them to be less inclined to attribute unwavering conviction to Obama's key proposal.

4.3.4. Interpreter Intervention in the Closing Section

This part comprises less than 5% of the speech, bringing the speaker's evaluations finally and purposefully to bear on encouraging the people of the region to find their way to reform and peace. The short sharp conclusion is geared to impose itself on the speech's audiences with the impact of inevitability. It is written to be resonant and to draw audiences finally into a shared vision and common purpose. For that reason, any impairment of these feelings, judgments, appreciations, and their graduation or positioning will modify the speech's overall efficacy. To assess the interpreters' performance at this particular stage, two examples are examined.

Excerpt 1 (Sentence 253)

For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful.

Int.1:

مع كُلِّ التحديات الماثلة أمامنا إلا أننا نجد سبباً بالأمن.

BT: For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see a reason to be hopeful.

Int.2:

ورغم كُلِّ التحديات التي نراها تنتظرنا نرى أن هناك املاً.

BT: To all the challenges that are waiting for us, we see that there is a hope.

Int.3:

وبالنسبة لكافة التحديات التي تنتظرنا في المستقبل لا تزال أمامنا نافذة من الامل.

BT: In regards to all the challenges that are waiting for us in the future, there is still a window for hope.

Here, the speaker brings both negative and positive feelings into play, reflected in ‘challenge’ and ‘hopeful’ respectively, in order to urge the people to demand their full and equal rights. The overall positivity of this message is, however, disrupted by all three interpreters; whereas Int.1 decreases ‘many reasons’ into ‘سبباً’ (‘a reason’), which may well be an example of interpreter misjudgement, both Int.2 and Int.3 totally disregard this. The resulting softening of the speaker’s encouragement through this deletion suggests a lingering pessimism about not only Palestinians but all Arabs ever achieving their aspirations. Obama’s reasoned hope now hangs much more loosely in the air, presented now as much as a hope against hope than any analytical response.

Excerpt 2 (Sentence 260)

Our people fought a painful Civil War that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved.

Int.1

شعبنا كافح وخاض حرباً أهلية للحصول على كرامتهم.

BT: Our people struggled and fought a civil war to get their dignity.

Int.3:

وقاتل اجدادنا حروب مدنية للتخلص من العبودية.

BT: Our grandfathers fought civil wars to get rid of slavery.

Here, the speaker returns to examples drawn from his own nation’s struggle, his purpose being to urge the people of the region to demand their rights. Both Int.1 and Int.3 modify the transference of the speaker’s final urging of his audience to understand that painful processes are necessary preludes to the seizing of freedom. Both excise this core

American value, the mantra of American democracy. Int. 1 emphasises dignity, which is only a partial rendering of the full impact of Obama's vision (although we have seen her being excessively concise in a number of other interventions that she has made). Int.3, however, effectively localises the frame of reference to the issue (i.e. slavery) that led to the war, and omits to draw out the meaning of Obama's reference in terms of values relevant to the situation of his audiences.

4.4. Conclusion

It is a difficult and uncertain task to ascribe interpreter performance to a particular orientation, whether conscious or unconscious, because certain deeply rooted beliefs, which have become part of the interpreters' habitus, resist being amended or dismissed. This means that even if they are temporarily changed, these strong beliefs function as acknowledged or unacknowledged interpretants or interpretation perspectives. Moreover, as we have seen, the influential intrusions of interpreters into the material to be relayed to their audiences may well be as an outworking of the symbolic power of their organisations. But it is crucial to notice that none of the target segments of 'A Moment of Opportunity' is free from biased interventions and that these interventions may be instrumental in enabling us to identify each interpreter's ideological set. This, however, does not mean that there are three entirely distinct ideologies in play; on the contrary, notwithstanding these indicators of personal ideology, a number of concerns emerging from apparently shared ideologies begin to emerge. It could be argued that these shared ideologies act as filters between Obama and his Arabic-speaking audiences, and for that reason, they require some more cohesive analysis. These broader conclusions are therefore offered here (supporting details are presented in Appendix 6):

1. Resistance to American Domination

The most common value that interpreters hold and continually feed into the text is rejection of the self-proclaimed superiority that America attaches to itself and by virtue of which it reserves the right to determine the future of other peoples. In terms of the interpreters' situatedness as embedded subjects within contemporary geopolitics, there is ample evidence that they are swayed by widespread opinion that interests in the control of oil and gas resources, the marketing of military equipment through sectarian conflicts, and the safeguarding of the state of Israel, are the primary factors that encourage America to be deeply involved in the region, especially after the apparent withdrawal of the other key player, Russia. Hence, because the interpreters and/or their people have suffered the consequences of American diplomatic or military interventionism, their reactions and responses emerge within the fabric of the act of interpretation. One clear example that shows such tendency can be seen in Int.1 and Int.3's interpreting of the evaluative verb 'believe' in 'I believed then - and I believe now - that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals'(sentence 71) into the weaker (in Arabic) 'اعتقد' ('I think'). That is to say, they reject American commitment to 'the stability of nations' and 'the self-determination of individuals' in the belief that America pursues its own interests. On the other hand, Int.2 is sure that recent calls for 'change', in the context of the Arab Spring, will undoubtedly succeed because these calls enjoy full American support (see, for example his rendition of sentence 8) where he shifts 'may' (in 'More may follow') to 'سوف'(will). It is a view that the other interpreters appear to share, as evidence above denotes.

2. *Pro-Arab Spring*

At the very outset, we need to be mindful that the term ‘Arab Spring’ contains an inherent bias because, while some protests carried out at the same time but in different countries are included under the umbrella, others, such as that of the Bahrainis, are excluded and even delegitimized as is evident in, for example, Int.1 and Int.2’s rendition of ‘mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain’s citizens’ (sentence 125). While Int.1 interrupts the two examples of repression in her omission of ‘mass arrests’ and shifting of ‘brute force’ to ‘القوة و العنف’ (‘force and violence’), Int.2 down-scales the reflected negative judgment when he omits ‘brute’ and replaces ‘mass arrests’ by the general ‘يجب ان تحترم الحقوق المشروعة لشعب البحرين’ (‘the legitimate rights of the Bahraini people must be respected’). It is hard to avoid the conclusion that while various factors might explain the partial nature of the classification, one of the most crucial ones appears to be sectarianism itself. For that reason, it is the interpreters themselves who supply their own definitions of what might constitute the Arab Spring. Their intrusions suggest that they are sympathetic to the calls for political and economic reform that were launched in the immediate aftermath of the upheaval in Tunisia – in other words, their decisions to add, delete, or substitute emphasize a pre-determined conscious or unconscious filtering between source and target. Focusing on the least controversial uprising of Libya (in that it was solely political and did not have the same sectarian dimension as the protests in other countries), we can extrapolate a clear sense of their support for the demands of the Libyan people from their intercalated evaluations of Qaddafi - as is evident in sentence 95 in Int.1’s rendition of ‘the most extreme example’ into ‘اسوأ الامثلة والأكثر تطرفا’ (‘the worst example and most extreme’) or Int.3’s emphasis in sentence 103 that this leader is ‘طاغية’ (‘a tyrant’).

3. *'Soft' Sectarianism*

It is the Sunni-Shia sectarian conflict in the region that provides a backdrop to understanding many interpreter solutions. As we have already seen, although Obama seems to condemn the repression that both groups encounter at the hands of totalitarian regimes, the interpreters tend to be more supportive of the rights of Sunni leaders and people. This is evident, for example, in their intrusion that ostensibly supports the demands of Sunni protesters in Alawi Shia-led Syria in contrast to their under-appreciation of the legitimacy of Shia protesters in Sunni-led Bahrain. Effectively, they are empowering their group's own agenda through explicit verbal intervention, manipulating the text towards a one-sided orientation. The most obvious example occurs in sentence 155, in Int.1's alteration of 'just Shia must never have their mosques destroyed' in Bahrain to 'يتعبدوا بحرية' ('worship freely'). The same hidden ideology is promoted by Int.2 and Int.3 in this same context, where they attenuate the speaker's criticism of the government of Bahrain for its harsh reactions to protesters (see, for example, sentence 125).

4. *Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment*

The interpreters' solidarity with the people of Palestine seems to be a deeply-rooted conviction common to all three. Like the majority of other Arabs, they see Israel as an illegitimate occupying power. We can plainly notice the outworkings of such a belief in their implied rejection of the comparison that the speaker draws between the struggle of black Americans and that of the Palestinians (sentence 260). Essentially, rightly or wrongly, this is because they seem to feel that, while the former takes place among the citizens of one nation (and is, therefore, a question of civil rights), the latter is between a people and an outsider

that wants to establish its existence on the land of others (and is, therefore, a question of international law). A more specific example is Int.2 and Int.3's rendition of 'the dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation' (sentence 220). They omit 'democratic' and interrupt 'permanent'. Moreover, Int.2's personification of the Israeli state as an essentialised 'Jews' marks a significant shift from political discourse to ethnic characterization. Such anti-Israeli stance is made clearer in Int.2's version, through his hardening of 'اجرامي' ('criminal') from 'permanent'. All of that said, the interpreters differ in their choice of the best mechanism through which a common enemy should be confronted.

5. Opposition to the US-led War on Iraq

There are, in fact, many reasons that might motivate the interpreters to show their rejection of the war on Iraq and its present day consequences. One possible reason is the view that America has taken this war as an excuse to widen its influence in the Middle East, establishing itself as a commanding presence within the Arab region. Another reason is that the government that was elected in Iraq after 2003 is viewed as sectarian because it ignores the rights of Sunnis. Given the immediacy of these concerns, it is perhaps not surprising that across the two speeches, and the work of the six interpreters and, there is hardly an evaluation centred on Iraq that is free from intervention. Evidently, what the interpreters condemn as a group is the de-stabilization that this war has initiated, not only in this particular country but across the region. Int.2's intervention in sentence 129 exemplifies this aspect where he alters 'multiethnic, multi-sectarian democracy' to 'ديمقراطية تعددية الطوائف وتعددية السياسة' (multi-sectarian and multi-policy democracy). He rejects both the multi-ethnicity of Iraqi democracy that the speaker confirms, as well as

implicitly criticising American withdrawal from a people who are now abandoned in the face of difficulties and hardships that they are incapable of confronting. The same tendency could be touched in Int.1 and Int.3's interpreting of 'but Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region if it continues its peaceful progress' (sentence 132). Int.1 renders 'peaceful progress' as 'هذا الطريق' ('this way'), effectively excising the speaker's emphasis on peace. Int.2, on the other hand, shifts the speaker's intentions by replacing 'peaceful' with 'السياسي' ('political'). These words are not synonyms, and one cannot help but feel that they are not used as such because there is a string echoing here of Al-Arabiya's concern with the injection of violence into the post-war democratic process in Iraq.

6. Sexism

Society's views have great impact on the status men and women occupy. Interpreters are not immune to such pressure and may inevitably be biased. This ideological conflict is visible in each of our interpreters' decisions. One position is adopted by Int.1, which we have already analysed in this sample, where she asserts the achievements of women through the insertion of her own evaluation into the speaker's appraisal of Hilary Clinton 'وانا طبعا ارتاح اليها' ('I, of course, like her') in sentence 3, or where she maintains the audience's focus on Rosa Parks' brave stand that encouraged black Americans to win their full and equal rights in sentence 28. On the other hand, both male interpreters intrude in different ways – Int.2, once again as we have seen, to underestimate Clinton's value (sentence 3) or Int.3's avoidance of transferring Rosa Park's experience when he renders the speaker's reference to her (in sentence 28) into the indefinite 'اشخاص مشابهين' ('similar people'). In

either case, a gender-based interpretant visibly affects the performance of each of the interpreters.

7. Opposition to Hamas

Except for Int.1, the interpreters' performance reveals their refusal to accept Hamas as the only national player in the Palestinian issue. Such a stance can be linked to Hamas' strong ties with Iran. In other words, the interpreters share what most Arab individuals and institutions believe, which is the rejection of the Hamas-Iran relationship since the success of Hamas as the primary representative of the Palestinian people means the promotion of other political or sectarian agendas in the Middle East. The easiest and most readily available mechanism for the expression of their alignment is therefore to modify the speaker's own evaluations, which we can clearly see, for instance, in Int.2 and Int.3's modification of the speaker's negative judgement attached to Hamas in 'Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection' (sentence 210) from 'rejection' to 'العنف' (violence).

This outline of the principal areas of intrusion and manipulation enables us to begin to draw an ideological map for each interpreter. Table 4.2 below outlines these instances of manipulation set against the media outlets' published stances:

Table 4.2 Interpreters’ Ideological Map in Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Ideology Manipulated	Number of Sentences Which Indicate Intervention	Int.1 (Al-Hurrah)	Int.2 (Al-Jazeera)	Int.3 (Al-Arabiya)
Resistance to American Domination	12	yes	yes	yes
Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment	12	yes	yes	yes
Soft Sectarianism	3	yes	yes	yes
Opposition to US-led War on Iraq	3	yes	yes	yes
Opposition to Hamas	2	no	yes	yes
Pro- Arab Spring	8	yes	yes	yes
Sexism	3	yes	yes	yes

What this table makes clear is that most of the interventions that we might identify as ideologically motivated are shared by two or three interpreters. Moreover, the intensity of recurrence of each these manipulated ideologies differs, as Figure 4.1 shows. This means that, while there are forceful circumstances that drive the interpreters to consciously or unconsciously intrude, in particular when it comes to opposition to American militarism and anti-Israel sentiment, there are also ones perceived as less driving, such as the status of women in Arab communities. Significantly, the interpreters’ position here in relation to the relationship between the West and the Muslim world is similar to that of the three interpreters in the preceding chapter. This may signal a strong tendency among Arab interpreters to resist - through addition, deletion or substitution - Western ideologies directed to the Arab audience so that these ideologies lose all or some of its expected influence.

In the chapter that follows, which effectively offers a set of overall conclusions for this thesis, the results gleaned from the analysis of this particular speech will be set against the ones from the preceding chapter.

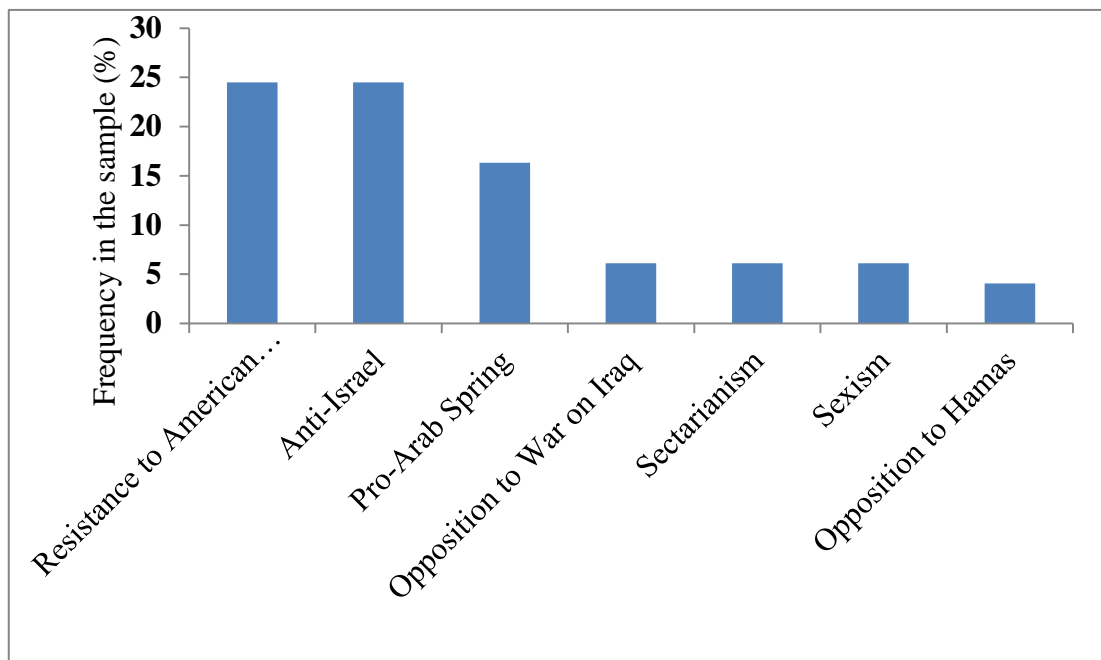


Figure 4.1 The Intensity of Ideological Positions Adopted in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This study has attempted to demonstrate, as systematically as possible, how the position of power that interpreters occupy enables them to manipulate the words that they are presenting to audiences who, to all intents and purposes, see these interpreters as transparent windows into the expression and messages of the speaker. The scrutiny of a whole raft of particular examples is presented as evidence for such an assertion, always recognising that intervention, or explicit interpreter presence, may also be identified from a number of actions – among them, error, misjudgement, and interpreter technique (such as concision). But even taking such factors into account, there is considerable evidence of conscious manipulation on the part of interpreters that responds to pre-conceived understandings of the issues broached by the speaker, in this case, Barack Obama. This final chapter, by way of conclusion, is concerned to offer a set of more generalised conclusions and suggestions for further research that might help to raise awareness of and, hopefully, take part in improving the current situation of live simultaneous interpreting in the Arab World. In order to maintain the systematic approach that has characterised this thesis, the conclusion is, therefore, divided into three parts. The first part presents the conclusions, the second suggests potential further research, and the third reflects on the impact of the current research.

a. Conclusions

1. Many studies have applied appraisal resources to translation studies as a useful and productive framework for tracing the filtration that source texts undergo. Nevertheless, because the different resources co-pattern as the text unfolds in order to reflect the ultimate evaluative orientation of the speech or text, it

is important not to restrict analysis to the indicators of a single sub-system - basically because the speaker's attitudes, for example, are uttered with a certain focus and force which necessitate covering graduation as well. Moreover, the intersubjective positioning of these graduated attitudes is of equal importance to distinguish the speaker or writer's stance on virtually a moment by moment basis. This is especially true of these two speeches by Obama, as one of the characteristic rhetorical devices they deploy is a dialectical one – interplays between concession and recognition or positivity and negativity, for example. Hence, the tracing of how each set of these evaluations is transferred into the target text enables us to venture an account of any particular interpreter's agendas, which of course may, in turn, be compared to those of the other interpreters handling the same source text. On the other hand, to restrict analysis simply to word-for-word equivalence, while contributing to this overall understanding of interpreter agenda, also fails to portray the whole picture as the rendering of non-evaluative vocabulary is also relevant to our understanding of how evaluation is transferred. In other words, evaluative vocabulary does not function in isolation, but in cooperation with other linguistic units and stylistic devices that give the utterance its communicative value. That is why the preceding analyses have endeavoured to offer a perspective that is drawn from the investigation of the indicators of both evaluative and non-evaluative vocabulary. The purpose has been to enable us to develop a better understanding of the scope and effects of interpreter intervention.

2. In terms of manipulation of the text that the interpreter is processing, interpreter intervention deploys three main strategies: deletion/omission, addition, and substitution. The main focus of these subversive strategies is on evaluative vocabulary because this carries the ideology of the text. However, as we have noted, their scope may also extend to non-evaluative vocabulary, although to a much lesser degree. Moreover, two factors determine the quality (in terms of potential impact on audiences) and quantity of these interventions - the amount of evaluative language in any single text conditions the degree of interpreters' intervention, while the interpreters' attachment to the issue under discussion also influences their decisions, so that the more evocative the text is to the interpreter, the clearer that interpreter's intervention will become.
3. In support of furthering our more generalised understanding of each interpreter's ideological-motivated interventions, we also offer the sketch of a rough ideological map that purports to offer common ideological positions that Arab interpreters might tend to adopt (see Tables 3.2 and 4.2). That is to say, by drawing on and consolidating the combined conclusions of our two case studies, it is possible to highlight the common constraints at work in the performance of Arab interpreters at a specific time. More specifically, because of the weight of evidence, we can suggest that resistance to American domination and pro-Palestinian support, for instance, are among the most common ideologies that Arab interpreters manipulate— probably, as we might expect. But even within these broad areas, it is possible to detect a difference in flow and shift within the expression of

these ideologies, a difference that is determined by the shifting interests of the interpreter's employing institution (or, as we have also seen, its sponsor).

4. The analysis of each speech has yielded the most influential, collective or individual, ideologies under manipulation. In this respect, although interpreters have consciously or unconsciously fed similar beliefs into their performance, it is also important to recognise that the motivation for such intervention may differ from one interpreter to another. For example, all three versions of 'A New Beginning' coincide in their reflection an anti-war on Iraq position, yet for different reasons and because of different pressures. Both Int.1 (of Al-Arabiya) and Int.2 (of Al-Jazeera) are influenced by the hardships and instability that this war has occasioned both in Iraq as and other Arab countries. The opposition to the war of Int.3 (of Russia Today), on the other hand, is rooted in the opportunity it has given America, and other Western countries, to be strategically involved in the region at the expense of his outlet's sponsor, Russia.
5. Most of the interventions that we have identified are not, in that sense, arbitrary because there is an emerging pattern that we can identify at the macro level. Moreover, this pattern may be plotted against the ideological line taken by each outlet. Indeed, there are occasions at the implications of single texts are outstripped by the implications of interpreter intervention – or addition – as we have seen regularly in the instances of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya-employed interpreters. Across the two speeches, for example, we can identify additions made by the interpreters that are anti-Israel, anti-Islamophobia and anti-Shia.

6. Manipulative (as opposed to competence-related) intervention on the part of simultaneous interpreters is not an uncommon phenomenon within media reporting in the Arab World. This is linked in turn to three equally important factors:
 - i. The absence of independent media to act as an impartial window through which the Arab audience perceives Western ideology.
 - ii. Inefficiency in the current institutions in terms of providing objective training programmes whose primary focus is the protection of the wider ethics of this profession.
 - iii. The sympathy of the part of Arab interpreters with to other members of the same community.
7. There are occasions where we have observed an ideological contradiction in the interventions of particular interpreters; once again, this may derive from error. But it may also respond to confused processing, caught between the imperatives of the speech and hostile cognitive responses on the part of the interpreter. This corresponds to Bourdieu's notion of 'zones of uncertainty', which are delimited by positions where there is an overlap between 'dispositions' that the interpreter has acquired from different 'social spaces' or 'fields'. In this respect, as we have noted, it is possible to detect examples of intervention that deviate from the official line of the interpreter's employing organisation.
8. Although our argument has argued these organisations are a source of symbolic power that, in turn, drives interpreters to function as tools of their employers' ideology, it is hard to draw a line between which beliefs, or in Bourdieu's term, 'doxa', are

personal and which are institutional. While some interventions are based on shared beliefs, such as the sympathy with the Palestinian people, others spring from more individual doxa. This might well be an indication that the intensity of the employers' ideological influence on the interpreter varies from channel to channel.

9. In order to shape a comprehensive understanding of the different ideologies as manipulated in specific texts, this thesis has scrutinised extensively interpreter outcomes across the full text rather than focussing on a very limited number of examples. On the other hand, the limited extension of the thesis format means that we have necessarily restricted our selection to two speeches. But this is still sufficient to allow us to arrive at a more generalised and therefore transferable set of conclusions. The principal disadvantage in such a systematic and comprehensive approach is some unavoidable repetition of tools of analysis and of findings; there is considerable recurrence of a number of interventions throughout the texts, but this must be noted because it provides compelling evidence of the function of interpreter agendas.
10. In spite of the fact that the interpreters themselves have been manipulated to serve interests other than those directly discernible within the source speech, they must assume some of the moral responsibility for such violations. But we must also recognise the force of the interpreting habitus to which their conscious and unconscious interventions respond. Central to Bourdieu's model in this regard, is the argument that the habitus absolves individual responsibility (2000, especially Chapters 2 and 3); the individual believes that he or she is working to a

higher cause (which, in turn, of course, is justified by activist theories of translation: see, for example, Baker 2006). Therefore, instead of apportioning blame, we should think of how habitus may be addressed and its outworkings challenged. One possible way is through the design of and involvement of accredited interpreters in rigorous training programmes. At the heart of such training programmes there needs to be an insistence both on ethical standards and on reflexivity.

11. Whether or not Western figures addressing the Middle East and North Africa are aware of the limitations and dangers of public-service and private organisational interpreting is unclear in the present thesis. It is true that the White House releases print versions of their speeches in different languages, but the vast majority of listeners will not have immediate access to these officially-approved translations. In the same way that visiting state officials and diplomats are usually accompanied by their own interpreters, there is a case to be made for accompanying live political speeches with its own simultaneous interpretation. The difficulty, of course, is that no outlet can be forced to accept that provision, and indeed it smacks of preordained distrust and suspicion on the part of the speech-maker.

12. But, following on from this, we can conclude that there is a pressing need to establish a self-funded independent satellite channel in the Arab World, led by a group committed to the monitoring of the output of their simultaneous interpreters. The fundamental reason is that large audiences tune into Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Al-Hurrah, or Russia Today (and several others) as windows on the world, but whose outputs, as we have observed, are sometimes slanted towards a particular line of interpretation.

13. In addition to understanding the particular agendas that Arabic-speaking satellite channels promote through their news coverage, reports, and interviews, audiences would be better served by an awareness that interpretation provided by these networks may be angled towards the communication of a different agenda. Ideally speaking, independent organizations or watchdogs should be established in order to monitor interpreter performance and output. It is important that those who accept such interpretations as *prima facie* versions of the original have a guarantee that what they are listening to is as accurate a reflection as possible of the carefully crafted intentions of the speaker. The individual listener can then make up his or her own mind as to whether or not they wish to accept the validity of those intentions. Surely that is much more consonant with the democratic and honest processing of information than allowing concealed and dissimulated interventions to offer other agendas.

b. Potential Further Research

The analyses presented above have identified the most prominent and dominant ideologies that interpreters have deployed. In terms of future projects, it would be useful to widen the scope of analysis to examine the simultaneous interpreting of live political debate and interviews in order to assess both the impact of time pressure on the interpreters' performance and the extent to which ideologically-motivated interventions are present. That said, the investigation of ideology that is applied here provides a useful approach in terms of identifying and assessing the political, ethical and social agendas of a particular satellite channel at two different times. In other words, the analysis of the simultaneous interpreting of two speeches delivered at two different

points in time can indicate whether or not that particular network has shifted its understanding of the same issue. By the same token, it also offers the possibility of more specific dedicated comparative analyses of different outlets. Furthermore, we need to think of how we can raise bilateral awareness that partiality is, according to the evidence gleaned here, a core feature of the simultaneous interpreting offered by Arabic-speaking news channels. One final, but more methodological issue, that might also be usefully addressed is the extent to which habitus and doxa provide a sufficiently systematic and comprehensive tool of analysis for has its limitations. For example, although this approach has been productive in terms of accounting for conscious and/or unconscious interventions, it does not offer a means for judging those errors that arise through pressure of performance. Such a recognition might lead to a more statistically-oriented style of research whose main purpose is to offer a theory that can enable us to distinguish between ideologically- motivated interventions and those that arise through pressures of practice.

c. Impact of Research

This thesis has addressed the impact of the media upon simultaneous interpreters' rendering of live political discourse, effectively turning them into active agents who promote their own, their institutions' and their group's ideologies. The conclusions set out above might, hopefully, sensitise end-users to the degree to which political discourse may be subject to manipulation while being rendered live into the target text. In terms of promoting the potential impact of this conclusion, I can only do what is within the scope of my activities as a teacher and publisher. I will begin with my translation and interpreting students, endeavouring to sensitise them with respect to the dubious neutrality of simultaneous

interpreting in the media. This, at least, is to plant a seed. Another route is through the publication of this thesis as a book, and dissemination of its findings in national and international forums and conferences. Moreover, I also hope to underline in more public contexts the need for the establishment of monitoring procedures that can immediately revise interpreters' versions and, if necessary, release corrective statements. Finally, I will provide translation and interpreting institutions in the Arab World with the data that can underpin the design of training programmes designed to improve the performance of interpreters in the field.

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Appendix 1: Obama's 'A New Beginning' and its Three Versions into Arabic

1.1. Obama's 'A New Beginning' Divided into Sentences:

1. Thank you... Thank you... Shukran.
2. I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions.
3. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning, and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement.
4. Together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress.
- 5 I am grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt.
6. I am also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: assalaamu alaykum.
7. We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world - tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate.
8. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.
9. More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.
10. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.
11. Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims.
- 12.The attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights.
- 13.This has bred more fear and mistrust.
14. So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, and who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity.
15. This cycle of suspicion and discord must end.
16. I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect; and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive, and need not be in competition.
17. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles - principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.
18. I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight.
19. I know that there is a lot of publicity on this speech but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have all the complex questions that brought us to this point.

20. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly the things we hold in our hearts, and that too often are said only behind closed doors.
21. There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground.
22. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth."
23. That is what I will try to do - to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.
24. Part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience.
25. I am a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims.
26. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and the fall of dusk.
27. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.
28. As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam.
29. It was Islam - at places like Al-Azhar University - that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment.
30. It was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed.
31. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation.
32. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.
33. I know, too, that Islam has always been a part of America's story.
34. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco.
35. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President John Adams wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims."
36. And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States.
37. They have fought in our wars, served in government, stood for civil rights, started businesses, taught at our Universities, excelled in our sports arenas, won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch.
38. And when the first Muslim-American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers - Thomas Jefferson - kept in his personal library.
39. So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed.

40. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't.

41. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.

42. But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America.

43. Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire.

44. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known.

45. We were born out of revolution against an empire.

46. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words - within our borders, and around the world.

47. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum: "Out of many, one."

48. Much has been made of the fact that an African-American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President.

49. But my personal story is not so unique.

50. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores - that includes nearly seven million American Muslims in our country today who enjoy incomes and education that are higher than average.

51. Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion.

52. That is why there is a mosque in every state of our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders.

53. That is why the U.S. government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab, and to punish those who would deny it.

54. So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America.

55. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations - to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God.

56. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.

57. Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task.

58. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people.

59. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

60. For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere.
61. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk.
62. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations.
63. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean.
64. And when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience.
65. That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century.
66. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.
67. This is a difficult responsibility to embrace.
68. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes and yes religions subjugating one another to serve their own interests.
69. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating.
70. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail.
71. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners of it.
72. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; progress must be shared.
73. That does not mean we should ignore sources of tension.
74. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: we must face these tensions squarely.
75. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.
76. The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.
77. In Ankara, I made clear that America is not - and never will be - at war with Islam.
78. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security.
79. Because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children.
80. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.
81. The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together.
82. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support.
83. We did not go by choice, we went because of necessity.

84. I am aware that some question or justify the events of 9/11.
85. But let us be clear: al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day.
86. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody.
87. And yet Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale.
88. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach.
89. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.
90. Make no mistake: we do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan.
91. We seek no military bases there.
92. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women.
93. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict.
94. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can.
95. But that is not yet the case.
96. That's why we're partnering with a coalition of forty-six countries.
97. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken.
98. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists.
99. They have killed in many countries.
100. They have killed people of different faiths - more than any other, they have killed Muslims.
101. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam.
102. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent, it is as if he has killed all mankind; and whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind.
103. The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few.
104. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism - it is an important part of promoting peace.
105. We also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
106. That is why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who have been displaced.

107. And that is why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend upon.

108. Let me also address the issue of Iraq.

109. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world.

110. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.

111. Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be."

112. Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future - and to leave Iraq to Iraqis.

113. I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources.

114. Iraq's sovereignty is its own.

115. That is why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August.

116. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all our troops from Iraq by 2012.

117. We will help Iraq train its Security Forces and develop its economy.

118. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

119. And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter our principles.

120. 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country.

121. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideals.

122. We are taking concrete actions to change course.

123. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year.

124. So America will defend itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law.

125. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened.

126. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

127. The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

128. America's strong bonds with Israel are well known.

129. This bond is unbreakable.

130. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

131. Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust.

132. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich.

133. Six million Jews were killed - more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today.

134. Denying that fact is baseless, ignorant, and hateful.

135. Threatening Israel with destruction - or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews - is deeply wrong and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

136. On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people - Muslims and Christians - have suffered in pursuit of a homeland.

137. For more than sixty years they have endured the pain of dislocation.

138. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead.

139. They endure the daily humiliations - large and small - that come with occupation.

140. So let there be no doubt: the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable.

141. America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

142. For decades, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive.

143. It is easy to point fingers - for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond.

144. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: the only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security.

145. That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest.

146. That is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience that the task requires.

147. The obligations that the parties have agreed to under the Road Map are clear.
148. For peace to come, it is time for them - and all of us - to live up to our responsibilities.
149. Palestinians must abandon violence.
150. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and does not succeed.
151. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation.
152. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights.
153. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding.
154. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia.
155. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end.
156. It is a sign of neither courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus.
157. That is not how moral authority is claimed; that is how it is surrendered.
158. Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build.
159. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people.
160. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have responsibilities.
161. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, and to unify the Palestinian people.
162. Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist.
163. At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's.
164. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements.
165. This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace.
166. It is time for these settlements to stop.
167. Israel must also live up to its obligations to ensure that Palestinians can live, and work, and develop their society.
168. And just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank.
169. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

170. Finally, the Arab States must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities.

171. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems.

172. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state; to recognize Israel's legitimacy; and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

173. America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs.

174. We cannot impose peace.

175. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away.

176. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state.

177. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

178. Too many tears have flowed.

179. Too much blood has been shed.

180. All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Israel, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed (peace be upon them) joined in prayer.

181. The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

182. This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

183. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is indeed a tumultuous history between us.

184. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically-elected Iranian government.

185. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians.

186. This history is well known.

187. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I have made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward.

188. The question, now, is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

189. It will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude and resolve.

190. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect.

191. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point.

192. This is not simply about America's interests; it is about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

193. I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not.

194. No single nation should pick and choose which nations hold nuclear weapons.

195. That is why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons.

196. And any nation - including Iran - should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

197. That commitment is at the core of the Treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it.

198. And I am hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

199. The fourth issue that I will address is democracy.

200. I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.

201. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by any other.

202. That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people.

203. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people.

204. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election.

205. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose.

206. Those are not just American ideas, they are human rights, and that is why we will support them everywhere.

207. There is no straight line to realize this promise.

208. But this much is clear: governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure.

209. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away.

210. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them.

211. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments - provided they govern with respect for all their people.

212. This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they are out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others.

213. No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who hold power: you must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party.

214. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

215. The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

216. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance.

217. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition.

218. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country.

219. That is the spirit we need today.

220. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind, heart, and soul.

221. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it is being challenged in many different ways.

222. Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's.

223. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld - whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt.

224. And fault lines must be closed among Muslims as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

225. Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together.

226. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it.

227. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation.

228. That is why I am committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

229. Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit - for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear.

230. We cannot disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism; indeed, faith should bring us together.

231. That is why we are forging service projects in America that bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews.

232. That is why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's Interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations.

233. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into Interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action - whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

234. The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights.

235. I know and you can tell from this audience that there is a healthy debate about this issue.

236. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality.

237. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well-educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

238. Now let me be clear: issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam.

239. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, we have seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead.

240. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

241. I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons, and our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity - men and women - to reach their full potential.

242. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles.

243. But it should be their choice.

244. That is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams.

245. Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

246. I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory.
247. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence.
248. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and changing communities.
249. In all nations - including my own - this change can bring fear.
250. Fear that because of modernity we will lose of control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities - those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.
251. But I also know that human progress cannot be denied.
252. There need not be contradiction between development and tradition.
253. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies while maintaining distinct cultures.
254. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.
255. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.
256. This is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work.
257. Many Gulf States have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development.
258. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century, and in too many Muslim communities there remains underinvestment in these areas.
259. I am emphasizing such investments within my country.
260. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas in this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.
261. On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America, while encouraging more Americans to study in Muslim communities.
262. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in on-line learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a teenager in Kansas can communicate instantly with a teenager in Cairo.
263. On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries.

264. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

265. On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create jobs.

266. We will open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new Science Envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, and grow new crops.

267. And today I am announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio.

268. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

269. All these things must be done in partnership.

270. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

271. The issues that I have described will not be easy to address.

272. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world we seek - a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected.

273. Those are mutual interests.

274. That is the world we seek.

275. But we can only achieve it together.

276. I know there are many - Muslim and non-Muslim - who question whether we can forge this new beginning.

277. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress.

278. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort - that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash.

279. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur.

280. There is so much fear, so much mistrust.

281. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward.

282. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country - you, more than anyone, have the ability to remake this world.
283. All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time.
284. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort - a sustained effort - to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.
285. It is easier to start wars than to end them.
286. It is easier to blame others than to look inward; to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share.
287. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path.
288. There is also one rule that lies at the heart of every religion - that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us.
289. This truth transcends nations and peoples - a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian, or Muslim or Jew.
290. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the heart of billions.
291. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.
292. We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.
293. The Holy Koran tells us, "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."
294. The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."
295. The Holy Bible tells us, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."
296. The people of the world can live together in peace.
297. We know that is God's vision.
298. Now, that must be our work here on Earth.
299. Thank you.
300. And may God's peace be upon you.

1.2. Target Text 1: Transcript of Al-Arabia's Simultaneous Interpreting

شُكْرًا شُكْرًا جَزِيلًا شُكْرًا جَزِيلًا سَعِدَ اللهُ أَوْفَاتِكُمْ

لأنها وَقَفَتْ كَمَنَارَةٍ بَارِزَةٍ فِي الْعَالَمِ، وَجَامِعَةُ الْقَاهِرَةِ كَانَتْ مَصْدَرًا لِنُطُورِ مِصْرَ فَانْتَمَتْ تَمَثُلُونَ التَّنَاعِمَ بَيْنَ النَّفَالِيدِ، وَالتَّنُطُورِ؛ وَإِنِّي مَمْتَنٌّ لِحَسَنِ الصِّيَافَةِ، وَالِاسْتِقْبَالِ، وَالْحِفَاوَةِ الَّتِي تَلَقَيْتَهَا مِنْ شَعْبِ مِصْرَ؛ وَإِنِّي فُخُورٌ لِأَحْمَلِ مَعِيَ تَحِيَّةً مِنَ الشَّعْبِ الْأَمْرِيكِيِّ؛ تَحِيَّةً سَلَامٍ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ (السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ) التَّحِيَّةَ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةَ.

نَجْتَمِعُ فِي فِتْرَةٍ تَنْسِمُ بِكَثِيرٍ مِنَ التَّفَاوُتِ بَيْنَ الْوَلَايَاتِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ، وَالْعَالَمِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ، هَذَا التَّوَاتُرَ الَّذِي كَانَ قَدْ زُرِعَ فِي فِتْرَاتِ سَابِقَةٍ، فَالْعَلَاقَةُ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْغَرْبِ تَمْتَدُّ عَلَى قُرُونٍ سَابِقَةٍ مِنَ التَّعَاوُنِ؛ لَكِنْ هَذَا التَّعَاوُنُ لَمْ يَخْلُوا مِنَ الْأَزْمَاتِ، وَالزَّرَاعَاتِ؛ وَمُؤَخَّرًا هَذِهِ الزَّرَاعَاتُ كَانَتْ قَدْ وَصَلَتْ إِلَى حَدِّ الْإِسْتِعْمَارِ، وَفِتْرَةِ الْحَرْبِ الْبَارِدَةِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ فِيهَا غَالِبِيَّةُ الدُّوَلِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كَانَتْ تُعَامَلُ عَلَى أَنَّهَا دَوْلَاتٌ صَغِيرَةٌ بِصَرْفِ النَّظَرِ عَنْ آمَالِهَا، وَطُمُوحَاتِهَا، فَضْلًا عَنْ ذَلِكَ التَّغْيِيرَاتِ الْكَاسِحَةِ الَّتِي قَدَّمَتْهَا الْحَضَارَةُ، وَالْعَوْلَمَةُ قَدْ آتَتْ إِلَى كَثِيرٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لِلنَّظَرِ إِلَى الْغَرْبِ بِصِفَتِهِمْ أَعْدَاءَ لَهُمْ.

وَكَذَلِكَ فَإِنَّ الْمُتَنَطِّرِينَ كَانُوا قَدْ سَاهَمُوا فِي زَرْعِ هَذِهِ الْفِكْرَةِ بَيْنَ أَقَلِّيَّةٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَالْهَجْمَاتِ الَّتِي وَقَعَتْ فِي الْخَادِي عَشْرٍ مِنْ سِبْتَمْبَرِ عَامِ 2001؛ وَكَذَلِكَ الْجُهُودُ الْمُسْتَمْرَةُ لِلْمُتَنَطِّرِينَ لِلانخراطِ بِغَنْفٍ ضِدَّ الْمَدَنِيِّينَ؛ قَدْ أَفْضَتْ إِلَى النَّظَرِ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ فِي دَوْلَتِي بِأَنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ هُمْ أَعْدَاءُ لأمريكا، وَأَعْدَاءُ لِأوروبا وَكَذَلِكَ هُمْ ضِدَّ حُقُوقِ الْإِنْسَانِ الْأَمْرِيكِيِّ الَّذِي نَشَرَ الْكَثِيرَ مِنَ الْخَوْفِ، وَكَذَلِكَ سُوءِ الْبُيُوتِ.

إِذْ نَطَالَمَا عِلَاقَاتُنَا كَانَتْ مَعْرِفَةٌ بِحُكْمِ خِلَافَاتِنَا فَإِنَّا سَوَفَ نُمْكِنُ هُوَلاءَ الَّذِينَ يَسْعَوْنَ إِلَى إِشْعَالِ قَبِيلِ الْكِرَاهِيَّةِ بَدَلًا مِنْ تَحْقِيقِ الْأَمْنِ، وَالْعَدَالَةِ. وَفِي هَذِهِ الدَّوْرَةِ الَّتِي تَنْسَمُ بِالشُّكُوكِ لَا بُدَّ لَنَا أَنْ نَعْمَلَ عَلَى إِهْنَائِهَا.

لَقَدْ أَتَيْتُ الْيَوْمَ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ؛ وَأَحْمَلُ فِي حَقِيْبَتِي بَدَايَةَ جَدِيدَةٍ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي أَنْحَاءِ الْعَالَمِ، وَالْوَلَايَاتِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ مَبْنِيَّةً عَلَى الْإِحْتِرَامِ الْمَشْتَرَكِ، وَعَلَى الْمَصَالِحِ الْمَشْتَرَكَةِ مِنْ جِهَةٍ، وَكَذَلِكَ حَقِيقَةً مَفَادَهَا أَنَّهُ يَجِبُ أَنْ لَا نَكُونَ بِصِفَةِ مُتَنَافِسِينَ بَلْ بِصِفَةِ مُتَكَامِلِينَ وَنَتَشَاوَرُ فِي مَبَادِيٍ مُخْتَلَفَةٍ مِنْ حَيْثُ مَبَادِيِ الْعَدَالَةِ وَالتَّنُطُورِ وَالتَّسَامُحِ وَكَذَلِكَ الْكِرَامَةِ الَّتِي تُخَصُّ كُلَّ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ.

إِنِّي أَدْرِكُ أَنَّ التَّغْيِيرَاتِ لَنْ تَحْدُثَ بَيْنَ عَشِيْبَةٍ وَضَخَاهَا؛ وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْكَثِيرَ مِنَ الْوَسَائِلِ الْإِعْلَامِيَّةِ قَدْ تَحَدَّثَتْ عَنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَوْ هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ لَكِنْ لَنْ تَحْدُثَ التَّغْيِيرَاتِ بِسُرْعَةٍ، وَلَنْ أَسْتَطِيعَ حَلَّ كَافَّةِ التَّعْقِيْدَاتِ الَّتِي أَوْصَلْتَنَا إِلَى مَا نَحْنُ عَلَيْهِ الْيَوْمَ لَكِنِّي مُقْتَنِعٌ أَنَّهُ يَهْدِي الْمَضِيَّ قَدَمًا؛ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ نَقُولَ بِصَرَاحَةٍ، وَبِوَضُوحٍ- لِبَعْضِنَا الْبَعْضَ- الْأَشْيَاءَ الَّتِي تَعْتَرِي قُلُوبَنَا؛ وَأَنْ لَا نَقُولَهَا مِنْ خَلْفِ أَبْوَابٍ مُعَلَّقَةٍ أَوْ مُوَصَّدَةٍ؛ لَا بُدَّ أَنْ نَكُونَ هُنَاكَ جُهُودًا مُسْتَمْرَةً لِنَسْتَمِعَ لِبَعْضِنَا الْبَعْضَ، وَنَتَعَلَّمَ مِنْ بَعْضِنَا الْبَعْضَ، وَأَنْ نَحْتَرِمَ بَعْضِنَا الْبَعْضَ؛ وَكَذَلِكَ نَبْحَثُ عَنْ أَرْضِيَّةٍ مُشْتَرَكَةٍ لِأَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ الْكَرِيمَ يَقُولُ لَنَا قَوْلًا دَائِمًا الْحَقِيقَةَ، وَاحْتَرَمُوا دَائِمًا مِنْ عِقَابِ اللَّهِ. هَذَا مَا سَوَفَ أَسْعَى لِلْقِيَامِ بِهِ الْيَوْمَ.

سَوَفَ أَتَحَدَّثُ بِالْحَقِيقَةِ بِقَدْرِ مَا أَسْتَطِيعُ وَهَذَا مَدْفُوعٌ بِالْمَبَادِيِ الَّتِي أَعْتَقِدُ بِهَا بِأَنَّهَا هِيَ أَقْوَى مِنْ تِلْكَ الْخِلَافَاتِ الَّتِي تُبْعَدُنَا عَنْ بَعْضٍ.

وَهَذِهِ الْقَاعَةُ مَبْنِيَّةٌ مِنْ جِلَالِ خَيْرَتِي فَإِنَّا مَسِيْحِيٌّ فِي الْأَصْلِ لَكِنْ وَالَّذِي انْحَدَرَ مِنْ أُسْرَةٍ كَبِيْبَةٍ وَهَذِهِ الْأُسْرَةُ لَهَا تَارِيخٌ مِنْ الْعَائِلَاتِ الْمُسْلِمَةِ. وَكَطِفْلٍ قَضَيْتُ سِنُوَاتٍ، وَرَدَحًا مِنَ الزَّمَنِ فِي إِنْدُونِيْسِيَا فِي مَنطَقَةٍ هُنَاكَ كُنْتُ تَعَلَّمْتُ، وَتَلَقَيْتُ قَدْرًا مِنَ التَّعْلِيمِ فِيهَا، وَفِي شَبَابِي عَمِلْتُ فِي مُجْتَمَعِ شِيكَاغُو وَكُنْتُ قَدْ تَلَقَيْتُ الْكَثِيرَ مِنَ الدُّرُوسِ الدِّيْبِنِيَّةِ. وَبِصِفَتِي طَالِبًا لِلتَّارِيخِ تَعَلَّمْتُ الْكَثِيرَ عَنِ الْإِسْلَامِ؛ وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ يَحْمِلُ أَمِيَّةً بِفَضْلِ مَا مَهَّدَ الطَّرِيقَ لِلأَمَمِ الْأَوْرَبِيَّةِ، وَالأَمَمِ الْأُخْرَى مِنْ حَيْثُ الْعِلْمِ، وَالنُّورِ؛ فَهِيَ الَّتِي مَهَّدَ الطَّرِيقَ لِلْعَالَمِ، وَأَنَارَ لَهُمْ مَسِيرَتَهُمْ.

هَذِهِ الْإِبْتِكَارَاتُ هِيَ الَّتِي عَاشَهَا الْإِسْلَامُ هِيَ الَّتِي طَوَّرَتْ الْجَبْرَ وَأَدْوَاتِ الْمَلَاخَةِ وَكَذَلِكَ أَيْضًا الطَّبَاعَةَ وَأَوْلَجَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ فِي مَجَالَاتِ الطَّبِّ وَمِعَالِجَةِ الْأَمْرَاضِ فَالتَّنَاقُفَةُ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةُ أَعْطَانَا الْكَثِيرَ وَالْهَمْتَنَا الْكَثِيرَ وَكَذَلِكَ فَضْلًا عَنِ الشَّعْرِ وَالْمُوسِيقِيِّ وَالتَّنَاتِ وَكَذَلِكَ فَنَ الْخَطِّ وَفَنَ التَّأْمَلِ السَّلْمِيِّ. وَعَبْرَ التَّارِيخِ قَدْ أَظْهَرَ الْإِسْلَامُ لِلْعَالَمِ مِنْ خِلَالِ أَعْمَالِهِ إِمْكَانِيَّةَ التَّسَامُحِ الدِّيْنِيِّ وَكَذَلِكَ الْمَسَاوَاةِ بَيْنَ كَافَةِ الْأَعْرَاقِ.

وإنني أدرك أن الإسلام كان دائماً جزءاً من تاريخ أمريكا فالدولة الأولى التي تفرقت ببلادي كانت المغرب من خلال التوقيع على اتفاقية طرابلس في عام 1796 وكان إبان عهد الرئيس جون آدمز وكانت الولايات المتحدة لا توجد لها أي سمة ضد القوانين الخاصة بالمسلمين أو القوانين العنصرية ومنذ تأسيسها كان المسلمون قد أسهموا في إثراء الولايات المتحدة وكانوا قد ساعدوا حكومتنا وأيدوا الحقوق المدنية ودعموا حركة الأعمال والتجار وكانوا قد تفوقوا في مجالات عديدة وكسبوا الكثير من جوائز نوبل وكذلك أيضاً حملوا الكثير من الرايات في الألعاب الأولمبية وكانوا قد ساهموا أيضاً في الدفاع عن الكثير من المبادئ وهذا ما قام به توماس جفرسون الذي أيضاً تأثر بالمبادئ الإسلامية إلى حد كبير.

إذن لقد عرفت الإسلام على جبهات عدة قبل أن أتى إلى هذه المنطقة التي كنت قد عشت فيها لفترة من الزمن فضلاً عن التجارب التي عشتها، وعلمتني بأن الشراكة بين الإسلام، والغرب يجب أن يكون ليس كما هو الحال الآن فإني أعتبر أن جزءاً من مسؤوليتي بصفتي رئيساً للولايات المتحدة أن أحارب ضد الصورة النمطية التي أخذت عن الإسلام أينما كانت في العالم.

لكن هذه المبادئ نفسها يجب أن تنطبق أيضاً على الفهم الإسلامي والإدراك الإسلامي لأمريكا فبنفس القدر الذي لا يقبل المسلمون فيه أن ينظر إليهم بصورة نمطية كذلك الأمريكيون لا يقبلون بأن ينظر إليهم بصورة نمطية فالولايات المتحدة كانت من أهم المصادر الهامة لتطور العالم. فقد ولدنا من مهد الثورة وقد تأسسنا بناءً على المثاليات بأن الجميع يعيشوا متساوين ولقد تكلفنا بالكثير من التضحيات سواء في بلداننا أو في الخارج فقد تأثرنا بكافة الثقافات واستلهمنا من كافة المبادئ وكرسنا أنفسنا لمبدأ واحد وهذا المبدأ أن الكل للواحد والواحد للكل.

وفي الحقيقة إنني وبصفتي إفريقي أمريكي واسمي باراك حسين أوباما هذا هو الذي جعلني أن أحلم لأن أصبح رئيساً منتخباً في الولايات المتحدة.

لكن قصتي الشخصية هي ليست فريدة من نوعها فإن حلم كافة الشباب لا يتحقق للجميع في أمريكا لكنه يعد كل من يأتي إلى بلداننا هذه الوعود الحقيقية وهذا يطال سبعة ملايين أمريكي مسلم في بلادنا اليوم الذين بالمناسبة يتمتعون بمساواة الدخل والتعليم التي تعد أعلى مما يحصل عليها نظرائهم الأمريكيين فضلاً عن ذلك الحرية في أمريكا هي مسألة لا يمكنكم التحدث عنها من حيث حرية ممارسة الأديان لكافة الأديان. لهذا فهناك مسجد في كل ولاية من الولايات المتحدة وأكثر من 1200 مسجد عبر حدود الولايات المتحدة ولهذا فالحكومة كانت قد ذهبت إلى المحكمة لتقرر حماية النساء والسيدات في أمريكا ومعاقبة أي شخص قد يلميه أو يمنع عليهم تلك الحقوق.

إذن تأكدوا وبددوا كافة الشكوك أن الإسلام هو جزء من أمريكا وأعتقد أن أمريكا تحمل هذه الحقيقة بأن بأنها يجب أن تتعايش مع هذه الديانات فكلنا نتشاطر بعض المبادئ للعيش بسلام وأمن ولنحصل على التعليم والتربية والعمل بحس من الكبرياء ولنعشق أفراد أسرنا وكذلك أفراد المجتمع والرب هذه المبادئ التي تتسم بها كافة أفراد البشرية.

من خلال إدراك إنسانيتنا لا أرى أن هذا الأمر سوى البداية لتلك المهمة فالكلمات لوحدها لن تنفي احتياجات الشعب هذه الاحتياجات لن نفي بها إلا إذا ما تصرفنا بطرق ملموسة في السنوات القادمة وإنني أدرك بأن التحديات التي نواجهها هي جمة وأنا علينا أن نعمل على مجابته.

فقد تعلمنا من التجارب السابقة أنه عندما يضعف نظام مالي في دولة فإن الازدهار ينتشر في كل مكان وعندما يضرب أي إنفلونزا أو أي مرض في أي مكان أو بقعة من العالم فسوف يؤثر على الآخرين وعندما تمتلك دولة سلاح نووي فإن الخطر سوف يطال كافة الدول الأخرى وعندما يعمل المتطرفون أيضاً في مناطق معزولة في الجبال فهذا الخطر قد يصل إلى أبعد المحيطات وعندما يكون الأبرياء في البوسنة عرضة للذبح فهذا الأمر سبب في جبيننا وفي ضميرنا. ولهذا أقول إنه لعيش في هذا العالم في القرن الواحد والعشرين علينا أن نتحلى بتلك المسؤوليات وأن نعمل مع بعضنا البعض على قدم التساوي بين البشرية وهذه مسؤولية لا يمكن الوفاء بها بسهولة لأن التاريخ البشري كان دائماً هو عبارة عن سجل بين القبائل والمجتمعات والأديان أيضاً كلها تخضع لبعضها البعض وكذلك وفقاً للمصالح التي ترتبها وفي هذا العصر الجديد فإن تلك المبادئ باتت يتم التخلي عنها وخاصة بعد أن حصلنا على استقلالنا فإن كل دولة التي تعزز أو تعطي أهمية لمجموعة فضلاً عن أخرى سوف تفشل في نهاية المطاف... الذي نفكر فيه... دعونا لا نكون سجناء الماضي وأن مشاكلنا يجب أن نتعامل معها من خلال الشراكة والتقدم يجب أن نتشاطره.

والآن هَذَا لا يعني أَنه علينا أَن نتجاهل مصادر التوتر بل يعني العكس تمامًا علينا أَن نواجه هَذِهِ التوترات بطريقة عادلة وفي هَذَا السياق دعوني أَتحدث بوضوح بقدر الإمكان عَن بعض القضايا المحددة الَّتِي أعتقد أَنه علينا أَن نواجهها معًا وسويًا.

القضية الأولى الَّتِي علينا أَن نطلع بها التطرف والإرهاب في كافة أنحاء العالم.

تعملون كما قلت لكم أَن أمريكا لم ولن تكون في حالة حرب ضد الإسلام هَذَا ما قلته في أنقرة لكننا سنعمل دون هوادة على مواجهة المتطرفين الَّذِينَ سوف يشكّلون تهديدًا على أمننا لأننا نرفض نفس المبادئ الَّتِي ترفضها كافة الأديان الأخرى قتل الأبرياء من الرجال والنساء والأطفال وواجبي الأول بصفتي رئيس الولايات المتحدة أَن أحمي الشعب الأمريكي.

فالوضع في أفغانستان يظهر جليًا أهداف أمريكا أَنه علينا أَن نعمل معًا فعلى مر سبع سنوات من الزمن كَانَت الولايات المتحدة قَدْ تعقبت القاعدة وطالبان من خلال دعم وحشد عالمي لا يوصف نحن لا نقوم بهذه الأمور من خلال خيارات شخصية بل بحكم الحاجة. فإنتي مدرك أَنه ما زال البعض الَّذِينَ يظهرون يشكّلون بأحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر ولكن دعوني أقول لكم بأن القاعدة قَدْ قتلت أكثر من ثلاثين ألف شخص في ذلك اليوم والأضحياء والأبرياء هم أبرياء من الأطفال من الولايات المتحدة والأخرى الَّذِينَ لم يرتكبوا أي ذنب ولم يؤذوا أي شخص البتة لَكِن القاعدة اختارت وبطريقة لا تتصف بالرحمة بقتل هؤلاء الأشخاص وحصلت على الميزة عَن هَذِهِ الهجمات وحتى الآن إنهم يبنون بالاستمرار بعملية القتل على نطاق واسع هناك جيوب للقاعدة في دولة أخيرة وتسعى هَذِهِ الجيوب لتوسيع أماكنها هَذِهِ حقائق وليس نقاط جدل أو نقاش تاكدوا تمامًا بأننا لا نرغب بإبقاء قواتنا في أفغانستان فنحن لا نسعى للحصول على قواعد عسكرية هناك بل ومن المحزن لأمريكا أَن نخسر يومًا تلو الآخر شبابًا ونساءً فهذه عملية مكلفة سياسيًا وعاطفيًا بل سوف نكون أكثر سعادة إذا ما أحضرنا كافة القوات إذا ما حصلنا على قناعة بأننا لن يكون هناك المزيد من المتطرفين في أفغانستان وباكستان الَّذِينَ هم مصممون على قتل أكبر عدد من الأمريكيين لَكِن هَذَا هُوَ الواقع.

ولهذا السبب فإنتنا نشارك مع أكثر من ستة وأربعين دولة وعلى الرغم من التكاليف الباهظة فإنَّ التزام أمريكا لن يتراجع ولن يتناقص في الحقيقة علينا أَن لا نتسامح مع هؤلاء المتطرفين جميعًا فقد قتلوا في دول عدة وقد تسببوا بجرائم ضد أشخاص من أديان مختلفة ومن المسلممين انفسهم فإنَّ تصرفاتهم لا يمكن التسامح بها وهي منافية للأعمال الإنسانية وهي سببة في جبيننا فالقران الكريم يَقُول لَنَا ان كُلَّ من يقتل بريء فهو كما لو أَنه قتل كافة البشرية والقُرْآن الكَرِيم يَقُول لَنَا من ينفذ أي شخص كما لو أَنه انقذ كافة البشرية وان الإيمان المخلص الَّذِي يتجلى لدى الملايين من الأشخاص هُوَ أكثر من الكراهية الموجودة لدى القلة فالإسلام هُوَ لَيْسَ جزء من المشكلة في مواجهة العنف والمتطرفين بل هُوَ جزء من تعزيز السلام يسعى لتعزيز السلام.

الآن نحن ندرك الآن أَن القوة العسكرية لوحدها لن تحل المشاكل في أفغانستان وباكستان ولهذا السبب نحن نخطط لاستثمار 1.5 مليار دولار سنويًا خلال السنوات الخمسة القادمة لإجراء مشاركات مع باكستان لبناء مستشفيات وبناء مدارس وشوارع وكذلك مساعدة الآلاف الَّذِينَ نزحوا من ديارهم ولهذا السبب فإنتنا نقدم أكثر من 8.2 مليار دولار لمساعدة أفغانستان لتطوير اقتصادها وتقديم الخدمات الَّتِي يعتمد عليها عامة الناس هناك.

دعوني أيضًا أحاطب وأتحدث عَن موضوع العراق. على خلاف موضوع أفغانستان العراق كَانَت حرب باختيارنا وقد أثارنا اختلافات كبيرة في دولتي الولايات المتحدة وفي أنحاء أخرى من العالم على الرغم من قناعاتي من أَن الشعب العراقي هُوَ أفضل بكل تأكيد من الطاغية صدام حسين لكنني أؤمن بأن الأحداث الَّتِي تدور في العراق تذكر أمريكا بضرورة استخدام الدبلوماسية وبناء الإجماع الدولي لحل مشاكلنا كلما كَانَت ذلك متاحًا في الواقع نستطيع أَن نتذكر كلمات توماس جيفرسون الَّذِي قال أمل أَن حكمتنا سوف تزداد مع قوتنا في أَن واحد وأن تعلمنا بأننا كلما استخدمنا قوتنا بطريقة متضاعفة كلما أصبحنا قوة أكثر قوة.

واليوم يقع على أمريكا مسؤولية مزدوجة أَن تساعد العراق على بناء مستقبل أفضل وأن تعطي العراق إلى العراقيين وقد أوضحت تمامًا ولقد أوضحت تمامًا للشعب العراقي بأننا لا نسعى لامتلاك أي قواعد عسكرية ولن يكون لنا أي مطالبات بالمصادر أو الموارد العراقية فإنَّ سيادة العراق هي للعراق. ولهذا السبب فإنتي قَدْ طلبت بإزالة كافة القوات المقاتلة في نهاية شهر أغسطس ولهذا فإنتنا سوف ننفذ اتفاقيتنا بسحب القوات في مطلع جولاى وإزالة كافة القوات المتبقية في العراق في الثاني عشر من شهر يوليو وسوف تساعد العراق على تدريب قواتها العسكرية وكذلك تطوير اقتصادها ولكننا سوف نسعى لضمان العراق لتكون شريكًا لنا وليس عدوًا.

وأخيرًا لا يمكن لأمريكا أن تحتفل أي تطرف من الإرهابيين وعلينا أن نعمل على تعزيز هذه المبادئ سويًا فأحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر كانت مأساة كبيرة لبلادنا والخوف والغضب الذي ساد في الأرجاء كان له ما يبرره ولكن كان في بعض الأحيان كان قد اجب بنا إلى التصرف بطريقة مخالفة لتقاليدنا وأعرافنا فإننا نتخذ خطوات فعلية لتغيير هذا الاتجاه وإنني مصمم على وقف التعذيب من قبل الولايات المتحدة وكنت قد طلبت وأوعزت بإغلاق سجن غوانتانامو في مطلع العام القادم.

إنّ أمريكا سوف تدافع عن نفسها وسوف تحترم سيادة الدول وسيادة القانون وسوف تقوم بهذه الأمور من خلال الشراكة مع المجتمعات الإسلامية التي أيضًا تعرضت للتهديد فكلما تم عزل هؤلاء المتطرفين ولم يعد لهم أي موضع ترحيب في الدول الإسلامية فكلما أصبحنا قريبًا من حدّ الأمان.

المصدر الثاني الأساسي الذي علينا مناقشته هو الوضع بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين والعالم العربي برمته.

أمريكا لدى أمريكا روابط قوية مع إسرائيل وهذه مسألة معروفة وهذه الروابط لا يمكن أن تنتهي بسهولة فهي مبنية على أواصر تاريخية وثقافية وكذلك إن الطموح اليهودي هو موجود بتاريخ لا يمكننا أن ننكره الآن. ففي كافة أنحاء العالم فإن اليهود قد تعرضوا للاضطهاد لقرون من الزمن ومعاداة الكراهية كانت واضحة بسبب المحرقة ويوم غد سوف أزرور بوتكوند التي كانت جزء من الأماكن التي تعرض فيه اليهود للتعذيب وكذلك لحمامات الدم والتعذيب بالغاز إذ قتل أكثر من ستة ملايين يهودي أي أكثر من السكان الذين يقيمون في إسرائيل إن إنكار هذه الحقيقة لا يعد مسألة صحيحة ولا يوجد له أي أساس وإن تهديد إسرائيل بالدمار أو تكرار هذه الصورة النمطية هي مسألة غير صحيحة وهذا سوف يأخذ اليهود في ذكرياتهم إلى الأحداث التي عاشوها في التاريخ السابق.

ومن ناحية أخرى كذلك لا يمكن أن ننكر أن الشعب الفلسطيني من المسلمين والمسيحيين قد عانى ما عاناه من خلال البحث عن وطن فلفترة تتجاوز الستين عامًا كانوا يعانون من النزوح وهناك الكثير من مخيمات اللاجئين في غزة وكذلك في مناطق أخرى لم يستطيعون أيضًا أن ينعمو بالحرية والأمن ويعانون ما يعانونه كل يوم بسبب ظروف الاحتلال إذن تأكدوا تمامًا من دون أي شك أن الوضع بالنسبة للشعب الفلسطيني لم تعد تحتفل وأن أمريكا لن تعض النظر بمسألة حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني للحصول على دولة مستقلة لأنفسهم.

فلمدة عقود من الزمن كان هناك دائمًا حالة يصعب الخروج منها شعبان لديهما طموح شرعي وكذلك يبحثون أيضًا عن صنع تاريخ بحيث يستطيعون من خلاله العيش بطريق أفضل فهذه هي الحقائق الشعب الفلسطيني ينظرون إلى عملية النزوح التي عاشوها بسبب إسرائيل وكذلك أيضًا إسرائيل تنتظر إلى العمليات العدائية التي تتعرض لها عبر حدودها ومن خارج حدودها أيضًا لكن لو نظرنا إلى هذا النزاع من ذلك المنظور أو من هذا فسوف نعمي أنفسنا عن الحقيقة الحل الوحيد بالنسبة لطموح هذين الشعبين هو أن نعمل على خلق دولتين يستطيع من خلالها الشعب الفلسطيني والإسرائيلي أن يحيا بأمان وسلام.

وهذا سوف يصب في مصالح إسرائيل وكذلك في مصالح الفلسطينيين ومصالح أمريكا فضلًا عن مصالح العالم ولهذا السبب فإنني أعتزم أن أتابع نتائج هذا الموضوع وكذلك أيضًا أن أكرس الجهد المطلوب لتلك المهمة وإن الالتزامات والواجبات التي تقع على عاتق الأطراف بموجب خارطة الطريق تعد واضحة للغاية لا لبس فيها بالنسبة للسلام ليتحقق فإنني أرى أنه قد حان الوقت وأن علينا أن نفي بمسؤولياتنا للوصول إلى تلك الأحلام. الفلسطينيون عليهم أن يبنوا العنف المقاومة من خلال العنف والقتل هي مسألة خاطئة ولن تفلح البتة فلمدة قرون الشعوب السوداء في أمريكا كانوا يعانون من العبودية وكذلك من الفصل العنصري تأكدوا أنه هناك أيضًا أعمال عنف لكن لم ينجحوا الأمن خلال الالتصاق بالمبادئ التي أوصلتهم اليوم هذه القصص لعلكم تسمعونها من أشخاص من جنوب إفريقيا وصولًا إلى إندونيسيا هي قصص تحمل في طياتها حقائق كثيرة ألا وهو ألا وهي أن العنف سوف يوصلنا إلى لن يوصلنا إلى أي حلول فتخيلوا إطلاق الصواريخ على الأطفال النيام أو تفجير امرأة بنفسها في حافلة هذه ليست بحلول البتة.

لقد حان الوقت للشعب الفلسطيني أن يركز على ما يستطيع أن يقوم ببنائه اليوم وكذلك على السلطة الفلسطينية أن تطور مؤسساتها التي تعمل على تقديم الخدمات للشعب الفلسطيني وحماس حماس تحظى بدعم بين بعض الفلسطينيين لكنهم عليهم أن يدركوا أيضًا أنه يقع على عاتقهم مسؤولية بأن تلعب دورًا في الوفاء بأحلام الفلسطينيين وأن تسعى لتوحيد الشعب الفلسطيني حماس يجب أن تضع نهاية للعنف وأن تقر بالاتفاقيات السابقة وكذلك أن تقر بحق إسرائيل في الوجود.

وفي الوقت ذاته على الإسرائيليين أن يقرروا بأن هناك حقاً للشعب الفلسطيني في العيش في الولايات المتحدة لا تقبل الاستمرار بسياسة الاستيطان الإسرائيلي إن هذه العملية يجب أن تعتمد على الإقرار بالاتفاقيات السابقة ولقد حان الوقت لوقف أعمال العنف وعلى إسرائيل أيضاً أن تفي بواجباتها والتحقق من أنه سوف يكون بمقدور الفلسطينيين بمقدورهم العيش وتطوير المجتمعات الخاصة بهم لأن الماسي التي شهدناها في غزة لن تقدم الأمن إلى إسرائيل وكذلك أيضاً عدم وجود الفرص في الضفة الغربية لن تغيد إن التطور في حياة الشعب الفلسطيني يجب أن يكون جزءاً لا يتجزأ من عملية السلام وعلى إسرائيل أن تأخذ خطوات عملية لإحداث هذا التغيير والتطور .

وأخيراً الدول العربية عليها أن تدرك بأن مبادرة السلام العربية كانت هي البداية المهمة لكنها ليست نهاية المسؤولية الملقاة على عاتقها فذلك فإن النزاع العربي الإسلامي يجب أن لا يستخدم لتشتيت انتباه الشعب العربي عن مشاكل أخرى بل يجب أن يكون سبباً للعمل ولمساعدة الشعب الفلسطيني لتطوير المؤسسات التي تساعدهم على التقدم. وكذلك أيضاً الإقرار بالحق الشرعي لإسرائيل وكذلك الابتعاد عن التركيز على القضايا السابقة.

أمريكا سوف تضع سياستها مع هؤلاء الذين يناشدون السلام وسوف نقول علانية وما نقوله علانية هو ما نقوله سرّاً للفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين والعرب فنحن لا نستطيع أن نفرض السلام لكن بصورة خاصة يدرك الكثير من المسلمين أن إسرائيل لن تذهب بعيداً وكذلك الكثير من الإسرائيليين يدركون أنه هناك حاجة لوجود دولة فلسطينية لقد حان الوقت بالنسبة لنا للعمل على المبادئ التي نؤمن بأنّها صحيحة.

الكثير من الأشخاص الذين قضاوا والكثير من الأشخاص الذين ماتوا علينا أن نفكر الآن بتلك الأمهات في فلسطين وإسرائيل اللواتي يستطعن تربية أبنائهن دون خوف وأن نعمل على هذا المكان ليكون المكان الذي يجب أن ينعم بالأمن وعندما تصبح القدس هي موطن للمسلمين والمسيحيين وكذلك لليهود وكذلك كافة الأطفال الذين انحدروا من ديانة إبراهيم هذه قصة من قصص الإسلام كما هو الحال في قصص الإسلام عندما جاء موسى وعيسى وموسى وعيسى وانضموا في صلواتهم هنا.

المصدر الثالث للثوتر هو يكمن أيضاً بضرورة تولى كافة المسؤوليات بمسؤوليتنا بالنسبة لمسألة السلاح النووي.

فهذه القضية كانت موضع جدل بين الولايات المتحدة وجمهورية إيران الإسلامية فلسنوات طويلة كانت إيران تجابه الولايات المتحدة من خلال معارضتها وهناك تاريخ طويل بيننا في هذا السياق وفي وسط الحرب الباردة كانت الولايات المتحدة قد لعبت دوراً في انتخاب حكومة إيرانية ديمقراطية ومنذ الثورة الإسلامية إيران لعبت دوراً أيضاً في أخذ الكثير من الأسرى الأمريكيين من المدنيين وبدلاً من أن نبقي عالقين في الماضي أقول صراحة للقادة الإيرانيين وللشعب الإيراني بأن دولتي على استعداد للمضي قدماً ولكن السؤال الآن ما الذي إيران ترغب بيناته.

أدرك تماماً بأن هناك عقود من عدم الثقة بيننا ولكن علينا أن نعمل الآن بطريقة تتسم بالصرامة سوف يكون هناك الكثير من القضايا التي علينا أن نناقشها ولن نعمل إلا بمناقشتها التي ستكون مبنية على الاحترام المشترك لكن من الواضح لكافة الأطراف المعنية أنه عندما يرتبط الأمر بمسألة السلاح النووي فقد وصلنا إلى نهاية مغلقة فهذا الأمر لا يصب في مصلحة أمريكا بل هو الحيلولة دون انتشار سباق تسلح نووي في الشرق الأوسط الذي يفضي بهذه المنطقة والشرق الأوسط إلى نهاية وخيمة العواقب.

إنني أتفهم هؤلاء الذين يحتجون ويقولون بأن بعض الدول تمتلك أسلحة نووية وأخرى لا تمتلك لكن لا يحق لأي شخص أن يختار من يجب أن يمتلك ومن يجب أن لا يمتلك ولهذا أعيد تأكيد الولايات المتحدة بأن يكون هناك عالم خال من الأسلحة النووية وأن أي دولة بما فيها إيران يجب أن يكون لها الحق في الوصول لطاقة نووية إذا كان ذلك متماثلاً مع اتفاقية حظر الانتشار النووي هذا جزء من تلك المعاهدة ويجب أن يكون مستحقاً لكافة الدول التي تلتزم فيها وأعتقد أن كافة الدول تشاطرنني الرأي.

القضية الرابعة التي أودّ الحديث عنها هي الديمقراطية.

أعلم أنه كان هناك جدالات كثيرة حول تعزيز الديمقراطية في السنوات الأخيرة وأن الكثير من هذا الجدل يرتبط بالحرب التي دارت في العراق فدعوني أكون واضحاً لا يوجد نظام حكومي الذي يجب أن يفرض من قبل دولة على أخرى البتة فهذا لن يخفف من مسؤولياتي أيضاً على الشعوب التي لا تعطي شعبها حق الديمقراطية فكل دولة تنتظر إلى الديمقراطية وإلى التقاليد الخاصة بها كما يناسبها فأمريكا لا تقترض بأنّها تعلم ما هو الأفضل بالنسبة لكافة الدول وكذلك بأننا لا نقوم بتحديد الانتخابات

السلمية للدول الأخرى في العالم لأنّ لدي إيمان راسخ بأن كافة الشعوب تتوق لبعض الأشياء المحددة ألا وهي القدرة للحديث عما يدور في خلدنا وكذلك للحديث عن حكوماتها والثقة في سيادة القانون وأيضاً إدارة العدالة بطريقة متساوية والحكومات التي تتسم بالشفافية ولا تسرق من الشعوب وحرية العيش كما يحلو للمرء هذه ليست مثاليات أمريكا فحسب هذه حقوق إنسان لذلك فإننا سوف ندعمها في كل مكان.

لا توجد خطوط واضحة لتحقيق تلك الأحلام لكنها أحلام واضحة على الحكومات أن تعمل على حماية تلك الأهداف والحكومات التي تعمل ذلك هي أكثر أمناً وأكثر استقراراً أما بالنسبة لمحاولة إبعاد هذه الأحلام فلن يجعلها تذهب بعيداً أمريكا سوف تستمع إلى كافة الأصوات التي تتبع من كافة مواطن العالم حتى لو لم تكن تتوافق معها وسوف نسعى لتحقيق الأهداف شريطة أن تكون مبنية على السلام والاحترام.

وهذه النقطة الأخيرة تعد في غاية الأهمية لأنّ بعض الأشخاص الذين يناصرون الديمقراطية فقط عندما يكونوا في مناصب القوة لكن عند وصولهم إلى مناصب القوة يصبحون متصلبي القلوب. إذن بصرف النظر عن المكان أو عن الحكومة على هذه الحكومات أن تضع معايير واحدة بالنسبة لكافة من يأتي إلى سدة السلطة عليكم أن تحتفظوا بالسلطة من خلال الموافقة وليس من خلال الإكراه عليكم احترام حقوق الأقليات والمشاركة بروح من التسامح والتسوية والتوافق عليكم أن تضعوا اهتمام شعبكم فوق كل الاعتبارات وفوق أحزابكم السياسية لأنه دون هذه المكونات الأساسية لن نتجج الديمقراطية البتة.

القضية الخامسة التي علينا أن نتحدث عنها ألا وهي حرية الأديان.

فالإسلام له تاريخ يفتخر به في التسامح ونراه في تاريخ قرطبة في إسبانيا والأندلس وكنت قد تعلمت من خلال طفل في إندونيسيا الذي عاش في بيئة إسلامية هناك عاش في بيئة تتسم بالتسامح هذا ما نحتاجه على الأشخاص في كل المجتمعات أن يختاروا دياناتهم وفقاً للثقافات والقلب والروح فهذا التسامح يد أساسياً للأديان لكي تزدهر لكن غالباً ما يواجه هذا الأمر بتحديات جمة وبطرق مختلفة. وبين بعض المسلمين هناك اتجاه لفرض الديانات على البعض ومن خلال تحدي ديانات الآخرين. إن ثروة التنوع الإسلامي يجب الحفاظ عليها سواء كان الأمر يرتبط بالموارنة في لبنان أو بالنسبة للأقباط في مصر. وإذا ما كنا أكثر صراحة مع أنفسنا هذه النقاط يجب أن تعالج بين المسلمين وكذلك أوجه الشقاق بين السنة والشيعة وخاصة في العراق.

حرية الدين هي مسألة أساسية لتطور الشعوب ولتستطيع أن تعيش فيما بينها علينا أن نبحث عن الطرق السلبية لتطورها على سبيل المثال في الولايات المتحدة المسألة هناك الكثير من الصعوبات التي واجهت بعض المسلمين في أمريكا للوفاء بدياناتهم ولهذا فإنني سوف أعمل على تطبيق كل ما أستطيعه ليستطيع المسلمون من تقديم الزكاة وهذا الأمر سوف يدفعني أيضاً لأعمل على أن أجعل المسلمين أن يعيدوا بالطريقة كما يحلو لهم وفقاً للمبادئ الإسلامية. لا تستطيع نشوة الكراهية التي قد نحملها تجاه أي دين آخر وراء مبادئ خاطئة. الإيمان هو الذي يجمعنا مع بعضنا البعض وهذا هو المشروع الذي نعمل عليه في أمريكا بين المسلمين واليهود وهذا أيضاً ما يدفعني لتحية الملك عبد الله على مبادرة حوار الأديان التي كان قد أطلقها ونحن في أنحاء العالم نقوم باحتواء هذه الحوارات التي من شأنها سد الهوة بين كافة المجتمعات سواء أكانت تهدف هذه الحوارات لرد الملايا على أعقابها في إفريقيا أو المساعدة للإنقاذ من أي كارثة على الإطلاق.

القضية السادسة التي أودّ الحديث عنها هي حقوق النساء أو حقوق المرأة.

أعلم ومن خلال الحضور الذي يجب أن يجتمع في هذه الجامعة بأن هناك نقاشات حامية الوطيس حول هذه الموضوع أكره النقاش حول إذا ما يجب أن تختار المرأة أن تضع حجاباً أم لا لكنني أؤكد بأن المرأة التي لا تحظى بالتعليم فهي لا تحظى بالمساواة. وليس من المصادفة أن الدول التي كانت فيها النساء متعلمات للغاية هم هي الدول التي تعد مزدهرة للغاية دعوني أكون واضحاً فإن مسألة حق ومساواة النساء هي جزء أساسي من جوهر إسلامي ففي تركيا وباكستان وبنغلادش وإندونيسيا لقد رأينا الكثير من الدول الإسلامية التي تختار امرأة لتقود بلادهم هناك في حين بأن النزاع النساء ما زال يستمر في الكثير من جوانب أمريكا وفي بقاع أمريكا وبقاع أخرى من العالم فإنني على قناعة بأن بنات بناتنا تستطعن أن تقدمن للمجتمعات بقدر ما نستطيع نحن الرجال أن نقدم. الازدهار المشترك لن يتحقق إلا من قبل كافة أفراد البشرية الرجال والنساء للوصول إلى كافة الفرص الممكنة ولا أعتقد أن النساء عليهن أن يعشن نفس الحياة التي يخترن لأنفسهن ولكن الخيار يجب أن ينبع منهن ولهذا السبب فإن الولايات المتحدة سوف تقوم بتقديم شراكات مع أي دولة إسلامية سوف تقوم بتقديم حملات تعليمية للوصول إلى الأحلام التي يتقن إليها.

أخيراً أود أن أناقش فرص التطور الاقتصادي.

أعلم بأن أن مسألة العولمة تبدو للكثيرين بأنها متناقضة فالنظريون والإنترنت قد يقدمان المعرفة لكن هناك الكثير من أحداث العنف فضلاً عن المشاهد الجنسية التجارة قد تقدم الثروات لكن هناك الكثير من المساوئ والتغيرات التي قد تطال المجتمعات ففي كل الدول في العالم بما في ذلك الولايات المتحدة هذا التغيير قد يحدث الخوف الخوف من أنه مع الحداثة قد نفقد السيطرة على خياراتنا الاقتصادية وعلى سياستنا والأهم والأكثر أهمية أننا قد نفقد هويتنا وأفراد أسرنا وتقاليدنا وإيماننا.

لكنني أعلم أن التطور الإنساني لا يمكن أن ينكر البتة فهذه ال دعونا أن نبذل كافة التناقضات بين التطور وبين العقائد القديمة. فدولة مثل اليابان حققت حضارة لا يستهان بها في الوقت نفسه ما تزال تحتفظ بتقاليدها وهذا أيضاً في دول أخرى نجد هذا من دول تمتد من كوالالمبور إلى دبي .

في الأوقات القديمة وفي الأوقات الحالية المجتمعات الإسلامية كانت في مصافي الدول في التعليم والابتكار والإبداع وهذه الناحية هامة لأنه لا يمكن لاستراتيجية التنمية أن تبنى فقط على ما قد نجده في الواقع الجاهز أو بالنسبة للأشخاص الذين هم عاطلون عن العمل الكثير من الدول مجلس التعاون الخليجي قد حققت ثروات كبيرة بسبب النفط ولكن بعض هذه الدول بدأت تركز أيضاً على التطوير والتنمية لكن علينا أن نتأكد بأن الابتكار هو عملة القرن الحادي والعشرين. في الكثير من المجتمعات الإسلامية الآن بات عليها أن تستمر في هذا المسار وإنتي أؤكد على هذا الاستثمار في دولتي أيضاً. وفي حين أن الشعب الأمريكي في الماضي كان يركز على النفط والغاز عندما يتعامل مع هذا العالم الآن فإننا نسعى لانخراط أوسع النطاق.

في مسائل التعليم سوف نقوم بتعزيز برامج التبادل والمنح الدراسية كما حدث مع والدي عندما ذهب إلى أمريكا. وفي الوقت ذاته سوف نقوم بتشجيع المزيد من الأمريكيين للدراسة في دول إسلامية وسوف نقوم أيضاً بالوفاء بأحلام الكثير من الطلاب للتعلم في أمريكا وسوف نستثمر في أطفال كثيرة في أنحاء العالم وسوف نعمل على خلق شبكات كثيرة عبر الإنترنت بحيث يستطيع شخص في كنساس أن يتصل مباشرة مع شخص في القاهرة.

وبالنسبة للتنمية الاقتصادية سوف نعمل على خلق مجموعة من المتطوعين الذين سوف يتشاورون مع نظرائهم في دول إسلامية وسوف أقوم بعقد قمة حول المشاريع التجارية هذه السنة للوقوف حول كيفية تعزيز الفرص التجارية بين الولايات المتحدة وبين الدول الإسلامية.

وفي مجال العلوم والتكنولوجيا سوف نقوم بإطلاق صندوق جديد لتعزيز عمليات التعليم التقني ونقل التكنولوجيا أيضاً للدول الإسلامية بحيث يمكن من خلالها خلق المزيد من الوظائف وكذلك تعزيز مستويات التعليم في الشرق الأوسط وفي جنوب شرق آسيا والتعاون في برامج من شأنها أيضاً تعزيز مصادر الطاقة الجديدة وخلق وظائف يمكن من خلالها تأمين مصادر شرب نظيفة. واليوم إنتي أعلن عن جهود عالمية من خلال مؤتمر إسلامي جديد الذي نسعى من خلاله لتعزيز الشراكات لتهدف لتحسين صحة الأطفال.

كل هذه الأمور يجب أن تتم من خلال الشراكة معكم فإن الأمريكيين على استعداد للانخراط مع المواطنين والحكومات والمؤسسات والقادة الدينيين وكذلك رجال الأعمال في كافة أنحاء العالم لمساعدة شعبنا للوصول إلى حياة أفضل.

فيما يخص القضايا التي تطرقت إليها أعلم أنها لن تكون بتلك السهولة لكن يقع على كاهلنا مسؤولية للعمل نيابة عن هذا العالم الذي نمثله هذا العالم الذي يعد فيه مكان للمتطرفين الذين يهددوننا ويعود الجنود الأمريكيون وكل دولة تشعر بالأمن وأن تستخدم الطاقة النووية لأهداف سلمية في عالم تستطيع الحكومات أن تقدم الخدمات لشعبها وأن تعمل على ضمان حقوق كافة أطفالها. هذه هي المصالح المشتركة هذا هو العالم الذي نسعى إلى خلقه لا نستطيع أن نحققه إلا معاً.

أعلم أن هناك الكثير من المسلمين وغير المسلمين الذين يشكون فيما إذا كنا نستطيع أن نبداً بتلك البدايات البعض قد يكون له الرغبة في زيادة الشقاق والشرذمة وأن يعرقل التطور وأما البعض الآخر فإنه يرى أن مسألة النزاعات هي مسألة حتمية بين الحضارات والبعض الآخر يرون بعين من الشك بأن هذا التغيير لن يحدث وهناك فريق ممن يخاف وفريق ممن يشكك لكن لو اخترنا ونظرنا إلى الماضي فقط فلن نحقق أي تقدم وأقول هذا الأمر إلى جيل الشباب من كل دين وفي كل دولة إنه أنتم ودون سواكم لديكم القدرة على إعادة صنع هذا العالم.

كلنا نعيش في هذا العالم لكن السؤال هو أننا إذا ما كنا نعيش بطريقة لنتحارب أم لننترك في هدف واحد وفي أرضية واحدة والتركيز على مستقبل نصلو لتحقيقه لأطفالنا واحترام كرامة كافة أفراد البشرية.

من السهل أن نقوم بشن الحروب لكن ليس من السهل أن نضع أوزار هذه الحروب من السهولة أن نلقي باللائمة على الآخرين بدلاً من النظر في أنفسنا من السهل أن ننظر في أوجه الاختلافات بين لدى الآخرين بدل من النظر في أوجه المساواة علينا أن نختار الطريق السهل هناك قاعدة واحدة تكمن في كل دين بأننا بأن علينا أن نعامل الآخرين كما نحب أن نعامل.

هذه قاعدة تمتد عبر الدول والشعوب وهذا المعتقد لا ينطبق فقط على الأبيض أو الأسود أو المسلم أو المسيحي أو اليهودي هذا اعتقاد موجود منذ بداية الحضارات وما زال ينبض في قلوب الملايين في أنحاء العالم هذا هو الإيمان بالآخرين وهذا هو الأمر الذي جلبني إليكم اليوم.

فنحن لدينا القوة لتجعلنا لنصل إلى العالم الذي نصلو به ولكن هذا لن يتوقف إلا إذا ما امتلنا الشجاعة وتذكرنا ما يقوله القرآن الكريم لقد خلقنا الإنسان لقد خلقناكم من قبائل لتعارفوا هذا ما تعلمناه وكذلك أيضاً التوراة كل التوراة تهدف لتعزيز السلام وكذلك الإنجيل يقول إنه بوركو هؤلاء الذين يصنعون السلام الذين يطلق عليهم أبناء الرب.

شعوب العالم تستطيع أن تعيش فيما بينها بسلام نعلم أن هذه رؤية الإله لكن هذا يجب أن يكون عملنا الآن على الأرض.

شكراً وبيارككم الرب شكراً جزيلاً شكراً

1.3. Target Text 2: Transcript of Al-Jazeera's Simultaneous Interpreting

إنني أشكركم على حسن الضيافة وكرم الوفادة لشعب مصر وأنا أنقل لكم تمنيات الشعب الأمريكي وتحيات السلام من الجاليات الإسلامية في بلدي وقول السلام عليكم.

نحن نلتقي هنا في وقت به توتر شديد بين الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والمسلمين في شتى أنحاء العالم هذا التوتر جذوره في القوى التاريخية التي تتجاوز أي جدل حول السياسة الحالية. العلاقة بين الإسلام وبين الغرب يدخل فيها قرون من التعاون والتعايش ولكن أيضاً النزاع أيضاً والحروب الدينية وفي الأوقات مؤخرًا زادت هذه التوترات بفعل الحقب الاستعمارية التي حرمت المسلمين من الحقوق وفي الحرب الباردة البلدان الإسلامية كثيراً ما عوملت وكأنها وكيلة ومن دون تطلعات احترام لتطلعاتها أيضاً التغييرات التي جاءت بها العولمة والحداثة جعل الكثير من المسلمين ينظرون بعين العداء إلى الولايات المتحدة باعتبارها تنظر بعين العداء للإسلام كما أن المتطرفين استغلوا هذه التوترات وفي صفوف قليل من المسلمين و هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر واستمرار جهود هؤلاء المتطرفين لشن عمليات عنف ضد المدنيين جعلت الكثيرين ينظرون بأن الإسلام بأن كل هذا أدى إلى مزيد من عدم الثقة والخوف وطالما أن علاقتنا تحدد بالاختلافات فسوف نمكن ونعطي القوة للذين يريدون الكراهية وليس السلام أولئك الذين يريدون النزاع وليس التعاون الذي من شأنه أن يساعد كل شعوبنا على تحقيق التقدم والرخاء وفي دورة الشك وعدم التوافق يجب أن تنتهي وقد جئت إلى هنا إلى القاهرة لأسعى وراء بداية جديدة بين الولايات المتحدة والمسلمين في أنحاء العالم على أساس من الاحترام المتبادل والثقة المتبادلة. وعلى أساس أن أمريكا والإسلام ليستا تنافسان فيما بينهما بل تتطابقان وتتشاركان في مبادئ مشتركة مبادئ العدل والتقدم والتسامح وكرامة كل بني البشر.

وأنا أفعل ذلك مدركاً أن التغيير لن يحدث بين عشية وضحاها وأعلم أن هناك الكثير من الإعلان والحديث عن هذا الخطاب لكن أدرك أنه لا خطاب وحده يمكنه أن يحل كل المشكلات ولا نستطيع أن نرد على كل الأسئلة المعقدة التي جاءت بنا إلى هنا لكنني على قناعة من أننا إذا أردنا أن نمضي قدماً علينا أن نقول بوضوح وانفتاح لكل منا ما يجول في أذهاننا وقلوبنا والتي كثيراً ما تقال من وراء الكواليس والأبواب المغلقة. يجب أن تكون هناك جهود للاستماع إلى بعضنا البعض وأن نتعلم من بعضنا البعض وأن نحترم بعضنا البعض ونسعى لأرضيات مشتركة كما يقول لنا القرآن أن علينا أن نتحدث دائماً بالحقيقة.

هذا ما سأحاول أن أقوم به هذا اليوم أن أقول الحقيقة بأفضل وسيلة أستطيع وبتواضع أمام المهمة التي ننفذ إزائها ومنطلقاً من قناعاتي بأننا ما يجمعنا كبشر أكثر هي من القوى التي تحاول أن تفصل وتباعد بيننا.

وهذه قناعة متجذرة في نفسي أنا مسيحي لكن والدي جاء من عائلة كينية فيها أجيال من المسلمين وكسبي صغير قضيت سنوات في إندونيسيا وكنت أسمع صوت المؤذن منذ الفجر وحتى المغرب وكشابت عملت في شيكاغو حيث الكثير من المسلمين الذين يجدون راحة في تطبيق معتقداتهم الإسلامية.

وكتلميذ للتاريخ أعلم عمق الحضارة الإسلامية فقد كان الإسلام هو الذي هو الذي مثل جامعة الأزهر يحمل مشعل النور والعلم لكثير من لمئات من الأجيال كما حدث في عصر النهضة الأوروبية كما أن روح الابتكار والإبداع هي في عدد من المسلمين هي التي اخترعت الجبر وأدوات الملاحة والطباعة والكتابة وفهم كيفية انتقال الأمراض وشفائها الثقافة الإسلامية أعطتنا الأقواس والأبراج والموسيقى والشعر والخط وأماكن للتمعن والتفكير وبحكمة وترى وعلى مر عصور التاريخ برهن الإسلام من خلال الأقوال والأفعال على روح التسامح الديني والتجانس العرقي والمساواة العرقية أيضاً.

وأيضاً أعلم أن الإسلام كان دائماً جزء من حكاية وقصة أمريكا فأول دولة اعترفت ببلدي كانت المغرب وعند توقيع اتفاقية طرابلس في العام 1796 جون آدمز ثاني رئيس للولايات المتحدة الولايات المتحدة بنفسها لم تجد أي خلاف ضد المسلمين والدين الإسلامي ومنذ تأسيسنا والمسلمون الأمريكيون أثروا الحياة الأمريكية وحاربوا حروبنا وخدموا في حكومتنا ودافعوا عن الحقوق المدنية وبدؤوا مشاريع تجارية ودرسوا في جامعاتنا وساهموا في إنجازاتنا الرياضية وفازوا بجوائز نوبل وبنوا أعلى مبانينا وأشعلوا الشعلة الأولمبية. وعندما انتخب أول أمريكي مسلم للكونغرس استخدم نسخة من نفس المصحف الذي طوماس جيفرسون أحد أبنائنا المؤسسين احتفظ بتلك النسخة من المصحف الشريف في مكتبة الشخصية.

إذن أنا عرفت الإسلام في ثلاث قارات قبل أن أتى إلى المنطقة التي نزل وحي الإسلام فيها لأول مرة. وهذه الخبرة هي التي توجه حياتي وخبراتي بأن الشراكة بين أمريكا والإسلام يجب أن تنبني على ما هو الإسلام الصحيح وليس ما هو متصور عنه. وأنا أدرك مسؤوليتي وواجبي كرئيس للولايات المتحدة أن أحارب ضد الصور النمطية السلبية ضد الإسلام أينما ظهرت.

لكن نفس المبدأ لا بد أن ينطبق على تصورات المسلمين عن أمريكا فالعدالة وكما هو الحال مع أن المسلم لا ينطبق عليهم الصور النمطية البدائية أمريكا ليست هي أيضاً الصورة النمطية للإمبراطورية فالولايات المتحدة كانت إحدى أهم مصادر التقدم في العالم نحن ولدنا نتيجة ثورة قامت ضد إمبراطورية وأسس بلدنا على مبدأ أن الجميع متساوون وقد بذلنا دماءنا وكفاحنا على مدى قرون لتحقيق هذه المعاني داخل حدودنا وخارجها وقد صاغنا كل الثقافات المختلفة المستمدة من كل بقاع الأرض المختلفة وكرسنا أنفسنا لمبدأ واحد وهو مبدأ قوة كيان يقوم على القوة في الاتحاد وكيان واحد من بين مجموعة من الأفراد المختلفين. وحتى الأمريكيين من أصل إفريقي وباسمي أنا ببارك حسين أوباما انتخبت رئيساً للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

ولكن قصتي الشخصية ليست فريدة من نوعها وفرص تحقيق الأحلام للجميع لم يتحقق للجميع ولكن وعده موجود لكل من يحل في شواطئنا وهذا يدخل بضمن حوالي سبعة ملايين من المسلمين الأمريكيين الذين يعيشون في بلادنا والذين هم بالمناسبة يتمتعون بمستوى تعليمي ومستوى معاشي يفوق متوسط الفرد الأمريكي. وعلاوة على ذلك فإن الحرية في الولايات المتحدة هي لا تختلف عن حق ممارسة الفرد لدينه لهذا السبب هناك مسجد في كل ولاية من ولاياتنا وأكثر من ألف ومنتان مسجد داخل حدودنا ولهذا السبب الحكومة الأمريكية لجأت إلى القضاء لحماية حق النساء والفتيات في ارتداء الحجاب ومعاقبة الذين يحرمونهم من هذا الحق.

لذلك يجب أن لا يكون هناك شك ليس هناك مجال للشك بأن الإسلام هو جزء من أمريكا ونعتقد أن أمريكا تعتقد في داخلها الحق أن بأي مراحل من مراحل الحياة يحق مشاركة الجميع في تحقيق طموحاتنا، أن تعيش بأمن وأمان وسلام وأن نحصل على حق العمل والعيش بكرامة وأن نحب عائلاتنا وجالياتنا وإلهنا، هذه أمور نشترك بها وهذا هو أمل البشرية جميعاً.

بالطبع الاعتراف بإنسانيتنا المشتركة هي مجرد البداية لمهمتنا بالكلمات وحدها لا يمكن أن تحقق وتلبي احتياجات مجتمعاتنا هذه الاحتياجات تلبي فقط إذا ما تحركنا وتصرفنا بحزم وجرأة وشجاعة ونذكر بأن التحديات مشتركة وإخفاقاتنا في التحدي لها سيلحق الضرر بنا جميعاً فنحن تعلمنا من خبراتنا القريبة أنه عندما يكون هناك نظام مالي يضعف في بلد فالرءاء كله يتأثر في كل مكان عندما تؤثر الإنفلونزا بشخص كلنا نصبح معرضين لخطره عندما تسعى دولة واحدة لامتلاك سلاح نووي فتهدد هذه الأسلحة يظهر للجميع عندما يعمل متطرفون في جبل ما في مكان كلنا يتعرض للخطر وعندما يكون هناك ضحايا أبرياء في دارفور والبوسنة يتعرضون لهذا هذه الجرائم هذه تلطخ ضمائرنا جميعاً.

هذا ما يعنيه أنه أننا يجب أن نتشارك في هذا العالم في قرننا الحادي والعشرين هذه مسؤولية تقع على عواتقنا اتجاه بعضنا البعض كثير. فهذه مسؤولية صعبة على أي فرد تحملها لأن التاريخ البشري كان كثيرًا سجلًا لبلدان وشعوب وقبائل وأديان أيضًا تخضع بعضها البعض سعيًا لتحقيق مصالحها الخاصة مع ذلك في هذا العصر الجديد مثل هذه العقليات والذهنيات تلحق الهزيمة بنفسها البعض إذا ما أخذنا بعين الاعتبار اعتمادية بعضنا البعض فإن أي نظام عالمي يرفع أمة أو شعب فوق الآخرين مصيره الفشل المحتمل. إذن أيًا كان ما ن فكر فيه في الماضي علينا أن لا نبقي أسرى لذلك الماضي فمشكلاتنا ينبغي أن نتعامل معها في إطار من الشراكة والتقدم يجب أن يكون هذا نشترك به جميعًا. والتقدم يجب أن يكون أمرًا نشترك به جميعًا.

والآن هذا لا يعني بأننا ينبغي أن نتجاهل مصادر التوتر في حقيقة الأمر هو العكس علينا أن نواجه هذه التوترات وبشكل شجاع وجريء ومن هذه الروح دعوني أتحدث إليكم بكل وضوح وصراحة أستطيع حول بعض القضايا المحددة التي أعتقد أن علينا أن نواجهها سوية أخيرًا.

القضية الأولى التي علينا أن نتصدى لها هو موضوع التطرف والتشدد العنفي والعنيف بكل أشكاله. في أنقرة أوضحت أن أمريكا ليست ولن تكون في حالة حرب ضد الإسلام ولكننا على أية حال سوف نسعى من دون كلل أو ملل متصددين للمتشددين العنيفين الذين يشكلون تهديدًا على أمننا لأننا نرفض ما يرفضه أتباع كل الأديان وهو قتل الرجال والنساء والأطفال الأبرياء ومهمتي وواجبي الأول كرئيس أن أحمي الشعب الأمريكي.

فالوضع في أفغانستان يبرهن على أهداف أمريكا وهنا نحن نحتاج إلى العمل سوية فقبل أكثر من سبع سنوات الولايات المتحدة لاحقت القاعدة وطلالبا بدعم واسع النطاق دولي فنحن لم نذهب بمحض اختيارنا ذهينا بحكم الضرورة وأنا على وعي من الإدراك على أنه هناك البعض ما زالوا يشككون أو حتى يبرروا فيما حدث في الحادي عشر من سبتمبر ولكن دعونا نكون واضحين القاعدة قتلت أكثر من ثلاثة آلاف شخص في ذلك اليوم أبرياء ونساء ورجال وأطفال من الولايات المتحدة وأناس آخرون ينتمون إلى بلدان أخرى لم يفعلوا أي شيء لإيذاء أي شخص لكن القاعدة ارتأت واختارت أن تلحق الأذى لهؤلاء بكل وحشية وارتأت أن تتحمل مسؤولية ذلك وتعلن عنه ومستمره في القتل أتباعها وأنصارها يحاولون توسيع نطاق تأثيرها هذه أفكار لئيس من شأنها أن نتجادل حولها هذه حقائق يجب أن نتعامل معها.

ولا تخطئوا الظن نحن لا نريد إبقاء جنودنا في أفغانستان فنحن لا نرى نحن لا نسعى إلى أية قواعد عسكرية هناك فهو أمر مؤلم لأمريكا أن تخسر أبناءها من الشباب والشابات فهذا صعب ومكلف سياسيًا الاستمرار في هذا النزاع وبكل فرح سنرجع كل فرد من قواتنا المسلحة إلى بلدنا إذا ما كنا متأكدين بأنه لن يكون هناك عنف مسلح في أفغانستان وباكستان يسعى لقتل أكبر عدد ممكن من الأمريكيين لكن هذه ليست هي الحالة حتى الآن لهذا السبب نحن ندخل في شراكات مع تحالف يضم أكثر من 46 بلدًا ورغم الكلفة عزمنا لن يتراجع ولن يتضاءل لأن لا أحد منا ينبغي أن يتسامح مع هذا التشدد فقد ارتكبوا جرائم القتل في عدة بلدان قتلوا ناسًا ينتمون إلى عدة أديان مختلفة لكن الأهم من ذلك أنهم قتلوا مسلمين وأفعالهم لا يمكن التصالح معها مع حقوق البشر وتقدم الشعوب ومع الإسلام وتعاليمه القرآن الكريم يعلمنا أن من قتل نفسًا بغير نفس فكأنما قتل الناس جميعًا والقرآن الكريم يعلمنا أيضًا أن من أحيانا فكأنما أحيانا الناس جميعًا.

إن الدين الحنيف الذي يعتنقه أكثر من مليار شخص أكبر كثيرًا من الكراهية الضيقة التي يراها البعض. فالإسلام ليس جزءًا في التصدي للعنف والكراهية بل هو جزء أساسي في الترويج لمبدأ السلام ونحن ندرك أيضًا أن القوة العسكرية لوحدها لن تحل مشكلة أفغانستان وباكستان لهذا السبب نخطط لإنفاق 1.5 مليار دولار سنويًا لبناء المستشفيات والطرق والمصالح التجارية لمئات الملايين من ال ومساعدة الملايين من النازحين أيضًا ولهذا السبب سنقدم أكثر من 208 مليار دولار للأفغانيين ليطوروا اقتصادهم ويقدموا الخدمات التي يعتمد عليها الناس.

ودعوني أيضًا أتعامل مع قضية العراق وعلى خلاف أفغانستان العراق كان حربًا اخترناها نحن والتي أثارت خلافات شديدة داخل بلدي وخارجة وعلى الرغم من أنني أعتقد أن الشعب العراقي هم أفضل حالًا في النهاية بعد التخلص من طغيان صدام حسين لكنني أعتقد أن الأحداث الأخيرة في العراق ذكرت أمريكا بضرورة بناء تحالف وإجماع دولي واستخدام الدبلوماسية هو أفضل لحل مشاكلنا كلما كان ذلك ممكنًا. في الحقيقة بإمكاننا تذكر كلمات طوماس جيفرسون الذي قال أنا أمل أن حكمتنا سنتمو مع نمو قوتنا وتعلمنا أننا كلما استخدمنا قوتنا بشكل أقل سنكون أعظم وأكثر حكمة.

وعليها اليوم مسؤولية تقع على عاتق الولايات المتحدة لمساعدة العراق لصياغة مستقبل أحسن وترك العراق للعراقيين فقد أوضحت للشعب العراقي بأننا لا نسعى لإقامة قواعد وليست لنا أية مطالب بأرضهم ومواردهم سيادة العراق ملك له وحده لهذا السبب أمرت بسحب ألويتنا القتالية بحلول شهر آب أغسطس لهذا السبب سنلتزم باتفاقيتنا مع حكومة العراق المنتخبة ديمقراطيًا لسحب القوات الأمريكية من المدن العراقية بشهر يوليو تموز وسحب كل قواتنا من العراق بحلول عام 2012. وسوف نساعد العراق على تدريب أفراد قواته الأمنية وتطوير وتنمية اقتصاده لكننا سوف نساعد العراق كعراق موحد ونو سيادة كشرية وليس كتابع.

لهذا السبب لن نقبل أي عنف من أي من المتطرفين ولن نغير ولن نتخلى عن ميداننا فالحادي عشر من سبتمبر كان مصدر صدمة وألم كبيرين على بلدنا فالغضب والكراهية التي فجرها مفهوم لئكن في بعض الحالات أدى بنا إلى التصرف بشكل يخالف أفكارنا وقيمنا ومثلنا العليا. لهذا السبب نحن سنقدم على خطوات ملموسة لتغيير مجرى الأمور لقد حرمت بشكل كامل استخدام التعذيب وأمرت بإغلاق سجن غوانتانامو بحلول بداية العام المقبل.

لذلك أمريكا ستدافع عن نفسها وأيضًا محترمة سيادة الأمم وحكم القانون وسيادة القانون وسوف نفعل ذلك بروح من الشراكة مع المجتمعات الإسلامية والمسلمة التي تتعرض للتهديد وكلما تسارع التخلص من المتطرفين في المجتمعات الإسلامية كلما ازدادت وتيرة شعورنا بالأمن.

ومصدر التوتر الذي نحتاج أن نبحث عنه هو الوضع بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين والعالم العربي.

الأمريكيون وعلاقتهم القوية مع إسرائيل معروفة تمامًا وهذا الرابط غير قابل للكسر والانكسار ويستند إلى روابط ثقافية وتاريخية وعلى الاعتراف بأن تطلعات امتلاك وطن قومي يهودي متجذر في تاريخ مأساوي لا يمكن نسيانه وإنكاره الشعب اليهودي على مر العصور والقرون تعرض للقمع والاضطهاد معاداة السامية في أوروبا وصلت ذروتها في محرقة وغدا سآزور بوخنفالد والتي هي جزء من المعسكرات التي تم التحقيق وتعذيب وقتل اليهود وإعدامهم في أفران الغاز ستة ملايين من اليهود قتلوا أكثر من مجموع السكان اليهود في إسرائيل اليوم. إن إنكار هذه الحقيقة لا أساس له وهو يتسم بالجهل والكراهية تهديد إسرائيل بمحوها من الوجود أو تكرار الصور النمطية ضد اليهود هو خطأ فادح ولا بد أن يثير في أذهان وذاكرة اليهود أن السلام الذي تستحقه شعوب المنطقة لن يتحقق.

ولكن من طرف آخر لا يمكن أن ننكر بأن الشعب الفلسطيني بمسلميه ومسيحييه قد عانى سعيًا لتحقيق وطنًا قوميًا له. وعلى مدى ستين عامًا تحملوا الآلام النزوح وأيضًا الكثير يعيشون في مخيمات اللاجئين في الضفة الغربية وغزة محرومين من حياة آمنة وسلام لم يمتلكوها أبدًا وتحملوا الإهانة يوميًا بأشكالها الكبيرة والصغيرة التي تأتي مع الاحتلال. إذن ينبغي أن لا يكون هناك شك بأن الوضع للشعب الفلسطيني هو وضع لا يمكن احتماله وأمريكا لن تدير ظهرها للحقوق الفلسطينية المشروعة في العيش بكرامة وبدولة لهم تمنحهم الفرص في الحياة .

وعلى مر عقود أيضًا كان هناك مأزق وانتهت الأمور إلى طريق مسدود شعبان بحقوق مشروعة كل له تاريخ مؤلم يجعل من التنازل بعيدًا عن متناول اليد من السهل توجيه وإلقاء اللوم للفلسطيني أن يتحدث عن النزوح الذي جاء بسبب تأسيس دولة إسرائيل. وللإسرائيليين أن يشيرون إلى العداء المستمر والهجمات على مر عصورهم داخل حدودهم وما وراء حدودهم ولكننا إذا ما راينا هذا النزاع من وجهة أو منظور طرف أو آخر لن نرى الحقيقة كما هي الآن الحل الوحيد هو لتطلعات كل من الطرفين لتتحقق من خلال دولتين حيث يعيش الإسرائيليون والفلسطينيين كل يعيش في أمن وسلام.

هذا في مصلحة إسرائيل ويصب في مصلحة فلسطين وفي مصلحة أمريكا وبمصلحة العالم أيضًا ولهذا السبب أنا أنوي أن اسعى شخصيًا للتوصل إلى هذا الهدف بكل تفاني تتطلبه هذه المهمة لان الالتزامات التي على الطرفين متفق عليها وفقا لخارطة الطريق واضحة للعيان لكي يأتي السلام.

أن الأوان لهذه الأطراف ولنا جميعًا أن نرتقي إلى مستوى مسؤولياتنا الفلسطينيين يجب أن يتخلوا عن العنف المقاومة من خلال العنف والقتل خطأ ولن يحقق النجاح. على مر قرون السود في أمريكا عانوا من أسياط الاسترقاق والتمييز العنصري والفصل لئكن لم يكن العنف الذي مكنهم من تحقيق حقوقهم كاملة لئكن الاصرار السلمي على المبادئ التي هي في صميم قيام أمريكا. فنفس

القصة ممكن أن يقولها شعب جنوب إفريقيا إلى شرق آسيا من أوربا الشرقية إلى إندونيسيا هي قصة تقوم على أساس حقيقة بسيطة أن العنف يؤدي إلى طريق مسدود ولا بد لنا على الشجاعة ولا على القوة أن تطلق الصواريخ على أطفال نائمين أو أن تفجر نساء عاجز في حافلة هذه ليست طريقاً لتكسب بها السلطة الأخلاقية بل التخلي عنها.

وقد آن الأوان للفلسطينيين أن يركزوا على ما يمكن بناؤه السلطة الفلسطينية يجب أن تطور قدرتها على حكم وخدمة أغراض شعبها وحاجات شعبها حماس لديها دعم لدى بعض الفلسطينيين ولكن عليهم أن يدركوا أن لديهم مسؤوليات أيضاً لكي يلعبوا دوراً في تحقيق التطلعات الفلسطينية لتوحيد الشعب الفلسطيني حماس يجب أن تضع حداً للعنف وتدرج الاتفاقيات السابقة وتدرج وتعترف بحق إسرائيل في الوجود. لكن في الوقت نفسه على الإسرائيليين أن يقرروا بعدالة أن حق إسرائيل في الوجود لا يمكن أن ينكر كذلك حق الفلسطينيين في الوجود. الولايات المتحدة لا تقبل مشروعية الاستمرار في الاستيطان الإسرائيلي فبناء هذه المستوطنات ينتهك الاتفاقيات السابقة ويقوض جهود تحقيق السلام فأن الأوان لهذه المستوطنات أن توقف إن على إسرائيل أيضاً أن ترقى لمستوى مسؤولياتها لتضمن أن الفلسطينيين أن يعيشوا ويعملوا ويطوروا مجتمعهم كما أن الأمر يدمر العائلات الفلسطينية استمرار الأزمة الإنسانية في غزة وهذا بالطبع لا يخدم مصلحة أمن إسرائيل ولا فقدان الفرص في الضفة الغربية لأن التحقق في الحياة اليومية للفلسطينيين يجب أن يكون جزءاً حيوياً حاسماً لا يتجزأ من السعي للسلام وعلى إسرائيل أن تقدم على خطوات ملموسة لتحقيق مثل هذا التقدم .

وأخيراً البلدان العربية عليها أن تدرك أن مبادرة السلام العربية كانت بداية مهمة ولكن ليست هي نهاية مسؤولياتهم لأن النزاع العربي الإسرائيلي يجب أن لا يستخدم بعد الآن لصرف أنظار الشعوب العربية عن مشاكل أخرى بدل من ذلك يجب أن يكون سبباً للتصرف لمساعدة الفلسطينيين على تطوير مؤسساتهم التي ستدير دولتهم وتدرج حق إسرائيل المشروع وأن تختار التقدم بدلاً من التركيز على الماضي الذي يلحق الهزيمة بالذات.

أمريكا سوف تضع سياساتها إلى جانب الذين يسعون إلى السلام وسوف نقول علنا ما نقوله وراء الكواليس للإسرائيليين و للفلسطينيين وللعرب نحن لا نستطيع أن نفرض ونملي السلام لكن في الأوساط الخاصة كثير من المسلمين يدركون أن إسرائيل لن تختفي من الوجود وعلى نفس الشاكلة يدرك الكثير من الإسرائيليين أن الحاجة موجودة لقيام دولة فلسطينية وقد آن الأوان للتصرف على ما يعلم الكثيرون منا على أنه حقيقة.

كثير من الدموع ذرفت وكثير من الدماء سفكت ولكن كلنا علينا مسؤوليات لنعمل من أجل اليوم الذي الأهميات الإسرائيلية والفلسطينيات يرون أبناءهم يكبرون من دون خوف والأرض المقدسة للديانات الثلاثة العظيمة هي مكان للسلام الذي أراد الله أن يكون أن تكون القدس وطناً دائماً للمسيحيين واليهود والمسلمين ومكاناً لكل أولاد إبراهيم أن يعيشوا سوية كما هي بقصة الإسراء كما هي القصة مع الإسراء عندما عيسى وموسى ومحمد عليهم الصلاة والسلام جميعاً صلوا سوية.

والمصدر الثالث للتوتر هو مصالحنا المشتركة في الحقوق والمسؤوليات للدول فيما يخص السلاح النووي.

فهذه القضية كانت مصدرًا لتوتر بين الولايات المتحدة وجمهورية إيران الإسلامية وعلى مر سنوات إيران تحدثت جزء بموقف مراهض لبلدي. وفي الحقيقة إنه تاريخ مليء وعاصف بالحوادث في خضم الحرب الباردة الولايات المتحدة لعبت دوراً في الإطاحة بحكومة إيرانية منتخبة ديمقراطياً لكن منذ قيام الثورة الإسلامية إيران لعبت دوراً في أعمال أخذ رهائن وعنف ضد المدنيين والعسكريين الأمريكيين هذا تاريخ معروف ولكن بدلاً من أن نبقي أسرى مثل هذا الماضي أوضحت لقادة إيران ولشعب إيران أن بلدي مستعد للمضي قدماً إلى الأمام لكن السؤال الآن ليس هو ما تقوم به إيران أو تقف ضده ولكن ماذا تريد أن تنيبه لمستقبلها.

انا أدرك أنه من الصعب تجاوز عقود من عدم الثقة لكن علينا أن نتصرف بشجاعة وبصواب وتصميم وعزم فستكون هناك الكثير من القضايا تحتاج إلى بحث علينا أن نمضي قدماً من دون شروط مسبقة على أساس الاحترام المتبادل لكن من الواضح لكل من يعنيه الأمر بقدر تعلق الأمر بالأسلحة النووية وصلنا نقطة حاسمة هنا فهي ليست مصلحة أمريكا ببساطة ولكنها للحيلولة دون سباق تسلح نووي في الشرق الأوسط يمكن أن يؤدي بهذه المنطقة والعالم إلى مسار محفوف بالمخاطر الجمة. أنا أفهم أن الذين يحتجون يقولون لبعض البلدان سلاح نووي والبعض الآخر لا يملكها لكن ينبغي أن لا يختار أي طرف أي بلد من يملك هذا السلاح ومن ذلك لذلك أجدد تمسك أمريكا لنسعى إلى عالم لا بلد فيه يمتلك سلاحاً نووياً. وأي بلد بما فيها إيران ينبغي أن يكون لها الحق في

امتلاك التكنولوجيا النووية السلمية إذا ما التزمت بإبقاء التزاماتها وفقاً لمعاهدة الحد من انتشار الأسلحة النووية هذا وعد يجب أن يحترم لكل من يلتزم بهذا المبدأ وأنا واثق أننا جميعاً في هذه المنطقة نلتزم بهذه القضية.

القضية الرابعة التي سأتعامل أو سأتطرق إليها هي قضية الديمقراطية.

فأنا أعلم أنه كان هناك تناقضات وإثارة الجدل حول الترويج للديمقراطية في السنوات القليلة الماضية وكثير من ذلك يرتبط بالحرب على العراق إذ أن دعوتي أكون واضحاً لا يمكن لنظام حكم أن أو ينبغي أن يفرض من دولة على أية دولة أخرى لكن هذا لا يقلل من حجم التزامي بأن على الحكومات أن تعبر عن إرادات شعوبها فكل شعب يعطي لهذه الحقيقة حياة حسب طريقة الخاصة ووفقاً لما يتجذر لديه من تقاليد أمريكا لا تفترض أنها تعرف ما هو الأصلح للجميع ولا نريد أن نسعى لاختيار نتائج انتخابات سلمية ولكن مع ذلك لدي اعتقاد راسخ من أن لكل الشعوب تتطلع لأمر وأشياء معينة منها القدرة على التعبير عن آرائهم وأن يكون لهم قولهم في كيف تدار شؤونهم وكيف يحكمون والثقة في حكم القانون وإدارة القضاء وتطبيقه على قدر من المساواة أن تكون الحكومات شفافة تتعامل بشفافية ولا تسرق من شعوبها والحرية أن تعيش كما تشاء هذه ليست مجرد أفكار وقيم أمريكية هذه حقوق إنسان لهذا السبب سندعمها أينما كان ذلك.

لا يوجد هناك خط مستقيم للإبقاء بهذه الوعود ولكن ما هو واضح هو الأتي أن الحكومات التي تحترم وتحمي هذه الحقوق هي أكثر استقراراً ونجاحاً وأمناً لكن قمع مثل هذه الأفكار لن ينجح أبداً ولن يخلص الناس من هذه الأفكار فأمريكا أمريكا تحترم حق كل الأصوات السلمية التي ينبغي أن تعبر عنها طالما هي تلتزم بحكم القانون حتى لو اختلفنا معها وسنرحب بكل الحكومات المنتخبة طالما أنها تحترم شعوبها وتحكم وفقاً للقانون وروح التسامح.

وهذه النقطة الأخيرة مهمة لأن البعض يناصر ويدافع عن الديمقراطية عندما يكون خارج سدة الحكم وعند وصولهم إليها يقومون بحقوق الآخرين بكل وحشية وقسوة إذ أن أيًا كانت الأماكن التي تتجذر فيها حكومة حكم الشعب وإلى الشعب تضع معياراً واحداً لكل الذين يمتلكون زمام السلطة عليكم أن تحافظوا على حكمكم من خلال الإجماع والقبول وليس الإكراه يجب أن تحترموا حقوق الأقليات وأن تشاركوا بروح من التسامح وقبول الآخر والتصالح وعلينا أن نضعوا مصالح شعوبكم ومشروعية العملية السياسية العمل السياسي فوق مصالح أحزابكم وفصائلكم من دون هذه الأمور لن تكون هناك ديمقراطية حقيقية. شكرًا.

فالإسلام لديه تاريخ يدعو إلى الفخر والتسامح ونرى ذلك يتجلى في تاريخ الأندلس وقرطبة وخلال فترة الوجود الإسلامي هناك وقد رأيت ذلك كطفل في إندونيسيا عندما يعيش المسيحيون وهم يمارسون دينهم بكامل حرياتهم في بلد مسلم هذه الروح نتاجها اليوم. الناس في كل بلد يجب أن تكون لهم حرية في اختيار ممارسة معتقداتهم الدينية بناءً على ما يقبلون به من فئات في العقل والروح فهذا عنصر أساسي لازدهار الأديان لكن هذا المبدأ يتعرض للتحدي بأساليب وطرق مختلفة.

ف لدى بعض المسلمين هناك ميل يدعو لى القلق لتحريف اعتقادهم من خلال رفض إيمان آخر وعقيدته. إن ثراء التنوع الديني يجب أن يكون مبدأ نحافظ عليه سواء أكان ذلك للموارنة في لبنان أو الأقباط في مصر. وإذا ما كنا صريحين وصادقين يجب أن نرى أن الشقاق بين المسلمين مثلاً الاختلافات بين الشيعة والسنة أدت إلى عنف مأساوي وفي العراق على وجه الخصوص أن حرية الدين ضروري لبناء قدرة الشعوب للعيش فيما بينها وعلينا أن نفحص ذلك ونتمتع في الأساليب التي تحمي ذلك. في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية قوانين التبرع الخيري صعب على المسلمين الإبقاء بواجباتهم الدينية لذلك أنا ملتزم للعمل مع المسلمين الأمريكيين لضمان أنهم يستطيعوا تقديم وتأييد فريضة الزكاة وعلى نفس الشاكلة من المهم للبلدان الغربية أن تتجاهل ممارسات تمنع المسلمين من ممارسة حقوقهم الدينية على سبيل المثال فرض أي زي ترتديه المرأة المسلمة. نحن لا نستطيع إخفاء روح العداء للأديان تحت شعار حماية الليبرالية. في الحقيقة الإيمان يجب أن يقرب بيننا لهذا السبب نحن نشجع على المشاريع التي تساعد على التقارب بين اليهود والمسلمين والمسيحيين ولذلك نرحب بمبادرة الحوار الديني للملك عبد الله ومبادرة ودور تركيا الريادي في حوار الحضارات لأنها تمد الجسور بين الشعوب سواء كان ذلك في جهود مكافحة الملايا في إفريقيا أو تجاوز آثار الكوارث الطبيعية.

القضية السادسة التي أريد أن أتطرق إليها هي حقوق المرأة.

أنا أعلم بإمكانكم أن تعرفوا من ردة فعل الحاضرين هنا أن هناك الكثير من الجدل الصحي. أنا أرفض وجهات نظر بعض الناس في الغرب بأن المرأة التي تغطي رأسها وتختار ذلك هي أقل مساواة لكن أيضاً أن المرأة التي تحرم من التعليم أيضاً تحرم من المساواة.

وليس من قبيل المصادفة أن البلدان التي فيها المرأة تحصل على تعليم جيد هي أكثر فرصة للتمتع بالديمقراطية. ودعوني أكون واضحاً إن قضية مواساة مساواة المرأة ليست قضية تتعلق بالإسلام. في تركيا وباكستان وبنجلاديش وفي إندونيسيا رأينا بلدان ذات غالبية مسلمة تنتخب نساء لحكم البلاد في الوقت نفسه الكفاح من أجل مساواة المرأة يستمر في جوانب كثيرة من حياة أمريكا وبلدان أخرى في العالم.

أنا مقتنع أن بناتنا يمكن أن يساهمن بنفس القدر في مجتمعاتنا على قدر أبنائنا أيضاً. إن رخاءنا المشترك سيمضي إلى الأمام بدعم البشرية جميعاً إذا ما سمحنا للنساء والرجال أن يحققوا طموحاتهم وذواتهم أنا لا أؤمن أن على المرأة أن تختار نفس الاختيارات مثل الرجل لتكون متساوية له أنا أحترم المرأة التي تختار حياتها للعيش بالطريقة التقليدية لكن ينبغي أن يكون هذا خيار هن أنفسهن لهذا فإن الولايات المتحدة ستتدخل في شراكة في أي بلد مسلم يساعد على نمو الأمية ويساعد الشباب على تلقي الفروض الصغيرة لتحقيق طموحاتهم.

أخيراً أريد أن أبحث معكم مسألة التنمية الاقتصادية وإتاحة الفرص للجميع.

إزاء العولمة التي نقف أمامها هناك مواقف متناقضة الإنترنت والتلفزيون يمكن أن تكون أدوات لنقل المعرفة ولكن أيضاً العنف والإباحية أيضاً التجارب [التجارة] التي يمكن أن تأتي بفرص و ثراء لكن أيضاً فوضى كبيرة وتغيرات في المجتمعات ولكل الدول والمجتمعات بما في ذلك الولايات المتحدة هذا التغيير يأتي معه جالباً الخوف والخوف من أن الحداثة والعصرنة قد تؤدي بنا إلى فقدان الخيار والسيطرة على حياة على خيارنا الاقتصادية والسياسية والأهم من ذلك هوياتنا وأكثر ما نعتز به في مجتمعاتنا وعائلاتنا وأدياننا أيضاً.

ولكنني أعلم أيضاً أن التقدم الإنساني لا يمكن أن ننكره فلا حاجة أن يكون هناك تناقض بين التنمية والتقاليد والأصالة بلدان مثل اليابان وأمريكا الجنوبية نمت اقتصادها بشكل هائل بينما حافظت على ثقافتها المتميزة والأصيلة والأمر نفسه ينطبق على التقدم الذي حققته بلدان إسلامية من كوالالمبور إلى دبي. في الأوقات الماضية وفي عصرنا الحالي المجتمعات المسلمة الإسلامية كانت في صدارة التقدم في طباعة الإبداع والثقافة ولا يمكن لأي استراتيجية تنمية أن تستند إلى الثروات التي تخرج من باطن الأرض و لا يمكن أن نديم التنمية وفي وقت شباب الشباب فيه يعانون من البطالة كثير من بلدان الخليج تمتعت بالثراء بسبب النفط بعضها ركز على التنمية والتطوير ولكن كلنا ينبغي أن ندرك أن التعليم والإبداع هي عملة القرن الحادي والعشرين وأيضاً في الكثير من المجتمعات الإسلامية ما يزال هناك نقص في الاستثمار في العنصر البشري في هذا المجال وأنا أركز على مثل هذه الاستثمارات في بلدي في الوقت الذي أمريكا في الماضي ركزت على النفط والغاز عندما يأتي الأمر للتعامل مع هذا الجزء من العالم نحن نريد مشاركة وانخراط أوسع نطاقاً من خلال التعليم. سنزيد من فرص التعلم مثل الفرصة التي جاءت بوالدي إلى الولايات المتحدة مثل المنح المتبادلة. في الوقت نفسه سوف نشجع المزيد من الأمريكيين على الدراسة في البلدان الإسلامية وسوف نطابق ذلك بتوفير فرص المنح الدراسية للطلبة المسلمين في الولايات المتحدة ونعزز من فرص التعلم عبر الإنترنت ونزيد من هذه الفرص بحيث يستطيع طفل في كينساس أن يتواصل مباشرة مع طفل وطالب في القاهرة.

ومن خلال التنمية الاقتصادية سنوحد عملاً تطوعي اقتصادي بشراكة مع نظرائهم في البلدان الإسلامية وسوف أستضيف مؤتمراً حول روح الريادة في مجال الأعمال والتجارة لتشجيع مثل هذه المبادرات في الولايات المتحدة وأصحاب المشاريع الابتكارية في بلدان إسلامية.

من خلال العلم والتكنولوجيا سنؤسس صندوقاً جديداً لدعم التعاون مع البلدان الإسلامية ودعم الأفكار لدعم السوق لخلق المزيد من فرص العمل وسوف نفتح مراكز للتفوق العلمي في الشرق الأوسط وإفريقيا والشرق الأوسط وجنوب شرق آسيا ونشجع برامج لتشجيع مصادر طاقة بديلة وإنتاج محاصيل جديدة ومنتجات لا تضر بالبيئة وسوف أعلن اليوم مبادرات جميع بالتعاون مع منظمة العالم الإسلامي لمكافحة الكوليرا والتعاون مع المجتمعات الإسلامية لمساعدة وترويج برامج الطفولة والأمومة كل هذه الأمور يجب أن تتم بروح من المشاركة.

الأمريكيون مستعدون للانضمام إلى الحكومات والمجتمعات والقادة الدينيين وقادة المال والأعمال في العالم الإسلامي لمساعدتنا جميعًا للسعي لتحقيق حياة أفضل لنا جميعًا والقضايا التي وصفها لن تكون سهلة للتعامل معها ولكن علينا جميعًا مسؤولية أن نظافر جهودنا نيابة عن العالم الذي نسعى لتحقيقه، عالم المتشددون لا يهددوننا والجنود الأمريكيين يعودون إلى بلدنا، عالم الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين كل يعيش آمنًا في بلده والطاقة النووية تستخدم لأغراض سلمية، عالم تكون فيه الحكومات خادمة لشعوبها وتقوم على خدمة شعوبها كل عيال الله في كل مكان حقوقهم محفوظة. هذه مصالح مشتركة. هذا العالم الذي نسعى لتحقيقه لكننا نحققه فقط سوية وبالعمل سوية.

أعلم أن هناك الكثير من المسلمين وغير المسلمين يتساءلون بل يشككون هل أن بالإمكان التوصل إلى هذه البداية الجديدة. بعضهم حريص على تأجيل نار الخلافات والوقف بوجه التقدم بعضهم يوحى بالكلام بأن هذه المبادرة لا تستحق العناء لأن مصيرنا الاختلاف والحضارات مصيرها التصادم. كثيرون فقط يتشككون من احتمال وقوع تغير حقيقي وهناك الكثير من الخوف الكثير من عدم الثقة التي تنامت على مر السنين. لكننا إذا ما اخترنا أن نبقي أسرى الماضي لن نتحرك أبدًا إلى الأمام وأنا أريد أن أقول هذا على وجه الخصوص إلى الشباب من أبناء كل الأديان وفي كل البلدان أنتم أكثر من غيركم لديكم القدرة على إعادة تخيل هذا العالم وعلى إعادة صياغة هذا العالم وصناعة هذا العالم فكلنا جميعًا نتشارك في العيش في هذا العالم اكننا نبقى فيه لفترة زمنية قصيرة. السؤال هو هل سنقضي هذا الوقت الذي نعيشه في العالم لتأجيل وتعميق الخلافات؟ أم نلزم أنفسنا لجهد مستمر متساو لتحقيق أرضية مشتركة تركز على مستقبل نسعى لتحقيقه من أجل أبنائنا ويحترم كرامة كل بني البشر.

من السهل أن نبدأ بشن الهجوم الحروب -عفوًا- أكثر من القدرة على إنهاؤها من السهل توجيه إصبع الاتهامات للآخرين بدلاً من أن ننظر إلى الداخل ومن السهل أن نرى الخلافات وما نختلف فيه مع الآخرين عما نشترك فيه معهم لكن علينا أن نختار المنهج والمسار الصحيح وليس السهل فهناك حركة وهناك قيمة قطبية في صميم كل الأديان أننا نحب للآخرين ما نحبه لأنفسنا.

فهذه الحقيقة تتجاوز حد وترقى فوق الشعوب والمجتمعات والأوطان هي ليست حقيقة زرقاء أو بيضاء أو سوداء وليست هي مسيحية أو مسلمة أو يهودية إنه اعتقاد في مهد الحضارات وما زال ينبض في قلوب الملايين من الناس في مختلف أنحاء العالم وهو الإيمان بالآخرين وقدراتهم وهذا ما أتى بي إليكم هنا. نحن لدينا القدرة لتحقيق وتشكيل العالم الذي نريه فقط إذا ما تحلينا بالشجاعة لاستغلال بداية جديدة متذكّرين ما يقول لنا القرآن الكريم، أَلَمْ نَقْرَأْ أَنْ كَرِيمٌ يَقُولُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ شَعُوبًا وَقِبَائِلَ لَتَعَارَفُوا وَالتَّلْمُذُ يَقُولُ لَنَا أَيْضًا إِنْ التَّوْرَةَ كُلَّهَا لَتَحْدَمُ هَدَفًا وَاحِدًا وَهُوَ تَعْرِيزُ السَّلَامِ الْإِنْجِيلِ الْمُقَدَّسِ الْكِتَابِ الْمُقَدَّسِ يَقُولُ لِيُبَارِكْ صَانِعُو السَّلَامِ لِأَنْهَمُ الَّذِينَ يَسْمُونَ أَبْنَاءَ اللَّهِ.

شعوب العالم يمكن أن تعيش سوية في سلام نحن نعلم أن هذه هي رؤية الرب لنا جميعًا ولذلك يجب أن يكون عملنا على الأرض لخدمة هذا الغرض.

شكرًا لكم والسلام عليكم شكرًا لكم جميعًا

1.4. Target Text 3: Transcript of Russia Today 's (RT) Simultaneous Interpreting

شكرًا. شكرًا جزيلًا لكم. تفضلوا. شكرًا. شكرًا لكم. شكرًا جزيلًا لكم. عتم مساء.

أنا تشرفت لكوني في القاهرة في هذا الوقت وتم استضافتي من قبل مؤسستين كبيرتين. وهي تعتبر جامعة القاهرة مصدرًا لتطور مصر وسويًا تشكل التناسق بين التقدم والتراث والضيافة التي تعكس ضيافة شعب مصر. أنا فخور بنقل هذه الضيافة لشعب أميركا والسلام عليكم.

نحن نلتقي في وقت يسوده التوتر بين الولايات المتحدة والمسلمين حول العالم. هذا التوتر مبني على حقائق تاريخية تتضمن عصورًا من التفاعل والتعايش. بالإضافة إلى الصراعات. ومؤخرًا تصاعد هذا التوتر من قبل الاستعمار والحرب الباردة التي تعرض لها العالم الإسلامي بشكل كبير مع احترامنا لتطلعاتهم الكبيرة. مضافًا إلى ذلك التغير الذي أحدثته العولمة والحداثة التي جعلت من العالم الإسلامي كعدو للتقاليد الإسلامية.

وقد استغل المتطرفون هذه التوترات وهم يمثلون الأقلية من المسلمين. وهجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر والعنف المستمر ضد المدنيين من قبل هؤلاء المتطرفين لا يمثل رؤية الإسلام تجاه أميركا والعالم الغربي فقط ولكن ضد البشرية أيضًا. وهذا يولد غياب ثقة كبيرة وعداء كبير.

وطالما كانت علاقتنا تحكمها خلافاتنا نحن سنعمل على زيادة قوة هؤلاء الذين يروجون للصراع وليس التعاون لتحقيق العدالة والرفاهية. هذه دورة الشكوك هذه والاتفاق يجب أن تصل إلى نهاية. جئت إلى القاهرة هنا للبحث عن بداية جديدة بين الولايات المتحدة والعالم الإسلامي حول العالم التي تكون مبنية على الاحترام المتبادل والمصالح المتبادلة. ويجب أن لا تكون الولايات المتحدة في تنافس مع العالم الإسلامي. يجب أن يتدخلا مع بعضهما البعض ويتقاسما مبادئ مشتركة مبادئ العدالة والتقدم والتعايش المشترك وكرامة البشرية.

أنا واثق أن هذا التغيير لن يحدث بين عشية وضحاها ولكن نحتاج إلى وقت كبير. لأن خطاب واحد لا يمكنه أن يغير هذه الفكرة في هذه الليلة ولا يمكن أن يضع نهاية للصراعات التي جاءت بي إلى هنا. ولكنني مقتنع بأننا إذا أردنا التحرك إلى أمام يجب أن نفتح قلوبنا لبعضنا البعض ونحدث بصراحة عن ما تختلجه صدورنا باتجاه بعضنا البعض. يجب أن يكون هناك جهود مستدامة للاستماع لبعضنا البعض واحترام بعضنا البعض ونجد أرضية مشتركة كما يخبرنا القرآن الكريم يجب أن تكونوا واعين إلى الله ودائمًا تحدثوا الصراحة.

هذا ما حاول فعله اليوم. أن أتحدث بصراحة بأكبر قدر أستطيعه انطلاقًا باعتقادي أن المصالح التي نشترك بها كبشر هي أكبر من القوة التي تخالفنا.

وهذا نابع من خبرتي الشخصية. أنا مسيحي والدي ينحدر من عائلة كينية فيها أفراد مسلمين كثيرين. وقد استمعت في إندونيسيا إلى نداء الأذان بشكل كبير. ورجل شاب عملت في مكانات فيها مسلمين يعملون للحفاظ على كرامتهم.

وكطالب أيضًا تعلمت كثير عن الحضارات المتعلقة بالإسلام. إنه الإسلام الذي يضع نور المعرفة والذي مهد للحضارات خلال القرون القادمة التي تلت. هناك اختراعات في العالم الإسلامي التي طورت علم الجبر والفيزياء والطباعة. ونحن تعلمنا كيف تنتشر الأمراض من العالم الإسلامي أيضًا من العلماء هناك. وهنا العالم الإسلامي يمثل منطلقًا للخط الذي تعلمناه وغيرها من الأمور التي شارك فيها الإسلام التاريخ البشري. وهذا كذلك منطلق من قدرته على التعايش مع بقية البشرية. كما تعلمت أيضًا بأن الإسلام هو جزء من تاريخ أميركا. والأمة الأولى التي اعترفت بدولتي هي المغرب من خلال توقيع معاهدة طرابلس 1697 قَدْ وقعت الولايات المتحدة. لم تكن هناك أي شخصية. وجاء في المعاهدة أن أميركا لا تحمل أي ضد للتكامل والعالم الإسلامي. وقد شارك المسلمون في حروبنا وأغوا حضارتنا وبدؤوا وشاركوا في أعمالنا وفتحوا جامعات لنا وشاركوا في تدريس طلبة لنا وساهموا في بناء أطول البنايات الموجودة والشعلة الأولمبية حملوها أيضًا. وقد أدى القسم أول عضو مسلم في الكونغرس استخدم القرآن نفسه الذي لأداء القسم كما فعل جيفرسون أيضًا.

لذا فأنا عرفت الإسلام في ثلاث قارات قبل وصولي إلى القارة التي أو المنطقة التي انتشر فيها الإسلام. وهذا من خبرتي أن الشراكة بين أميركا والإسلام يجب أن تكون مبنية على ما هو الإسلام وليس على ما لا يمثل الإسلام. أنا من خبرتي كرئيس للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية أن اقاتل ضد النماذج التي لا تمثل الإسلام مهما كانت وفي أي مكان كانت. وهذه المبادئ نفسها يجب أن تكون منطبقة على المسلمين في أميركا المسلمين في أميركا أنفسهم بالضبط. كما أن المسلمون لا يمثلون النموذج القاسي وكذلك أميركا لا تمثل النموذج أيضًا. الولايات المتحدة هي تمثل أحد أعمدة التطور في العالم. نحن عملنا كأنث لدينا ثورة ضد الاستعمار وقد نرنا الماء لعدة عصور لنعطي معنى لهذه الكلمات وثورتنا حول العالم. نحن نلونا جميع الثقافات التي تأتي من جميع أنحاء العالم. ونحن لدينا مفهوم واحد وهو أننا جميعًا نشكل أمة واحدة. الحقيقة هي أن أميركا والأميركان الإفريقيون وأنا باراك حسين أوباما لا يمكن أن يفكر الأمريكيون بأنني هذا الرئيس ولم تكن هناك هذه المفاهيم.

وان قصتي الشخصية ليست فريدة من نوعها. إن حلم الفرصة لجميع الأشخاص لا يتأتى من كل مكان من أميركا لجميع الناس الموجودون في العالم. وهذا يشمل أكثر من سبعة ملايين مسلم في أميركا وهم الذين يتمتعون بدخولات ومستوى تعليم أعلى من المستوى الذي يتمتع به الأمريكيون الآخرون. وأيضًا الحرية في أميركا غير قابلة للتقسيم من حرية الشخص بممارسة الطقوس

الدينية لذلك لدينا جوامع في كل ولاية وهناك أكثر من 1200 مسجد في الولايات المتحدة منتشرة في عموم أرجاء الولايات المتحدة. لذلك الولايات المتحدة حريصة على حماية النساء الذين يرتدون حجاب ونعاقب من يمنع ذلك.

لذا لن يكون هناك شك وأرجو أن لايساوركم الشك بأن الإسلام هو جزء من أميركا. وأنا أؤمن بأن أميركا تحتضن حقيقة اللا أكثرات للعرق والدين. نحن لدينا تطلعات مشتركة. أن نعيش في سلام وأمان وأن نحصل على التعلم والعمل بكرامة وحرية وحب عوائلنا ومجتمعاتنا وأهنا. هذه الأشياء نتقاسمها جميعاً وهذا هو أمل البشرية جمعاء .

الكلمات وحدها لا يمكن أن تلبى طلبات واحتياجات الناس. هذه الاحتياجات يتم تلبيتها إذا ما كانت هناك أعمال وأفعال حقيقية ومن خلال تبني القيم التي نتشاركها مع بعضنا البعض. ونحن قد تعلمنا من تجاربنا السابقة أنه حينما ينهار النظام الاقتصادي في بلد ما فإن هناك رفاهية في كل مكان. هناك حقيقة أن تكون البشرية تكون جميعاً تعاني من هذه المشكلة. إن خطورة الهجمات النووية التي نتعرض لها وتشمل جميع البشرية وليس فقط أمة واحدة تكون أمنة. وعندما يتم ذبح المدنيين في دارفور فهذا هو دعوة لتحرك ضميرنا الجماعي لإيقاف هذه المذابح هناك.

هذا هو معنى المشاركة في القرن الواحد والعشرين وهذه المسؤولية التي نتحملها تجاه بعضنا البعض كبشر. هذه مسؤولية كبيرة جداً. ولكن تاريخ البشرية سجل للأمم تنوعها وكذلك الأديان وهي تتطلع للتعايش مع بعضها البعض وتحقيق مصالحها المشتركة. ومن خلال استقلالنا وتداخلنا أي نظام جماعي يعلي دولة وشعباً على شعب آخر من شأنه أن يتهاوى ويسقط ويذهب إلى المذبلة. يجب علينا أن لا نكون سجناء لمثل هكذا أفكار قديمة. يجب أن نتعامل مع مشاكلنا من خلال الشراكة ويجب أن تتم المشاركة في التطورات التي في المجتمعات الموجودة. ولكن هذا لا يعني أننا يجب أن نهمل مصادر التوتر الموجودة. وفي الحقيقة يجب أن نعمل العكس بالضبط. يجب علينا مواجهة هذه التوترات. ومن خلال هذه الروح يجب علينا أن نتكلم بصراحة بأكبر ما يمكن عن قضايا معيئة أعتقد علينا يجب أن نواجهها مع بعضنا البعض سوية .

أول مسألة علينا مواجهتها هي الإرهاب والعنف في كل المناطق الموجودة. أنا أعلن أن أميركا ليست ولن تكون في حرب مع الإسلام. ولكننا مع ذلك سنواجه المتطرفين والعنف الذين يمثلون تهديداً مباشراً لأمتنا لأننا نرفض جميع الأشياء التي يرفضها جميع الناس: قتل الناس الأبرياء والأطفال. وواجبي الرئيس كرئيس للولايات المتحدة هو حماية الشعب الأمريكي. الوضع في أفغانستان يوضح ويعكس أهداف أميركا ويعكس حاجتنا للعمل مع بعضنا البعض. فخلال سبعة سنوات مضت تابعت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية القاعدة وحصلت على دعم داخلي. لم نذهب باختيارنا ولكننا ذهبن لأننا تعرضنا لهجوم من قبل القاعدة.

أنا واثق أن هناك من يسأل كيف ترون هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر. القاعدة قتلت أكثر من 3000 شخص في ذلك اليوم. وكان الضحايا ناس أبرياء نساء أبرياء ورجال من دول أخرى لم يعملوا أو لم يلحقوا الضرر بأي شخص. مع هذا القاعدة قررت بدم بارد اغتيال هؤلاء الناس. وحتى الآن يعلنون عن نيتهم وتصميمهم بالقتل بشكل جماعي كما يحصل في بلدان كثيرة متعددة.

هذه مقارنة يجب علينا التعامل معها وليس مجرد التجادل حولها. لا نريد أن نبقي قطعنا في أفغانستان. لا نلحم بإقامة قواعد عسكرية هناك. إنه مؤلم أن نخسر رجالنا في الحرب هناك. وإنه مكلف جداً الاستمرار بهذا الصراع ومن الصعوبة. سنكون سعداء بإعادة كل جندي من قواتنا إلى أرضنا إذا ما ضمنا أن القاعدة في أفغانستان وباكستان لن تعود لتهديد أو قتل أي أمريكي كما فعلوا في الماضي ولكن هذا الأمر لم يتحقق لحد الآن. لماذا تحالف مع تحالف يضم ستة دول. أميركا ليست ضعيفة وليس من أحد يجب عليه أن يتحمل هؤلاء المتطرفين. لقد قاموا بأعمال القتل في جميع البلدان. قتلوا ناس من مختلف الجنسيات والأعراق ولكن بشكل رئيسي قتلوا المسلمين. نكروا التصالح والتقدم. القرآن الكريم يعلمنا من يقتل شخص بريء كأنه قتل الناس جميعاً. من يقتل نفساً بغير نفسا زكية كأنما قتل الناس جميعاً وهذا ما تعلمناه من القرآن الكريم. وكذلك يعلمنا القرآن الكريم من ينقذ حياة إنسان كأنما أنقذ حياة البشرية جمعاء.

إن الإيمان الذي يحمله أكثر من مليار شخص أكبر من الحقد والكراهية التي يحملها قليلون. الإسلام لا يساهم في تطوير الإرهاب لكنه يساهم بشكل كبير في بناء السلام في العالم. نحن نسعى لحل المشكلات في أفغانستان وباكستان لذا سعينا لاستثمار أكثر من مليار ونصف مليار كل سنة لبناء المستشفيات والمدارس ومساعدة الناس الذين تعرضوا للآذى من قبل الإرهابيين والمتطرفين. وخصصنا أكثر من ملياري دولار للأفغانيين لكي يعملوا على تطوير اقتصادهم وأن يقفوا على أقدامهم.

دعوني أتعامل أو أخاطب مسألة العراق.

ليس كما يحدث في أفغانستان العراق كأنث حرب اخترناها نحن وهي قد أثارت خلافات كبيرة في داخل بلدي وفي معظم أجزاء العالم. وأنا في نهاية الأمر أؤمن أن العراق سيكون أفضل وأصبحوا أفضل من خلال تخلصهم من الإرهاب الذي كان يقيمه صدام حسين ونحن نسعى لحل مشاكلنا هناك في أي فرصة تسمح لنا. وبالتأكيد يمكننا أن نعيد كلمات توماس جيفرسون حينما يقول أمل أن كلمتنا تنمو مع قوتنا حتى إذا ما استخدمنا قوتنا نعرف أين نستخدمها في المكان المناسب.

أمريكا لديها مسؤولية اليوم لمساعدة العراق لبناء مستقبل جيد وأن تترك العراق للعراقيين. وقد أعلنت هذا بشكل واضح للشعب العراقي. وقد أعلنت هذا للشعب العراقي بأننا لا نسعى لإقامة قواعد عسكرية وليس لدينا نية لإقامة قواعدنا هناك. سنسحب قواتنا بسيادة العراق مهمة خاصة بهم وحق كامل لهم. لذا خضعنا لأوامر الحكومة الديمقراطية العراقية المنتخبة وسنسحب جميع من جميع المدن في تموز الحالي وسنسحب جميع قواتنا في عام 2011. وسنساعد العراق في تدريب قوات الأمن وبناء اقتصاده. ولكننا سنعمل على بناء عراق موحد بوحدة الحب وليس الكراهية. وكما أمريكا لا تحب العنف من قبل الإرهابيين يجب أن لا نغير مبادئنا أو ننسأها. الحادي عشر من سبتمبر كان مشكلة كبيرة بالنسبة لبلدنا. الخوف الذي ولده كان غير محتمل وفي أوقات تصرفنا بشكل مخالف لثرائنا وأفكارنا وقد قمنا بتصرفات مناوئة لهذا. أمرت الآن بإفقال كونتنا في العام القادم وسوف أخذ خطوات أخرى التي من شأنها إعادة الوضع إلى ما هو عليه طبيعي.

أمريكا ستدافع عن نفسها مع احترام سيادة الدول وحكم القانون وسنعمل ذلك بالشراكة مع المجتمع الإسلامي الذي أيضا سيعمل ذلك. وحينما يتم عزل المتطرفين من العالم المسلم سنحصل على أمننا وسلامنا بأسرع وقت ممكن.

والتوتر الآخر الثاني الذي نريد أن نناقشه هو الوضع بين الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين. إن التوازن الأمريكي مع إسرائيل والعلاقة التي تربط أمريكا مع إسرائيل مبنية على روابط ثقافية وتاريخية والاعتراف بحق اليهود في بناء دولة يهودية وهو أمر لا يمكن أن ننكره. حول العالم اليهود تعرضوا لاضطهاد عبر قرون ومعاداة السامية منتشرة في أوروبا ومنتزلة في الهولوكوست. وغدا سآزور المعسكرات التي تم فيها اليهود التعرض للقتل والاضطهاد والتعذيب هناك. أكثر من ست ملايين يهودي قتلوا وهم يمثلون أكثر من عدد سكان إسرائيل اليوم. وهذا أمر غير مرحب به أن نهدد إسرائيل بالدمار وهذا أمر خاطئ لأنه يخدم استعادة اليهود لهذه الذكريات المؤلمة التي تعرض لها أجدادهم في الوقت الماضي.

ومن جانب آخر لا يمكن أن ننكر أن الشعب الفلسطيني مسلميه ومسيحييه قد عانوا من أجل الحصول على أرض لهم. لأكثر من ستين سنة عانوا من عملية التشرذم في المعسكرات للاجئين ولم يعيشوا في الأمان والسلام الذي يلحمون به ومن حقهم أن يعيشوا به ثم عاشوا باضطهاد كبير وأتى مع الاحتلال الذي تعرضوا له. لذا يجب أن لا يساوركم الشك بأن الوضع الذي يعيش فيه الفلسطينيون أمر لا يمكن تحمله. أمريكا لا يمكنها أن تدير ظهرها لحق الشعب الفلسطيني في العيش بكرامة ورفاهية وأن يكون لهم دولتهم الخاصة بها.

لعمري مضت هناك تعثر هناك شعبين لهما طموحات شرعية كل منها لديه تاريخ مؤلم. فمن السهل أن نوجه الاتهامات إلى المستوطنات التي أوجدها الإسرائيلون وإلى الشعب السرائيلي الذي يتعرض إلى هجمات من قبل الجانب الآخر. ولكن إذا ما رأينا الصراع من جانب واحد لن نرى الحقيقة كاملة. القرار الوحيد هو أن يتم تلبية تطلعات الطرفين: دولتين للإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين كل منها يعيش بأمان وسلام جنب إلى جنب. هذا هو في مصلحة إسرائيل ومصلحة الفلسطينيين وفي مصلحة أمريكا وفي مصلحة العالم أجمع. ولهذا أنا لدي النية بمتابعة شخصياً ما تتطلبه هذه المهمة. وأن الالتزامات التي يتوجب عليها التي وافق عليها جميع الأطراف وفق خارطة طريق لأجل إحلال السلام. وهذا هو الوقت للجميع لتحمل مسؤولياتنا بالكامل. لأجل تحقيق ذلك على الفلسطينيين أن يتخلوا عن العنف. مقاومة من خلال العنف والقتل خاطئة ولن تنجح ولم تنجح. منذ عقود تعرضت أمريكا لعقود من خلال الاضطهاد والعبودية. ولكننا من خلال التصميم على القيم التي تحملها أمريكا تمكنا من النجاح.

هذه القصة نفسها يمكن أن يخبرها الناس من جنوب إفريقيا وآسيا وبقية بلدان العالم. هي قصة واحدة أن العنف يقود إلى نهاية ميتة ولا يقود إلى نتيجة. نحن نحتاج إلى ليس هناك شجاعة في إطلاق الصواريخ على النساء والأطفال ليس الأمر هو لا يعتبر الأمر في إطلاق الصواريخ. الآن الفلسطينيون عليهم أن يركزوا على ما يجب بناؤه لتحقيق تطلعات شعبهم.

حماس لديها بعض الإسناد من الشعب الفلسطيني ولكن هناك أيضاً من يعارضها لأنها لا تمثل طموحات الشعب الفلسطيني. يجب على حماس أن تنهي العنف ويجب أن تعترف بحق إسرائيل في العيش وتعترف بالاتفاقيات السابقة. وفي ذات الوقت يتوجب على الإسرائيليين أيضاً الاعتراف بأن حقوق الفلسطينيين أيضاً لا يمكنها أن تمر دون الاعتراف بها. الولايات المتحدة لا تقبل شرعية استمرار المستوطنات الإسرائيلية. يجب أن تتوقف هذه المستوطنات. لأن بناء المستوطنات يخرق الاتفاقيات السابقة ولا يساهم في التوصل إلى سلام لذلك فحان الوقت لإيقاف هذه المستوطنات. كما يتوجب على الإسرائيليين أن يتحملوا مسؤوليتهم مسؤولياتهم تجاه مساعدة الشعب الفلسطيني في بناء مجتمعهم وبلدهم.

كذلك أن الأزمة الإنسانية التي يعاني منها شعب غزة لا يمكن أن تخدم الشعب الإسرائيلي والسلام الإسرائيلي. يجب أن ينتهي العنف الذي يتعرض له الشعب الفلسطيني الذي يجب أن يكون جزءاً أساسياً من الخط والمسار إلى السلام ويتوجب على إسرائيل أن تتحمل مسؤوليتها تجاه ذلك وأن في النهاية أيضاً على البلدان العربية أن تعرف بأن مبادرة السلام العربية هي مجرد البداية وليست نهاية مسؤوليتهم. لا يجب أن تنفصل الشعوب العربية عن قضية الشعب الفلسطيني بل يجب أن يكون هناك تدخل لحل المشكلة وكذلك الاعتراف بحق إسرائيل في العيش وإحقاق الهزيمة بالعنف. أمريكا ستعمل مع أولئك الذين يريدون تحقيق السلام وسنعمل على النظر بالتعامل نفس الاتجاه مع جميع الأطراف مع الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين والبلدان العربية. لا يمكن أن نساهم وحدنا في السلام. العديد من المسلمين لا يعترفون بأن إسرائيل لن تذهب وكذلك فلسطين لن تذهب. يجب على الجميع يعلم أن يعترفوا الحقائق الموجودة .

تم إراقة دماء كثيرة. جميعنا لدينا مسؤوليات للتوصل إلى ذلك اليوم الذي يمكن للأمة الإسرائيلية والفلسطينية أن تعيش دون قلق على أبنائها. وأن تكون هذه الأرض المقدسة أرض سلام التي أرادها الله حينما أوجدها وأن تكون هناك تعايش مشترك المسيحيين والمسلمين وأن تكون الأرض التي اختارها إبراهيم كما جاء في القصة التي نخبرنا بها القرآن الكريم حينما يلتقي عيسى وموسى ومحمد عليه الصلاة والسلام يلتقون هناك.

أما المصدر الثالث للتوتر هو مسؤولياتنا تجاه طموحات الشعوب بعدم وجود تهديدات نووية.

هذا أمر مشترك وهذا ما نواجهه بين الولايات المتحدة والجمهورية الإسلامية الإيرانية. إيران أعلنت معارضتها لعدة عقود لبلدي. وفي وسط الحرب الباردة ساهمت الولايات المتحدة بانتخاب حكومة ديمقراطية وبعد وصول الحكومة الإسلامية للقيادة الإسلامية في إيران بدأت بأخذ الرهائن وانتهاج العنف وفي الماضي أعلنت للشعب الإيراني والقيادة الإيرانية بأن بلدي مستعد للتقدم للأمام. وهذا المر ما تقف إيران ضده ولكن ما تريده إيران في المستقبل. أنا متأكد أننا سنستمر بشجاعة وتصميم من أجل مناقشة العديد من القضايا بين بلدينا ومستعدون للتقدم ومناقشة هذه القضايا دون شروط مسبقة ولكن من مصدر قلقنا حينما يأتي الأمر للأسلحة النووية توصلنا إلى نقطة حساسة. هذا الأمر لا يتعلق بأمريكا فقط ولكن يتعلق بتطوير أسلحة نووية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط التي من شأنها أن تجعل المنطقة خطرة جداً وغير مستقرة.

أنا على علم بأن الاعتراف بوجود الاعتراضات بوجود بلدان لديها أسلحة نووية وبلدان أخرى ليس لديها. لذا أنا أؤكد التزام أمريكا في أن لدينا الرغبة بعدم وجود أي دولة تمتلك أسلحة نووية على وجه المعمورة. وأي أمة بما فيها إيران يجب أن يكون لديها الحق لامتلاك الطاقة النووية السلمية إذا استخدمت في مجالات سلمية وهذا يجب وأنا كلي أمل بأن جميع البلدان في المنطقة تشارك في الرؤية.

أما النقطة الرابعة التي أود أن أناقشها فهي الديمقراطية.

أنا أعلم بأن هناك جدالات حول مسألة ترويج الديمقراطية في السنوات الأخيرة. وهذه الجدالات تتعلق بقضية العراق. لذا دعوني أكون واضحاً لا يمكن لأي نظام حكومي أن يفرض من دولة على دولة أخرى. هذا لا يقلل من التزامي تجاه الحكومات التي تعكس تطلعات شعوبها. كل أمة لديها تطلعات تنطلق في أو تنبع من تراثها. أمريكا لا تمثل ولا يمكنها أن تملّي ما هو الأفضل لكل أمة. ولكن لدي إيمان مستمر بأن هناك لجميع الشعوب القدرة للتعبير عنما في داخلهم وكيفية اختيار حكوماتهم وبلدانهم انطلاقاً من العدالة حكومات شفافة ولا تسرق من شعوبها. الحرية التي يختارها والعيش هذه ليست أفكار أمريكية فقط ولكن أفكار يشترك فيها جميع أنحاء البشرية وفي جميع أنحاء العالم.

ليس هناك خط مستقيم لإدراك هذه المشكلات ولكنه أمر واضح. الحكومات التي تحمي حقوق شعوبها ستكون ناجحة أكثر ومستمرة وأمنة لذا فإن فرض الأفكار لم ينجح ولن ينجح.

أمريكا تحترم جميع الأصوات السلمية التي تنادي بالسلام والحرية في معظم أرجاء المعمورة ونحن نرحب بجميع الحكومات المنتخبة الديمقراطية المسالمة التي تحترمها جميع الشعوب.

وهذه النقطة الأخيرة مهمة جداً لأن هناك من يبنى الديمقراطية فقط حينما يكون في مصدر القوة وحينما يصلوا إلى مصدر القوة يبدؤون باضطهاد شعوبهم. لذا على الحكومات الشعوب هي للشعوب ويشكلها الشعوب وهي التي تضع من سيصبح في السلطة. يجب أن تستمروا بقوتكم لأجل الحصول على رضا الشعب وحقوق الأقليات والمساهمة في روح التعايش والتآلف. ويجب عليكم أن تضعوا مصالح شعوبكم والعملية السياسية أعلى من مصالحكم الشخصية. الانتخابات وحدها لا يمكن أن تحقق ديمقراطية حقيقية. شكراً جزيلاً.

المسألة الخامسة التي يجب أن نتعامل معها سوية هي مسألة التعايش.

الإسلام دين التعايش. وقد رأيت هذا في إندونيسيا حينما كنت هناك. رأيتها حينما كنت طفلاً في إندونيسيا حينما كان المسيحيون يعبدون بحرية في بلد مسلم. هذه هي الروح التي نحتاجها هذا اليوم. الناس في كل شعب يجب أن يكون لهم الحرية في اختيار دينهم وعقيدتهم انطلاقاً من اعتقادهم وقلوبهم. هذا التعايش هو جوهرى لاستدامة الشعوب ولكن هناك تحديات بطرق مختلفة. هناك بين بعض المسلمين من يرفض عقائد الآخرين ولكن يجب تحمل التنوع الديني سواء كانوا المارون في لبنان أم الأقباط في مصر. وإذا ما كنا صادقون يجب أن يكون هناك تعايش بين المسلمين أنفسهم لأن العنف بين المسلمين السنة والشيعة قد قاد إلى عنف مأساوي بوجه الخصوص في العراق .

إن حرية الناس أساسية وجوهرية لبناء الأمم. يجب علينا دائماً أن نبحث عن الطرق التي يمكننا أن نمحي هذه الحريات. هناك في الولايات المتحدة يجد المسلمون صعوبة في أداء طقوسهم لذا أنا سأعمل لضمان ذلك قياماً بذلك لذا سأحدث أيضاً البلدان الغربية لعدم التعرض للمسلمين وإعطائهم الحرية في ممارسة طقوسهم. يمكننا أن نتحمل أي دين آخر.

بالحقيقة الإيمان يجب أن يوحدنا وجمعنا لذا نحن لدينا مشاريع في أمريكا من شأنها أن تجمع المسلمين والمسيحيين واليهود. وكذلك أنا أشجع حوار الحضارات الذي أطلقه الملك عبد الله وكذلك في تركيا. يجب أن نضمن أن التوحيد فيما بين الناس من شأنه أن يحارب المشاكل التي يتعرض لها الناس سواء الملايا في إفريقيا أم الجوع في مكان آخر.

النقطة السادسة التي أريد أن أناقشها هي حقوق المرأة .

أنا على علم ويمكننا أن نخبر من خلال هذه القاعة بأن هناك جدال كبير حول هذه النقطة. هناك رأي في الغرب أن المرأة التي تغطي شعرها تكون ذات حقوق أقل ولكن أنا لا أؤمن بهذا إطلاقاً. لا يجب أن تحرم المرأة من حقوقها في التعلم. وليس من المصادفة أن النساء تكون أكثر تعليماً تكون بلدانها أكثر تطوراً. ليس المسألة تتعلق بالإسلام فقط. في تركيا الباكستان بنغلاديش وإندونيسيا قد شاهدنا بلدان مسلمة تنتخب امرأة تقودها. وكذلك المساواة بين المرأة والرجل مستمرة في أمريكا وفي بلدان عديدة في العالم. أنا مقتنع أن نساءنا يمكنها أن تساهم في بناء المجتمعات مثلما يمكن للرجال القيام بذلك تماماً.

إن رفاهيتنا المشتركة سوف تتطور من خلال السماح للرجال والنساء للوصول وتقديم أفضل ما لديهم. أنا أيضاً أؤمن أن النساء يجب أن تختار مثلما يختار الرجل لتكون متساوية معه ولأن تختار نمط حياتها ولكن يجب أن يكون خيارها بنفسها. ولهذا فإن الولايات المتحدة ستدعم عمليات محو الأمية وتعليم النساء في المجتمعات المسلمة من أجل تحقيق تطلعاتهم وأحلامهم .

وفي النهاية أريد أن أناقش التطور الاقتصادي والفرص.

أنا أعلم للعديد العولمة تشكل مشكلة متناقضة. الإنترنت والتلفاز يمكن أن يوفر معلومات قيمة ولكن في ذات الوقت يمكنه أن ينقل العنف والجنس الغير مبرر. وهذا تغير من وجوه المجتمعات في جميع الأمم بما فيها أمريكا هذا التغير ممكن أن يولد الخوف. الخوف بسبب الحداثة سنفقد السيطرة على اختيار اتنا الاقتصادية وسياساتنا وأهم شيء شخصياتنا وراثتنا وحضارتنا وعوائلنا وقيمنا وديننا .

ولكني أعلم أن التطور الإنساني لا يمكن أن ينكر. لا يجب أن يكون هناك تناقضات بين التطور والتراث. بلد مثل اليابان وكوريا الجنوبية يتطورون بشكل كبير وفي ذات الوقت يحافظون على ثقافة وحضارة عميقة جداً ونفس الشيء ينطبق على البلدان المسلمة والمثال هو دبي.

في الأوقات القديمة وفي أوقاتنا. المجتمع المسلم كان يقود الاختراعات والتطورات في البشرية وهذا يعني أن الاستراتيجية لا يمكن بناؤها فقط على ما يأتي ولكن هي تنطلق من التراث ومن ما يتأى من المجتمع أيضاً. الآن بعض البلدان بدأت تركز ليس فقط على النفط ولكن على جوانب أخرى ولكن أنا واثق أن التعليم سيكون العملة الأساسية في القرن الحادي والعشرين والمسلمون بدؤوا الآن يستثمرون في هذا الجانب. وأنا أؤكد على هذا الاستثمار داخل بلدي أيضاً. أميركا في الماضي قد ركزت على النفط والغاز حينما يأتي الأمر نحن الآن نسعى للاعتماد على مصادر أخرى. نحن من خلال التعليم يمكن تبادل البرامج والبعثات الدراسية ويمكننا أن نحصل على التطور وفي ذات الوقت نشجع العديد من الأمريكيين للدراسة في البلدان المسلمة. ونعاهد الطلبة المُتعلِّمين بتزويدهم أو منحهم زمالات دراسية في أمريكا وكذلك سنعمل على خلق شبكة دولية بين أمريكا والشبان في القاهرة والبلدان المسلمة.

وعلى جانب التطور الاقتصادي سنعمل على استحداث علاقات تعاون اقتصادي مع البلدان المسلمة وسنعد قمة في هذا العام للتعرف على عمق العلاقات الاقتصادية التي تربط أمريكا والعالم الإسلامي.

أما على جانب العلم والتقنية سوف نطلق مجالات ومشاريع كبيرة علمية وتقنية للعالم الإسلامي التي من شأنها أن توفر فرص عمل أكثر وكذلك سنستثمر هذا الجانب في إفريقيا والشرق الأوسط وسننشر برامج من شأنها أن توفر مصادر علم إضافية وتوفر فرص عمل كثيرة للقضاء على الفساد. لدينا الآن جهد عالمي كبير للتعامل مع دول العالم وإحداث شراكة مع البلدان الإسلامية لتطوير الجانب الذي يهتم بصحة الطفل وتعليمه وكل هذا يجب أن يتم من خلال الشراكة. أمريكا مستعدة للتعاون مع الشعوب والحكومات والمؤسسات ورجال الأعمال في البلدان لتمكين شعوبهم من الحصول أو تأمين حياة أفضل.

القضايا التي تطرقت إليها لن يكون من السهل التعامل معها ولكن لدينا مسؤولية مشتركة تجاه العالم الذي نبحت عنها. هذا العالم الذي يجب أن لا يكون فيه مكان للإرهابيين ليهددوا الشعوب. عالم يكون فيه الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين آمن يعيشون جنباً إلى جنب. وعالم تكون فيه استخدام المجالات النووية للاستخدامات السلمية. ويجب عالم فيه احترام واحترام الأطفال. وهذا هو العالم الذي نبحت عنه. عالم ذا مصالح مشتركة. ولا يمكننا تحقيق ذلك إلا من خلال تعاوننا مع بعضنا البعض. أنا واثق بأن المسلمين وغير المسلمين يتساءلون كيف يمكننا أن نبدأ هذه البداية. هناك من يشك في هذه الإمكانية وهناك من يقترح بأن هناك جهود ستفشل لأننا يحكمنا القدر بالصدام والتناقض. هناك العديد ممن يشكون بهذا وهناك خوف كثير نعم هناك غياب ثقة كبير بيننا.

ولكن إذا ما إذا ما اخترنا أن نكون أسيرين للماضي لن نتقدم إلى الأمام. أنا أريد أن أقول هذا بشكل خاص للشباب من كل دين وعتيدة وفي كل بلد. أنتم دون غيركم لديكم القدرة على إعادة بناء العالم وإعادة تشكيته. جميعنا نتشارك ونتقاسم في هذا العالم في وقت محدد. السؤال هو إذا ما قضينا هذا الوقت على ما يفرقنا أو على ما يجمعنا وبذل جهود مستدامة لإيجاد أرضية مشتركة والتركيز على المستقبل الذي نبحت لأطفالنا وأن نحترم كرامة جميع البشرية. ومن السهل بداية الحروب لكن من الصعب إنهاؤها. من السهل إلقاء اللوم على الآخرين لكن من الصعب العمل مع بعض من السهل رؤية الاختلاف مع البعض ولكن من الصعب إيجاد القضايا التي تجمعنا. لكن يجب علينا أن نختار المسار الصحيح ليس المسار السهل فقط.

هناك قاعدة واحدة تقع وتحكم كل دين: افعل لأخيك ما تحب أن تفعل لنفسك، هذه هي القاعدة التي ينشرها كل دين حب لأخيك ما تحب لنفسك.

هذه الحقيقة تتجاوز الأمم والشعوب هو اعتقاد واضح بين أسود أبيض مسلم ومسيحي ويهودي. هذا الاعتقاد مترسخ في قلب الحضارة ولا زال ينبض. هو إيمان بداخل الناس وهذا ما جلبني وجاء بي إلى هنا هذا اليوم.

لدينا القدرة على خلق العالم الذي نبحت عنه لكن فقط إذا ما كانت لدينا الشجاعة لأن نبدأ من جديد. لدينا مافي داخلنا. القرآن الكريم يخبرنا بأننا خلقناكم من شعوب وقبائل لتعارفوا بينكم. والتلموذ يخبرنا أيضاً بأن جميع الخليقة هدفهم هو تعزيز السلام. والتوراة المقدسة تخبرنا مقدسون أولئك الذين يصنعون السلام لأنهم جميعاً سيطلق عليهم أبناء الرحمن.

يمكن لشعوب العالم أن تعيش مع بعضها البعض بسلام. نحن نعرف بأن هذه رؤية الله لذلك يجب أن يكون عملنا هنا على الأرض. شكراً جزيلاً ولبارككم الله. شكراً جزيلاً لكم.

Appendix 2: Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity' and its Three Versions into Arabic

2.1. Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity' Divided into Sentences

1. Thank you. Thank you. (Applause) Thank you very much. Thank you. Please, have a seat. Thank you very much.
2. I want to begin by thanking Hillary Clinton, who has traveled so much these last six months that she is approaching a new landmark -- one million frequent flyer miles. (Laughter)
3. I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.
4. The State Department is a fitting venue to mark a new chapter in American diplomacy.
5. For six months, we have witnessed an extraordinary change taking place in the Middle East and North Africa.
6. Square by square, town by town, country by country, the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights.
7. Two leaders have stepped aside.
8. More may follow.
9. And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith.
10. Today, I want to talk about this change -- the forces that are driving it and how we can respond in a way that advances our *values* and strengthens our security.
11. Now, already, we've done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts.
12. After years of war in Iraq, we've removed 100,000 American troops and ended our combat mission there.
13. In Afghanistan, we've broken the Taliban's momentum, and this July we will begin to bring our troops home and continue a transition to Afghan lead.
14. And after years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates, we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader, Osama bin Laden.
15. Bin Laden was no *martyr*.
16. He was a mass *murderer* who offered a message of hate - an insistence that Muslims had to take up arms against the West and that violence against men, women and children was the only path to change.

17. He rejected democracy and individual rights for Muslims in favor of violent extremism; his agenda focused on what he could destroy — not what he could build.
18. Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents.
19. But even before his death, al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance, as the overwhelming majority of people saw that the slaughter of innocents did not answer their cries for a better life.
20. By the time we found bin Laden, al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of the region as a dead end, and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands.
21. That story of *self-determination* began six months ago in Tunisia.
22. On December 17th, a young vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi was devastated when a police officer confiscated his cart.
23. This was not unique.
24. It's the same kind of humiliation that takes place every day in many parts of the world — the relentless tyranny of governments that deny their citizens dignity.
25. Only this time, something different happened.
26. After local officials refused to hear his complaints, this young man, who had never been particularly active in politics, went to the headquarters of the provincial government, doused himself in fuel, and lit himself on fire.
27. There are times in the course of history when the actions of ordinary citizens spark movements for change because they speak to a longing for freedom that has been building up for years.
28. In America, think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston who refused to pay taxes to a King, or the dignity of Rosa Parks as she sat courageously in her seat.
29. So it was in Tunisia, as that vendor's act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country.
30. Hundreds of protesters took to the streets, then thousands.
31. And in the face of batons and sometimes bullets, they refused to go home — day after day, week after week -- until a dictator of more than two decades finally left power.
32. The story of this revolution, and the ones that followed, should not have come as a surprise.
33. The nations of the Middle East and North Africa won their independence long ago, but in too many places their people did not.

34. In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of a few.
35. In too many countries, a citizen like that young vendor had nowhere to turn -- no honest judiciary to hear his case; no independent media to give him voice; no credible political party to represent his views; no free and fair election where he could choose his leader.
36. And this lack of self-determination -- the chance to make your life what you will -- has applied to the region's economy as well.
37. Yes, some nations are blessed with wealth in oil and gas, and that has led to pockets of prosperity.
38. But in a global economy based on knowledge, based on innovation, no development strategy can be based solely upon what comes out of the ground.
39. Nor can people reach their potential when you cannot start a business without paying a bribe.
40. In the face of these challenges, too many leaders in the region tried to direct their people's grievances elsewhere.
41. The West was blamed as the source of all ills, a half-century after the end of colonialism.
42. Antagonism toward Israel became the only acceptable outlet for political expression.
43. Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power, or taking it away from somebody else.
44. But the events of the past six months show us that strategies of repression and strategies of diversion will not work anymore.
45. Satellite television and the Internet provide a window into the wider world - a world of astonishing progress in places like India and Indonesia and Brazil.
46. Cell phones and social networks allow young people to connect and organize like never before.
47. And so a new generation has emerged.
48. And their voices tell us that change cannot be denied.
49. In Cairo, we heard the voice of the young mother who said, "It's like I can finally breathe fresh air for the first time."
50. In Sanaa, we heard the students who chanted, "The night must come to an end."
51. In Benghazi, we heard the engineer who said, "Our words are free now; it's a feeling you can't explain."

52. In Damascus, we heard the young man who said, “After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity.”

53. Those shouts of human dignity are being heard across the region.

54. And through the moral force of nonviolence, the people of the region have achieved more change in six months than terrorists have accomplished in decades.

55. Of course, change of this magnitude does not come easily.

56. In our day and age — a time of 24-hour news cycles and constant communication — people expect the transformation of the region to be resolved in a matter of weeks.

57. But it will be years before this story reaches its end.

58. Along the way, there will be good days and there will bad days.

59. In some places, change will be swift; in others, gradual.

60. And as we’ve already seen, calls for change may give way, in some cases, to fierce contests for power.

61. The question before us is what role America will play as this story unfolds.

62. For decades, the United States has pursued a set of core interests in the region: countering terrorism and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons; securing the free flow of commerce and safeguarding the security of the region; standing up for Israel’s security and pursuing Arab-Israeli peace.

63. We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America’s interests are not hostile to people’s hopes; they’re essential to them.

64. We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda’s brutal attacks.

65. We believe people everywhere would not see their economies crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies.

66. As we did in the Gulf War, we will not tolerate *aggression* across borders, and we will keep our commitments to friends and partners.

67. Yet we must acknowledge that a strategy based solely upon the narrow pursuit of these interests will not fill an empty stomach or allow someone to speak their mind.

68. Moreover, failure to speak to the broader aspirations of ordinary people will only feed the suspicion that has festered for years that the United States pursues our interests at their expense.

69. Given that this mistrust runs both ways — as Americans have been seared by *hostage-taking and violent rhetoric and terrorist attacks* that have killed thousands of our citizens — a failure to change our approach threatens a deepening spiral of division between the United States and the Arab world.

70. And that's why, two years ago in Cairo, I began to broaden our engagement based upon mutual interests and mutual respect.

71. I believed then — and I believe now — that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals.

72. The status quo is not sustainable.

73. Societies held together by fear and repression may offer the illusion of stability for a time, but they are built upon fault lines that will eventually tear asunder.

74. So we face a historic opportunity.

75. We have the chance to show that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator.

76. There must be no doubt that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity.

77. Yes, there will be perils that accompany this moment of promise.

78. But after decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be.

79. Of course, as we do, we must proceed with a sense of humility.

80. It's not America that put people into the streets of Tunis or Cairo — it was the people themselves who launched these movements, and it's the people themselves that must ultimately determine their outcome.

81. Not every country will follow our particular form of representative democracy, and there will be times when our short-term interests don't align perfectly with our long-term vision for the region.

82. But we can, and we will, speak out for a set of core principles — principles that have guided our response to the events over the past six months.

83. The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region. (Applause)

84. The United States supports a set of universal rights.

85. And these rights include free speech, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of religion, equality for men and women under the rule of law, and the right to choose your own leaders — whether you live in Baghdad or Damascus, Sanaa or Tehran.

86. And we support political and economic reform in the Middle East and North Africa that can meet the legitimate aspirations of ordinary people throughout the region.

87. Our support for these principles is not a secondary interest.

88. Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal.

89. Let me be specific.

90. First, it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region, and to support transitions to democracy.

91. That effort begins in Egypt and Tunisia, where the stakes are high — as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave, and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and the Arab world's largest nation.

92. Both nations can set a strong example through free and fair elections, a vibrant civil society, accountable and effective democratic institutions, and responsible regional leadership.

93. But our support must also extend to nations where transitions have yet to take place.

94. Unfortunately, in too many countries, calls for change have thus far been answered by violence.

95. The most extreme example is Libya, where Muammar Qaddafi launched a war against his own people, promising to hunt them down like rats.

96. As I said when the United States joined an international coalition to intervene, we cannot prevent every injustice perpetrated by a regime against its people, and we have learned from our experience in Iraq just how costly and difficult it is to try to impose regime change by force — no matter how well-intentioned it may be.

97. But in Libya, we saw the prospect of imminent massacre; we had a mandate for action, and heard the Libyan people's call for help.

98. Had we not acted along with our NATO allies and regional coalition partners, thousands would have been killed.

99. The message would have been clear: Keep power by killing as many people as it takes.

100. Now, time is working against Qaddafi.

101. He does not have control over his country.

102. The opposition has organized a legitimate and credible Interim Council.
103. And when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, decades of provocation will come to an end, and the transition to a democratic Libya can proceed.
104. While Libya has faced violence on the greatest scale, it's not the only place where leaders have turned to repression to remain in power.
105. Most recently, the Syrian regime has chosen the path of murder and the mass arrests of its citizens.
106. The United States has condemned these actions, and working with the international community we have stepped up our sanctions on the Syrian regime — including sanctions announced yesterday on President Assad and those around him.
107. The Syrian people have shown their courage in demanding a transition to democracy.
108. President Assad now has a choice: He can lead that transition, or get out of the way.
109. The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests.
110. It must release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests.
111. It must allow human rights monitors to have access to cities like Dara'a; and start a serious dialogue to advance a democratic transition.
112. Otherwise, President Assad and his regime will continue to be challenged from within and will continue to be isolated abroad.
113. So far, Syria has followed its Iranian ally, seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression.
114. And this speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime, which says it stand for the rights of protesters abroad, yet represses its own people at home.
115. Let's remember that the first peaceful protests in the region were in the streets of Tehran, where the government brutalized women and men, and threw innocent people into jail.
116. We still hear the chants echo from the rooftops of Tehran.
117. The image of a young woman dying in the streets is still seared in our memory.
118. And we will continue to insist that the Iranian people deserve their universal rights, and a government that does not smother their aspirations.
119. Now, our opposition to Iran's intolerance and Iran's repressive measures, as well as and its support of terror, is well known.

120. But if America is to be credible, we must acknowledge that at times our friends in the region have not all reacted to the demands for consistent change -- with change that's consistent with the principles that I've outlined today.

121. That's true in Yemen, where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power.

122. And that's true today in Bahrain.

123. Bahrain is a longstanding partner, and we are committed to its security.

124. We recognize that Iran has tried to take advantage of the turmoil there, and that the Bahraini government has a legitimate interest in the rule of law.

125. Nevertheless, we have insisted both publicly and privately that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, and we will -- and such steps will not make legitimate calls for reform go away.

126. The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue, and you can't have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail. (Applause)

127. The government must create the conditions for dialogue, and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis.

128. Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict.

129. In Iraq, we see the promise of a multiethnic, multisectarian democracy.

130. The Iraqi people have rejected the perils of political violence in favor of a democratic process, even as they've taken full responsibility for their own security.

131. Of course, like all new democracies, they will face setbacks.

132. But Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region if it continues its peaceful progress.

133. And as they do, we will be proud to stand with them as a steadfast partner.

134. So in the months ahead, America must use all our influence to encourage reform in the region.

135. Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike.

136. Our message is simple: If you take the risks that reform entails, you will have the full support of the United States.

137. We must also build on our efforts to broaden our engagement beyond elites, so that we reach the people who will shape the future — particularly young people.

138. We will continue to make good on the commitments that I made in Cairo — to build networks of entrepreneurs and expand exchanges in education, to foster cooperation in science and technology, and combat disease.

139. Across the region, we intend to provide assistance to civil society, including those that may not be officially sanctioned, and who speak uncomfortable truths.

140. And we will use the technology to connect with — and listen to — the voices of the people.

141. For the fact is, real reform does not come at the ballot box alone.

142. Through our efforts we must support those basic rights to speak your mind and access information.

143. We will support open access to the Internet, and the right of journalists to be heard — whether it's a big news organization or a lone blogger.

144. In the 21st century, information is power, the truth cannot be hidden, and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on active and informed citizens.

145. Such open discourse is important even if what is said does not square with our worldview.

146. Let me be clear, America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard, even if we disagree with them.

147. And sometimes we profoundly disagree with them.

148. We look forward to working with all who embrace genuine and inclusive democracy.

149. What we will oppose is an attempt by any group to restrict the rights of others, and to hold power through coercion and not consent.

150. Because democracy depends not only on elections, but also strong and accountable institutions, and the respect for the rights of minorities.

151. Such tolerance is particularly important when it comes to religion.

152. In Tahrir Square, we heard Egyptians from all walks of life chant, “Muslims, Christians, we are one.”

153. America will work to see that this spirit prevails — that all faiths are respected, and that bridges are built among them.

154. In a region that was the birthplace of three world religions, intolerance can lead only to suffering and stagnation.

155. And for this season of change to succeed, Coptic Christians must have the right to worship freely in Cairo, just as Shia must never have their mosques destroyed in Bahrain.

156. What is true for religious minorities is also true when it comes to the rights of women.

157. History shows that countries are more prosperous and more peaceful when women are empowered.

158. And that's why we will continue to insist that universal rights apply to women as well as men — by focusing assistance on child and maternal health; by helping women to teach, or start a business; by standing up for the right of women to have their voices heard, and to run for office.

159. The region will never reach its full potential when more than half of its population is prevented from achieving their full potential. (Applause)

160. Now, even as we promote political reform, even as we promote human rights in the region, our efforts can't stop there.

161. So the second way that we must support positive change in the region is through our efforts to advance economic development for nations that are transitioning to democracy.

162. After all, politics alone has not put protesters into the streets.

163. The tipping point for so many people is the more constant concern of putting food on the table and providing for a family.

164. Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change.

165. Throughout the region, many young people have a solid education, but closed economies leave them unable to find a job.

166. Entrepreneurs are brimming with ideas, but corruption leaves them unable to profit from those ideas.

167. The greatest untapped resource in the Middle East and North Africa is the talent of its people.

168. In the recent protests, we see that talent on display, as people harness technology to move the world.

169. It's no coincidence that one of the leaders of Tahrir Square was an executive for Google.

170. That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country, so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street.

171. For just as democratic revolutions can be triggered by a lack of individual opportunity, successful democratic transitions depend upon an expansion of growth and broad-based prosperity.

172. So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance.

173. The goal must be a model in which protectionism gives way to openness, the reigns of commerce pass from the few to the many, and the economy generates jobs for the young.

174. America's support for democracy will therefore be based on ensuring financial stability, promoting reform, and integrating competitive markets with each other and the global economy.

175. And we're going to start with Tunisia and Egypt.

176. First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt.

177. Together, we must help them recover from the disruptions of their democratic upheaval, and support the governments that will be elected later this year.

178. And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs.

179. Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past.

180. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship.

181. We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation.

182. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen.

183. Third, we're working with Congress to create Enterprise Funds to invest in Tunisia and Egypt.

184. And these will be modeled on funds that supported the transitions in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

185. OPIC will soon launch a \$2 billion facility to support private investment across the region.

186. And we will work with the allies to refocus the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development so that it provides the same support for democratic transitions and economic modernization in the Middle East and North Africa as it has in Europe.

187. Fourth, the United States will launch a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative in the Middle East and North Africa.

188. If you take out oil exports, this entire region of over 400 million people exports roughly the same amount as Switzerland.

189. So we will work with the EU to facilitate more trade within the region, build on existing agreements to promote integration with U.S. and European markets, and open the door for those countries who adopt high standards of reform and trade liberalization to construct a regional trade arrangement.

190. And just as EU membership served as an incentive for reform in Europe, so should the vision of a modern and prosperous economy create a powerful force for reform in the Middle East and North Africa.

191. Prosperity also requires tearing down walls that stand in the way of progress — the corruption of elites who steal from their people; the red tape that stops an idea from becoming a business; the patronage that distributes wealth based on tribe or sect.

192. We will help governments meet international obligations, and invest efforts at anti-corruption -- by working with parliamentarians who are developing reforms, and activists who use technology to increase transparency and hold government accountable.

193. Politics and human rights; economic reform.

194. Let me conclude by talking about another cornerstone of our approach to the region, and that relates to the pursuit of peace.

195. For decades, the conflict between Israelis and Arabs has cast a shadow over the region.

196. For Israelis, it has meant living with the fear that their children could be blown up on a bus or by rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them.

197. For Palestinians, it has meant suffering the humiliation of occupation, and never living in a nation of their own.

198. Moreover, this conflict has come with a larger cost to the Middle East, as it impedes partnerships that could bring greater security and prosperity and empowerment to ordinary people.

199. For over two years, my administration has worked with the parties and the international community to end this conflict, building on decades of work by previous administrations.

200. Yet expectations have gone unmet.

201. Israeli settlement activity continues.

202. Palestinians have walked away from talks.

203. The world looks at a conflict that has grinded on and on and on, and sees nothing but stalemate.

204. Indeed, there are those who argue that with all the change and uncertainty in the region, it is simply not possible to move forward now.

205. I disagree.

206. At a time when the people of the Middle East and North Africa are casting off the burdens of the past, the drive for a lasting peace that ends the conflict and resolves all claims is more urgent than ever.

207. That's certainly true for the two parties involved.

208. For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure.

209. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state.

210. Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection.

211. And Palestinians will never realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.

212. As for Israel, our friendship is rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values.

213. Our commitment to Israel's security is unshakeable.

214. And we will stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums.

215. But precisely because of our friendship, it's important that we tell the truth: The status quo is unsustainable, and Israel too must act boldly to advance a lasting peace.

216. The fact is a growing number of Palestinians live west of the Jordan River.

217. Technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself.

218. A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people -- not just one or two leaders -- must believe peace is possible.

219. The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome.

220. The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation.

221. Now, ultimately, it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to take action.

222. No peace can be imposed upon them -- not by the United States; not by anybody else.

223. But endless delay won't make the problem go away.

224. What America and the international community can do is to state frankly what everyone knows -- a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples: Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people, each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.

225. So while the core issues of the conflict must be negotiated, the basis of those negotiations is clear: a viable Palestine, a secure Israel.

226. The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine.

227. We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states.

228. The Palestinian people must have the right to govern themselves, and reach their full potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state.

229. As for security, every state has the right to self-defense, and Israel must be able to defend itself - by itself -- against any threat.

230. Provisions must also be robust enough to prevent a resurgence of terrorism, to stop the infiltration of weapons, and to provide effective border security.

231. The full and phased withdrawal of Israeli military forces should be coordinated with the assumption of Palestinian security responsibility in a sovereign, non-militarized state.

232. And the duration of this transition period must be agreed, and the effectiveness of security arrangements must be demonstrated.

233. These principles provide a foundation for negotiations.

234. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state; Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met.

235. I'm aware that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict, because two wrenching and emotional issues will remain: the future of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees.

236. But moving forward now on the basis of territory and security provides a foundation to resolve those two issues in a way that is just and fair, and that respects the rights and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians.

237. Now, let me say this: Recognizing that negotiations need to begin with the issues of territory and security does not mean that it will be easy to come back to the table.

238. In particular, the recent announcement of an agreement between Fatah and Hamas raises profound and legitimate questions for Israel: How can one negotiate with a party that has shown itself unwilling to recognize your right to exist?

239. And in the weeks and months to come, Palestinian leaders will have to provide a credible answer to that question.

240. Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse.

241. I recognize how hard this will be.

242. Suspicion and hostility has been passed on for generations, and at times it has hardened.

243. But I'm convinced that the majority of Israelis and Palestinians would rather look to the future than be trapped in the past.

244. We see that spirit in the Israeli father whose son was killed by Hamas, who helped start an organization that brought together Israelis and Palestinians who had lost loved ones.

245. That father said, "I gradually realized that the only hope for progress was to recognize the face of the conflict."

246. We see it in the actions of a Palestinian who lost three daughters to Israeli shells in Gaza.

247. "I have the right to feel angry," he said.

248. "So many people were expecting me to hate.

249. My answer to them is I shall not hate.

250. Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow."

251. That is the choice that must be made — not simply in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but across the entire region — a choice between hate and hope; between the shackles of the past and the promise of the future.

252. It's a choice that must be made by leaders and by the people, and it's a choice that will define the future of a region that served as the cradle of civilization and a crucible of strife.

253. For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful.

254. In Egypt, we see it in the efforts of young people who led protests.

255. In Syria, we see it in the courage of those who brave bullets while chanting, "Peaceful, peaceful."

256. In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, we see it in the courthouse square where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known.

257. Across the region, those rights that we take for granted are being claimed with joy by those who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist.

258. For the American people, the scenes of upheaval in the region may be unsettling, but the forces driving it are not unfamiliar.

259. Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire.

260. Our people fought a painful Civil War that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved.

261. And I would not be standing here today unless past generations turned to the moral force of nonviolence as a way to perfect our union -- organizing, marching, protesting peacefully together to make real those words that declared our nation: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

262. Those words must guide our response to the change that is transforming the Middle East and North Africa -- words which tell us that repression will fail, and that tyrants will fall, and that every man and woman is endowed with certain inalienable rights.

263. It will not be easy.

264. There's no straight line to progress, and hardship always accompanies a season of hope.

265. But the United States of America was founded on the belief that people should govern themselves.

266. And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those who are reaching for their rights, knowing that their success will bring about a world that is more peaceful, more stable, and more just.

267. Thank you very much, everybody. (Applause) Thank you.

2.2. Target Text 1: Transcript of Al-Hurrah's Simultaneous Interpreting

شكرًا شكرًا جزيلًا شكرًا تفضلوا بالجلوس شكرًا لكم

أبدأ بشكري هيلاري كلنتون التي سافرت كثيرًا في الأشهر الست الماضية وهي وصلت إلى مليون مايل من السفر وأنا طبعًا أرتاح إليها وأتكل عليها كل يوم وهي من أفضل وزيرات الخارجية في تاريخ بلادنا ووزارة الخارجية خير مكان لبدء فصل جديد للدبلوماسية الأمريكية. لسنة أشهر شهدنا تغييرًا مذهلاً يحصل في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. مدينة مدينة متراً متراً دولة دولة الناس قد ارتفعوا وتحركوا للمطالبة بحقوقهم الأساسية. وقد تم تنحي رئيسان وقد يليهما زعماء آخرون وهذه البلدان بعيدة عن شواطئنا ولكن نعرف تمامًا أن مستقبلنا مرتبط بهذه المنطقة عبر قوة الاقتصاد والأمن والتاريخ والإيمان.

واليوم أريد أن أتكلّم عن هَذَا التغيير عنّ القوات الَّتِي تأتي بهذا التغيير وعن طريقة ردة فعلنا لدفع قيمنا إلى الأمام وإلى تعزيز أمننا. لقد فعلنا الكثير لتغيير سياستنا الخارجية بعد أكثر من عشرين عامًا من الحروب أو حربيين صعبتين في العراق مثلًا وبعد سنوات سحبنا قواتنا المقاتلة وفي أفغانستان أيضًا وضعنا حدًا لزخم الطالبان وفي يوليو تموز سنبداً بإعادة قواتنا إلى بلادنا ونستمر بالانتقال إلى السيادة أو السلطة الأفغانية. وبعد عدة سنوات من الحرب ضد القاعدة ومن يعمل معها ضربنا ضربة قوية بقتل قائد القاعدة أسامة بن لادن.

بن لادن لم يكن شهيدًا بل كان قاتلاً جماعياً ينقل رسالة حقد ويؤكد أن على المسلمين يحملوا السلاح ضد الغرب ويستعملوا العنف ضد الرجال والنساء والأطفال واعتبر أن هَذَا العنف هو الطريق الوحيد نحو التغيير. ورفض الديمقراطية ورفض حقوق الإنسان للمسلمين وفضل التطرف العنيف وركز على ما يدمر وليس على ما يمكن أن يبني. بن لادن وروياه الَّتِي تقتل بها البعض ولكن حتى قبل أن يقتل بن لادن بدأت القاعدة تفقد دعمها لأن الغالبية من الناس رأوا أن قتل الأبرياء لا يعني تحسناً لحياتهم. وعندما عثرنا على بن لادن كانت غالبية المنطقة تعتبر أن اديولوجية القاعدة تؤدي إلى طريق مسدود وأن شعوب الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا قرروا أن يأخذوا مستقبلهم بيدهم.

هي قصة تحديد المصير الَّتِي بدأت في السابع عشر من ديسمبر كانون الأول عندما قام محمد البو عزيزي شعر باليأس عندما أخذت شرطية عربية الَّتِي كان يبيع عليها. وهذا ما يحصل كل يوم في أنحاء كثيرة من العالم عندما نرى القمع ولكن في هذه الحادثة أمر مختلف. فلم تستمع السلطات المحلية لهذا الشاب الالذي لم يكن يتعاطى السياسة ولكنه توجه إلى مركز الحكومة المحلية وأضرم النار في نفسه.

هناك لحظات في التاريخ تتحول فيها تصرفات الأشخاص إلى تغييرات كبيرة لأنها لا تستجيب إلى مطلب حربية بدأ منذ سنوات. أمريكا أيضًا بدأت في بوسطن بهذه العملية عبر كرامة روزا بارك الَّتِي جلست بشجاعة في مقعدها. وهكذا حصل في تونس. فإن هذا البائع تصرف عبر يأسه وأدى إلى تحرك بلاده. مئات المحتجين نزلوا إلى الطرقات ثم الآلاف. وواجهوا أحيانًا الرصاص ورفضوا أن يعودوا إلى منازلهم. يومًا بعد يوم وأسبوعًا بعد أسبوع حتى اضطر دكتاتور كان في السلطة لأكثر من عقدين أن يغادر السلطة.

قصة هذه الثورة والثورات الَّتِي تلت لا يجب أن تفاجئنا. دول الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا حدث استقلالها منذ فترة طويلة ولكن أكثر من دولة لم يحز الشعب على استقلالة. وفي دول كثيرة تركزت السلطة بيد البعض وفي دول كثيرة المواطن كهذا البائع الشاب لا يمكن أن يتوجه إلى قضاء مستقل ووسائل إعلام مستقلة لإحقاق الحق ولإسماع الصوت. ولا يمكنه أن يتوجه إلى أحزاب سياسية وانتخابات حرة ليبيدي رأية ليختار زعماءه.

فالناس يريدون حق التقرير أن يجعلوا من حياتهم ما يريدون وهذا ينسحب أيضًا على الاقتصاد في المنطقة. نعم بعض الدول لديها الثراء والنفط والغاز مما أدى إلى الرخاء والازدهار. ولكن في اقتصاد عالمي يرتكز على المعرفة والابتكار لا يمكن لأية استراتيجية تنمية أن تركز فقط عند ما يأتي من الأرض مثلًا نصل إلى طريق مسدود ما لم نتمكن من إنشاء مؤسسة من دون أن ندفع بعض الرشاوي. والكثير من القادة في المنطقة حاولوا أن يغيروا من توجه نغمة الشعب واعتبروا أن الغرب هو أساس كل المآسي وبعد سنوات طويلة من انتهاء الاستعمار ومعاداة إسرائيل أصبحت الطريق الوحيد للتعبير عن الإرادة السياسية. التأكيد على الانقسامات القبلية والاثنية والطائفية استغلتها السلطات ولكن الأحداث الَّتِي شهدناها في الست أشهر الماضية أظهرت أن استراتيجية القمع واستراتيجية الحقد لا يمكن أن تعمل بعد اليوم. التلفزيونات ووسائل الاتصال عبر الإنترنت وغيرها تنقل الأخبار عبر العالم. ما يحصل في الهند في إندونيسيا في البرازيل عبر وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي والهواتف النقالة كل ذلك يسمح بالتواصل بين دولة وأخرى مما أدى إلى نشأة جيل جديد وإلى سماع صوت جديد يقول إنه لا يمكن بعد اليوم أن نرفض التغيير. في القاهرة استمعنا إلى أم قالت بإمكانها الآن أن أتشقق هواءً عذبًا للمرة الأولى. في صنعاء سمعنا الطلاب يقولون إن الليل يجب أن ينتهي. في بنغازي سمعنا مهندس يقول إن العالم حر اليوم. وهو شعور يصعب تفسيره. في دمشق سمعنا شباب يقولون بعد الصرخة الأولى نشعر بالكرم. هي صرخات كرامة الإنسان نسمعها عبر المنطقة. وعبر هذه القوة قوة اللاعنفة الناس في المنطقة غيروا منطقتهم في ستة أشهر أكثر مما غيرها الإرهابيون في عقد كامل.

طبعًا هذه التغييرات الكبيرة ليست سهلة. في أيامنا هذه لدينا خيار باستمرار ال 24 ساعة فالناس يتوقعون أن تحل وتحصل التغييرات في غضون أسابيع ولكنها تتطلب سنوات. نحتاج إلى سنوات قبل أن تنتهي الصورة. وطبعًا على هذه الطريق ستكون لدينا أيام جيدة وأيام سيئة. وأحيانًا التغيير يكون سهلًا وأحيانًا يكون تدريجيًا. وكما رأينا الدعوات من أجل التغيير قد تؤدي أحيانًا إلى صراع شرس من أجل السلطة. السؤال المطروح بالنسبة إلينا هو الدور الذي تلعبه أمريكا في هذه القصة. لسنوات طويلة اعتمدت أمريكا سياسة تتعلق بمصالحها في المنطقة في مواجهة الإرهاب وضع حد لانتشار السلاح النووي والسماح للتجارة أن تستمر ودعم أمن إسرائيل والعمل من أجل السلام الإسرائيلي العربي. سنستمر على هذه الطريق ونحن مقتنعون أن مصالح أمريكا لا تعادي آمال الشعوب بل هي أساسية لآمال الشعوب في المنطقة ونحن نعتقد أن لا أحد في المنطقة يستفيد من سباق التسلح النووي أو من هجمات القاعدة. ونعتقد أن الناس في كل مكان سيعانون من الاقتصاد إذا ما تم توقف الطاقة كما حصل في حرب الخليج. لن نسمح بأي اعتداء من دولة على دولة أخرى وسنحافظ على التزامنا لأصدقائنا وحلفائنا.

ولكن يجب أن نعترف أيضًا أن استراتيجية تركز فقط على هذه المصالح الضيقة لن تكون كافية لشخص جانع أو لن تسمح لشخص أن يتكلم بحرية. والفشل على التركيز على تطلعات الشعوب العادية سيؤدي إلى شكوك كما رأينا سابقًا أن أمريكا تبحث عن مصالحها على حساب الشعوب. يؤدي ذلك إلى عدم ثقة من الجهتين. لأن أمريكا رأت أيضًا كلمات عنيفة وهجمات إرهابية قتلت مواطنين أمريكيين واختطاف المواطنين ولكن إن لم تغير هذه السياسة سنواصل إلى انتقاسات متزايدة بين الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والعالم العربي. لذلك منذ سنتين في القاهرة بدأت عملية انفتاح تركز على الاحترام المتبادل والمصالح المتبادلة. وأعتقد كما اعتقدت في حينه أن مصطلحنا ليست فقط في استقرار الدول ولكن أيضًا في حق تقرير المصير للأفراد.

الوضع الراهن لا يمكن أن يستمر. المجتمعات لا يجب أن تبقى تحت قمع الخوف لتجميع استقرار مزيف لأن هذه الأوضاع ستؤدي إلى عدم استقرار في نهاية المطاف. فنحن الآن نواجه فرصة تاريخية ولدينا فرصة تظهر أن أمريكا تقيم كرامة الأفراد في تونس أكثر مما تثمن قدرة الدكتاتور. يجب أن لا يكون من شك بأن أمريكا ترحب بالتغييرات التي تؤدي إلى تعزيز الفرص وإمكانية تغيير المصير. طبعًا ستكون هناك مخاطر إلى جانب كل هذه الوعود ولكن بعد سنوات قبلنا في العالم كما هو في المنطقة.

فدنيا الآن فرصة أن نتابع العالم وندعمه كما يجب أن يكون. وطبعًا يجب أن نتحلى بالتواضع في هذه المجال. أمريكا لم تأت بالناس إلى الطرقات في تونس والقاهرة بل الناس هم الذين أطلقوا هذه الحركات وبالتالي فإن الشعوب يجب أن تقرر النتيجة. ولا يمكن لأي دولة أن تعتمد ديمقراطيتنا التمثيلية وأحيانًا أيضًا مصالحنا على المدى الطويل ربما لا تتطابق بطريقة مثالية مع تطلعات شعوب المنطقة. ولكن بإمكاننا وهذا ما سنعمل بإمكاننا أن نتكلم عن مبادئ أساسية هي التي أدت إلى الاستجابة إلى ما حصل في الأشهر الماضية. الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تعارض استعمال العنف ضد شعوب المنطقة.

الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تدعم سلسلة من الحقوق العالمية التي تضم حرية التعبير حرية التجمع بحرية حرية الاعتقاد والمساواة الرجال والنساء أمام القانون وحق أن نختار زعماءنا إن كنا نعيش في دمشق أو بغداد أو صنعاء أو طهران. ونحن ندعم أيضًا الإصلاحات السياسية الاقتصادية في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا إصلاحات تلبية تطلعات الشعوب في المنطقة. دعمنا لهذه المبادئ ليس مصلحة سنوية أو اليوم أود أن أقول بوضوح إن هذه الأولوية هي أولوية قصوى يجب أن نترجم إلى تدابير عملية تدعمها كل الأدوات الاستراتيجية والاقتصادية والدبلوماسية التي نتمتع بها وسأكون أكثر تحديدًا.

أولاً أمريكا عبر سياستها ستدعم الإصلاحات في المنطقة والانتقال نحو الديمقراطية هذا المجهود بدأ في تونس ومصر. وطبعًا تونس كانت الأولى على هذا الطريق وأيضًا مصر هي حليفة لأمريكا وهي أهم دولة في الشرق الأوسط. وكلتا الدولتان تقدمان نموذجًا لمجتمع مدني نشيط ولمؤسسات ديمقراطية وسلطة مسؤولة والانتخابات الحرة. ولكن دعم أمريكا يجب أيضًا أن يتوجه إلى دول ما زالت تنتظر الفترة الانتقالية هذه. للأسف في أكثر من دولة الطلب من أجل التغيير حتى الآن يواجه بالعنف. أسوأ الأمثل والأكثر تطرفًا هو مثال ليبيا حيث قام معمر القذافي بإطلاق حرب ضد شعبة وقال إنه سوف يصطادهم كالجرذان.

كما قلت إنه عندما انضمت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية إلى ائتلاف دولي للتدخل لا يمكننا أن نمنع كل قمع يرتكبه نظام ضد شعبة وتعلمنا من خبرتنا في العراق أن الثمن غالبا وأنه من الصعب جدًا أن نرفض تغييرًا للنظام بالقوة مهما كانت النيات طيبة. ولكن في ليبيا رأينا إمكانية حصول مجزرة وكان لدينا ولاية للتصرف واستمعنا إلى طلب نجدة من الشعب الليبي. لو لم نتصرف مع الشركاء ومع حلف شمال الأطلسي لقتل الألاف. الرسالة كانت واضحة يمكنك أن تبقى في السلطة لو قتلت أكبر عدد ممكن من الناس. ولكن

الوقت يعمل الآن ضد القذافي وهو لا يسيطر على بلاده والمعارضة بدأت تنظم مجلساً انتقاليًا ذات مصداقية وعندما يغادر القذافي وهو لا بد من ذلك سنتتهي سنوات من الاستفزاز وسيكون هناك انتقال إلى ليبيا ديمقراطية يمكن أن يبدأ.

ليبيا واجهت العنف على مستويات كبيرة ولكن في أماكن أخرى الآن القادة يستعملون القمع ليبقوا في السلطة. النظام السوري قد اختار طريقة القتل والاعتقال بأعداد كبيرة. الولايات المتحدة نددت بهذه التصرفات. عملنا مع المجتمع الدولي لتعزيز عقوباتنا على النظام السوري بما فيه العقوبات التي أعلنها البارحة التي تطال الرئيس الأسد ومن هو إلى جانبه.

الشعب السوري أظهر شجاعة في المطالبة بالانتقال إلى الديمقراطية وأمام الرئيس الأسد خياران يمكن أن يقود الفترة الانتقالية أو يتحى. على الحكومة السورية أن تتوقف عن إطلاق النار على المتظاهرين وأن تسمح بالتظاهر السلمي وتطلق سراح السجناء السياسيين وتتوقف عن حملة الاعتقالات وأن تسمح لمؤسسات حقوق الإنسان أن تصل إلى مدن كدرعا وأن تبدأ أيضًا حوارًا جديدًا لدفع الانتقال نحو الديمقراطية إلى الأمام وإلا نظام الرئيس الأسد سيستمر في التحديات من الداخل والعزلة من الخارج.

لحد الآن سوريا تبعت حليفها الإيراني وطلبت مساعدة طهران في تكتيكات القمع. وهذا يظهر أيضًا ما هو عليه النظام الإيراني من الكذب. فهي أحيانًا تدعم الحركات في الخارج أي إيران وتقمع التحركات في إيران. نتذكر أن أول حركة سلمية حصلت في المنطقة كانت التظاهرات في طرقات طهران حيث واجهت الحكومة الرجال والنساء على الطرقات بالعنف وبسجنهم وما زالت الأصوات تصلنا الآن من طهران. ما نزال نتذكر الشابة التي قتلت في الطريق وصورتها ماثلة في ذهننا ونحن ما زلنا نعتقد أن الشعب الإيراني يستحق حقوق إنسانية وحكومة لا تقمع تطلعاته. نحن نعارض عدم التسامح الإيراني والقمع الإيراني وكذلك برنامج إيران النووي غير الشرعي ودعم إيران للإرهاب والجميع يدرك ذلك. ولكن لو أرادت أمريكا أن تتحلى بالمصداقية عليها أن تعترف أنه أحيانًا أصدقاؤنا في المنطقة لم يستجيبوا إلى متطلبات التغيير وفق المبادئ التي أشرت إليها اليوم. هذا ينسحب على اليمن حيث على الرئيس صالح أن يستمر بالتزامه في نقل السلطة. وهذا ينسحب أيضًا على البحرين.

البحرين حليف منذ زمن طويل ونحن ملتزمون بالدفاع عن أمن البحرين ونعترف أن إيران حاولت أن تستغل ما حصل في البحرين ولكن من مصلحة الحكومة البحرينية أن تطبق حكم القانون ونحن شددنا علنًا وخلف الكواليس أن القوة والعنف تتعارض مع حقوق الإنسان للمواطنين في البحرين. وهذه الخطوات لن تغير المطالبة بالشرعية للإصلاح. الطريقة الوحيدة إلى الأمام هي عبر حوار بين الحكومة والمعارضة ولا يمكن أن يحصل حوار حقيقي عندما يسجن بعض قادة المعارضة.

على الحكومة أن تخلق الظروف المؤاتية للحوار وعلى المعارضة أن تشارك أيضًا لتصل إلى مساواة وعدل لكل المواطنين وما يمكن أن نتعلمه من دروس هو أن الانقسام الطائفي لا يجب أن يؤدي إلى النزاع. في العراق رأينا وعودًا للديمقراطية متعددة الائتلاف والطوائف. الشعب العراقي قد نبذ مخاطر العنف السياسي وفضل العملية الديمقراطية. وهم تحملوا مسؤولية أمنهم أيضًا. طبعًا كما هو الحال لكل الديمقراطيات الوليدة قد تكون هناك نكسات ولكن لا بد للعراق أن يلعب دورًا أساسيًا في المنطقة لو استمر على هذا الطريق ونحن بفخر سنكون إلى جانب العراق.

ففي الأشهر المقبلة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ستستعمل كل نفوذها لتعزيز الإصلاحات في المنطقة. ونحن نعترف أن كل دولة تختلف عن الأخرى ولكن يجب أن نتكلم بصراحة عن المبادئ التي نؤمن بها مع أصدقائنا ومع أعدائنا على حد سواء. الرسالة سهلة. إن خاطرتم لمصلحة الإصلاح ستخطوا بدعم أمريكا الكامل. يجب أيضًا أن نعزز جهودنا لتعزيز تعاوننا إلى ما بعد النخبة لنعمل مع الناس الذين سيغيرون المستقبل ويشكلونه خاصة الشباب. سنستمر بالتزاماتنا التي أشرت إليها في القاهرة لتعزيز شبكات المقاولين وتعزيز علاقات الثقافة والتربية ونعمل في مجال التكنولوجيا والطب ومواجهة الأمراض ونريد أن نقدم المساعدة للمجتمعات المدنية بمن فيهم الذين لا يعترف بهم رسميًا والذين يتكلمون بصدق. وسنستعمل التكنولوجيا لنستمع إلى أصوات الناس.

فالواقع هو أن الإصلاحات الحقيقية لا يمكن أن تأتي فقط عبر الانتخابات عبر مجهودنا يجب أن ندعم الحقوق الأساسية التي تسمح للجميع أن يتكلم بحرية وأن ينفذ إلى الإنترنت والمعلومات وسندافع عن حق الصحفيين يسمعون أصواتهم إن كانوا يعملون بشكل فردي على الإنترنت والمدونات أو بشكل علني. لا يمكن أن تخفى الحقيقة وشرعية الحكومات تأتي عبر إعطاء المعلومات للمواطنين. فهذا الخطاب الحر لا بد منه. حتى لو أن ما يقال أحيانًا لا يتفق مع ما نؤمن به نحن. أمريكا تحترم حق الجميع حق إسماع كل الأصوات السلمية حتى لو لا نتفق معها وأحيانًا نحن لا نتفق بتاتًا مع بعض هذه الأصوات ولكننا نتطلع إلى أن نعمل مع

كُلٌّ من يعمل من أجل ديمقراطية تتضمن الجميع وما نعارضه هُوَ محاولة أي مجموعة بمنع الآخرين وبقمعهم وبعدم التهاون معهم لأن الديمقراطية لا تركز فقط على الانتخابات ولكن أيضًا على المؤسسات القوية والخاضعة للمساءلة واحترام حقوق الأقليات.

وهذا التسامح لا بد منه خاصة على مستوى الدين. في ميدان التحرير استمعنا المصريون يقولون مصريون مسيحيون نحن معًا. أمريكا ستعمل لتستمر هذه الروح. لنحترم كُُلَّ المعتقدات وليتم بناء الجسور. هذه المنطقة كانت منشأ ثلاث ديانات عالمية وفي هذه المنطقة عدم التسامح لا يؤدي إلا إلى العناء وعدم الاستقرار لو أردنا أن تنجح مصر يجب أن يحق للمسلمين والأقباط أن يقوموا بالتعبد بحرية وكذلك الشيعة في البحرين وما ينسحب عن الأقليات الدينية ينسحب أيضًا على حق المرأة. التاريخ أظهر أن الدول تزاد ازدهارا وسلمًا عندما تمكن المرأة لذلك سنشدد دائمًا على أن تطبق حقوق الإنسان على المرأة والرجل على حد سواء وسنعزز مساعداتنا لمساعدة الأم والطفل وعلى مساعدة المرأة لتدرس وتبدأ مؤسسة أن تسمع صوت المرأة وأن تسمح لها أن تخوض الانتخابات. المنطقة لا يمكن أن تصل إلى كُُلِّ طاقاتها إن مُنح نصف المواطنين من التوصل إلى إحقاق ما لديهم. نحن طبعًا ندعم الإصلاحات السياسية وندعم حقوق الإنسان في المنطقة ولكن لا يمكن لجهودنا أن تتوقف عند هذا الحد.

فالطريقة الثانية التي تسمح أن ندعم التغيير في المنطقة هي عبر تعزيز التنمية الاقتصادية للدول التي تنتقل نحو الديمقراطية. فالسياسة لوحدها لم تأت بالمحتجين إلى الطرقات. نقطة التحول بالنسبة إلى الكثيرين هي إمكانية إعانة أسرهم وتقديم الطعام لعائلاتهم. الكثيرون في الشرق الأوسط لا يمكنهم في اليوم إلا أن يفكروا بإعانة عائلاتهم وانتظار حظ أوفر. عبر المنطقة الكثير من الشباب لديهم تربية ولكن الاقتصادات المغلقة لا تسمح لهم بأن يجدوا لهم فرصة عمل. المقاولون لديهم الأفكار ولكن الفساد لا يسمح لهم من أن يستفيدوا من هذه الأفكار.

المورد الكبير الأساسي الذي لا يستعمل في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا هُوَ قدرة المواطنين ورأيًا أيضًا الناس في الطرقات استعملوا التكنولوجيا. وأحد القادة في ميدان التحرير كان يعمل في كوكل من كبار الموظفين. ويجب أن نُقَوِّنَ هذه الطاقات في كُُلِّ الدول ليعزز النمو الاقتصادي ما انجزه الشارع. الديمقراطية يمكنها أن تأتي عبر بعض التحركات الفردية ولكن نجاح هذه الديمقراطية يركز أيضًا على الازدهار والنمو الاقتصادي فبعدها تعلمناه عبر العالم نرى أنه من الضروري أن نركز على التجارة لئیس فقط على المساعدات على الاستثمار لئیس فقط على الدعم. الهدف يجب أن يكون نموذجًا تنتهي فيه الحماية لمصلحة الانفتاح نحو الجميع ولخلق فرص العمل للشباب. أمريكا تدعم الديمقراطية وعبر ذلك تريد أن تركز على الاستقرار المالي والإصلاحات ودمج الأسواق في الاقتصاد العالمي وسأبدأ بتونس ومصر.

أولًا طلبنا من البنك الدولي وصندوق النقد الدولي أن يقدموا خطة في مجموعة الثمانية التي تجتمع في الأسبوع المقبل لتحديث الاقتصاد في تلك الدولتين. يجب أن نساعد تونس ومصر لإعادة البناء ودعم الحكومات التي ستنتخب في نهاية هذا العام ونحن نطالب دولًا أخرى لمساعدة تونس ومصر في تلبية حاجاتهم المالية.

ثانيًا لا نريد من مصر الديمقراطية أن تعاني من ديونها ونحن سنعفي مصر حوالي مليار دولار من الديون ونعمل مع شركائنا لاستعمال كُُلِّ الاستثمارات الممكنة لتعزيز المقاولين والنمو. وسنسمح لمصر أيضًا أن تحصل على مليار دولار من القروض ونساعد الحكومة أيضًا أن تستعيد الأصول التي سرقت منها.

ثالثًا (سالسا) سنعمل مع الكونكرس للاستثمار في تونس ومصر كما حصل بعد سقوط حائط برلين في أوروبا الشرقية عبر صناديق محددة. الأوبك أيضًا ستبدأ بدعم الاستثمارات الخاصة في المنطقة وسنعمل مع حلفائنا لإعادة تركيز عمل البنك الأوروبي لإعادة الإعمار والتنمية لتقديم كُُلِّ المساعدات الضرورية للنمو الاقتصادي والتحديث في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا كما فعل البنك الأوروبي في أوروبا الشرقية كذلك سنبدأ مبادرة تحالف تجاري للتبادل. ولو استثنينا التصديرات النفطية هذه المنطقة التي فيها مئة مليون شخص لا تصدر إلا ما تصدره سويسرا تقريبًا فنحن سنعمل مع الاتحاد الأوروبي لتسهيل التجارة البينية ضمن المنطقة ونعمل أيضًا على تعزيز التصدير إلى أمريكا وأوروبا لكي تسمح للتحرير التجاري أن يؤدي إلى اتفاقات تجارية قوية كما كان الحال لعضوية الاتحاد الأوروبي في أوروبا يجب أن تكون هناك قوة من أجل الإصلاح في الشرق الأوسط تتوجه نحو التعزيز الاقتصادي والتبادل.

الازدهار يعني أيضًا القضاء على الجدران التي تقف عائقًا أمام النخبة. الفساد من قبل القادة الذين يسرقون المواطنين والبيروقراطية التي لا تسمح للفكرة أن تتحول إلى مؤسسة وكذلك توزيع الثروات على أساس قبلية أو طائفية. نحن سنساعد في هذا المجال نحو

الجهود المتعلقة بمواجهة الفساد وتعزيز الاستثمار وسنعمل أيضاً مع أعضاء البرلمانات لاستعمال التكنولوجيا وتعزيز الانفتاح وتعزيز محاسبة الحكومات السياسة وحقوق الإنسان الإصلاحات الاقتصادية.

نهاية أريد أن أتكلّم عن نقطة أساسية تتعلق بمقاربتنا للمنطقة وهي تتعلق بالبحث عن السلام. لسنوات طويلة الصراع بيّن الإسرائيليّين والعرب ألقى ظلمة على المنطقة. الإسرائيليّون يعيشون في خوف يخشونه من أن يفجر أولادهم على متن حافلة أو أن تستهدف منازلهم بقذائف وأن يتعلم البعض في المنطقة كره الإسرائيليّين. بالنسبة للفلسطينيين هذا يعني أيضاً ذل الاحتلال وعدم العيش في دولتهم الخاصة بهم. وهذا النزاع أيضاً كان مكلفاً للغاية للشرق الأوسط لأنه يمنع الشراكة التي تأتي بالمزيد من الازدهار والأمن والتمكين للمواطنين في المنطقة.

لأكثر من سنتين عملت إدارتي مع الفرقاء المعنيين والمجتمع الدولي لوضع حد لهذا الصراع بناءً على سنوات من العمل التي قامت به الإدارة السابقة. لكن التوقعات لم تُلبّ. الاستيطان الإسرائيليّ استمر والفلسطينيون ابتعدوا عن المفاوضات والعالم ينظر إلى هذا الصراع الذي استمر ولا يرى إلا طريقاً مسدوداً. البعض قد يقولون إنه مع التغييرات في المنطقة وعدم اليقين يصعب الآن أن نتقدم في هذا المجال. ولكني لا أتفق مع هذا الموقف. الشعوب في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا تتخلى من ثقل الماضي فالعمل من أجل السلام الذي يضع حداً لهذا الصراع أصبح أكثر إلحاحاً من أي وقت آخر. وهذا ينسحب على الفريقين المعنيين.

بالنسبة للفلسطينيين إن جهود نزع شرعية إسرائيل ستقتل والتصرف الرمزي في أيلول سبتمبر لعزل إسرائيل لن يؤدي إلى دولة مستقلة. القادة الفلسطينيون لا يمكنهم أن يصلوا إلى السلام والازدهار إن استمرت حماس على طريق الرفض والإرهاب ولا يمكن للفلسطينيين أن يستقلوا عبر رفض حق إسرائيل في الوجود. أما بالنسبة لإسرائيل صدقتنا متجذرة في تاريخ مشترك وفي قيم مشتركة والتزامنا للدفاع عن أمن إسرائيل لن يتزعزع وسنكون ضد كلّ المحاولات للانتقاد في هذا المجال. ولكن لأننا أصدقاء مع إسرائيل من المهم أن نقول الحقيقة. الوضع الراهن لا يمكن أن يستمر وعلى إسرائيل أن تتصرف بشجاعة لدفع سلام دائم إلى الأمام.

الواقع هو أن أعداد متزايدة من الفلسطينيين تعيش في غرب نهر الأردن والتكنولوجيا ستجعل من الأصعب على إسرائيل أن تدافع عن نفسها. المنطقة تواجه تغييرات كبيرة مما يؤدي إلى نوع من الشعبوية. ملايين من المواطنين ليس فقط قائد أو قائدين يجب أن يقتنعوا أن السلام ممكن. المجتمع الدولي سيّم هذه العملية التي تستمر من دون نتيجة. حلم الدولة اليهودية لا يمكن أن يستمر عبر الاحتلال المستمر.

وفي نهاية المطاف يعود للإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين أن يتصرفوا. لا يمكن أن نفرض السلام عليهما. لا يمكن ذلك لا لأمريكا ولا لغيرها لكن التأخير لن يلغي المشكلة. ما يمكن لأمريكا والمجتمع الدولي أن يفعله هو أن يقولوا بصراحة ما يعرفه الجميع السلام المستمر يعني دولتين لشعبين. إسرائيل كدولة يهودية للشعب اليهودي ودولة فلسطينية للشعب الفلسطيني. كلّ دولة لديها حق تقرير المصير والاعتراف المتبادل والسلام. طبعاً المشاكل الأساسية يجب أن تناقش وتفاوض ولكن الأسس واضحة. دولة فلسطينية قابلة للحياة ودولة إسرائيل آمنة.

الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تعتبر أن المفاوضات يجب أن تؤدي إلى دولتين مع حدود فلسطينية واضحة مع الأردن و مصر وإسرائيل وإسرائيل مع حدود واضحة ونعتقد أن هذه الحدود يجب أن تركز على خط العام 1967 مع بعض التبادلات المقبولة بها لتكون هناك حدود واضحة ومعترف بها لكل من الدولتين. على الشعب الفلسطيني أن يتمكن من حكم ذاته وأن يصل إلى كلّ مقدراته في إطار دولة مترابطة الأوصال وذات سيادة. أما بالنسبة للأمن فكل دولة يحق لها أن تدافع عن نفسها ويحق لإسرائيل أن تدافع عن نفسها لوحدها ضد أي تهديد. الأحكام يجب أن تكون واضحة لتمنع ظهور الإرهاب ولتمنع إدخال الأسلحة ولتعزيز الأمن على الحدود. الانسحاب الكامل للقوات الإسرائيلية يجب أن يتم التفاوض حوله مع دولة فلسطينية مسؤولة والفترة الانتقالية يجب أن يتم الاتفاق عليها. وكذلك كفاعلية التدابير الأمنية يجب أن تكون واضحة.

هذه المبادئ تقدم أساساً للتفاوض. على الفلسطينيين أن يعرفوا ما هي حدود دولتهم والإسرائيليون يجب أن يدركوا أن أمنهم سوف يكون موفراً. أنا أعني أن هذه الخطوات لوحدها لن تحل النزاع الآن. الكثير من المشاكل المتعلقة ببعض الثوابت والعوائق ما زالت واضحة. وضع القدس ووضع اللاجئين ولكن التركيز الآن على الحدود والأمن قد لا يسمح لنا بأن نتقدم أسس لحل المشاكل الأخرى وكذلك لاحترام تطلعات كلّ من الإسرائيليّين والفلسطينيين.

طبعاً نعترف أن المفاوضات يجب أن تركز أن تبدأ ولكن كما قلنا يجب أن تبدأ بمسائل الأراضي والأمن ولن يكون من السهل أن نعود إلى المفاوضات. و بعد الإعلان عن اتفاق بئير فتح وحماس هناك أسئلة كثيرة مشروعة تطرح بالنسبة لإسرائيل كيف لنا أن نتفاوض مع فريق لا يعترف في حقنا في الحياة أو الوجود. وفي الأسابيع والأشهر المقبلة على القادة الفلسطينيين أن يقدموا جواباً مقنعاً وذات مصداقية لهذا السؤال. وفي هذا الوقت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية واللجنة الرباعية والدول العربية يجب أن تستمر في بذل كل جهد لتخطي الطريق المسدود الحالي.

أعترف أن المهمة صعبة هناك الكثير من الحقد والشكوك دامت عبر أجيال وازدادت مع الوقت لكني مقتنع أن غالبية الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين يفضلون أن يتطلعون إلى المستقبل بدل من أن يكونوا سجناء الماضي. نرى هذه الروح في الأب الإسرائيلي الذي قتل حماس ابنه والذي عمل على تأسيس منظمة تجمع من الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين وقال إنني وعبت من الوقت أن الأمل الوحيد للتقدم يقضي بأن نعترف بماهية النزاع. رأينا في تصرف فلسطيني قتل بناته الثلاثة عبر قصف إسرائيل على غزة. قال من حقي أن أغضب، الكثيرون انتظروا مني أن أكره أو أحقد ولكن جوابي هو أنني لن أحقد، قال يجب أن يكون لدينا أمل للمستقبل. هذا هو الخيار الذي يجب أن نختار. لنسقط فقط في الصراع الفلسطيني بل عبر المنطقة. هو خيار بين الكراهية والأمل بين سجن الماضي وعودة المستقبل خيار بين يجب أن يختاره القادة والشعوب هو خيار سيحدد مستقبل منطقة كاملة كأنتم مهد الحضارة وكانت أيضاً مركز الصراعات.

مع كل التحديات الماثلة أمامنا إلا أننا نجد سبباً بالأمن رأينا في مصر عبر جهود الشباب المحتجين وفي شجاعة السوريين الذين واجهوا السلاح ويقولون سلمية سلمية. في بنغازي رأينا الناس يتجمعون أمام المحكمة ليحتفلوا بحرية لم يعرفوها قبل.

عبر المنطقة هناك حدود نحن نراها باستمرار ونتحلى بها يطالب بها بفرح كل الذين يحاولون أن يتخلصوا من قبضة حديدية. بالنسبة للشعب الأمريكي أنا نرى هذه التحركات في المنطقة قد قلقتنا ولكن القوات وراء هذا التغيير نعرفها. دولتنا أيضاً بدأت بثورة ضد الإمبراطورية. شعبنا كافح وخاض حرباً أهلية للحصول على كرامتهم. وأنا لما كنت لأكون هنا ولم تتوجه الأجيال السابقة إلى اللا عنف لتعزير وحدتنا. تنظموا ومشوا وتظاهروا سلمياً معاً لتحويل الكلمات التي أنشأت دولتنا واقفاً على الأرض كل هذه الحقائق التي نعترف بها وخاصة التي تقول إن الناس خلقوا متساوين هذه الكلمات هي التي يجب أن توجهنا في موقفنا حيال ما يحصل في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. نعرف أن العنف لن يستمر وأن الطغاة سينتهون وأن المواطنين سيحصلوا على حقوقهم لكن لن يكون الطريق سهلاً والصعوبات دائماً تكون على الطريق حتى لو نحن نتوجه نحو الأمل. أمريكا أنشئت على معتقد يقول إن الناس يجب أن يحكموا أنفسهم وهنا لا يجب أن نتردد في دعم كل من يمشي على هذا الطريق لأن نجاحهم سيأتي بعالم أكثر أمناً وأكثر استقراراً وأكثر عدالة. شكراً لكم جميعاً.

2.3. Target Text 2: Transcript of Al-Jazeera's Simultaneous Interpreting

شكراً جزيلاً لكم جميعاً. شكراً .. شكراً جزيلاً لكم جميعاً. الرجاء اجلسوا في مقاعدكم .. شكراً جزيلاً لكم.

أريد أن أبدأ بالشكر الى هيلاري كلينتون التي تنقلت كثيراً في السنة أشهر الماضية وهي بدأت تحقق حوالي مليون ميل سفر وهذا رقم قياسي جديد. أنا أعتد عليها في كل يوم وأعتقد أن التاريخ سيذكرها كواحدة من أروع وزراء الخارجية في تاريخ أمتنا.

إن وزارة الخارجية هي المكان الأمثل لتأشير فصل جديد في تاريخ الدبلوماسية الأمريكية. فعلى مدة ستة أشهر شهدنا تغيرات استثنائية في الشرق الأوسط وفي شمال إفريقيا. من ساحة إلى ساحة مدينة إلى مدينة ومن بلد إلى بلد. الشعوب ارتقت إلى المطالبة بحقوقها الأساسية. زعيما تنحيا وكثير سيلحقون بهم ورغم أن هذه البلدان قد تكون بعيدة كل البعد عن شواطئنا نحن نعلم أن مستقبلنا نحن مرتبط بهذه المنطقة بروابط الأمن والاقتصاد والتاريخ وبالإيمان والمعتقد.

اليوم أريد أن أتحدث عن هذا التغيير. إن قوى التغيير أتحدث عن قوى التغيير التي تدفع وكيف يمكن لنا نحن أن نعزز من قيمنا ونعزز من أمننا من خلال مواكبة هذه التغييرات. لقد قمنا بالكثير لتحديد ملامح سياستنا الخارجية بعد سنوات من الأزمات بعد سنوات من الحرب في العراق سحبنا حوالي 100000 جندي أمريكي وأهيننا مهامنا القتالية. في أفغانستان كسرنا زخم طالبان وفي

يوليو المقبل سنبدأ بإعادة قواتنا إلى الوطن ونسلم زمام الأمور إلى الأفغان. وبعد سنوات من الحرب ضد القاعدة وأنصارها وجهنا للقاعدة ضربة قاصمة بقتل زعيمها أسامة بن لادن.

بن لادن لم يكن شهيداً كَانَ قاتلاً سفاحاً بعث برسائل كراهية وأصر على أن المُسلمين يجب أن يحملوا السلاح ضد الغرب. وأن العنف ضد الرجال والنساء والأطفال كَانَ هُوَ السبيل الوحيد نحو إحداث التغيير. لقد رفض هُوَ الديمقراطية وحقوق الأفراد المُسلمين لصالح العنف والتطرف. ركز على ما يمكن أو يستطيع تدميره وليس على ما يستطيع بناءه. بن لادن ورؤيته المبنية على القتل وليكن حتى قبل مقتلة كَانَتْ القاعدة تخسر معركتها من أجل أن تبقى ذات علاقة بحياة الناس. لكن الملايين لم يستجيبوا لدعواتها لأنهم أرادوا تحقيق مطالبهم. وعندما عثرنا على بن لادن رآه كثيرون في المنطقة على أنه وصل إلى نهاية مرحلة وإلى طريق مسدود. والشعوب في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا أخذت زمام أمورها وتقرير مستقبلها بأيديها.

وقد بدأت قصة رائعة قبل ستة أشهر عندما قام بائع عادي اسمه محمد بوعزيزي بدأ بثورة في داخله عندما صادرت الشرطة عربته عربية البيع وهذا أمره لَيْسَ استثنائياً فهو يحدث كثيراً في مناطق الشرق الأوسط بسبب الحكومات الطغيانية المستبدة التي تحرم مواطنيها أبسط حقوقهم. لَكِنْ هَذِهِ المرة رفض المسؤولون المحليون أن يستمعوا لشكواه. وهذا الرجل الشاب الذي لم ينشط في السياسة أبداً ذهب إلى رئاسة الولاية والإدارة المحلية وأحرق نفسه بالبنزين.

ومرات كثيرة في التاريخ يحدث أن أعمال أشخاص عاديين تكون كقذاح يقذف شرارة التغيير لدى الجماهير لأنهم تحملوا الكثير وأمريكا تتذكر الذين رفضوا دفع الضرائب للملك في بوسطن أو تلك السيدة التي احتفظت في حقها في الجلوس في مقاعد مخصصة للبيض. هَذَا ما حدث في تونس هَذَا الرجل الشاب بحكم بأسة من وضعة تحرك فخرج المئات أولاً إلى الشوارع ثم لحق بهم الآلاف واجهوا أحياناً حتى الرصاص. لكنهم رفضوا العودة إلى بيوتهم. يوم بعد يوم أسبوع بعد أسبوع حتى إن دكتاتوراً بقي في السلطة أكثر من عشرين عاماً اضطر إلى ترك الحكم في النهاية. إن قصة هَذِهِ الثورة والثورات التي تبتعتها يجب أن لا تأتي كمفاجأة إلينا. فشعوب الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا تطلعون لحقوقهم وحريتهم منذ فترة. لَكِنْ في الكثير من البلدان لم يحدث أنهم حصلوا على حقوقهم. فالسلطة تركزت في أيدي قليلة والشباب والشعوب من أمثال هَذَا الشاب التونسي لم يدر ما يفعل. لا أحد يدافع عن حقوقه ولا مؤسسات ولا حزب سياسي له مصداقية يمثل رؤية و لا إعلام حر يدافع عن صوته ولا انتخابات حرة يختار فيها من يحكمة. إذن غياب هَذَا الحق في تقرير المصير والغياب الفرصة في أن تفعل في حياتك في أن يفعل ما يريد فُذ انطبق على اقتصاديات المنطقة أيضاً. نعم إن بعض البلدان تنعم بنعم ثروات النفط والغاز وتعيش في رفاة. لَكِنْ اقتصاد مبني على المعرفة وعلى الابتكار لم يكن موجوداً ولا شيء للتخطيط للاعتماد على الثروات الأخرى وليس النفط والغاز وغيرها. في أماكن كثيرة لم يستطع أحد أن يبدأ بمشروع ما لم يدفع الرُشى. وكثيرون في المنطقة كانوا يحاولون تحويل مظالم المنطقة نحو جهات أخرى ترحيل الأزمات مثلاً نحو الغرب بعد انتهاء سنوات من الاستعمار أو نحو العداء ضد إسرائيل ضد التعبير الوحيد عن الرأي السياسي. أيضاً الرؤى القائمة على القبلية والطائفية والعرقية ومن ثم استخدامها وكلها أخذت من ناس آخرون. لَكِنْ أحداث الستة أشهر الماضية برهنت على أن استراتيجيات القمع والإكراه لم تعد صالحة ولم تجدي بعد الآن. الفضائيات والإنترنت توفر نافذة نحو العالم الواسع الكبير وفرص التطور في الهند وإندونيسيا والبرازيل والهواتف الخلوية والقدرة على تنظيم وتحشيد الطاقات بطرق لم يسبق لها مثيل جعل أجيالاً جديدة تظهر وصوت يقول إن التغيير لا يمكن إنكاره.

في القاهرة استمعنا إلى صوت الأم الشابة التي تقول كأنني أتنفس الهواء النقي أخيراً. وفي صنعاء سمعنا الطلبة الذين هتفوا إن الليلة الظلماء يجب أن تنتهي. في بنغازي سمعنا المهندس الذي قال كلماتنا حرة. إنه شعور لا يمكن وصفه. وفي دمشق سمعنا الشاب الذي قال بعد أول صرخة نشعر بالكرامة. إن هَذِهِ الصرخات صرخات الكرامة والإنسانية يتردد صداها في أنحاء المنطقة.

ومن خلال قوة اللاعنفت حققت شعوب هَذِهِ المنطقة في ستة أشهر ما لم يحققه الإرهابيون في عقود. بالطبع إن التغيير بهذا الحجم لا يأتي بسهولة في عصرنا هَذَا وفي ظل وجود الاتصالات المستمرة والتغطية الإخبارية لمدة 24 ساعة الناس تتوقع أن تحل الأمور في أسابيع وكان في القبل كَانَتْ القصة قد تستغرق كثيراً.

الآن تتوقع الناس أن يحدث كُل شيء بسرعة لَكِنْ التغيير أحياناً يحتاج إلى فترات طويلة في أوقات يكون التغيير سريعاً كاسخاً وفي أوقات يكون تدريجياً وقد رأينا الآن أن طلبات التغيير تتحول إلى صراع شرس من أجل السلطة. والسؤال الذي أمامنا ما هو الدور الذي يمكن أن تلعبه أمريكا عندما تتبدد فصول هَذِهِ القصة. على مر عقود من الزمن الولايات المتحدة سعت إلى تحقيق مصالحها

الأساسية مثل مكافحة الإرهاب ووقف انتشار السلاح النووي والتدفق الحر للتجارة وحماية أمن المنطقة والدفاع عن أمن إسرائيل والسعي لتحقيق السلام بين العرب وإسرائيل. سوف نستمر بعمل هذه الأشياء بقناعة راسخة بأن مصالح أمريكا ليست خطرًا لأمل الشعوب بل هي ضرورية لها.

نعلم أن لا أحد سيسنّفاد من قوة نووية في المنطقة ومن هجمات القاعدة الوحشية ولا نريد أحد أن يتدمر اقتصاده بسبب وقف تدفق النفط كما حصل مع حرب الخليج. نحن لا نقبل بالعدوان على حدود الآخر وسوف ندافع عن أصدقائنا وحلفائنا. ولكن علينا أن نفر أيضًا أن استراتيجية تتأني على أساس السعي لتحقيق هذه المصالح الضيقة لم تغن من جوع ولن تسمح لأحد بأن يرفع صوته معبرًا عن حريته. ولكن التعامل مع التطلعات الأوسع للناس العاديين هي التي ستحقق لأمريكا مصالحها. لا نريد أن يرانا الناس وكأننا كنا في السابق نحقق مصالحنا على حسابهم لأن هذا يشبع عدم الثقة. وعدم الثقة من الطرفين الأمريكيان أيضًا رأوا هجمات قتلت الآلاف من مواطنينا. لكن عدم تغيير هذه النظرة السائدة سيؤدي إلى تفاقم البعد والكراهية بين العالم العربي والولايات المتحدة.

لهذا السبب قبل عامين من الآن في القاهرة بدأت بتوسيع نطاق انخراطنا بناءً على الاحترام المتبادل والمصلحة المتبادلة. وكنت أؤمن حينذاك وأؤمن الآن أن الأمن لا يعتمد على استقرار الأمم بل على تحقيق حريات وكرامة الأفراد. فالوضع الراهن لا يمكن الاستمرار فيه. المجتمعات التي تبقى على استقرارها باستخدام حكم الخوف والإكراه تبقى مبنية على أساس خطوط متصدعة قد تنفجر في أي وقت وفي أي مكان. لذا فنحن إزاء فرصة تاريخية الآن فتوفرت الفرصة بأن قيم أمريكا في حماية الكرامة كما عبر عنها الشاب في تونس هي أقوى من القوة الكبيرة التي بيد الدكتاتورية. لهذا السبب الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ترحب بالتغييرات التي تسعى إلى تحقيق الذات والفرصة والأمل. نعم ستكون هناك عقبات وصعوبات تتخلل هذه المسيرة لكن بعد عقود من قبول العالم مثلما كان عليه هذا الجزء من العالم علينا أن نتقبل العالم كما يجب أن يكون عليه. بالطبع بعملائنا ذلك علينا أن نتعامل بتواضع فهي ليست أمريكا التي أخرجت الشعوب إلى الشوارع في القاهرة وفي تونس كان هذا من تلقاء عمل الشعوب نفسها. إذن على هذه الشعوب نفسها أن تقرر نتيجة عملها.

فليس في كل بلد سيحدث المثل الذي يروق لنا التمثيل الديمقراطي لكن ربما على المدى القصير مصالحنا لا تكون منسجمة مع أوضاع المنطقة لكننا نستطيع وسوف نفعل ذلك بأن نتحدث عن مجموعة من الأهداف الأساسية التي اهتمت بها للتعامل مع الأحداث في الستة أشهر الماضية.

الولايات المتحدة ترفض استخدام العنف ضد شعوب المنطقة الولايات المتحدة تدعم حقوق عالمية يدخل ضمناً حق الكلام حق التجمع الحر حق حرية التعبير والدين ومساواة الرجال والنساء أمام القانون وحق اختيار القادة سواء أكنت تعيش في بغداد أو دمشق أو صنعاء أو طهران. ونحن ندعم أيضًا الإصلاح السياسي في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا الذي يلبي التطلعات المشروعة للشعوب في مختلف هذه المنطقة.

إن دعمنا لهذه المبادئ ليس في باب الاهتمام الثانوي. اليوم أنا أريد أن أوضح تمامًا أن هذا يمثل أولوية قصوى لنا ويجب أن يترجم إلى دعم ملموس ويدعم من خلال أدوات دبلوماسية واقتصادية واستراتيجية التي في حوزتنا وسأتحدث على وجه التحديد الآن.

أولاً ستكون سياسة الولايات المتحدة قائمة على أساس تعزيز التغيير نحو الديمقراطية والتغيير في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا وسوف أبدأ هذا الجهد في تونس وفي مصر حيث إن هناك الكثير ما هو على المحك لأن تونس كانت في طليعة هذا التغيير وإن مصر هي أكبر دولة في العالم العربي وكانت حليفًا استراتيجيًا لنا. وهذان البلدان قد يقدمان نموذجًا يحتذى به لوجود مجتمع مدني حر وانتخابات ومؤسسات ديمقراطية ومسؤولية وقيادة إقليمية مسؤولة لكن دعمنا يجب أن يصل إلى البلدان التي لم يصل فيها التغيير مراحلها النهائية بعد. للأسف هناك في الكثير من البلدان الدعوات نحو التغيير تم الرد عليها باستخدام العنف وأوضح الأمثلة وتطرفًا على ذلك ليبيا حيث شن معمر القذافي حربًا ضد شعبة واعدًا أنه سيطاردهم كالجردان.

وكما قلت عندما انضمت الولايات المتحدة للحالف الدولي للتدخل قلنا إننا لا نستطيع أن نمنع أي مظلمة يرتكبها نظام ضد شعبة. لكننا تعلمنا من تجربتنا في العراق كم هي صعوبة ومدى كلفة فرض تغيير للنظام بالقوة مهما كانت النوايا حسنة وطيبة. لكن في ليبيا رأينا احتمال وقوع مذبحة على وشك أن تحدث وكان لدينا تفويض للتدخل واستمعنا إلى نداء الشعب الليبي بالتدخل ونحن لم نتدخل فقط وما لم نتدخل مع شركائنا وحلفائنا في المنطقة في المنطقة كان الآلاف سيقتلون. والرسالة واضحة لهؤلاء الحكام أنك ابقى في السلطة مهما بلغ فلن تقتلهم.

اليوم الوقت ينفذ هُوَ لم يعد مسيطراً على بلده. المعارضة نظمت مجلساً وطنياً انتقاليًا مشروحًا يمارس المهام. إذن عقود من الاستفزازات ستنتهي والانتقال إلى ليبيا ديمقراطية سوف يبدأ. وفي الوقت الذي واجهت فيه ليبيا العنف بأوسع نطاق لكنها ليست المكان الوحيد الذي لجأ فيه الحكام إلى العنف للبقاء في السلطة. مؤخرًا سوريا لجأت لاستخدام العنف والاعتقالات للبقاء في السلطة. فالولايات المتحدة دندت بهذا التصرف وزدنا من وتيرة وصرامة عقوباتنا ضد سوريا كذلك التي أعلنها يوم أمس ضد الرئيس الأسد والمقربين منه.

الشعب السوري عبر عن شجاعته في المطالبة في التغيير نحو الديمقراطية. إذن أمام الرئيس الأسد الخيار إما أن يقود هذا الانتقال أو يتنحى جانبًا. الحكومة السورية يجب أن تتوقف عن إطلاق النار على المتظاهرين وتوقف العنف ضد المحتجين السلميين. يجب أن تتوقف عن الاعتقالات العشوائية يجب أن يسمحوا لمراقبين من حقوق الإنسان أن يدخلوا مدن مثل درعا وأن تبدأ حوارًا جادًا من أجل البدء بعملية التحول الديمقراطي. والرئيس الأسد ونظامه سيتعرضون للتحدي من الداخل والعزلة من الخارج.

لكن لحد الآن سوريا حذت حذو حليفها إيران. سوريا سعت إلى نيل دعم إيران في أساليبها القمعية. وهذا يكشف عن نفاق النظام الإيراني يتحدث عن دعم المحتجين في الخارج ولكنه يقمع محتجيه في الداخل. دعونا نتذكر أن أول مظاهرات سلمية احتجاجية كانت في شوارع طهران حيث الحكومة استخدمت الوحشية في التعامل مع الرجال والنساء وأقتهم في غياهب السجون. الآن نرى لحد الآن الهتافات يتردد صداها وتذكر صورة تلك المرأة الشابة التي كانت ملقبة في عرض الشارع ما زالت محفورة في ذاكرتنا وما زلنا نحن أيضًا نصر على أن شعب إيران له الحق في الاستمرار بالمطالبة بحقوقه المشروعة.

ومعارضتنا لمواقف إيران لا تسامحية وأساليبها القمعية وبرنامجها النووي السري ودعم الإرهاب. هذه كلها معروفة تمام المعرفة لكن أمريكا لو كانت تريد لنفسها المصادقية عليها أن تقر أننا في أوقات كثيرة أصدقائنا في المنطقة لم يستجيبوا مع دعوات التغيير التغيير الذي ينسجم مع مبادئنا التي أعلنتها الآن. هذا ينطبق على اليمن حيث الرئيس صالح عليه أن ينفذ وعده بانتقال السلطة. وهذا اليوم أيضًا ينطبق على البحرين.

البحرين شريك طويل المدى ونحن ملتزمون بأمن البحرين ونحن ندرك أن إيران حاولت استغلال الأوضاع في البحرين وأن الحكومة البحرينية لديها حق مشروع في استتباب حكم القانون لكننا أصرينا علنًا وفي الأوساط الخاصة أن القوة يجب أن لا تستخدم ويجب أن تحترم الحقوق المشروعة لشعب البحرين. وإن هذه الخطوات لم تجعل المطالب المشروعة بالإصلاح تختفي. السبيل الوحيد للإمام هُوَ أن على الحكومة والمعارضة أن تنخرط في حوار ولا يمكن أن يكون هناك حوار حقيقي عندما يكون هناك بعض المحتجين السلميين في السجون.

الحكومة يجب أن تخلق الظروف المواتية للحوار وعلى المعارضة أن تشارك من أجل مستقبل عادل لجميع البحرينيين. في الحقيقة واحدة من الدروس التي يمكن أن تستقى أن الفروقات الطائفية يجب أن لا تؤدي إلى نزاع. في العراق نرى أن هناك بوادر ديمقراطية تعددية الطوائف وتعددية السياسة. الشعب العراقي رفض العنف السياسي واتخذ سبيلًا إلى الديمقراطية وهم يقدمون على خطوات لاستلام مسؤولياتهم بأنفسهم. بالطبع حال كل الديمقراطيات الأخرى الجديدة سيواجهون انتكاسات لكن العراق إذا ما استمر في تقدمه السلمي فإذا ما فعل ذلك سنبقى نحن جاهزين للوقوف إلى جانبهم كشركاء أيضًا.

إذن في الأشهر القادمة على أمريكا أن تستخدم كل نفوذها لتعزيز الإصلاح في المنطقة وحتى عندما نقر بأن كل بلد وضعة الخاص علينا أن نتحدث بنزاهة عن المبادئ التي نعتمدها مع الصديق ومع العدو فرسالتنا واضحة بسيطة إذا ما أقدمتم على المخاطر التي يبنى عليها الإصلاح سنكون معكم. وعلينا أيضًا أن نتجاوز الاعتماد على النخب ونصل إلى الشعوب التي تصنع التغيير وخاصة الشباب فهم وسوف نستمر في الإيفاء بوعدنا التي قطعناها في القاهرة بأن نبني شبكات من الرواد والشباب وأن نعزز التعاون في مجالات العلوم والتكنولوجيا ومكافحة الأمراض وفي عموم المنطقة سوف نحاول تقديم المساعدة لمنظمات المجتمع المدني بمن فيها تلك التي قد لا تحظى بموافقة رسمية والتي نتحدث عن حقائق لا تسر الجميع. سوف نستخدم التكنولوجيا للارتباط بمن يمثل صوت الشعوب فالحقيقة أن الإصلاح الحقيقي لا يأتي فقط من صناديق الاقتراع وأيضًا من خلال جهودنا هذه علينا أن ندعم كل الذين يحاولون رفع أصواتهم. سندعم النفوذ الكامل إلى الإنترنت سواء أكان ذلك بالمصادر الأخبائية أو مدونات.

ففي القرن الحادي والعشرين لا يمكن إخفاء الحكومة ومشروعيتها الحكومات وفي خاتمة المطاف ستعتمد على دعم شعب مطلع على الأمور. إن مثل هذا أسلوب الخطاب المفتوح وحتى لو كان الأمر لا ينسجم مع رؤيتنا للعالم فأمريكا تحترم حق الجميع لكل

الأصوات التي هي سلمية وتحترم القانون أن ننصت إليها حتى لو كنا لا نتفق معهم بشكل كبير لكننا نتطلع قدمًا مع كل من يحتضن مبادئ الديمقراطية الحقيقية لكن ما سنعرضه أنه عندما تحاول مجموعة تقييد حقوق الآخرين أو أن تعمل من خلال الإكراه وليس التوافق والتسامح لأن الديمقراطية لا تعتمد فقط على الانتخابات ولكن أيضًا على مؤسسات قائمة وفاعلة وعلى احترام حقوق الأقليات في المجتمعات.

فإن مثل هذا التسامح وقبول الآخر مهم عندما يتعلق الأمر بالأديان. في ساحة التحرير كنا نسمع مصريين من كل الفصائل كلهم يقولون مسلمون ومسيحيون كلنا شعب واحد. وأمريكا سوف تعمل من أجل أن تسود هذه الروح. أن تحترم كل الأديان وأن تمد الجسور بينهم. وفي منطقة كانت ميلاد الأديان السماوية الثلاث الأخرى لكن أدى بها الأمر إلى عدم التسامح والتخلف والجمود. اليوم يجب أن يكون للأقباط المسيحيين حق في أن يتعبدوا في حرية في القاهرة كما هو حق الشيعة في أن لا تهدم مساجدهم في البحرين.

الأمر ينطبق أيضًا على حقوق المرأة فالتاريخ يعلمنا أن الشعوب تحقق ازدهارًا ورخاءً وسلامًا أكثر عندما تتمكن النساء في تلك المجتمعات لهذا السبب سنستمر في إصرارنا على أن تنطبق الحقوق على النساء كما هي على الرجال من حقوق الأمومة والطفولة وتعليم المرأة وحققها في أن تبدأ مشروع جديد وأن يُسمع صوت المرأة وأن تترشح للمناصب العامة. فالمنطقة لن تصل لتحقيق إمكاناتها وذاتها إذا ما كان نصف سكانها محرومون من تحقيق إمكاناتها.

ونحن نعمل من أجل تعزيز الإصلاح السياسي وتعزيز حقوق الإنسان في المنطقة. جهودنا يجب أن لا تتوقف عند ذلك الحد كموجة ثانية علينا أن ندعم التنمية الاقتصادية. الأمم تمر في حالة انتقال نحو الديمقراطية فيبعد كل هذا وذاك السياسة لم تكن الدافع الوحيد وراء خروج المحتجين إلى الشوارع ولكن النقطة التي قلبت التوازن كانت عدم قدرة الناس على إطعام أنفسهم وعائلاتها فكثير من العائلات لا تستطيع أن تقضي حاجة قوت يومها. وفي أنحاء المنطقة الكثير من الشباب والشابات لديهم تعليم ذو مستوى رفيع لكن الوضع الاقتصادي لا يتيح لهم فرصة العثور على عمل والرواد من رجال الأعمال الشباب والشابات لديهم أفكار عريضة وأحلام عريضة لكن الوضع لا يمنحهم الفرصة.

إن أكبر دور في الشرق الأوسط لم يستغل هو مورد الشعوب وأفراد هذه المنطقة. نرى أن كيف الناس يعبرون عن مواهبهم ويحتضنون التكنولوجيا ويطبونها. فليس غريب أن أحد قادة ساحة ميدان التحرير كان من العاملين في غوغل. فالتحدي يأتي من بلد إلى بلد لذا نقول إن النمو الاقتصادي سيعزز الأمان والوضع في الشارع ولكن ليس كل الثورات فقط تنطلق من حالة عدم الرضا من الأوضاع الاقتصادية ولكن نجاح الثورات في الوقت ذاته يعتمد على الرخاء وتحقيق التنمية إذ لو تعلمنا من تجربتنا فيما حدث في العالم سوف نركز على التجارة وليس العون نركز على الاستثمار وليس على المساعدات فقط. الهدف يجب أن يكون نموذجًا نموذجًا يسمح للحمانية أن تحل محلها في تحقيق الفرص اقتصاديات تخلق فرص العمل للشباب. دعم أمريكا للديمقراطية يجب أن يتضمن الاستقرار المالي وتعزيز فرص العمل والمساعدات الاقتصادية.

وسوف نبدأ بتونس ومصر وأولاً: سنطلب من صندوق النقد الدولي والبنك الدولي على أن يقدموا خطة في اجتماع مجموعة السبعة لكيفية تحديث اقتصاد مصر وتونس وسوية يجب أن نساعد على مواجهة الفوضى التي حصلت بعد الثورات وأن ندعم الحكومة التي سوف تشكل في مصر وسوف نحث الحكومات الأخرى على مساعدة مصر وتونس على تلبية احتياجاتها الاقتصادية.

ثانيًا لا نريد لمصر ديمقراطية لكنها مكبلة بالديون لذلك سوف نحقق [نخفض] إلى ما يقرب من مليون دولار من أعباء الديون عن مصر الديمقراطية وسوف نستخدم كذلك الاستثمار في مجال خلق فرص العمل والعودة إلى الأسواق من خلال قرض بمبلغ مليار دولار من أجل الاستثمار وخلق فرص العمل وسوف نساعد الحكومات المنتخبة ديمقراطيًا على استعادة الأصول التي سرقت.

ثالثًا سنعمل مع الكونكرس لتحقيق صناديق استثمار في تونس ومصر على غرار ما حدث في أوروبا الشرقية بعد انهيار جدار برلين. أوبك وهي مؤسسة الاستثمار الخاص بالخارج سوف تبدأ باستثمار نحو مليارين في الخارج وسوف نعمل مع الشركاء لإعادة توجيه أنظار البنك الأوروبي لإعادة الإعمار والتنمية بحيث يدعم عملية التغيير الديمقراطي في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا كما فعل في أوروبا الشرقية.

رابعاً ستبدأ الولايات المتحدة بخلق شراكات تجارية حرة مع بلدان الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا إذا ما أخذنا صادرات النفط فإن هذه المنطقة التي يبلغ سكانها حوالي أربع مئة مليون سوف تصدر بمجموعها ما يقارب من صادرات سويسرا. لذا سنعمل مع الاتحاد الأوروبي لتسهيل المزيد من التبادل التجاري ونبني على الاتفاقات القائمة ونفتح المجال أمام البلدان التي تتبنى قواعد عمل السوق الحر وتسهيل التجارة كما ساعدت عضوية الاتحاد الأوروبي في أوروبا. فلذلك رؤية اقتصاد جديدة للشرق الأوسط تشكل رؤية قوية لمستقبل زاهر في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. الرخاء يتطلب أيضاً إزاحة الحواجز التي تقف أمام التقدم كالنخب التي تقف عائقاً أمام شعوبها كذلك المحسوبية التي توزع الثروة على أساس الطائفة أو القبيلة سوف تساعد الحكومات على تلبية التزاماتها الدولية وأن تستثمر في مجال مكافحة الفساد مثل العمل مع المشرعين والبرلمانيين والناشطين الذين يستخدمون التكنولوجيا لمحاسبة الحكومات وزيادة الشفافية. السياسة وحقوق الإنسان والإصلاح الاقتصادي.

دعوني أختتم بالحديث عن حبر زاوية آخر في مقاربتنا الجديدة للمنطقة وهذا ما له علاقة في السعي لتحقيق السلام.

على مر عقود النزاع بين الإسرائيليين والعرب ألقى بظلاله على المنطقة. بالنسبة للإسرائيليين كان يعني ذلك العيش مع الخوف أن الأطفال قد يفجرون في حافلة أو صواريخ تطلق على بيوتهم إضافة إلى معرفة الألم بأن أطفال آخرين في المنطقة يترجون على كراهيتهم. بالنسبة للفلسطينيين كان يعني ذلك المعاناة والإذلال جراء الاحتلال وأن لا يعيشوا كبلد خاص بهم. وعلاوة على ذلك فإن هذا النزاع جاء بتكلفة أكبر على الشرق الأوسط لأنه أعاق الشراكة التي من شأنها أن تأتي بالسلام والاستقرار على المواطن الخاص.

على مدى عامين عملت إدارتي مع الشركاء والمجتمع الدولي لإنهاء هذا النزاع وبنينا على عمل إدارات سابقة تمتد عقود من الزمن لكن التوقعات لم تتحقق الاستيطان الإسرائيلي يستمر الفلسطينيون انزاحوا بعيداً عن المفاوضات والعالم ينظر إلى هذا النزاع الذي دام ودام ولم ينتهي إلا لطريق مسدود وحالة من الجمود. لكن مع كل التغييرات وعدم اليقين في المنطقة يدعو أنه من غير الممكن أن نستمر على هذا الوضع وأنا أتفق مع وجهة النظر هذه. ففي الوقت الذي شعوب الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا تتخلص من عبء الماضي وتحاول حل الأزمات فإن حل هذا النزاع يصبح ضرورياً أكثر من أي وقت مضى.

هذا بالتأكيد سينطبق على كلا طرفي النزاع. فالفلسطينيون وجهود الفلسطينيون في نزع الشرعية عن إسرائيل ستبوء بالفشل والقيام في عمل رمزي في الامم المتحدة لن يخلق دولة فلسطينية ولو أن حماس استمرت على مسيرة العنف والإرهاب لن يحقق هذا الاستقلال والفلسطينيين لن يحققوا استقلالهم إذا ما استمروا في انكار حق إسرائيل في الوجود. اما بالنسبة لإسرائيل فإن صداقتنا متجذرة في تاريخ مشترك وقيم مشتركة معهم. فالتزامنا بأمن إسرائيل غير قابل للتزعزع وسوف نقف ضد أي محاولة لانتقاد إسرائيل في المجتمع الدولي. ولكن وبالتحديد بسبب هذه الصداقة من المهم أن نقول الحقيقة فالوضع الراهن غير قابل أن يستمر وعلى إسرائيل أيضاً أن تتصرف بشجاعة من أجل احلال سلام دائم. وحقيقة أن عددا متزايدا من الفلسطينيين يعيشون غربي نهر الاردن والتكنولوجيا تجعل من الصعب على إسرائيل أن تدافع عن نفسها. والمنطقة تمر بتغيرات عميقة سوف تؤدي إلى شعبية يكون فيها الملايين وليس فقط أو قاندين. يجب أن نجعل الناس يؤمنوا بالسلام فالمجتمع الدولي تعب وممل من مبادرات لا تنتهي و لا تتمخض عن نتيجة. فامال اليهود لن تتحقق باستمرار احتلال اجرامي.

إذن في خاتمة المطاف على الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين أن يقدموا على خطوات فلن يستطيع احد فرض السلام عليهم لا الولايات المتحدة و لا غيرها. لكن التأخيرات إلى ما لانهاية لن تجعل المشاكل تختفي لكن ما تستطيع أمريكا والمجتمع الدولي أن تعبر بصراحة عما يعلمه الجميع وهذا السلام الدائم يعني دولتين دولة لكل طرف. دولة التي هي دولة إسرائيل دولة قومية لليهود تعيش في أمن وأمان مع دولة فلسطينية مستقلة وديمقراطية.

إذن في الوقت الذي يجب أن يتم التفاوض حول القضايا الأساسية في النزاع فإن أساس هذه المفاوضات واضح. دولة فلسطين قابلة للبقاء وإسرائيل أمن. الولايات المتحدة تعتقد أن المفاوضات يجب أن تنتهي إلى دولتين بحدود دائمة لإسرائيل مع فلسطين. ونحن نأمل أن حدود إسرائيل و فلسطين يجب أن تستند إلى حدود 1967 مع مبادلة اراضي متفق عليها كي تكون حدود آمنة لكلا البلدين أو الدولتين. الشعب الفلسطيني يجب أن يتمتع في حكم نفسه ويحقق ذاته وامكانياته في دولة ذات سيادة. اما ما يتعلق بالأمن فلكل دولة الحق في الدفاع عن نفسها وإسرائيل يجب أن تكون قادرة على الدفاع عن نفسها و بنفسها ضد أي تهديد. يجب أن تكون الشروط واضحة للحيلولة دون إعادة ظهور الإرهاب و تسرب الأسلحة وحماية أمن الحدود. أيضاً انسحاب إسرائيل متدرج يجب أن يقابلة

مسؤولية أمنية فلسطينية في دولة ذات سيادة غير متعسكرة وهذا يعتمد بالنهاية على ترتيبات أمنية يجب أن يكون مبرهن عليها. هذه المبادئ توفر أساسا للمفاوضات. الفلسطينيون يجب أن يعلموا ماهي الحدود الإقليمية لبلدهم والإسرائيليون يجب أن يعلموا أن بواعث قلقهم الأمنية الأساسية سيتم الاستجابة إليها. وأنا أدرك أن هذه الخطوات لوحدها لن تحل الازمة لان هناك قضايا عاطفية ستبقى وهي مستقبل القدس ومصير الاجئين الفلسطينيين. لكن التقدم إلى امام الآن على أساس الأمن والحدود والاراضي سوف يوفر الاسس لحل هاتين القضيتين بشكل عادل ويلي التطلعات المشروعة لكل من الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين.

ودعوني أقول ان المفاوضات يجب أن تبدأ حول الأمن والاراضي هذا لا يعني أن من السهولة أن نعود إلى المفاوضات وخاصة من خلال ما أعلن من اتفاق يبيّن فتح وحماس يؤثر مخوف واسئلة مشروعة لإسرائيل وعميقة. كيف يمكن أن نتفاوض مع طرف يرفض حقه في الوجود. وفي الأسابيع والأشهر المقبلة على القادة الفلسطينيين أن يقدموا اجابة ذات مصداقية عن هذا السؤال وفي الوقت الحالي فإن الولايات المتحدة والرباعية والدول العربية عليهم جميعاً أن لا يؤلوا جهدا لتخطي الازمة والجمود الحالي.

انا أدرك كم هو صعب هذا العمل والشكوك والعداء قد تم توارثها جيلا عن جيل وفي أحياناً زاد صلابة تكرسا لكنني مقتنع أن الغالبية من الإسرائيليين والإسرائيليين يفضلون العمل نحو المستقبل بدلا من البقاء اسرى للماضي وتذكر قصة الوالد الإسرائيلي الذي قتل ابنه على يد حماس. بدأ بالعمل لجمع العائلات الفلسطينية في إسرائيل التي تعاني والتي عانت وهذا الوالد الإسرائيلي قال انه أدرك اننا يجب أن ندرك ما هو وجه هذا النزاع ونرى ذلك في نشاطات فلسطيني خسر ثلاثة من بناته بسبب القصف الإسرائيلي. قال ان عندي الحق أن أشعر بغضب والكثيرون يتوقعون في أن أغضب لكن اجابتي انني لن اكره. بدلا من ذلك لنشعر بالامل نحو الغد.

هذا هو الخيار الذي يجب أن يتخذ لئس فقط ببساطة في النزاع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي لكن في عموم المنطقة. خيار يبيّن الكراهية والامل. يبيّن انتقال وقيود الماضي وبين وعد المستقبل. انه خيار يجب أن يتخذه القادة ويجب أن تتخذه الشعوب أيضا وهو خيار سوف يرسم ملامح مستقبل منطقة كانت مهدا للحضارة الانسانية وسبب للنزاعات. ورغم كل التحديات التي نراها نتظننا نرى أن هناك املا ونرى ذلك في الشباب الذين قاد التغيير في مصر وفي سوريا. الشباب الذين تصدوا للرصااص وهم يهتفون سلمية سلمية. وفي بنغازي المدينة التي هدت بالتمير راينا كيف أن الناس احتفلوا في دار المحكمة محتفلين بحرية لم يعرفوها أبداً. وهذه الحقوق التي نأخذها على أنها مسلمات بدأ الناس يدعونها ويطالبون بها ويحتفلون بها في وجه قبضات حكم حديدية.

بالنسبة للشعب الأمريكي فإن مشاهد الجيوشات في هذه المنطقة قد تثير سببا للشك. لكن الاسباب التي دعت إليها ليست غريبة فأمتنا تأسست من خلال تمرد ضد حكم امبراطوري. شعبنا خاض حربا اهلية مؤلمة حتى اوصلت الحرية إلى الذين كانوا تحت الاسترقاق والعبودية. وأنا ما كنت لاقف امامكم هنا الا بعد أن وقفت اجيال من أبناء جلدتي في مظاهر سلمية سوية في احتجاجات لتحقق الكلمات التي اعلنت ميلاد امنا بأن تكون من هذه الحقيقة. حقيقة أن كل البشر خلقوا متساوين هذه الكلمات يجب أن تكون هي التي نهتدي بها عندما نتعامل مع شعوب الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. كلمات تنبانا بأن القمع سيفشل والطغاة سيسقطون وأن الحق كل الحق لكل رجل وامرأة أن يعيشوا بكرامة وهذا لن يكون سهلا ولا توجد هناك طرق سريعة مستقيمة لكن الامل يجب أن يحدونا جميعا. فالولايات المتحدة بنيت على أساس أن الشعوب يجب أن تحكم نفسها بنفسها. هنا لا يمكننا أن نتردد امام من يطالب بهذا الحق ونعلم أن نجاحهم سيجعل من العالم عالما أفضل وأكثر استقرارا وأكثر عدلا وشكرا جزيلاً لكم جميعا.

2.4. Target Text 3: Transcript of Al-Arabia's Simultaneous Interpreting

شكراً، شكراً جزيلاً. تفضلوا بالجلوس. شكراً جزيلاً.

أود أن أبدأ بالتقدم بالشكر إلى السيدة كلينتون التي سافرت كثيراً. خلال فترة السنة اشهر الماضية من خلال سعيها لتحقيق اكبر قدر ممكن من الاميال. أعتقد أنها تعد من أفضل وزراء الخارجية التي حصلت عليها أمتنا.

وزارة الخارجية قد تكون مكانا جيدا للحديث عن الدبلوماسية الأمريكية. في خلال السنة اشهر الماضية شهدنا تغييرا كاسحا في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. في كل مربع وفي كل بلدة وفي كل دولة الشعب انطلق للمناداة بحقوقه الرئيسية. قائدان تحيا وقد

يتبعه الآخرون. وعلى الرغم من أن الدول قد تكون بعيدة جغرافيا عنا ولكننا نعلم من خلال حقائق أن مستقبلنا يرتبط بهذه المناطق من حيث النواحي الاقتصادية والأمن والتاريخ والأديان.

اليوم أود أن أتحدث عن هذا التغيير والقوى التي تدفع هذا التغيير وكيف لنا أن نستجيب لتعزيز قيمنا وتعزيز أمننا. لقد قمنا بما هو فيه الكثير لتعزيز سياستنا الخارجية في مواجهة هذه التغيرات. وبعد سنوات من الحرب في العراق لقد أجلينا مئات الآلاف من الجنود هناك من المهام القتالية. وفي أفغانستان استطعنا أيضاً دحر طالبان وسوف نعمل في شهر يوليو على إعادة الجنود إلى موطنهم لإكمال المرحلة الانتقالية واحالتها إلى الأفغان. وبعد سنة من الحرب على القاعدة وفلولها استطعنا أن نحدث صفة قوية في صفوف القاعدة بعد مقتل اسامة بن لادن.

اسامة بن لادن هو قاتل تسبب بمجازر جماعية وعلى المسلمين أن لا يباخذوا الضغينة ضد الغرب لان هذا الرجل قتل الرجال والأطفال والنساء. لقد رفض الديمقراطية وكذلك حقوق الأفراد التي تخص المسلمين وكان يميل إلى التطرف وكانت الاجندة الخاصة به تركز على التدمير وليس حول على ما يمكن العمل على بناءة.

بن لادن وروية الدموية التي كانت قد افضت إلى نتائج كارثية حتى قبل مقتلة كانت مجموعته تعاني إلى حد كبير لان غالبية الناس كانوا قد رآوا أن مقتل الأبرياء لا تلي طلبات تحقيق حياة كريمة. وفي الوقت الذي وجدنا فيه بن لادن فإن اجندة القاعدة كانت قد وصلت إلى نهاية مسدودة. والناس والشعوب في الشرق الأوسط وفي شمال إفريقيا كانوا قد حققوا مستقبلهم بأيديهم.

ان قصة تقرير المصير قد بدأت في تونس على يد شاب اسمة محمد بو عزيزي الذي كان قد شعر بالاسى بعدما قام رجل شرطة بمصادرة عربته. وهذه ليست غريبة. نفس القصة تحدث في اماكن عديدة من العالم. الحكومات التي تقوم باستخدام القمع على شعوبها. ورفض الموظفون الرسميون في تونس سماع روايته. وهذا الشخص ليس لديه يد في السياسة ولكنه قد توجه إلى احدى الوائز الحكوميه قدم شكوى ولم يجد اذانا صاغية فانتهى المطاف بحرق نفسه.

وفي مرات وعلى مر التاريخ وعندما تكون تصرفات الأشخاص العاديين تحدث تغييرات لأنها تتحدث عن التوق إلى الديمقراطية الذي كان يبني على مر السنوات. أمريكا أيضاً تفكر في أشخاص مشابهين في تكساس وفي اماكن أخرى الذين أيضاً قدموا تضحيات مشابهة. لذا فإن هذه القصة بدأت في تونس. وتلك اللحظات لحظات الياس هي التي دفعت بهذا الشاب وانتشرت من بعدها الفتيل في كافة أنحاء البلاد. توجه المناء ومن ثم الآلاف في مواجهة الرصاص ورفضوا العودة إلى منازلهم. يوم تلو الآخر اسبوع تلو الآخر إلى حين قام دكتاتور الذي حكم البلاد على مر عقدين بالتحدي. قصة هذه الثورة وما تبعها يجب أن لا تكون بمثابة مفاجئة فإن الامم في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا كانوا يتوقون حققوا استقلالهم منذ فترة لكن الشعب لم يحصل على حقوقه وهناك دول أخرى كان السلطة تتركز بيد الاقلية وفي دول كثيرة المواطنون على غرار هذا الشاب التونسي ليس لديهم أي صوت يسمع وليس لديهم أي وسائل اعلامية تنقل صوتهم أو أي حزب يمثل وجهة نظرهم وكذلك لا توجد انتخابات عادلة ومنصفة لإحداثها.

وعدم القدرة على تحديد المصير اعطت الآن الفرصة للشعوب لتخطيط ما يرغبون به وهذا ينطبق على اقتصاداتهم كدول. نعم هناك دول حباها الله بالنفط والغاز وهذا الأمر كان قد دفعها إلى الازدهار لكن في الاقتصاد عالمي المبني على الاقتصاد والابتكار لا يمكن بناء استراتيجية فقط من خلال ما تراه على ارض الواقع. ولن يكون بمقدور الشعب التوصل إلى حلول مالم يدفعون الرشاوى. وفي وجه هذه التحديات قادة كثيرون حاولوا توجيه تضلعات شعوبهم إلى مجالات أخرى. وكان يعاب على الغرب أنه لم يتقدم بالعون رغم أنه قد مضى سنوات من الاستعمار. والكراهية لإسرائيل كانت هي المخرج الوحيد للتعابير السياسية. وروية القبائل العرقية وكذلك الطوائف الدينية والتلاعب كلها كانت هي الأساس. لكن الأحداث الأخيرة التي وقعت في الاشهر الست الماضية تظهر لنا أن استراتيجيات القمع واستراتيجيات القهر لن تنجح بعد اليوم. فاشاشات التلفزة والمحطات الأخرى كلها تظهر لنا ما يحدث وهذا ما نراه في الهند واندونيسيا والبرازيل. الهواتف المتحركة وشبكات التواصل الاجتماعية تسمح للناس في أن يتواصلوا في وقت لم نراه في السابق لذلك فإن هناك جبل جديد قد ظهر إلى السطح وهناك اصوات تقول إن التغيير لا يمكن أن ننكره بعد اليوم.

في القاهرة سمعنا صوت الام التي قالت إنني أستطيع الآن أن أتنفس الصعداء للمرة الاولى. وفي صنعاء سمعنا الذين كانوا يقولون ان الكابوس قد اوشك على النهاية وفي بنغازي أيضاً سمعنا المهندس الذي قال ان عالمنا الآن بات أكثر حرية من السابق وفي دمشق سمعنا الشاب الذي قال بعد الصرخات الاولى بدأنا نشعر بالكبرياء والكرامة. تلك الصرخات التي تعبر عن الكرامة الانسانية قد تم سماعها في كافة أنحاء المنطقة. وأيضاً من خلال قوى عدم العنف فإن هذه المجموعات استطاعت تحقيق تغيرات أكثر مما قام به

الإرهابيون على مر عقود. وبكل تأكيد أن التغيير بهذا الحجم لا يأتي بسهولة فهناك أيضًا عمليات تستمر لنقل المعلومات تنتشر في كافة أنحاء العالم. لكن هذه القصص سوف تسمع ولا بد لكل قصة من نهاية. نعلم أنه سيكون هناك أيام طيبة وإيام سيئة. وفي بعض الأماكن قد يكون التغيير سريعاً وسلمياً وفي أماكن أخرى قد يكون التغيير تدريجياً وكما شهدنا فإن التغيير قد يفتح الباب أحياناً أمام مواجهات دموية على السلطة.

و السؤال المطروح أمامنا هو الدور الذي سوف تلعبه أمريكا مع حدوث هذه الثورات. على مر عقود الولايات المتحدة كانت قد عبرت عن مصلحتها في المنطقة في مواجهة الإرهاب ووقف انتشار الأسلحة النووية وضمان التجارة وحماية المنطقة ودعم أمن إسرائيل ودعم السلام العربي الإسرائيلي.

سوف نستمر في دعم هذه المبادئ من خلال إيماننا الراسخ أن مصالح أمريكا لا تعد عدائية لطموح الشعب. نعتقد أنه لن يستفيد أحد البتة من سباق حرب نووية أو من خلال عمليات هجوم دموي أو من خلال وقف الكهرباء على أي شعب. وكما فعلنا في حرب الخليج لن نستعمل أي حرب قد تحدث وسوف نبقى على التزامنا مع اصدقائنا و شركائنا وعلينا أن نعترف أن الاستراتيجية التي تعتمد بكل تأكيد على متابعة هذه المصالح لن تسد الجوع ولن تأتي أكلها وكذلك لن تعطي هؤلاء الشعوب ما يتوقون إليه كذلك الفشل أو العزوف عن الحديث عن هذه الأمور لتلك الشعوب ولاسيما أن لديهم طموح قديم سوف يدفعهم للحديث أن الولايات المتحدة تتبع اجندة على مصالحها وهذا سوف يدفع إلى نوع من سوء الثقة وهذا ما كنا قد شهدناه من العمليات الهجومية التي ادت إلى مقتل الالاف من مواطنينا.

ان الفشل في تغيير المنهجية قد يؤثر على الرؤيا التي وضعتها الولايات المتحدة فيما يخص العالم العربي. ولهذا السبب منذ عامين وفي القاهرة بدأنا بانخراط واسع النطاق قائم على الاحترام المشترك والمصالح المشتركة. واعتقد و قد كنت قلت انذاك واعتقدت انذاك واعتقد الآن أنه لدينا حصة ليس فقط في استقرار الامم بل أيضاً في كرامة الأفراد.الوضع الحالي لن يكون مستداماً. المجتمعات التي تعيش تحت اثر الخوف والقمع لن تستمر والتي تعمل أيضاً لن تستمر تحت تأثير هذه الضغوط.

لذا فإننا الآن نواجه فرصة تاريخية. لدينا فرصة أن نظهر أن القيم الأمريكية والكرامة الأمريكية كما هو الحال كما شهدناه في شوارع تونس لها القوة أكثر من قوة الدكتاتور و مما لاشك فيه أن الولايات المتحدة ترحب بالتغيير الذي يفضي إلى تقرير المصير واعطاء الفرص. نعم سوف يكون هناك عثرات وعقبات في الطريق في المرحلة أمامنا لكن بعد عقود من قبول العالم على حالة فإن لدينا الآن فرصة لمتابعة هذا الطريق كما ينبغي. بكل تأكيد في سياق عملنا هذا علينا أن نعمل بحس من الكبرياء. بكل تأكيد أنها ليست أمريكا التي دفعت الشعوب إلى شوارع القاهرة أو تونس بل هي حركة عفوية هذه الشعوب الذين هم سوف يقررون مصيرهم ومستقبلهم. وما من دولة سوف تقوم باتباع النموذج من نماذج الديمقراطية وسيكون هناك أوقات عندما لا تكون هناك مصالحنا تتماشى فيه مع مصالح المنطقة. يمكننا أن نقول شيء أو سوف نعمل بالحديث عن المبادئ الرئيسية. المبادئ التي وجهتنا خلال فترة الاشهر الستة الماضية.

الولايات المتحدة الولايات المتحدة لا توافق على استخدام العنف في المنطقة وتعمل وتؤيد استخدام حقوق عالمية وتتضمن هذه الحقوق استخدام حرية التعبير وحرية التجمع وحرية الديانات والمسلمات بين الرجال والناس تحت سيادة القانون وحرية الاختيار اختيار القادة سواء كان المرء يعيش في بغداد أو في دمشق أو طهران. وكذلك ندعم أيضاً الإصلاحات الاقتصادية والسياسية في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا التي تفي بالتطلعات المشروعة للأشخاص العاديين في كافة أرجائها.

ان دعمنا لهذه المبادئ هو لا يعد مصلحة ثانوية اليوم أود أن أوضح بطريقة لا غبار عليها بأن هذه الاولويات يجب أن تترجم من خلال أعمال على الارض وأن تدعم من خلال كافة الجهات الدبلوماسية والادوات الاستراتيجية المتاحة.

دعوني احدد أكثر صراحة. اولاً سوف تكون سياسة الولايات المتحدة مرتكزة على تعزيز الديمقراطية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. وهذه الجهود قد بدأت في مصر وتونس حيث كانت الفرص مرتفعة. وكانت تونس هي التي قادت هذه الحركة و مصر كانت شريكة طويلة الامد وسوف تطل دول أخرى. هاتان الدولتان وضعنا مثال لانتخابات الحرة والنزيهة و لمجتمع مدني نابض بالحياة ولاقامة مؤسسات ديمقراطية ووضع نموذج القيادة مسؤولة على المستوى الاقليمي.

لكن دعنا يمكن أن يطال أيضًا تلك الدول التي قد تنتظر التحول الديمقراطي. ولسوء الطالع في دول كثير التي تتوق إلى التغيير كانت الاجابة على هذه التطلعات قد ووجهت بالعنف.

والمثال الأكثر حدة هو ليبيا حيث قام العقيد معمر القذافي بشن حرب على شعبة وكان قد وعد بأن يقوم باصطيادهم كالفران.

وكما قلت ان الولايات المتحدة قد انضمت إلى التحالف الدولي لكننا لانستطيع مواجهة كافة الاجحافات التي يرتكبها القيادة وقد تعلمنا من تجربتنا في العراق مدى تكلفة تغيير أي نظام بالقوة بصرف النظر عن نوايا هذا النظام أم ذلك. لكن في ليبيا راينا اوجه واحتمالات وقوع مذبحه جماعية لذا كان يتوجب علينا أن نساعد الشعب الليبي. ولو لم نتصرف بالتعاون مع حلفائنا في الناتو وحلفائنا الدوليين لقتل الالاف هناك.

الرسالة كانت واضحة بأنه كان قد يرغب بالحفاظ على السلطة بقتل اكبر عدد ممكن من الأشخاص. الآن الوقت لا يخدم القذافي ولم يعد لدية السلطة على بلاده والمعارضة تقوم بتنظيم مجلس شرعي. وعندما يرحل القذافي سوف تنتهي عقود من الطغيان وسوف يحدث هناك انتقال إلى ليبيا ديمقراطية.

عندما واجهت ليبيا العنف على اعلى درجاته فهذا لم يكن فقط يتوقف على الطغيان الذي ظهر على يد القائد. والنظام السوري أيضًا اختار طريق القتل وطريق مواجهة شعبه.الولايات المتحدة قد ادانت هذه التصرفات وتعمل مع الأسرة الدولية على تعزيز عقوباتنا على النظام السوري بما في ذلك الصعوبات التي تم الاعلان عنها بالامس التي تستهدف الرئيس الاسد وحاشيته. الشعب السوري قد اظهر شجاعة ورغبة في التحول الديمقراطي لكن الرئيس الاسد لديه خيار الان: اما أن يفقد هذا التغيير أو أن يرحل.الحكومة السورية عليها أن تتوقف عن اطلاق النار على المتظاهرين الذين يبحثون عن الديمقراطية ولا بد لهما أن تقوم باطلاق كافة السجناء ولا بد لها أن تسمح لجمعيات حقوق الإنسان أن تخل بعض المدن مثل درعا وأن تبدأ بحوار جدي للبدء بتحول ديمقراطي وألا سوف يستمر بعزلة غير مسبوقة.

حتى الآن سوريا قد اتبعت نفس النهج الإيراني بل بدلامن أن تعم حقوق التظاهر تقوم في قمع شعبها في عقر دارها. دعونا نتذكر بأن اول مظاهرات في المنطقة كانت قد حدثت في شوارع طهران عندما قامت الحكومة بوضع الناس وزجهم في السجون فضلًا عن قمعهم بطريقة وحشية وهذه التجربة قد بدأت من طهران وصورة تلك الشابة التي لقت مصرعها في طهران ما تزال محفورة في ذاكرتنا وسوف نستمر في اصرارنا على أن الشعب الإيراني يستحق الحقوق العالمية وكذلك الحقوق التي تتوق إليها كافة الامهات هناك.ان معارضتنا لعدم تسامح إيران ولاجرائها القمعية ولبرنامجها النووي ودعمها للإرهاب هو امر معروف تمامًا.

لكن إذا ما كانت أمريكا ستحضى بالمصادقية فلا بد لنا أن نعترف أنه في الوقت الذي يكون فيه اصدقائنا لم يتصرفوا فقط ازاء التغيير مع التغيير الذي يكون ملازمًا للمبادئ التي تحدثت عنه اليوم هذا امر حقيقي. فاليمن حيث الرئيس صالح أيضًا أن يعمل على التزاماته في تحويل السلطة. وهذا امر صحيح في البحرين. البحرين شريك طويل الامد ونحن ملتزمون بأمنها ونذكر أن إيران قد سعت للاستفادة من القلاقل هناك لكن الحكومة البحرينية لديها مصلحة مشروعة في سيادة القانون لكن مع ذلك فقد قلنا بصورة عامة وبصورة خاصة انه لا بد للحكومة البحرينية أن تلتزم بالمبادئ المشروعة التي لا بد للمواطنين البحرينيين أن يحصلوا عليها. وان أي شكل من اشكال القمع الوحشي تعد غير مقبولة. الطريق الوحيد في المستقبل بالنسبة للحكومة والمعارضة هي الانخراط بحوار حقيقي لكن هذا الحوار لن يحدث إذا ما كان احد الأطراف في السجن.

الحكومة عليها أن تعمل على تهيئة مناخ للحوار والمشاركة بهدف تحقيق مستقبل ناجح لكافة البحرينيين. ومن الدروس التي يمكن الاستفادة منها هي أن الانقسام الطائفي يجب أن لايفضى للعنف. وفي العراق راينا الديمقراطية التي تقوم على اثنية متعددة. الشعب العراقي قد رفض العنف السياسي ومال إلى عملية ديمقراطية حتى لو تولوا المسؤولية كاملا عن أمنهم. بكل تأكيد على غرار كافة الديمقراطيات الجديدة سوف يواجهون عقبات لكن العراق سوف تلعب دورًا هامًا إذا ما استمرت في تقدمها السياسي ومع ذلك سوف تكون فخورين للوقوف معًا كشريك لا يمكن الاستغناء عنه.

لذا ففي الاشهر القليلة القادمة سوف تستخدم أمريكا كافة نفوذها لإحداث الإصلاح في المنطقة. حتى لو اعترفنا أن كل دولة هي مختلفة بطبيعتها لا بد لنا من الحديث بصورة صريحة عن المبادئ التي نؤمن بها بالنسبة للاصدقاء والاعداء على حد سواء. ان رسالتنا واضحة إذا ما اخذتم المخاطر التي يحتاجها الإصلاح تحظوا بدعم الولايات المتحدة. وعلينا أيضًا أن نعمل للاستفادة من

الالتزامات التي قدمتها في القاهرة بهدف بناء شبكات تعتمد على التبادل التعلم وتقديم التقنيات من محاربة الامراض في كافة أنحاء المنطقة نعتزم تقديم المساعدات إلى المجتمعات المدنية بما في ذلك المجتمعات التي قد لا تكون عرضة للعقوبة بصورة رسمية وسوف نقوم باستخدام التكنولوجيا للترابط والتواصل مع كافة الاصوات الخاصة بشعوب تلك المنطقة.

و الحقيقة هي أن الإصلاح الحقيقي لا يأتي فقط من صناديق الاقتراع وأن كافة جهودنا يجب أن تنصب أيضاً على مسألة الوصول إلى المعلومات وسوف نقوم بدعم الحصول على الإنترنت وحق سماع صوت الصحفيين في منظمات مختلفة.

في القرن الحادي والعشرين المعلومات هي القوة هي السلطة. الحقيقة لا يمكن اخفاؤها وشرعية الحكومات سوف تعتمد بصورة نهائية على المواطنين اصحاب المعرفة.

مثل هذا الحوار المفتوح يعد هاما حتى رغم ما قيل ان المسألة قد لا تتناسب مع ارادتنا العالمية. هذا واضح. أمريكا تحترم حق الجميع وحق كافة الأشخاص الذين يلتزمون بالقانون حتى لو اختلفنا معهم. أحياناً قد نختلف معهم إلى درجة كبيرة. لكننا نتطلع للعمل مع كافة الأشخاص الذين يحتضنون الديمقراطية الحقيقية. لكن ما سوف نعارضة هو أي محاولة من قبل أي مجموعة تعمل على تقييد حقوق الآخرين وأن تمنعهم من التعبير عن أصواتهم الحقيقية لان الديمقراطية لا تعتمد فقط على الانتخابات بل أيضاً على المؤسسات ذات الصديقة واحترام حقوق الاقليات.

فمثل هذا التسامح يعد ضروريا عندما يأتي الأمر إلى مسائل الدين. ففي ميدان التحرير سمعنا المصريون من مسيحيين ومسلمين كانوا كلهم ينادون بصوت واحد. أمريكا تتمنى أن ترى انتشار هذه الروح روح التعاون بين كافة الأديان وبناء جسور فيما بينها. في منطقة التي كانت مهدا لكافة الديانات فإن التسامح هو فقط الحل لكافة المعاناة. ويهدف إحداث نجاح لكافة التغييرات فإن الاقباط لديهم حرية العبادة بصورة حرة في القاهرة وكذلك أيضاً كما هو الحال بالنسبة للشعبة الذين لا يجوز تدمير مساجدهم في البحرين.

الأمر الصحيح بالنسبة للاقليات هو عندما يتعلق الأمر بحقوق النساء. التاريخ علمنا أن دول تحرز تطورا كبيرا وتكون أكثر سلمية عندما تحظى النساء بمناصب وعندما يتم تمكين النساء وان الحقوق العالمية تنطبق على النساء والرجال على حد سواء وكذلك تركيز على صحة الطفل وصحة النساء ومساعدة النسوة على التعليم وبدأ بأعمال تجارية واعطاء الفرصة للنسوة ليكون صوتهن مسموعا. حتى في سياق نشرنا الإصلاح السياسي في المنطقة فإن جهودنا لن نتوقف عند هذا الحد.

الطريقة الثانية التي سنقوم من خلالها بدعم التغيير تعتمد على التطور السياسي ولاسيما في الدول التي تنتقل إلى الديمقراطية. وبعد كل شيء ان السياسة لم تكن هي العامل الوحيد التي نقلت المتظاهرين إلى الشوارع. النقطة المهمة هو أن يقوم رب الأسرة بتزويد أفراد أسرته بوجباتهم اليومية. كان هناك توقعات كثيرة في المنطقة وكان هناك امال أن تحصل التغيير الذي كانت تتوق له. في أنحاء المنطقة كافة هناك شبان وأشخاص كثيرون لديهم درجات عالية من التعليم لكنهم عاجزين عن إيجاد أي عمل لان الفساد يتركهم دون القدرة على الحصول على مثل هذه الوظائف.

المصادر غير المستفاد منها في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا هي مهارات الشباب وفي هذه الاحتجاجات راينا الأشخاص الذين كانوا قد استخدموا التكنولوجيا لنقل اصواتهم إلى العالم. وليس من المصادفة أن أحد قادة ميدان التحرير هو احد المدراء التنفيذيين لشركة غوغل. هذه الطاقة لا بد الاستفادة منها. دولة تلو الأخرى بحيث يكون النمو الاقتصادي يفي بتطلعات الشارع وبالنسبة لهذه الثورات الديمقراطية يجب أن تعتمد أيضاً على عملية توسيع النمو الاقتصادي وتحقيق الازدهار.

لذا بناء على ما تعلمناه من دروس في العالم نعتقد أنه من الضروري يمكن أن نركز على التجارة وعلى الاستثمار وليس تقديم المساعدات. الهدف يجب أن يكون تحقيق النموذج من خلال خلق نموذج مفتوح للجميع بحيث تعمل الاقتصادات على تقديم وضائف لجيل الشباب.

ان دعم أمريكا للديمقراطية سوف يكون مبنيا على تأمين الاستقرار المالي وتعزيز الإصلاح وتكامل الاسواق فيملا بينها مع السوق العالمية وسوف نبدأ مع تونس ومصر. اولا طلبنا من البنك الدولي وصندوق النقد الدولي لتقديم خطة خلال الاسبوع القادم من اجتماع مجموعة الثمانية حول كيفية تحديث اقتصاد مصر و تونس. ومعا لا بد أن نعمل على انتشار هاتين الدولتين للوصول إلى الديمقراطية ودعم الحكومات التي سوف يتم انتخابها في هذه السنة واننا نحث الدول الأخرى لمساعدة مصر وتونس للوفاء بمتطلباتهم المالية قصيرة الامد.

ثانياً لانود من أن تكون مصر الديمقراطية رهينة الديون التي حكمتها في الماضي لذا قررنا تقديم اعفاء من الديون بقيمة 1 مليار دولار أمريكي وسوف نعمل على وضع هذه المبالغ للاستثمارات والبنى التحتية وسوف نساعد مصر أيضاً من خلال تقديم ضمانات اقتراس بقيمة مليار دولار أمريكي لتأمين الوائف وسوف نساعد الحكومة المنتخبة ديمقراطياً للعمل على تنفيذ هذه المشاريع.

ثالثاً نعمل مع الكونغرس على تأسيس صندوق للاستثمار في مصر وتونس وهذا الممر سيكون مبنياً على غرار الصناديق التي تم تأسيسها في أوروبا بعد تدمير جدار برلين. اوبك تقوم أيضاً بتقديم مساعدات بمقدار مليار دولار تقديمها للمنطقة. وسوف نعمل مع البنك الاوربي للإعمار والتنمية لتقديم نفس الخدمات لمسألة التحول الديمقراطي والتحديث الاقتصادي في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا كما حدث في أوروبا.

رابعاً الولايات المتحدة ستقوم أيضاً باطلاق مبادرة شراكة اقتصادية شاملة في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. لو اخذتم صادرات النفط فإن المنطقة برمتها التي يبلغ عدد سكانها اربعة مئة مليار دولار أمريكي فإن الصادرات قد تكون مشلبيه عليه في سويسرا. لذا سنعمل مع الاتحاد الاوربي لتسهيل الواردات والصادرات وتكميل التعزيز الاقتصادي مع الاسواق الاوربية وفتح الابواب واسعا لتلك الدول التي لديها مستويات عليا من الإصلاح لاجراء ترتيبات معينة حول التجارة. وكما هو الحال في عضوية الاتحاد الاوربي تعمل فيما بيننا لخدمة الدول الاوربية كذلك الحال بالنسبة لدول الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. لا بد من هذه الإصلاحات أن تقضي إلى تحقيق نتائج على مستوى التجارة. الازدهار أيضاً يتطلب طي صفحات الماضي لتحقيق التقدم وكذلك القضاء على الفساد والبيروقراطية التي تؤثر على ازدهار الأعمال التجارية وتوزيع الثروات الذي يعتمد على القبائل وسوف نعمل على مساعدة الحكومات للوفاء بالتزاماتها الدولية والاستثمار في الجهود الرامية لمحاربة الفساد من خلال العمل البرلمانيين الذين يعملون على وضع الإصلاحات والإصلاحيين الذين يعملون أيضاً على تقديم سياسات تتسم بالشفافية. السياسات الخاصة بحقوق الإنسان والإصلاحات الاقتصادية.

دعوني اختتم بالحديث عن حجر أساس مهم يخص المنطقة وهذا يعتمد على مسألة تحقيق السلام.

وعلى مر عقود فإن الازمة بين الإسرائيليين والعرب كانت تلقي بظلال سوداوية على المنطقة. الإسرائيليون يعيشون بخوف دائم من أن أبنائهم قد يكونوا عرضة لحادث تفجيري اثناء تواجدهم في حافلة المدرسة على يد احد الأشخاص الإرهابيين. وبالنسبة للفلسطينيين الوضع هو الحالة المزرية بسبب الاحتلال فضلا عن ذلك فإن الازمة قد حملت تبعات باهضة الثمن على الشرق الأوسط من حيث الأمن ومن حيث التمكين بالنسبة للأشخاص العاديين في الشرق الأوسط. ولمدة أكثر من عامين عملت ادارتي مع هذه الأطراف المتنازعة ومع المجتمع الدولي لانهاء هذه الازمة من خلال الاستفادة من عقود من العمل عكفت عليه الإدارات السابقة لكن التوقعات لا تزال غير مرتفعة. المستوطنات الإسرائيلية مازال قائمة والفلسطينيون انسحبوا من المحادثات والعالم ينظر إلى هذه الازمة التي مازال تستمر في كبرها وامتزال امام طريق مسدودة.

ولكن امام هذه التغيرات غير الواضحة في المنطقة من غير السهولة المضي قدما الان. أنا لا اتفق مع هذا الكلام. في الوقت الذي يقوم فيه الشعب في الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا بالتخلص من غبرة الماضي فقد تكون بداية جيدة لتحقيق السلام والتخلص أيضاً من هواجسه. هذا الأمر صحيح بالنسبة للطرفين الفلسطيني والإسرائيلي. بالنسبة للفلسطينيين ان الجهود بالنسبة للاعتراف بشرعية إسرائيل ومحاولة عزل إسرائيل في الامم المتحدة لن تعمل على خلق دولة مستقلة. والقادة الفلسطينيون لن يقوموا بتحقيق الازدهار إذا ما استمرت حماس على تبني طريق العنف والإرهاب. الفلسطينيون لن يحققوا من استقلالهم من خلال نكران حق إسرائيل في العيش والوجود.

اما بالنسبة لإسرائيل فإن صداقتنا هي عميقة من خلال تاريخ مشترك وقيم مشتركة والتزامنا بأمن إسرائيل لا يمكن أن يهز. وسوف نقف امام أي محاولات قد تأتي إلى هذا الامر. لكن نظراً لهذه الصداقة لا بد لنا أن نقول الحقيقة. فإن الوضع الحالي الراهن غير مستدام. فعلى إسرائيل أن تعمل بصورة جادة لإحداث سلام مستدام. الحقيقة هي أن أعداد كبيرة من الأشخاص الفلسطينيين يعيشون في غور الاردن. والتكنولوجيا قد يصعب على إسرائيل أن تدافع عن نفسها. فإن المنطقة التي تواجه تغيرات كبيرة لا بد لها أن تعمل على الوفاء والإيمان ان مسألة السلام هي مسألة ممكنة وأن الأسرة الدولية قد ملت وسنمت من هذه العملية التي لم تأتي بأي اكل حتى الان. ان حلم اليهود بدولة لا يمكن أن يتحقق من خلال وجود احتلال.

وفي نهاية المطاف فإن الأمر مرهون بالفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين لاتخاذ الخطوات الصحيحة. لا يمكن فرض سلام عليهم لامن قبل الولايات المتحدة أو من قبل أي جهة أخرى ولكن التأخير الذي لاينتهي لن يبدد المشكلة. ما تستطيع أمريكا والأسرة الدولية القيام به هو أن نتحدث بصراحة عن طموح هذين الطرفين: السلام الدائم لشعبين لإسرائيل كدولة يهودية وموطن للشعب اليهودي ودولة فلسطين كموطن للشعب الفلسطيني. كل دولة لها حق تقرير المصير والاعتراف المشترك والسلام. لذا القضايا الرئيسية لهذه الازمة لا بد من مفاوضاتها واسس هذه المفاوضات هي واضحة. دولة فلسطينية قابلة للحياة وإسرائيل آمنة. الولايات المتحدة تعتقد أن المفاوضات يجب أن تستثمر باقامة دولتين من خلال حدود دائمة للفلسطينيين على منطقة مصر والاردن وكذلك اقامة دولة إسرائيلية. نعتقد أن الحدود بين الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين يجب أن تكون مبنية على حدود عام 1967 مع الاختلافات البسيطة بحيث يتم تاسيس هذه الحدود لكل من الدولتين. الشعب الفلسطيني لا بد له من حق ادارة أموره والوصول إلى طموحاته من خلال دولة لها سيادتها وكرامتها. اما بالنسبة للأمن فلكل دولة لها الحق في الدفاع عن نفسها وإسرائيل يجب أن تكون قادرة لان تدافع عن نفسها بنفسها ضد أي تهديدات.

كذلك لا بد من الحيلولة دون نشوء العنف وانتشار الأسلحة ووضع جدران امنية عازلة. وان انسحاب القوات العسكرية الإسرائيلية يجب أن يتم بصورة منسقة من خلال طريقة لا تتسم بأي ايقاع أو خطوط عسكرية. مدة هذه النقلة يجب أن تتم ولا بد من اظهار الترتيبات الأمنية لانجازها على الارض. هذه المبادئ تقدم ارضية للتفاوض. الفلسطينيون عليهم أن يدركوا أن الخارطة التي تخص منطقتهم واضحة. والإسرائيليون سوف يدركون أن مخاوفهم الأمنية تم الوفاء بها. وإتني على دراية بأن هذه الخطوات لن تعمل لوحدها لنزع فتيل الازمة لان هناك القضايا العاطفية التي سوف تبقى مثل مستقبل القدس وقدر اللاجئين الفلسطينيين. لكن المضي قدما على أساس المناطق والأمن تقدم على الاقل ارضية خصبة لحل هاتين القضيتين بطريقة عادلة والعمل على الوفاء باحترام وطموحات الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين على حد سواء.

دعوني أقول لكم ذلك. ان هذه المفاوضات والاعتراف بها يجب أن يعتمد على المنطقة وعلى الأمن. وهذا لا يعني أن مسألة العودة للمفاوضات يجب أن تكون بتلك السهولة لكن لاسيما بعد الاعلان عن المصالحة بين فتح وحماس الذي يثير اسئلة مخيفة بالنسبة لإسرائيل. كيف للمرء أن يتفاوض مع شخص غير مستعد للاعتراف بحق إسرائيل للعيش؟

وفي الاسبوع والشهر القليلة القادمة على الفلسطينيين تقديم اجابة واضحة وصريحة على هذا السؤال. في هذه الاثناء الولايات المتحدة وشركائنا في الرباعية وفي الدول العربية عليهم بذل كل الجهود للتخلص من الازمة الحالية. وإتني أدرك مدى صعوبة وجسامة هذه المشكلة فالشكوك والعدائية اكتستت الفترة الماضية وعلى مر اجيال مضت. لكنني على قناعة أن غالبية الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين يرغبون بالنظر إلى المستقبل بدلا من التقيد في الماضي والوقوف خلف قضبانة.

لقد شهدنا هذه الروح من قبل الاب الإسرائيلي الذي قتل ابيه على يد حماس وكان قد عبر عن اسفة لهذه الحادثة لكن ما قاله الاب أنا أدركت تدريجيا أن الامل الوحيد للامل هو أن نعلم وجه هذه الازمة وطبيعتها الحقيقية. راينا هذا المر من خلال تصرفات تلك الأسرة الفلسطينية التي فقدت ثلاث بنات وقال الاب لا بد لي أن أشعر بالغضب كان يتوقع الناس مني أن أكره لكن اجابة ذلك الاب قال أنا لن اكون من الأشخاص الكارهين. لا بد من وجود امل في يوم الغد والمستقبل هذا هو الخيار الذي لا بد أن تقدم عليه.

المسألة لا تعتمد فقط على النزاع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي بل تطال المنطقة برمتها. الخيار ما تبين الكراهية والامل ما بين قيود الماضي وعود المستقبل. انه خيار لا بد من اتباعه من قبل القيادات والشعوب وانه خيار سوف يرسم خارطة المنطقة التي تعد مهذا للحضارات وسوف نعمل على بناء هذا الطريق المستقبلي. وبالنسبة لكافة التحديات التي تنتظرنا في المستقبل لا تزال أمامنا نافذة من الامل.

في مصر شاهدنا جيل الشباب الذي قاد التغيير وفي سوريا رايناه من خلال هؤلاء الأشخاص الذين كانوا يواجهون الرصاص ويقولون انها مسيرات سلمية.

وفي بنغازي أيضا رغم الدمار كنا قد رايناها من خلال تجمع الأشخاص الذين احتفلوا بحريتهم التي لم يتعرفوا مذاقها في السابق. في كافة أنحاء المنطقة هذه الحريات التي نأخذها على أنها امر مسلم به لم يلمسها هؤلاء الأشخاص في الشرق الأوسط. بالنسبة للشعب الأمريكي إن مشاهدة هذه الثورات قد يدل على حالة من عدم الاستقرار لكن هذا التغيير لا يعد مسألة غير معروفة. ان أمتنا قد بنيت على ثورات مشابهه وبنينا دولتنا وقاتل اجداننا حروب مدنية للتخلص من العبودية. وأنا لم اكن اقف هنا امامكم إلا لنقل هذه الرسالة التي من شأنها أن تعمل على تحقيق الديمقراطية. ان التظاهر السلمي هو مسألة مشروعة فنحن نعتقد بهذه المبادئ التي سوف تكون امرا مشروعا لكافة.

Appendix 3: Detailed Appraisal Resources in Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

3.2.1. Indicators in the Opening Section

3.2.1.1 Indicators of Affect in the Opening Section of ‘A New Beginning’ (the number before the indicator in the table refers to the particular sentence in which it appears)

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	(6) the goodwill (6) a greeting of peace(14) achieve justice and prosperity (27) dignity and peace(53) protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab (72) progress	(7) great tension(9) tension(11) these tensions(12) The attacks of September 11 th (13) more fear(15) This cycle of suspicion and discord (46) shed blood and struggled (59) challenges we face(61) at risk(62) the risk of nuclear attack(63) people are endangered(71) prisoners(73) tension(74) these tensions	6 positive 14 negative =20
Satisfaction	(1) Thank you Shukran. (2)honored (2)to be hosted(5) grateful (6) proud(23) humbled by the task(23) firm in my belief(55) America holds within her the truth(57) recognizing our common humanity	(7) policy debate(58) the needs of our people(20) say openly the things we hold in our (59) These needs(59) our failure(59) hurt us all(72) Our problems	9positive 7negative =16
Inclination	(16) I have come here		1positive
Total	15	21	36

3.2.1.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Opening Section of ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	(16) a new beginning	(19) publicity	1positive 1negative =2
Capacity	(20) a sustained effort(23) the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful(36) have enriched the United States(37) fought in our wars(37) served in government(37) stood for civil rights(37) started	(14) our relationship is defined by our differences(43) crude stereotype(43) the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire(67) This is a difficult responsibility to embrace	12positive 4negative =16

	businesses(37) taught at our Universities(37) excelled in our sports arenas(37) won Nobel Prizes(37) built our tallest building(37) lit the Olympic Torch		
Tenacity	(17) overlap, and share common principles(24) rooted in my own experience(37) defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran(45) were born out of revolution against an empire(47) shaped by every culture(47) drawn from every end of the Earth	(9) has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities(9) treated as proxies	6positive 2negative =8
Veracity	(16) one based upon the truth	(13) and mistrust(19) eradicate years of mistrust(42) Muslim perceptions of America	1positive 3negative =4
Propriety	(5) your hospitality(5) the hospitality(8) co-existence and cooperation(16) mutual interest and mutual respect(32) religious tolerance and racial equality(35) no charter of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims(46) were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal(47) and dedicated to(66) the responsibility we have	(8) conflict and religious wars(10) led many Muslims to view the West as hostile(11) Violent extremists(12) efforts of these extremists to engage in violence (12) to view Islam as inevitably hostile(14) r those who sow hatred rather than peace(14) who promote conflict rather than the cooperation(41) negative stereotypes (63) violent extremists (64) when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered(64) a stain on our collective conscience(68) a record of nations and tribes and yes religions subjugating one another	9positive 12negative =21
Total	29	22	51

3.2.1.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Opening Section of ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(2)two remarkable institutions(9) sweeping change(40) That experience guides my	0	3positive 0negative

	conviction		=3
Composition	(4) you represent the harmony (31) soaring spires(31) elegant calligraphy(31) Places of peaceful contemplation(47) a simple concept(51) indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion(68) human history has often been a record	(7) tension rooted in historical forces (19) all the complex questions	7positive 2negative =9
Valuation	(2) timeless city of Cairo(3) has stood as a beacon(3) has been a source(28) civilization's debt to Islam(29) It was Islam ...carried the light of learning paving the way(30) It was innovation in Muslim communities that developed(31) timeless poetry(31) cherished music(32) has demonstrated through words and deeds(33) a part of America's story(44) the greatest sources of progress(50) its promise exists for all who come to our shores(54) Islam is a part of America(56) This is the hope of all humanity(57) is only the beginning of our task(65) That is what it means	(49) is not so unique(60) a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere(69) such attitudes are self-defeating(70) any world order... will inevitably fail	16positive 4negative =20
Total	26	6	32

3.2.1.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Opening Section of 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total		
Entertain		(14) we will ...that can help(15) must end(18) I do so recognizing that change cannot (20) I am convinced... we must say(21) There must be(23) That is what I will try to do(40) must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't(48) could be elected(55) And I believe(58) Words alone cannot meet(59) These needs will be me(71) So whatever we think of the past, we must not be(72) Our problems must be dealt with... progress must be shared(75) that I believe we must finally confront		14	
Attribute	Acknowledge	(32) Islam has demonstrated(35) John Adams wrote	2	2	
	Distance		0		
Proclaim	Concur	(17) Instead(19) I know (28) I also know(33) I know, too(39) So I have known(57) Of course	6	14	
	Pronounce	(41) And I consider(52) That is why(53) That is why(54) So	7		

		let there be no doubt(60) For we have learned(74) Indeed, it suggests the opposite(75) let me speak		
	Endorse	(22) As the Holy Koran tells us	1	
Disclaim	Denial	(16) are not exclusive, and need not be(19) no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I(35) ‘has in itself no character of enmity’(43) America is not the crude stereotype(49) is not so unique(50) has not come true(73) That does not mean we should	7	23
	Counter	(8) but also (11)in a small but potent minority(12) not only to America and Western countries, but also (19)but(20) But(20) said only behind closed doors(25) but(42) But that same principle (43) Just as Muslims(49) But(50) but its promise(51) Moreover, freedom in America(57) is only the beginning(59) only if we act boldly(69) Yet in this new age(70) will inevitably fail	16	
Total			53	

3.2.1.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Opening Section of ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(16) a new beginning(16) mutual interest and mutual respect(17) share common principles(55) share common aspirations(75) specific issues	5	
Force	Intensification	(1) very much(1)so much(12) inevitably hostile(13) bred more fear and mistrust(14) sow hatred rather than peace...promote conflict rather than the cooperation(20) say openly(20) too often are said(22) speak always the truth(23) to speak the truth as best I can(23) are far more powerful than(32) through words and deeds(33) has always been(44) one of the greatest sources of progress(48) incomes and education that are higher than average(59) act boldly(60) weakens in one country... is hurt everywhere(66) the risk ...rises for all nations(68) has often been a record(70) any world order ...will inevitably fail(74) face these tensions squarely(75) speak as clearly and plainly as I can	21	58
	Quantification	(3) For over a thousand years(3) for over a century(7) a time of great tension(7) any current policy debate(8) includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation(9) More recently, tension has been fed(9) many Muslims(9) Muslim-majority countries(9) too often treated(10) led many Muslims to view(11) a small but potent minority(12) the continued efforts(12) has led some in	37	

	my country(19) a lot of publicity(19) years of mistrust(19) all the complex questions(21) a sustained effort(24) Part of this conviction(25) includes generations of Muslims(26) spent several years(27) many found dignity and peace(29) so many centuries(34) The first nation(38) was recently elected(41) part of my responsibility(46) shed blood and struggled for centuries(48) Much has been made of the fact(48) all who come to our shores(48) nearly seven million American Muslims(52) is a mosque in every state ...and over 1,200 mosques within our borders(54) part of America(55) all of us(56) the hope of all humanity(60) recent experience(66) all are at risk(63) operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean(75) some ...issues...finally confront together		
Total			63

3.2.2. Indicators in the Issue of Violent Extremism

3.2.2.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Violent Extremism in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	(94) We would gladly bring	(92) It is agonizing	1positive 1negative =2
Security	(115) removal of our combat brigades(126) be safer	(76) violent extremism in all of its forms(77) at war with Islam(78) pose a grave threat to our security(110) that events in Iraq(119) violence by extremists(120) 9/11 was an enormous trauma(121) fear(123) the prison at Guantanamo Bay(125) threatened	2positive 9negative =11
Satisfaction	(79) we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject (82) pursued ...with broad international support(94) be confident	(105) the problems(109) that provoked strong differences(110) have reminded America of the need (121) and anger that it provoked	3positive 4negative =7
Inclination	0	0	0
Total	6	14	20

3.2.2.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Issue of Violent Extremism in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	0	0	0
Tenacity	(78) relentlessly confront	0	1positive 0negative =1
Veracity	0	0	0
Propriety	(86) The victims were innocent... who had done nothing to harm anybody(102) whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind(116) honor our agreement(119) must never alter our principles(124) defend itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law(126) extremists are isolated and unwelcome	(78) violent extremists(79) the killing of innocent men, women, and children(84) question or justify the events of 9/11(85) al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day(87) Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder(88) They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach(94) violent extremists(98) these extremists(99) have killed in many countries(100) have killed people of different faiths... have killed Muslims(101) Their actions are irreconcilable...(102) whoever kills an innocent, it is as if he has killed all mankind(110) the tyranny of Saddam Hussein(121) it led us to act contrary to our ideals(123) the use of torture by the United States	6positive 15negative =21
Total	7	15	22

3.2.2.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Violent Extremism in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(109) Iraq was a war of choice	0	1positive 0negative =1
Composition	(103) enduring faith of over a billion people(114) Iraq's	(93) It is costly and politically difficult(103) the narrow hatred	5positive 2negative

	sovereignty is its own(116) Iraq's democratically-elected government(121) was understandable(122) concrete actions	of a few	=7
Valuation	(89) these are facts to be dealt with(103) is so much bigger than(104) is an important part of promoting peace(118) as a partner, and never as a patron	(89) These are not opinions to be debated	4positive 1negative =5
Total	10	3	13

3.2.2.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Violent Extremism in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(76) that we have to confront(81) demonstrates America's goals(84) I am aware(94) We would ... if we could(97) will not weaken(110) I believe(110) I also believe(111) we can recall(123) I have unequivocally prohibited(124) So America will defend(125) And we will do so(126) we will all be	12	
Attribute	Acknowledge	(87) states their determination(111) who said	2	3
	Distance	(87) claimed credit for the attack	1	
Proclaim	Concur	(78) We will however(105) We also know	2	14
	Pronounce	(77) I made clear that(85) let us be clear(90) Make no mistake(96) That's why(98) Indeed, none of us should tolerate(106) That is why(107) And that is why we are providing(111) Indeed(113) I have made it clear(115) That is why(116) That is why we will	11	
	Endorse	(102) The Holy Koran teaches	1	
Disclaim	Denial	(77) America is not - and never will be(90) we do not want(91) We seek no military bases(104) Islam is not part of the problem (113) no bases, and no claim	5	15
	Counter	(83) did not go by choice(85) But(87) And yet(87) and even now(95) But that is not yet the case(97) And despite(110) Although(118) But we will support(119) just as America can never (121) but in some cases	10	
Total			44	

3.2.2.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Violent Extremism in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Graduation	Indicator	Sub-
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			total	
Focus		(78) a grave threat(80) my first duty	2	
Force	Intensification	(78) relentlessly confront(83) by choice... because of necessity(87) ruthlessly murder(93) costly and politically difficult(94) to kill as many Americans as they possibly can(100)more than any other, they have killed Muslims(101) with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam(103) is so much bigger than(109) provoked strong differences in my country and around the world(110) ultimately better off(111) the less we use our power the greater it will be(123) unequivocally prohibited(124) The sooner ...the sooner we will all be safer	1 3	23
	Quantification	(79) all faiths reject(82) Over seven years ago(84) some question or justify(85) killed nearly 3,000 people on that day(88) in many countries(99) killed in many countries(102) as if he has killed all mankind(102) as if he has saved all mankind(103) The enduring faith of over a billion people(103) the narrow hatred of a few	1 0	
Total			25	

3.2.3. Indicators in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World

3.2.3.1. Indicators of Affect in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	(130) rooted in a tragic history(135) this most painful of memories(142) with a painful history(168) devastates Palestinian families(178) Too many tears have flowed	0positive 5negative =5
Security	(138) a life of peace and security(144) live in peace and security(148) For peace to come(180) Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home(180) to mingle peacefully together	(127) second major source of tension(131)unprecedented Holocaust (135) preventing the peace(136) have suffered in pursuit of a homeland(137) endured the pain of dislocation(139) endure the daily humiliations- large and small(143) displacement(143) the constant hostility and attacks(144) this conflict(151) suffered the lash of the	5positive 14negative =19

		whip as slaves(168) the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza(168) the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank(179) Too much blood has been shed(180) grow up without fear	
Satisfaction	0	(144) be blind to the truth (148) it is time ...to live up to our responsibilities (151) the humiliation of segregation(167) live up to its obligations (170) not the end of their responsibilities	0positive 5negative =5
Inclination	(146) I intend to personally pursue this outcome	0	1positive 0negative =1
Total	6	24	30

3.2.3.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	(160) Hamas does have support	0	1positive 0negative =1
Tenacity	(152) it was not violence that won full and equal rights(153) It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals(160) they also have responsibilities(180) All of us have a responsibility	0	4positive 0negative =4
Veracity	(173) and say in public what we say in private	(134) Denying that fact(171) used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems	1positive 2negative =3
Propriety	(141) the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own(142) two peoples with legitimate aspirations(161) To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations and to unify the Palestinian people(173) who pursue peace,	(131) the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries(131) anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust(131) Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich(133) Six million Jews were	4positive 14negative =18

		killed(134) baseless, ignorant, and hateful(135) Threatening Israel with destruction(135) repeating vile stereotypes about Jews(135) is deeply wrong (149) abandon violence(150) Resistance through violence and killing(156) a sign of neither courage nor power(162) put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist(164) the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements(165) This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace	
Total	10	16	26

3.2.3.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(140) the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable(166) It is time for these settlements to stop(172) it must be a cause for action	(155) that violence is a dead end	3positive 1negative =4
Composition	(128) America's strong bonds with Israel(129) This bond is unbreakable(130) based upon cultural and historical ties(143) It is easy to point fingers(147) The obligations that the parties	(142) there has been a stalemate(142) makes compromise elusive	6positive 2negative =8

	have agreed ...are clear(155) It's a story with a simple truth		
Valuation	(128) are well known(136) it is also undeniable(144) the only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides(144) That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest(170) an important beginning(177) It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true(180) the Holy Land of three great faiths is the place of peace	(156) That is not how moral authority is claimed; that is how it is surrendered	7positive 1negative =8
Total	16	4	20

3.2.3.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(127) that we need to discuss(141) America will not turn our backs(144) then we will be blind to the truth(149) must abandon violence(154) This same story can be told(158) focus on what they can build(159) must develop its capacity(162) Hamas must put an end to violence(163) Israelis must acknowledge(167) Israel must also live up(169) must be part of a road to peace(169) Israel must take concrete steps(170) the Arab States must recognize(171) The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer(172) Instead, it must be a cause(173) America will align our policies(174) We cannot impose peace(180) mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children	18	
Attribute	Acknowledge	(175) many Muslims recognize(176) Likewise, many Israelis recognize	2	2
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur		0	2
	Pronounce	(140) So let there be no doubt(146) That is why I intend to personally pursue	2	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(138) that they have never been able to lead(164) The United States does not accept(168) does not serve Israel's security neither does the	3	13

		continuing lack of opportunity		
	Counter	(135) and only serves to evoke(136) On the other hand(144) But if we see this conflict only(144) the only resolution (152) But it was not violence(160) does have...but they also have(163) just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's(168) And just as it devastates (170) but not the end (175) But privately	10	
Total				35

3.2.3.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(127) second major source of tension(143) the constant hostility and attacks	2	
Force	Intensification	(132) Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death(133)more than the entire(134) baseless, ignorant, and hateful(135) deeply wrong(135) this most painful of memories(141) aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own(146) I intend to personally pursue(172) to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past(173) in public ...in private	9	21
	Quantification	(131) Around the world... persecuted for centuries(133) Six million Jews were killed(137) For more than sixty years(139) the daily humiliations - large and small(142) For decades(151) For centuries(165) violates previous agreements(168) the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza(175) Privately, many Muslims(178) Too many tears(179) Too much blood(180) All of us have a responsibility	12	
Total				23

3.2.4. Indicators in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons

3.2.4.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	(192) preventing a nuclear arms race	(181) The third source of tension... nuclear weapons(182) a source of tension(183) tumultuous history(192) a hugely dangerous path	1positive 4negative =5

Satisfaction	(198) I am hopeful	(187) Rather than remain trapped in the past(189) It will be hard to overcome(192) This is not simply about America's interests	1positive 3negative =4
Inclination	(187) my country is prepared to move forward(190) we are willing to move forward without preconditions	0	2positive 0negative =2
Total	4	7	11

3.2.4.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	(183) defined itself in part by its opposition to my country	0positive 1negative =1
Capacity	0	0	0
Tenacity	(189) courage, rectitude and resolve (197) all who fully abide by it		2positive 0negative =2
Veracity	0	(189) decades of mistrust	0positive 1negative =1
Propriety	(190) on the basis of mutual respect(196) if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.	(185) acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians	2positive 1negative =3
Total	4	3	7

3.2.4.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	0	0
Composition	(184) democratically-elected Iranian government	0	1positive 0negative =1
Valuation	(186) This history is well known(191) we have reached a	0	4positive 0negative

	decisive point(197) That commitment is at the core of the Treaty(208) governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful		=3
Total	5	0	5

3.2.4.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(190) There will be many issues(196) And any nation ... should have the right.. if it complies(197) That commitment ...and it must be kept(198) in the region can share this goal(208) ultimately more stable, successful	5	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(193) I understand	1	5
	Pronounce	(183) and there is indeed(187) I have made it clear(191) it is clear to all concerned(195) That is why	4	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(192) This is not simply(194) No single nation should pick and choose	2	6
	Counter	(187) Rather than(188) is not what Iran is against, but rather(189) but we will proceed(191) But	4	
Total			16	

3.2.4.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Nuclear Weapons in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus			0	
Force	Intensification	(189) proceed with courage, rectitude and resolve(192) is not simply (192) a hugely dangerous path(195) I strongly reaffirmed	4	7
	Quantification	(183) For many years, Iran has defined itself in part(189) decades of mistrust(190) many issues to discuss	3	
Total			7	

3.2.5. Indicators in the Issue of Democracy

3.2.5.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Democracy in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	(205) confidence	0	1positive 0negative =1
Satisfaction	(203) Each nation gives life to this principle (205) the freedom to live as you choose	(200) controversy(200) much of this controversy(214) elections alone	2positive 3negative =5
Inclination	(205) all people yearn for certain things(211) And we will welcome	0	2positive 0negative =2
Total	5	3	8

3.2.5.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Issue of Democracy in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	(205) the equal administration of justice (208) are ultimately more stable, successful and secure(212) there are some who advocate for democracy	0	3positive 0negative =3
Tenacity	0	0	0
Veracity	(202) governments that reflect the will of the people(205) government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people	0	2positive 0negative =2
Propriety	(208) governments that protect these rights(210) America respects the right of all(210) all peaceful and law-abiding voices(211) all elected, peaceful governments(213) government of the people and by the people(213) maintain your power through consent, not	(209) Suppressing ideas(212) they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others	9positive 2negative =11

	coercion(213) respect the rights of minorities(213) and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise(213) place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party		
Total	14	2	16

3.2.5.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Democracy in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	0	0
Composition	(205) an unyielding belief(207) straight line to realize this promise	0	2positive 0negative =2
Valuation	(206) American ideas, they are human rights(212) This last point is important(213) sets a single standard for all who hold power	0	3positive 0negative =3
Total	5	0	5

3.2.5.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Democracy in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(205) I do have an unyielding belief(213) you must maintain your power(213) you must respect the rights(213) you must place the interests of your people	4	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(200) I know(213) No matter where it takes hold	2	4
	Pronounce	(201) So let me be clear(206) that is why we will	2	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(201) no system of government can or should be imposed(202) That does not lessen my commitment(204) America does not presume to know(207) There is no straight line(209) never succeeds(214) elections alone do not make true democracy	6	1 3
	Counter	(202) however(204) just as we would not presume(205) But(206) not	7	

		just American ideas(208) But this much(210) even if we disagree with them(212) only when they are out of power		
Total				21

3.2.5.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Democracy in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus			0	
Force	Intensification	(202) lessen my commitment(204) to know what is best for everyone(206) not just American ideas, they are human rights(208) ultimately more stable, successful and secure	4	7
	Quantification	(200) much of this controversy(208) this much is clear(210) all peaceful and law-abiding voices	3	
Total			7	

3.2.6. Indicators in the Issue of Religious Freedom

3.2.6.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Religious Freedom in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	(218) where devout Christians worshiped freely(220) be free to choose and live their faith	(221) it is being challenged in many different ways(224) have led to tragic violence	2positive 2negative =4
Satisfaction	0	(229) avoid impeding Muslim citizens	0positive 1negative =1
Inclination	0	0	0
Total	2	3	5

3.2.6.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Issue of Religious Freedom in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	(224) the divisions between Sunni and Shia	0positive 1negative =1
Capacity	0	(227) rules on charitable giving have made it harder	0positive 1negative =1
Tenacity	0	0	0

Veracity	0	(230) disguise hostility ...behind the pretence of liberalism	0positive 1negative =1
Propriety	0	(222) measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's	0positive 1negative =1
Total	0	4	4

3.2.6.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Religious Freedom in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(219) That is the spirit we need today	(222) there is a disturbing tendency	1positive 1negative =2
Composition	(223) richness of religious diversity	(224) fault lines	1positive 1negative =2
Valuation	(216) Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance(217) We see it in the history(221) This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive(225) Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together(229) it is important for Western countries	0	5positive 0negative =5
Total	7	2	9

3.2.6.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Religious Freedom in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(215) we must address together(220) People ... should be free(223) must be upheld(224) fault lines must be closed(226) We must always examine(230) We cannot disguise hostility(230) faith should bring us together(233) we can turn dialogue	8	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur		0	4
	Pronounce	(228) That is why I am committed(230) Indeed(231) That is why	4	

		we are forging(232) That is why we welcome		
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial		0	1
	Counter	(221) but it is being challenged	1	
Total			13	

3.2.6.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Religious Freedom in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus			0	
Force	Intensification	(218) an overwhelmingly Muslim country(220) the persuasion of the mind, heart, and soul(224) led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq	3	5
	Quantification	(221) challenged in many different ways(222) Among some Muslims	2	
Total			5	

3.2.7. Indicators in the Issue of Women’s Rights

3.2.7.1. Indicators of Affect the Issue of Women’s Rights in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	0	0	
Satisfaction	(241) and our common prosperity (242) respect those women who choose to live	(240) the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects	2positive 1negative =3
Inclination	0	0	0
Total	2	1	3

3.2.7.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Issue of Women’s Rights in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	(240) our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons	0	1positive 0negative =1
Tenacity	0	0	0
Veracity	0	0	0
Propriety	0	(236) a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less	0positive 1negative

		equal	=1
Total	1	1	2

3.2.7.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Women's Rights in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(235) a healthy debate about this issue	0	1positive 0negative =1
Composition	0	0	0
Valuation	(236) a woman who is denied an education is denied equality(237) far more likely to be prosperous(238) by no means simply an issue for Islam	0	3positive 0negative =3
Total	4	0	4

3.2.7.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Women's Rights in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(236) I do believe(239) we have seen (241) I am convinced(241) our common prosperity will be advanced(242) I do not believe(243) it should be their choice	6	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(235) I know(237) And it is no coincidence(238) are by no means simply	3	5
	Pronounce	(238) Now let me be clear(244) That is why the United States will partner	2	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(236) I reject the view	1	3
	Counter	(236) but(243) But	2	
Total			14	

3.2.7.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Women's Rights in 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Graduation	Indicator	Sub-total
Focus		0

Force	Intensification	(236) somehow less equal(237) are far more likely to be prosperous(238) issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam (239) Muslim-majority countries(241) just as much to society as our sons(244) any Muslim-majority country	6	8
	Quantification	(241) all humanity (241) their full potential	2	
Total				8

3.2.8. Indicators in the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity

3.2.8.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	0	(249) bring fear(250) Fear	0positive 2negative =2
Satisfaction	0	(253) contradiction between development and tradition(260) while America in the past has focused on oil and gas in this part of the world	0positive 2negative =2
Inclination	(260) we now seek a broader engagement (270) Americans are ready to join	0	2positive 0negative =2
Total	2	4	6

3.2.8.2. Indicators of Judgement the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	0	0	0
Tenacity	0	0	0
Veracity	0	0	0
Propriety	0	(247) offensive sexuality and mindless violence(248) huge disruptions and changing communities	0positive 2negative =2
Total	0	2	2

3.2.8.3. Indicators of Appreciation the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(250) those things we most cherish about(254) the astonishing progress	0	2positive 0negative =2
Composition	(253) maintaining distinct cultures	(246) the face of globalization is contradictory(258) there remains underinvestment in these areas.	1positive 2negative =3
Valuation	(255) at the forefront of innovation and education (256) This is important(258) the currency of the 21st century	0	3positive 0negative =2
Total	6	2	8

3.2.8.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(247) can bring knowledge and information(248) can bring new wealth and opportunities(249) this change can bring fear (252) There need not be contradiction (269) All these things must be done	5	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(246) I know that(251) I also know that human progress cannot be denied	2	2
	Pronounce		0	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(256) no development strategy can be based only ...nor can it be sustained	1	5
	Counter	(247) but also(248) but also(251) But(258) But	4	
Total			12	

3.2.8.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Economic Development and Opportunity in ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus			0	
Force	Intensification	(250) we most cherish about(254) within Muslim-majority countries(255) In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront(257) Many Gulf States have enjoyed great wealth(263) to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries(265) technological development in Muslim-majority countries	6	13
	Quantification	(247) for many(248) new wealth(248)also huge disruptions(257) some are beginning to focus it on broader development(258) in too many Muslim communities(260) we now seek a broader engagement(261) while encouraging more Americans	7	
Total			13	

3.2.9. Indicators in the Closing Section of ‘A New Beginning’

3.2.9.1. Indicators of Affect in the Closing Section of ‘A New Beginning’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	0	0
Security	0	(272) extremists no longer threaten our people(272) and American troops have come home (272) Israelis and Palestinians are each secure(272) nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes (280) so much fear	0positive 5negative =5
Satisfaction	(272) we have a responsibility to join together	(276) there are many - Muslim and non-Muslim - who question (279) Many more are simply skeptical)	1positive 2negative =3
Inclination		(277) Some are eager	0positive 1negative =1
Total	2	8	9

3.2.9.2. Indicators of Judgement in the Closing Section of 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Judgement	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	(284) an effort - a sustained effort(292) We have the power to make the world we seek...	0	2positive 0negative =2
Tenacity	0	0	0
Veracity		(280) so much mistrust	0positive 1negative =1
Propriety	0	(272) the rights of all God's children are respected (285) It is easier to start wars than to end them(286) It is easier to blame others than to look inward	0positive 3negative =3
Total	2	4	6

3.2.9.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Closing Section of 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	0	0
Composition	(273) Those are mutual interests	(271) will not be easy to address	1positive 1negative =2
Valuation	(274) That is the world we seek(287) the right path, not just the easy path(288) one rule that lies at the heart of every religion(289) This truth transcends nations and peoples(289) a belief that(290) It's a belief that pulsed(290) that still beats(291) It's a faith in other people	0	8positive 0negative =8
Total	9	1	10

3.2.9.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Closing Section of 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Engagement	Indicator	Sub-total
Entertain	(271) will not be easy to address(281) we will never	5

		move forward(283) we should choose the right path (296) can live together(298) Now, that must be our(300)		
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	0
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(276) I know there are many... whether we can forge(297) We know	2	6
	Pronounce	(282) And I want to particularly say this	1	
	Endorse	(293) The Holy Koran tells us(294) The Talmud tells us(295) The Holy Bible tells us	3	
Disclaim	Denial	(289) a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian, or Muslim or Jew	1	8
	Counter	(272) But we have a responsibility(275) But we can only achieve it together(281) But (283) but(283) not just the easy path(290) and that still beats(292) but only if we have the courage	7	
Total			19	

3.2.9.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Closing Section of 'A New Beginning'

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(292) to make a new beginning	1	
Force	Intensification	(270) pursue a better life (279) simply skeptical(280) you, more than anyone,	3	7
	Quantification	(276) are many - Muslim and non-Muslim (279) Many more are(280) so much fear, so much mistrust(283) a brief moment in time	4	
Total			8	

Appendix 4: Detailed Appraisal Resources in Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

4.2.1. Indicators in the Opening Section

3.2.1.2 Indicators of Affect in the Opening Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

(the number before the indicator in the table refers to the particular sentence in which it appears)

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	(22) was devastated	0 positive 1 negative =1
Security	0	(9) our own future is bound to this region (10) this change (11) two costly conflicts (12) war in Iraq(14) years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates(42) Antagonism toward Israel(64) a nuclear arms race ...or al Qaeda’s brutal attacks(68) feed the suspicion (69) Americans have been seared by(69) threatens a deepening spiral of division(73) fear and repression(73) the illusion of stability(77) perils	0 positive 13negative =13
Satisfaction	(1)Thank you (3) I count on Hillary(11) we’ve done much to shift our foreign policy(12) we’ve removed ... and ended our combat mission (13) and this July we will begin to bring our troops home and continue a transition to Afghan lead (13) we’ve broken the Taliban’s momentum (14) we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader(49) breathe fresh air for the first time(51) ‘Our words are free now’ (52) ‘After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity’(76) that the United States of America welcomes change(78) we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be	(19) their cries for a better life(26) went ...doused himself in fuel, and lit himself on fire(33) but in too many places their people did not(25) a citizen like that young vendor had nowhere to turn (36) this lack of self-determination – the chance to make your life what you will(41) The West was blamed as the source of all ills	12positive 6negative =18

Inclination	(63) We will continue to do these things	0	1positive 0negative =1
Total	13	20	33

4.2.1.2. Indicators of Judgment in the Opening Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Judgment	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	(7) Two leaders have stepped aside	0	1positive 0negative =1
Capacity	(70) broaden our engagement (80) it was the people themselves who launched these movements,	(19) al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance(68) failure (69) failure	2positive 3negative =5
Tenacity	(6) the people have risen up (20) the people ...had taken their future into their own hands (28) the defiance of those patriots in Boston (28) or the dignity of Rosa Parks as she sat courageously in her seat (30) Hundreds of protesters took to the streets(31) they refused to go home(33) The nations...won their independence (54) the people of the region have achieved more change(80) and it's the people themselves that must ultimately determine their outcome.	0	9positive 0negative =9
Veracity	0	(69) Given that this mistrust runs both ways	0positive 1negative =1
Propriety	(3) one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history(54) through the moral force of nonviolence(86) meet the legitimate aspirations of ordinary people throughout the region	(15) Bin Laden was no martyr (16) mass murderer (16) offered a message of hate (16) Muslims had to take up arms against the West(16) that violence ...was the only path to change (17) He rejected ...in favor of violent extremism (17) his agenda focused on what he could destroy(18) Bin Laden and his	3positive 19negative =22

		murderous vision won some adherents(19) the slaughter of innocents (24)humiliation... the relentless tyranny of governments (26) After local officials refused to hear his complaint(31)a dictator (34) power has been concentrated in the hands of a few(40) leaders in the region tried to direct their people’s grievances elsewhere(43) Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated(44) strategies of repression and strategies of diversion(60) fierce contests for power(69) hostage-taking and violent rhetoric and terrorist attacks(83) the use of violence and repression	
Total	15	23	38

4.2.1.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Opening Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	(5) an extraordinary change (32) The story ...should not have come as a surprise(45) astonishing progress(58) good days(82) have guided our response to the events over the past six months	(29) as that vendor’s act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country(58) bad days	5positive 2negative =7
Composition	(56) constant communication(63) with the firm belief	(73) fault lines that will eventually tear asunder	2positive 1negative =3
Valuation	(1) a new landmark (4) a fitting venue(10) respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security(21) self-determination (25) something different happened(27) There are times ...when the actions of ordinary citizens spark movements for change(27) a longing for	(20) al Qaeda’s agenda ...as a dead end(23) This was not unique(67) a strategy based solely upon the narrow pursuit of these interests	20positive 3negative =23

	<p>freedom that has been building up for years(29) So it was in Tunisia(46) allow young people to connect and organize like never before(47) a new generation has emerged(53) Those shouts of human dignity are being heard across the region(55) change of this magnitude does not come easily(62) a set of core interests (63) America’s interests are not hostile to people’s hopes; they’re essential to them(74) a historic opportunity(75) America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator(76) that advances self-determination and opportunity(82) a set of core principles(87) is not a secondary interest(88) a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all</p>		
Total	27	6	33

4.2.1.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Opening Section Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Engagement	Indicator	Sub-total
Entertain	<p>(2) I want to begin (3) I believe (8) More may follow(10) we can respond (17) his agenda focused on what he could destroy(32) The story of this revolution...should not have come as a surprise(48) that change cannot be denied(49) we heard the voice of the young mother(50) we heard the students(51) we heard the engineer(52) we heard the young man(57) it will be years before this story reaches its end(58) there will be good days and there will bad days(59) change will be swift; in others, gradual(60) calls for change may give way(64) We believe (65) We believe (66) As we did ...we will not tolerate ...and we will keep our commitments(67) we must</p>	27

		acknowledge(67) that a strategy ...will not(71) I believed then -- and I believe now(73) may offer the illusion of stability for a time(78) to pursue the world as it should be(79) we must proceed with a sense of humility(80) it's the people themselves that must ultimately determine their outcome(85) that can meet(88) must be translated into concrete actions		
Attribute	Acknowledge	(16) an insistence (19) saw that the slaughter of innocents (20) al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen (48) And their voices tell us(49) who said "It's like I can finally breathe fresh air for the first time." (50) who chanted, "The night must come to an end."(51) who said, "Our words are free now; It's a feeling you can't explain."(52) who said, "After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity." (56) people expect the transformation of the region to be resolved in a matter of weeks	9	9
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(9) we know (11) Now, already, we've done much(37) Yes, (77) Yes, there will be perils(79) Of course	5	9
	Pronounce	(70) And that's why(76) There must be no doubt(88) I want to make it clear(89) Let me be specific	4	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(17) not (23) not unique(35) had nowhere to turn - no ...no...; no...; no(38) no development strategy (80) It's not America (81) Not every country	6	22
	Counter	(9) And though (16) that violence ...was the only path to change(19) But even (25) Only this time, (33) but (38) But in a global economy(39) Nor can people ...when you cannot start a business(44) But the events ...will not work anymore(57) But(67) Yet(68) will only feed the suspicion(71) not just in the stability of nations, but (73) but (78) But (81) don't align perfectly with our long-term vision for the region(82) But	16	
Total			67	

4.2.1.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Opening Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(2) a new landmark (4) a new chapter(47) a new generation (63) the firm belief(82) core principles	5	
Force	Intensification	(1) very much(1) very much(2) traveled so much(3) as one of the finest(6) Square by square, town by town, country by country(11) we’ve done much (11) two costly conflicts(26) had never been particularly (31) sometimes bullets(54) have achieved more change in six months than terrorists have accomplished in decades(58) good days and there will bad days(59) change will be swift; in others, gradual(67) a strategy based solely upon(75) values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator(81) our short-term interests don’t align perfectly with our long-term(88) it is a top priority	16	55
	Quantification	(2) these last six months(2) one million frequent flyer miles(3) every single day(7) Two leaders(8) More (9) a great distance (11) a decade (12) After years(14) And after years(14) a huge blow (18) won some adherents(19) as the overwhelming majority(20) by the vast majority (24) It’s the same kind of humiliation (27) building up for years(30) Hundreds...then thousands(31) day after day, week after week -- until a dictator of more than two decades finally left power(33) won their independence long ago, but in too many places (34) In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of a few(35) In too many countries, (35) had nowhere to turn (37) some nations (40) too many leaders (41) the source of all ills(41) a half-century after the end of colonialism(44) events of the past six months ...will not work anymore(55) change of this magnitude does not come easily(56) In our day and age — a time of 24-hour news cycles(57) it will be years before this story reaches its end(59) In some places(60) in some cases, to fierce contests for power(62) For decades (62) a set of core interests in the region(67) the narrow pursuit (68) the suspicion that has festered for years(78) after decades (82) a set of core principles(82) to the events over the past six months(84) supports a set of universal rights(88) supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools	39	
Total			60	

4.2.2. Indicators in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy

4.2.2.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	(117) The image of a young woman dying in the streets is still seared in our memory	0positive 1negative =1
Security	(103) and the transition to a democratic Libya	(91) where the stakes are high(97) the prospect of imminent massacre (136) If you take the risks that reform entails	1positive 3negative =4
Satisfaction	(133) we will be proud	(103) decades of provocation (106) The United States has condemned these actions(153) intolerance can lead only to suffering and stagnation(136) is the more constant concern of putting food on the table (164) wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day	1positive 5negative =6
Inclination	(139) Across the region, we intend to provide assistance to civil society (148) We look forward to working with	0	2positive 0negative =2
Total	4	9	13

4.2.2.2. Indicators of Judgment in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Judgment	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	(92) a vibrant civil society(92) accountable and effective democratic institutions(92) responsible regional leadership(137) the people who will shape the future(144) active and informed citizens(150) but also strong and accountable institutions(165) have a solid	0	9positive 0negative =9

	education(192) parliamentarians who are developing reforms(192) and activists who use technology		
Tenacity	(106) stepped up our sanctions on the Syrian regime(166) Entrepreneurs are brimming with ideas	0	2positive 0negative =2
Veracity	(139) including those that may not be officially sanctioned, and who speak uncomfortable truths	(114) the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime(120) if America is to be credible(124) Iran has tried to take advantage of the turmoil there	1positive 3negative =4
Propriety	(92) through free and fair elections(102) a legitimate and credible Interim Council(103) when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power(115) the first peaceful protests in the region(124) the Bahraini government has a legitimate interest in the rule of law(130) The Iraqi people have rejected the perils of political violence in favor of a democratic process(146) all peaceful and law-abiding voices(148) all who embrace...democracy(150) and the respect for the rights of minorities	(94) answered by violence (95) The most extreme example (95) launched a war (96) every injustice (99) Keep power by killing (104) Libya has faced violence (104) leaders have turned to repression (105) the path of murder and the mass arrests(109) stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests(110) release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests(111) allow human rights monitors ...and start a serious dialogue (113) the tactics of suppression(115) the government brutalized women and men, and threw innocent people into jail(119) intolerance and Iran's repressive measures, as well as and its support of terror(120) have not all reacted to the demands for consistent change(125) mass arrests and brute force(126) when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail(149) an attempt by any group to restrict the rights of others, and to hold power through coercion and not consent(159) prevented from achieving their full potential(166)	9positive 23negative =32

		corruption (191) the corruption of elites who steal from their people;(191) the red tape (191) the patronage	
Total	21	26	57

4.2.2.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	0	0
Composition	(119) our opposition...is well known(120) with change that’s consistent with the principles that I’ve outlined today(129) a multiethnic, multisectarian democracy(133) as a steadfast partner(136) Our message is simple	(165) closed economies leave them unable to find a job(191) tearing down walls that stand in the way of progress	5positive 2negative =7
Valuation	(91) as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave(91) and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and the Arab world’s largest nation(92) a strong example(132) Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region (144) information is power(145) Such open discourse is important(146) America respects the right of... to be heard(148) genuine and inclusive democracy(151) Such tolerance is particularly important(163) The tipping point (167) The greatest untapped resource(168) as people harness technology to move the world (172) it’s important (173) a model in which protectionism gives way to openness...	(162) politics alone has not put protesters into the streets	14positive 1negative =15
Total	19	3	22

4.2.2.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(90) it will be (92) can set (93) must (96) As I said (96) we cannot (96) we have learned (97) we saw (98) would have been killed(99) would have been clear(103) inevitably leaves (103) will come ...can proceed(108) He can lead (109) must stop shooting demonstrators(110) It must release political prisoners (111) It must allow (112) will continue ...will continue (114) And this speaks (118) And we will continue to insist...does not smother (120) we must acknowledge(123) and we are committed (124) We recognize (125) will not make (126) and you can't have (127) must create (127) must participate (131) they will face setbacks(133) we will be proud(134) America must use all our influence(135) we need ...we believe in(136) you will have the full support of the United States(137) We must (138) We will continue (139) we intend to provide assistance to civil society(140) And we will use the technology(142) we must support (143) We will support (144) the truth cannot be hidden(144) will ultimately depend (149) What we will oppose (152) we heard(153) America will (155) Coptic Christians must have the right (157) History shows(158) we will continue to insist(159) The region will never reach (161) we must support (164) their luck will change(168) we see that talent on display(170) That energy now needs ...so that economic growth can solidify (172) we've learned ...we think it's important(173) The goal must be (174) will therefore be based on(176) we've asked ...for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize(177) Together, we must help ...will be elected later this year(178) And we are urging (179) we do not want a democratic Egypt	56	
Attribute	Acknowledge	(114) which says (130) have rejected (152) Egyptians ...chant	3	3
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(131) Of course(169) It's no coincidence	2	11
	Pronounce	(115) Let's remember (121) That's true (122) And that's true (128) Indeed (141) For the fact is(146) Let me be clear(156) What is true ...is also true (158) And that's why	8	
	Endorse	(107) The Syrian people have shown their courage	1	

Disclaim	Denial	(101) He does not have (141) does not come	2	28
	Counter	(93) But(93) yet (96) just (97) But (104) While...it's not the only place(114) yet (116) We still (117) still (120) But if America is to be credible(125) Nevertheless(126) The only way (130) The Iraqi people have rejected ...even as they've (132) But (135) Even (145) even (146)even if we disagree(150) Because ...not only...but also (154) only (155) just (160) Now, even ...even... our efforts can't stop (162) alone (165) but (166) but (171) For just (172) not just (190) just	26	
Total			96	

4.2.2.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of Promoting Reform and Supporting Transition to Democracy in 'A Moment of Opportunity'

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(111) a serious dialogue(125) a real dialogue(131) new democracies(132) a key role(133) as a steadfast partner(141) real reform (148) genuine and inclusive democracy(150) but also strong and accountable institutions (156) What is true for religious minorities is also true(161) positive change(182) help newly democratic governments	11	
Force	Intensification	(91) the stakes are high (91) as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave(91) and Egypt is both a longstanding partner (91) and the Arab world's largest nation(92) a strong example(95) The most extreme example (96) just how costly and difficult(115) where the government brutalized women and men(125) both publicly and privately(128) one of the broader lessons (135) speak honestly ...with friend and foe alike(147) And sometimes we profoundly (151) particularly important(155) to worship freely in Cairo(157) countries are more prosperous and more peaceful (167) The greatest untapped resource(178) And we are urging other countries(188) exports roughly the same amount as Switzerland.	18	47
	Quantification	(94) in too many countries, calls for change have thus far(97) imminent massacre(98)thousands would have been killed(98) as many people as it takes(98) decades of provocation (105) Most recently(115) the first peaceful	29	

	<p>protests(123) Bahrain is a longstanding partner(125) that mass arrests and brute force(125) parts of the peaceful (128) full responsibility(134) So in the months ahead, (136) full support (143) whether it's a big news organization or a lone blogger(146) all peaceful and law-abiding(148) with all who embrace(152) Egyptians from all walks (159) when more than half (159) their full potential(163) so many people(164) Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations(165) many young people(168) In the recent protests(170) That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country(171) and broad-based prosperity(178) near-term financial needs(187) a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative(188) this entire region(189) more trade</p>		
Total		58	

4.2.3. Indicators in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace

4.2.3.1. Indicators of Affect in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace in 'A Moment of Opportunity'

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	0	(195) as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them	0positive 1negative =1
Security	(206) the people ...are casting off the burdens of the past(220) The dream of a Jewish and democratic state(227) so that secure	(195) the conflict ...has cast a shadow(195) living with the fear that their children could be blown up on a bus or by rockets fired at their homes(198) this conflict has come with a larger cost to the Middle East(199) this conflict(204) all the change and uncertainty in the region (220) permanent occupation (242) Suspicion and hostility has been passed on for generations	3positive 7negative =10
Satisfaction	(227) and recognized borders are established for both states	(195) suffering the humiliation of occupation(199) expectations have gone unmet(201) Israeli settlement activity continues(202) Palestinians have walked away from talks(203) a conflict that has grinded on and on and on (203) stalemate(219) The international community	1positive 10negative =11

		is tired(235) two wrenching and emotional issues (240) the current impasse (247) ‘I have the right to feel angry’	
Inclination	0	0	0
Total	4	18	22

4.2.3.2. Indicators of Judgment in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Judgment	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	0	0	0
Capacity	0	0	0
Tenacity	0	0	0
Veracity	0	0	0
Propriety	0	(208) efforts to delegitimize(209) Symbolic actions to isolate Israel(210) if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection (210) by denying the right of Israel to exist (220) a permanent occupation	0positive 5negative =4
Total	0	5	5

4.2.3.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	(215) The status quo is unsustainable	0positive 1negative =1
Composition	(212) our friendship is rooted deeply (213) Our commitment ...is unshakeable (225) the basis of those negotiations is clear (228) in a sovereign and contiguous state (230) Provisions must also be robust enough to prevent...	0	5positive 0negative =5
Valuation	(194) another cornerstone (206) the drive for a lasting peace ...is more urgent than ever(215) it’s important	(198) as it impedes partnerships that could bring greater(219) an	16positive 3negative =19

	that we tell the truth (218) profound change(224) a lasting peace(225) the core issues of the conflict(233) These principles provide a foundation for negotiations(236) moving forward now on ...provides a foundation to resolve those two issues(236) in a way that is just and fair and that respects the rights and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians(238) raises profound and legitimate questions for Israel(251) That is the choice that must be made(251) a choice between hate and hope(251) between the shackles of the past and the promise of the future(252) It's a choice that must be made by leaders and by the people(252) it's a choice that will define the future of a region(252) a region that served as the cradle of civilization and a crucible of strife	endless process that never produces an outcome(235) these steps alone will not resolve the conflict	
Total	21	4	25

4.2.3.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Engagement	Indicator	Sub-total
Entertain	(198)could bring (204) it is simply (208) will end (209) won't create (210) will not achieve (211) will never realize (214) And we will stand against (215) must act (217) will make (218) will lead (220) cannot be fulfilled (223) won't make (224) can do is to state frankly what everyone knows(224) will involve (226) The United States believes (227) We believe(228) must have the right (229) Israel must be able (230) Provisions must also be(231) should be coordinated(232) must be agreed(232) must be (234) Palestinians should know (234) Israelis should know (235) I'm aware(235) will remain(239) will have to provide (240) will need to continue (241) I recognize (243) I'm convinced	36

		(244) We see t (246) We (249) I shall not hate(251) must be made(252) must be made (252) will define the future of a region		
Attribute	Acknowledge	(196) it has meant(197) it has meant(204) those who argue(245) That father said(245) I gradually realized (248) ‘So many people were expecting me to hate’	6	6
	Distance		0	
Proclaim	Concur	(207) That’s certainly true(221) Now, ultimately, it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to take action	2	6
	Pronounce	(194) Let me conclude (204) Indeed(216) The fact is (237) Now, let me say this	4	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(205) I disagree(222) No peace can be imposed upon them - - not by the United States; not by anybody else(237) does not mean (251) not simply in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,	4	13
	Counter	(200) Yet expectations have gone unmet(203) The world looks at a conflict that has grinded on and on and on, and sees nothing but stalemate(215) But precisely (218) in which millions of people — not just one or two leaders - must believe peace is possible(223) But endless delay(235) that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict(236) But moving forward (243) But(251) but across the entire region	9	
Total			61	

4.2.3.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Issue of the Pursuit of Peace in ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(225) the core issues (239) provide a credible answer	2	
Force	Intensification	(198) a larger cost(198) greater security and prosperity and empowerment(203) a conflict that has grinded on and on and on, and sees nothing but stalemate(204) it is simply not possible to move forward now(206) is more urgent than ever(212) our friendship is rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values(215) But precisely because Technology will make it harder e of our friendship(215) Israel too must act boldly(217) Technology will make it harder(224) to state frankly(230) be robust enough(241) how hard this will be(242) and at times it has hardened(243) would rather look to the future than be trapped in the past(245) I gradually realized that the only hope for progress	15	
	Quantification	(195) For decades (199) For over two years...building on	22	

	<p>decades of work by previous administrations(204) with all the change and uncertainty in the region(206) At a time when the people ...are casting off the burdens of the past(206) a lasting peace that ends the conflict and resolves all claims(216) a growing number of Palestinians(218) populism in which millions of people -- not just one or two leaders(219) tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome(220) with permanent occupation(223) But endless delay(224) what everyone knows(224) a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples(226) with permanent Palestinian borders ...and permanent Israeli borders (228) and reach their full potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state(231) The full and phased withdrawal (238) In particular, the recent announcement of an agreement(239) And in the weeks and months to come(240) Meanwhile... will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse(242) has been passed on for generations(243) the majority of Israelis and Palestinians(248) "So many people were expecting me to hate(251) That is the choice that must be made - - not simply in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but across the entire region</p>	37
Total		39

4.2.4. Indicators in the Closing Section of 'A Moment of Opportunity'

4.2.4.1. Indicators of Affect in the Closing Section of 'A Moment of Opportunity'

Kind of Affect	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Happiness	(257) are being claimed with joy	0	1positive 0negative =1
Security	0	(253) For all the challenges that lie ahead(256) In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction(258) the scenes of upheaval in the region may be unsettling (260) Our people fought a painful Civil	0positive 4negative =4
Satisfaction	0	0	0
Inclination	0	0	0
Total	1	4	5

4.2.4.2. Indicators of Judgment in the Closing Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Judgment	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Normality	(258) the forces driving it are not unfamiliar	0	1positive 0negative =1
Capacity	0	0	0
Tenacity	(254)in the efforts of young people who led protests(255) it in the courage of those who brave bullets(257) by those who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist	0	3positive 0negative =3
Veracity	0	0	
Propriety	(259) Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire(261) past generations turned to the moral force of nonviolence	0	2positive 0negative =2
Total	6	0	6

4.2.4.3. Indicators of Appreciation in the Closing Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Appreciation	Positive	Negative	Sub-total
Reaction	0	0	0
Composition	(261) ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident’(262) certain inalienable rights	(263) It will not be easy	2positive 1negative =3
Valuation	(256) where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known(260) that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved(262) Those words must guide our response to the change that is transforming(262) words which tell us that repression will fail, and that tyrants will fall	0	4positive 0negative =4
Total	6	1	7

4.2.4.4. Indicators of Engagement in the Closing Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Engagement		Indicator	Sub-total	
Entertain		(253) we see (254) we see it (255) In Syria, we see it (256) In Benghazi...we see it (258) may be unsettling(261) And I would not be (262) must guide (262) words which tell us that repression will fail, and that tyrants will fall(263) It will not be easy(266) And now we cannot hesitate (266) knowing that their success will bring about a world	11	
Attribute	Acknowledge		0	1
	Distance	(257) are being claimed with joy	1	
Proclaim	Concur		0	0
	Pronounce		0	
	Endorse		0	
Disclaim	Denial	(264) There’s no straight line to progress	1	3
	Counter	(258) but the forces driving it are not unfamiliar(265) But	2	
Total			15	

4.2.4.5. Indicators of Graduation in the Closing Section of ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Kind of Graduation		Indicator	Sub-total	
Focus		(262) certain inalienable rights.	1	
Force	Intensification	(261) organizing, marching, protesting peacefully together (262) and hardship always accompanies a season of hope(266) And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely(266) a world that is more peaceful, more stable, and more just	4	7
	Quantification	(253) For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful(257) Across the region, those rights that we take for granted are being claimed(261) unless past generations	3	
Total			8	

Appendix 5: **Appendix 5: Detailed Description of Interpreter Intervention in Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’**

Table 3.4.1 Anti-Islamophobia in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	7	yes	no	yes
2		8	yes	no	yes
3		9	yes	yes	yes
4		11	yes	yes	yes
5		12	yes	yes	yes
6		13	no	no	yes
7		14	yes	yes	yes
8		16	yes	yes	yes
9		27	yes	yes	yes
10		40	yes	no	no
11		55	yes	yes	no
12	Violent Extremism	84	yes	no	yes
13		104	yes	yes	yes
14		120	no	no	yes
15	Religious Freedom	229	yes	no	yes
16	Economic Development	258	yes	yes	yes
17	The Closing	280	no	yes	yes
18		289	yes	no	no
19		292	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.3 Pro-Islam in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	24	yes	yes	yes
2		32	yes	yes	no
3	Violent Extremism	76	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.4 Rejection of Issues Related to 9/11 in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Violent Extremism	87	yes	yes	yes
2		88	yes	yes	yes
3		121	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.5 Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int. 1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World	127	yes	no	yes
2		130	yes	yes	yes
3		134	yes	no	yes
4		135	yes	yes	yes
5		139	yes	no	no
6		152	yes	yes	yes
7		156	yes	no	yes
8		166	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.6 Anti-Iranian Sentiment in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int. 1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Nuclear Weapons	182	yes	no	no
2		185	yes	no	yes
3		189	no	yes	yes

Table 3.4.7 Opposition to US-led on Iraq in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int. 1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Violent Extremism	110	yes	yes	yes
2		116	yes	no	yes
3	Religious Freedom	222	yes	no	yes
4		224	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.8 Pro-Democracy and Pro-Women’s Rights in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int. 1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Democracy	200	yes	yes	yes
2	Women’s Rights	235	yes	yes	yes
3		236	yes	no	yes

Appendix 5: Detailed Description of Interpreter Intervention in Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Table 3.4.1 Anti-Islamophobia in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	7	yes	no	yes
2		8	yes	no	yes
3		9	yes	yes	yes
4		11	yes	yes	yes
5		12	yes	yes	yes
6		13	no	no	yes
7		14	yes	yes	yes
8		16	yes	yes	yes
9		27	yes	yes	yes
10		40	yes	no	no
11		55	yes	yes	no
12	Violent Extremism	84	yes	no	yes
13		104	yes	yes	yes
14		120	no	no	yes
15	Religious Freedom	229	yes	no	yes
16	Economic Development	258	yes	yes	yes
17	The Closing	280	no	yes	yes
18		289	yes	no	no
19		292	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.3 Pro-Islam in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	24	yes	yes	yes
2		32	yes	yes	no
3	Violent Extremism	76	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.4 Rejection of Issues Related to 9/11 in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Violent Extremism	87	yes	yes	yes
2		88	yes	yes	yes
3		121	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.5 Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Situation between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab World	127	yes	no	yes
2		130	yes	yes	yes
3		134	yes	no	yes
4		135	yes	yes	yes
5		139	yes	no	no
6		152	yes	yes	yes
7		156	yes	no	yes
8		166	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.6 Anti-Iranian Sentiment in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Nuclear Weapons	182	yes	no	no
2		185	yes	no	yes
3		189	no	yes	yes

Table 3.4.7 Opposition to US-led on Iraq in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Violent Extremism	110	yes	yes	yes
2		116	yes	no	yes
3	Religious Freedom	222	yes	no	yes
4		224	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.4.8 Pro-Democracy and Pro-Women’s Rights in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	Democracy	200	yes	yes	yes
2	Women’s Rights	235	yes	yes	yes
3		236	yes	no	yes

Appendix 6: Detailed Description of Interpreter Intervention in Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Table 4.4.1 Resistance to American Domination in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int. 1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	4	yes	yes	yes
2		8	no	yes	yes
3		11	yes	yes	yes
4		15	no	no	yes
5		18	no	yes	yes
6		45	yes	yes	yes
7		63	no	yes	yes
8		64	yes	yes	yes
9		71	yes	no	yes
10		83	yes	yes	yes
11	Promotion of Reform	98	yes	no	yes
12		144	yes	yes	no

Table 4.4.2 Pro-Arab Spring in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	29	no	yes	no
2		34	yes	no	yes
3		39	no	yes	no
4		41	yes	no	yes
5		43	yes	no	yes
6	Promotion of Reform	95	yes	no	yes
7		102	no	yes	yes
8		103	no	yes	yes

Table 4.4.3 Sectarianism in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Promotion of Reform	109	no	yes	yes
2		125	yes	yes	yes
3		155	yes	yes	no

Table 4.4.4 Anti-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Sentiment in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Pursuit of Peace	195	no	no	yes
2		208	no	no	yes
3		209	no	yes	no
4		213	yes	no	yes
5		214	yes	no	yes
6		219	no	yes	no
7		220	no	yes	yes
8		226	yes	yes	yes
9		227	yes	yes	yes
10	The Closing	253	yes	yes	yes
11		260	yes	no	yes
12		261	no	no	yes

Table 4.4.5 Opposition to US-led War on Iraq in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Promotion of Reform	129	no	yes	yes
2		132	yes	yes	yes
3		133	yes	yes	yes

Table 4.4.6 Sexism in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Opening	3	yes	yes	yes
2		28	yes	no	yes
3	The Promotion of Reform	155	no	no	yes

Table 4.6.7 Opposition to Hamas in the Three Renderings of Barack Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’

Code	Issue	Sentence No.	Int.1	Int.2	Int.3
1	The Pursuit of Peace	210	no	yes	yes
2		217	no	no	yes