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**TRANSLATING COLLOCATION IN POLITICAL
DISCOURSES CASE STUDY OBAMA'S SPEECH IN CAIRO**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to

My Family

My parents

My wife

My children

Mohamed Islam, Fatima Nour , Ihsane, Ahmed Sami

And my beloved (MAJD) Tatahay

For their endless love, support, and encouragement

BOUBLAL Mahieddinne

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In the name of ALLAH, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

All praise to Allah for granting us patience and strength.

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Abstract

This research aims to study how collocations are translated in political discourse from English into Arabic and to what extent the structure of the collocations that have the same meaning changes. Add to that, the translation procedures used in rendering these collocations, also to highlight some problems that the translator may face in translating collocations in political discourse from English into Arabic. Therefore, this research was applied on the Obama's Speech in Qairo with its Arabic versions, in which the research is going to select a group of English collocations extracted from the very speech to analyze them and compare them to their translation into Arabic. From the outcome of the research, it is concluded that the structure of the collocations that have the same meaning changes from English into Arabic and there are dominant specific type of collocations is used, and although, there is a variety of procedures were used; the most adopted procedure is literal translation and there are some lexical problems the translator comes cross while translating collocations in scientific texts.

Keywords: translation, collocations, political discourse , usage, pragmatic.

المخلص

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة كيفية ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي من الإنجليزية إلى العربية وإلى أي حد يمكن أن تتغير بنية المتلازمات اللفظية التي تحمل نفس المعنى، بالإضافة إلى تقنيات الترجمة المستعملة في ترجمة هذه الأخيرة وما هي المشاكل التي قد يواجهها المترجم عند ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي. ولتحقيق ذلك، تم تطبيق هذه الدراسة على خطاب الرئيس الأمريكي في القاهرة- بطبعته الإنجليزية والعربية -حيث قمتنا باستخراج مجموعة من المتلازمات اللفظية الإنجليزية لتحليلها ومقارنتها بترجمتها إلى اللغة العربية. وبالاعتماد على نتائج البحث تم الاستخلاص بأن بنية المتلازمات اللفظية التي تحمل نفس المعنى تتغير عند ترجمتها من الإنجليزية إلى العربية و أنّ هناك نوع معين من المتلازمات اللفظية يُستعمل بكثرة في الخطاب السياسي ، وأنه رغم تنوع تقنيات الترجمة المستعملة في ترجمة هذه المتلازمات تبقى الترجمة الحرفية هي المستعملة بكثرة. كما أنّ المترجم يواجه بعض المشاكل المعجمية عند ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ترجمة، المتلازمات اللفظية، الخطاب السياسي ، الاستعمال، التداول

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List of Abbreviations

TL: Target Language

SL: Source Language

PD: Political Discourse

PDA: Political Discourse Analysis

EC: English Collocations

AC: Arabic Collocations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

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Introduction

Undoubtedly, the English language has become nowadays the global language that invaded all the domains; business, economics, technology, aviation, science...etc. Hence, it is very significant to learn and master this language, as well as translating texts from and into the English language, since the translation is considered as the bridge and the link between all the different languages of the world, therefore; many scholars advise that the key-element of natural fluency of the English language is mastery of collocations which are defined as a combination of two words or more that occur together. Collocations are found in all sorts of texts even the political speeches, so it is important to know their meaning and which role they play especially in this kind of texts. For that, this study sheds the light on the translation of collocations in political discourse

Aims of the study

This study seeks to investigate how collocations are translated in political speeches from English into Arabic and to see to what extent is the difference in rendering the meaning of the same collocation in both English and Arabic languages, also to highlight the procedures used in translating collocations, in addition to clarifying the concept of collocations and its translation in such texts. It aims also at understanding the problem(s) the translator may face in translating collocations in this particular type of text, a political one, from English into Arabic.

Statement of the problem

Since collocations are considered the key elements of the English language, the translators may face different sorts of problems when conveying their meaning into Arabic in political texts which may at the end affect the efficiency of the information in these texts.

Research questions

In order to reach the above-mentioned aims, the study attempts to answer this main question:

- How collocations are translated in political discourse from English into Arabic?

It is followed by these sub-questions:

- Should collocations that express the same meaning in both languages have the same structure in English and Arabic languages?
- What are the translation procedures used in translating collocations?
- What are the problems the translators face while translating collocations in political discourse?

Hypotheses

For the sake of answering the above-raised questions, the study hypothesizes that;

- Collocations in political discourse cannot structurally translated the same from English into Arabic.
- There is a dominant type of collocations more suitable when rendering into Arabic.
- The translator uses certain procedures most of the time to translate collocations.

Methodology

As long as this study is about translating collocations in political discourse, it will be applied as a result on Obama's Speech in Cairo, with its Arabic version; the methodology followed in this study is a descriptive- analytical method. Accordingly, the researcher is going to select a certain number of collocations extracted from the speech and describe how they are translated and to analyze the results found in order to see whether there are differences or similarities in translating these collocations from English into Arabic.

Structure of the study

This study is divided into two main parts; theoretical and practical. The first part is divided into three chapters; the first chapter is entitled collocation in Arabic and English; it tackles the notion of collocations and their types, in both English and Arabic languages .The second chapter of the first part is about the relationship between collocations and translation. The third chapter entitled Political discourse & collocations is about the use of collocations in political discourses, and their importance.

The second part that consists only one chapter is allocated to the application of the findings of the theoretical part. In which the researchers will analyze the collocations were gathered from Obama's speech and to analyses their translations from English into Arabic.

Literature Review

Many pieces of research and studies were conducted concerning political discourse , and the translation of collocations but few of them dealt with the translation of collocation in political speeches .

In the other side, the term “collocation” was first coined by J.R.Firth in the 1950s; it refers to a multi-word construct that occurs in a procedure of locating. Also, Baker (1992) has spoken about collocations and the problems of translating collocations in her book “In Other Words”; saying that the difference of collocations between the source text and the target text may create problems and obstacles to the translator because “some of these problems are more difficult to handle than others” (p. 54). Baker has stated four problems; “The engrossing effect of source text patterning, misinterpreting the meaning of a source-language collocation, Culture-specific collocations, and marked collocations in the source text” (pp. 54-56). Ghazala (2007, pp. 17-18) in his dictionary “DAR EL-ILM’S Dictionary of Collocations” has defined collocations as “phrases of matching words” , he also has given the different types of collocations dividing them into grammatical and lexical ones. In addition, Sharkas (2015) in her article entitled “T he Use of Technical Collocations in Popular Science Genres” has spoke about a specific kind of collocations which is “technical collocations”. Sharkas had defined this latter as the combination of two lexemes in which one of them at least should be related to the scientific field. There are many research papers studied the translation of collocations in various types of texts, as the translation of collocations in legal texts and religious texts. In this respect, this research is conducted to study the translation of collocations in political texts.

Part I

Theoretical Part

Chapter I:

collocation in Arabic & English

Part I -Theoretical Part

Chapter I: collocation in Arabic & English

1.1Introduction

Translation at large represents an essential and important part for human's communications all over the world being as old as language itself. Translation intervenes in many respects of life such as medicine, education, religion and politics. Because of translation, the new discoveries, books, information, are easy to reach and benefit to the people all over the world whatever is their language. Thus is certainly crucial to political atmospheres being present in international meeting negotiations, discourses and speeches. Additionally, to the traditional role of translation as a mediator, it becomes a powerful tool aiming to achieve many purposes like shaping international map, changing public opinion and many others in this regard. This dissertation is about translation of collocations in political discourses of the U.S president Barak Obama at the university of Cairo having a very particular position offering a very overwhelming use of collocations in his speeches.

The US former president Obama as a pragmatic personality focused on the use of collocations in his discourse in order to attract the attention especially in that period of Arab American conflict, and showing his ability to make a change in the relation between the two worlds

2.1 Definition of Collocation

The linguist J. R. Firth tackled the concept of collocation in English language for the first time in 1957, he is widely considered father of collocation. The considerable history of the term 'collocation' notwithstanding, it is true that Firth popularized both the term and the study of the subject (Mackin1978; Palmer 1968). The word spread rapidly and become widely used; several opinions and definitions concerning the meaning of collocation was said. Collocation is the way words combine in a language to produce natural-sounding speech and writing. For example, in English you say brain drain and bird migration but not brain migration and bird drain; powerful computers is preferred over *strong computers contrariwise strong tea is preferred over powerful tea, that sounds unnatural even the meaning can be conveyed perfectly.

In order to speak natural English, you need to be familiar with collocations. You need to know, for example, that you say ‘a heavy smoker’ because heavy (NOT big) collocates with smoker, and that you say ‘free of charge’ because free of collocates with charge (NOT cost, payment, etc.). If you do not choose the right collocation, you will probably be understood but you will not sound natural. (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1987), LDOCE: 193)

Robins (2000, p.64) argues that collocation is “the habitual association of a word in a language with other particular words in sentences.” Robins’s understanding of collocation agrees with Firth’s, Halliday, and Hasan’s. In Cohesion in English, Halliday and Hasan (2001, p.317) argue that collocation, a means of cohesion, is “the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments.” For example the word teacher implies such words as student, education, school etc. The success closely related with happiness. Collocation, in this sense, overlapped with the so-called semantic field. Words occurring in collocation or in the same semantic field exist as a group fit in a given situation. But the presence of one word does not necessarily lead to the occurrence of others in the group.

While Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary offers a bit different definition, collocation is “a word or phrase that sounds natural and correct when it is used with another word or phrase” (2008: 130) in addition to the intonation which should be in harmony and conformity with habitual co-occurrence of a set of words that forms the unit of collocation.

Cambridge dictionary defined collocation as following

Collocation is a word or phrase that is often used with another word or phrase, in a way that sounds correct to people who have spoken the language all their lives.

The combination of words formed when two or more words are often used together in a way that sounds correct.

The regular use of some words and phrases with others, especially in a way that is difficult to guess. The habitual juxtaposition of a particular word with another word, or words with a frequency greater than chance.

2.1.1 Collocations in English

English language like the others, is the expression of ideas by means of speech-sounds combined into words. Single or a set of words because solely the word rarely convey full meaning, there must be a sort of combination or attachment to convey full meaning. In any language, words can be combined in numerous ways to form meaningful groups if those words are not restricted. Sometimes it is very difficult and challenging to examine words and to draw distinguishing line between them for classifying them, that is what makes it difficult to clarify the meaning of collocation. Among these possible combinations of words, some are fixed and others are loose. Despite the fact that, these combinations are quite similar to one another, even, in a sense, belonging to the category of collocations yet they are different. Collocation in English language as a natural language expression is compositional; also, the meaning of the expression can be predicted from the meaning of the parts. For example strong tea, strong added rich or dark nature to tea. Although it is closely related, but slightly different from the original sense. (Manning and Schütze, 2007: 141).

In reality, there is no consensus among english linguists about the definition of collocation. Cruze (1986: 40) indicates that collocations can be defined as “sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur, but which are nonetheless fully transparent in the sense that each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent”. He also adds that the meaning of collocation sometimes cannot be inferred from the meaning of its constituents, and such type of collocation is usually called bound collocation.

Michael Lewis (1999: 93) about collocation in English “collocations describe the way individual word combined with others to give another definition. As other linguists, Lewis confirms that collocation is habitual and has no fixed pattern to follow.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 285-286), consider collocation as lexical cohesion. If there is, any combination of words that share “lexico-semantic” characterization ultimately has cohesive function.

To sum up, English linguists provide different definitions of collocations, classify them into different categories according to different criteria, which can be grammatical, On the other hand, collocations as a linguistic phenomenon in form of an arbitrary combination of words aims to stress the meaning and clarify the expression in order to seem natural and acceptable to the native speakers.

Moreover collocations are a great importance in English language learning Collocation is of much higher importance, however, in terms of use, acquisition and ultimate success in language learning and translation purposes.

When we focus solely on word's definitions, our students are less likely to be able to use vocabulary for expression, and they miss countless opportunities to recycle words they know. If we focus only on collocation, students may be able to use words, but without knowing what they are saying. The remedy of the flaws of either approach is obvious. A teacher need only to add the definition to collocation, or collocation to definition, to complement each other.

2.1.2 Collocation in Arabic

The English Word collocation has its Arabic equivalent as المتلازمات اللفظية which means in English the inseparableness that means the habitual co-occurrence of two lexical items. Arabic is a language rich in lexical and derivational resources. It has collocations in abundance which they are founded in all Arabic text types in a diversity of ways that existed from the pre-Islamic era, especially in poetry they are used as a rhetorical devices to give beauty to the language and indicate the poet's competence in language. On the other hand the majority of the Arabic collocations are mainly derived from Quran, and Sunna (Prophet Mohammad peace be upon him sayings) and from the Arabic Classical literature especially poetry (Ghazala, 2004).

On the other hand translation has also played a role in adding new collocations into Arabic language. These collocations that are referred to as borrowed collocations become established Arabic collocations especially in the field of journalism. Brashi (2005) argues that the borrowed collocations form a major source for Arabic collocations that cannot be ignored. He lists a number of examples cited from Blau's book (1981) in which 36 he argues that the Arabic language journalistic style has been greatly influenced by the European one through translation and this influence has been transmitted to the users of the language. Following are some examples of borrowed collocations as cited in Brashi (p.55): Social injustice ظلم اجتماعي, a turning point, نقطة تحول, fire lines خطوط النار .

Alike English collocations, Arabic collocations have been also classified by researchers into different categories on the basis of different criteria. For example, Emery (1991) provided the following categorizations for Arabic collocations.

2.1.2 .1 Bound collocations These are “a bridge category between collocations

and idioms” (Cowie, 1981:228). In this category, one of the components is uniquely selective of the other. In such cases the adjective collocates uniquely with a specific noun, for example, vicious war. ضروس حرب.

2.1.2 .2 Restricted collocations These are “combinations of two or more words used in one of their regular, non-idiomatic meanings, following certain structural patterns, and restricted in their commutability not only by grammatical and semantic valency (like the components of so-called free word combinations), but also by usage” (Aisenstadt, 1979:71). These types of word combinations occur in Arabic, as in English, in various types of syntactic configurations:

a- verb + subject, for example, نشبت الحرب (the war + broke out).

b- verb + object, for example, خاض المعركة (he engaged in + the battle).

C- adjective + noun, for example, معركة طاحنة (a damaging + battle).

2.1.2 .3 Open collocations: Are the combinations of two or more words that co-occur without any specific relation between them. Both elements are freely re-combinable and each element is used in a common literal sense. Example: الحرب بدأت the war began.

2.1.3 Collocations and Idioms

In order to be able to distinguish between idioms and collocations, it is better to refer to each definition:

An idiom is the term used to refer to a sequence of lexical items, semantically and syntactically restricted like a single word, functioning as a single indivisible unit. Thus, idioms are sequences of closer words whose meaning cannot be predicted and is often difficult to guess from the meanings of the individual words themselves. For Cruse (1986) an idiom is “an expression whose meaning cannot be inferred from the meaning of its parts” it can be translated with semantically and not necessarily lexically equivalents in the target language.

The same definition according to Landau: idioms are "a group of two or more words whose collective meaning cannot be expected" by a user of a language, even if he or she knows the meaning of its parts (2001: 309).

Jackson's point of view about idioms is "phrasal lexemes, typically metaphorical or figurative in meaning" (2002: 6). Without considering a number of co-occurring words as a defining criterion for an idiom claiming that an idiom can extend from a simple expression up to a whole sentence (e.g. the difference in length between Cold Feet and Don't Count your Chickens Before they Hatch).

Many idioms are quite informal, so they must be used carefully. The speaker or the reader need to be able to understand a lot of idioms to read English newspapers or magazines, or understand TV shows films and songs.

The most important characteristic of idioms is the metaphorical aspect; many idioms are based on metaphors. However, idioms are expressions that are used so frequently and are so fixed in the language that people often do not think about the metaphors behind them. The metaphors used in idioms are therefore much less original and thought-provoking than those used in literary contexts. People say, for example, 'the new president was took centre stage at the meeting' [was the most important or noticeable thing or person], without thinking of the original image of a theatre.

Through these two definitions we can conclude the difference between idioms and collocations which is in the characteristics:

- **Collocations are prefabricated**

collocation is emerged from studies on language acquisition showing that children memorize not solely words in isolation, but also, to an oversized, sets of words. These chunks are viewed because the building blocks of language. They are available to speakers as ready-made, or prefabricated units, contributed to conferring fluency and naturalness to their utterances.

- **Collocations are arbitrary**

Collocation do not seem to be regular production of language however arbitrary word usages. A specific and characteristics combination of two words, this feature might not refer solely to

the selection of a particular word in conjunction with another so as to precise a given meaning.

- **Collocations are unpredictable**

Collocation as a ready-made unit with a specific meaning cannot be replaced by a set of synonymy words.

- **Collocations are recurrent**

It is the frequent usage of collocations that their repetition allows their recognition and learning.

- **Collocations are created of two or a lot of words**

On the other hand we have a few characteristics of idioms

- An idiom is a fixed stylized phrase or sentence that is easy in form but compendious in sense.
- An idiom is a phrase which implies something different from the meanings of the separate words from which it is shaped.
- An idiom may be a range of words which, taken along, mean one thing totally different from the individual words of the idiom once they stand alone.
- An idiom may be a cluster of words which, once they are used along in a very explicit combination, has a different meaning from the one they might have if you took the meaning of all the individual words within the cluster.
- An idiom is an expression which functions as a single unit whose meaning cannot be discovered from its separate components.
- An idiom is a term utilized in grammar and lexicography to take over with a sequence of words that is semantically and sometimes syntactically restricted, so they operate as one unit.

- As a conclusion, many linguists adopted a single and important criterion to distinguish between collocation and idiom, which is: It is possible to deduce the whole meaning of the collocation from at least one of its parts, while it is not possible in case of idiom.

Mahmoud, A. M. (2005). *Collocations Errors Made by Arab Learners of English*.

3. Types of collocations

Every language is full of several types of collocations. Types are classified according to the grammatical composition of the collocation that means the “grammatical grouping of words” for example: adjective + adverb, noun + noun, verb + noun, verb + expression and so on. Below we have some examples of the main types of collocation in sample sentences:

3.1 Adjective + noun collocation, e.g.

Heavy seas (بحار هائجة)

hard labour (اشغال شاقفة)

dry weather (مناخ جاف)

harsh tone (نبرة جافة)

3.2 noun. + noun

scene of events مسرح الاحداث

The hour of decision” ساعة الحسم

drain Brain هجرة الادمغة

Air raid غارة جوية

3.3 noun + verb

dog barking نباح الكلب

battle broke out اندلعت المعركة

A lion roars. زئير الاسد.

A bird sings. زقزقة العصافير.

3.4 verb + noun

To attend a lecture حضر محاضرة

To exert an effort بذل جهدا

To win confidence كسب ثقة

he pitched the tent ضرب الخيمة

3.5 adverb + adjective

Absolutely necessary الضرورة القصوى

Deeply affected تأثر كثيرا

Deeply shocked بصدمة عميقة

3.6 verb + preposition

Belong to تنتمي الى

Refer to تشير الى

Vote for صوت لي

Graduate from تخرج من

3.7 verb + adverb

strongly suggest اقترح بشدة

interact socially تفاعل اجتماعيا

Deeply rooted متجذر

badly damaged متضرر بشدة

3.8 Adjectives + Prepositions

Proud of فخور بـ

Ready for جاهز لـ

Confronted with واجه

Kind to عطوف على

3.9 Noun + Preposition

Possibility of امكانية

Reason for سبيل

Relationship with علاقة مع

Belief in الايمان ب

Conclusion

The first chapter is about theoretical studies on collocation in arabic and english. Both in the two languages, there is no consensus among english and Arabic linguists about the definition of collocation. The linguist J. R. Firth tackled the concept of collocation in English language for the first time in 1957, he is widely considered father of collocation, on the other side Ghazala H. was the famous Arabic linguist wrote about collocations. It also showed that collocations are gathered arbitrary and they are different from idioms. The importance of learning about collocations for the students and translators. Arabic language alike English contain an important number of collocactions especially in Arabic poetry they are used as a rhetorical devices to give beauty to the language and indicate the poet's competence in language.

Cultural exchange enriched both Arabic and English in terms of collocations, in addition of new technology that has created a new collocacions.

Chapter two Collocation and Translation

2.1 Collocation and Translation

English language is full of collocations they appear in every spoken or written text. The understanding and the knowing of the nature of English collocations is really an important task for the second language learning and teaching, because every human communities has got a set of collocations used in a specific way according to its own culture, and the way of thinking of this community, what makes the translation of collocations a complicated task and the challenging for the translator. In this case the mastering of the translation studies field is extremely needed to accomplish the duty and the task of translator in an acceptable way. As a mere or simple example the word “make” when occur in English collocations is translated into Arabic to more than one equivalent and meaningful word example:

Make a call اتصال هاتفي

Make a deal ابرام اتفاق

Make an enquiry استفسر

As Al-Rawi (1994:187) argues, to establish collocation equivalence across two different languages is often 'far-fetched and not feasible'. However, he suggests that one of the plausible ways to approach collocations in translation is to examine the collocation ranges of any lexical item in the TL that are acceptable and potential since "each item in a language has its peculiar ranges and its sets of collocates which usually limit its meaningful usages.

On the other hand literal translation of the English word “make” into Arabic is “جعل” but in the case of collocation, a word will be probably be translated in many ways depends on the sense in which it is used. Each sense will need a different word for the translation. If a given word was translated the same way every time occurred in the source language text, the translation would be full of collocation clashes and wrong meanings. For this reason a translator is strongly advised to be exceptionally sensitive to all types of collocations and extremely careful when translating them.

An important factor which made the translation of collocations difficult is that they are formed in an arbitrary way, that means they are not subject to the grammar rules, and

therefore it is not easy in the most case to find the exact equivalent of the ST collocations in the TL.

Context and situation play a vital role in the choice of collocations, that means even within the same language not all collocations are suitable for all contexts. According to Ghazala (2004) (in Arabic) it is highly required to pay great attention to the context(s) in which collocations are used in.

He distinguishes a number of contexts each of which has its own specific characteristics and thus its special and suitable collocations: the religious context, the technical context and the literary context. Also the second meaning is recognized by the context in which the word occurs therefore it is very important that the context be built into the translation since a secondary sense need to be translated by a different word for example: I dressed myself means I put my clothes on but I dressed the wound that means I put medicine on and bandaged the wound.

Furthermore, Baker discusses the importance of register awareness in order to

Understand the use or the translation of collocations in different contexts successfully. She defines register as "a variety of language that a language user considers appropriate according to what about we are talking (education, sport, etc), to whom we are talking (the boss, teacher, etc) and how we are talking to them (in a letter, in an e-mail, etc).

Cultural constraints which are represented in laws, religion, customs, beliefs, and other patterns of behavior have an important influence in translation of collocations .

In Culture is defined by Fargal and Shunnaq (1999:122) as " a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals , laws, customs, ecology and habits, among other things acquired by a member of a society."

They further argue (Ibid) that word collocations in any language of the world usually associate with its culture. The collocational ranges of many Arabic words may not have English equivalents due to the discrepancies in the cultural system of both languages. Fargal and Shunnaq (1999:122-123) cite some examples of collocations that are translated into one Arabic lexical item due to the cultural discrepancies in the two languages. Two examples are cited here:

قضاء وقدر : fate

قسمة و نصيب : destiny

اقامة الصلاة : to pray

2.2 Problems encountered in collocation translation

Due to its hidden meaning on one side, and its rhetorical aspect on the other side, translating collocations remain as a problem and a difficult task especially for the nonnative speakers. They are required to find an acceptable target language equivalent in form and content. Linguists suggest that it is difficult to translate collocations from one language into another and have emphasized the importance of collocations in translation. Hatim and Mason (1990) also argue that one of the major problems that a translator encounters is coming up with appropriate collocations in the target language. They note that even for experienced translators, source language interference will occasionally escape unnoticed and an unnatural collocation will flaw the target text” (Hatim & Mason, 1990:204).

There is evidence that even native speakers have difficulty with collocations in formal written contexts (Benson, 1985; Baltova, 1994; Aghbar, 1990; Hussein, 1990; Chukwu, 1997), because they are not predictable on the basis of syntactic or semantic rules.

In the other hand it can be noticed that translation is the best way to distinguish a collocation and a free combination; if the literal translation or word for word translation does not work, then it is evident that this is a collocation.

To translate collocations from SL into TL translators face many problems, which lead to a loss in meaning due to a number of factors such as social, grammatical in varieties of two different languages.

The first problem can be due to the non-reading and the non-understanding of the ST, sometimes translator is not able to read carefully the ST which lead to the misunderstanding of the correct meaning the wrong translation in totally incompatible TT.

As a lexical factor in problems of translation, because of the translator who gives the importance to the word as an individual unit thus the whole meaning will never be transferred.

Taking into consideration the cultural diversity, the translator should be aware of the problems that can be encountered during the translation process, because it is not a simple rendering of the text from one language into another, but from culture to another which

carries different expressions, collocations, idioms, proverbs, culture –words. Translation difficulties are due to differences between the source language and culture and that of the target language and target culture the more it is difficult the more translation is difficult. According to Newmark (1988:32): " the chief difficulties in translating are lexical, not grammatical, i.e. words, collocations and fixed phrases or idioms".

More specifically, Al-Rawi (1994:3) argues that some difficulties could arise from the socio-cultural differences between the two languages. For him, both languages Arabic and English have collocations that may be used to make the cultural, social, political or economic life peculiar to a speech community. As an example, Arabic has Salat al-djumuah صلاة الجمعة „Friday prayer“ as a collocation, while English has Sunday Mass.

Another factor which is naturalness, it should be the goal of the translator; otherwise, the translation would be wrong and unacceptable. Hatim & Mason (1990:204) mention that what is a natural collocation for one language user may be less acceptable for another. In this sense, collocations perceived in texts can be pointers to an intended meaning which is not made explicit by other means.

Register must be taken in consideration and respected by the translator that means each field of science and technology has specific collocations. For example, the collocation “software or hardware” is specific for computer science field.

Another problem in the process of translating collocations is the existence of several collocations for the same meaning within the same language for example (English) but but they have one collocation and one single meaning in Arabic, example: "well and good" "hale and hearty" "right and proper", the three English collocations have the unique Arabic ". While in English each one has its particular occasion for use in عافية و بصحة equivalent “ addition to this in each culture contain a specific collocations.

2.3 Suggested solutions for collocations translation problems

It was concluded that most of collocations translation problems are due to applying of the literal translation method principally, and are also related to linguistic cultural differences between English and Arabic.

Lack of socio-cultural information and limited knowledge of certain characteristics in English / Arabic lead to such difficulties and problems. Hence, there are some suggested solutions for translators to accomplish the task properly.

2.3.1 Translator should be aware about the relationship between noun verb in both SL and TL in order to produce correct collocations.

2.3.2 Translator must be competent in linguistics system of the SL and TL in order to make easy the finding of equivalent collocations in the two languages.

2.3.3 In order to preserve the meaning of SL collocation, the translator may translate one SL word into two or three TL words.

2.3.4 Translator should differentiate between the figurative meaning and the free meaning. That means he should translate the figurative collocation by figurative one in the TL and the free one by free one in TL. Example: let sleeping dogs lie” its equivalent in Arabic is الفتنة نائمة دع الكلاب النائمة مستأنسية but not لعن الله من ايقظها

2.3.5 Translators should emphasis on culture specific collocations because they are related to specific social group. This type of collocations cannot be translated literally. In order to transform the meaning correctly translators can use synonyms or explaining.

2.3.6 Translator should have a wide knowledge about culture and improve its collocation competence in order to acquire an important number of collocations of TL.

2.3.7 Translator should minimize the using of literal translation.

2.3.8 In case of the nonexistence of equivalent collocation in the TL translator should apply strategies of translation.

2.4 Strategies of translating collocations

If the translation of an ordinary text is always difficult due to the cultural constraints, so how can be the case when translating collocations, which they have ambiguous meaning and are always expressed according to the context. For this reason, translation of collocations is in need of the application of different and adequate strategies. (Baker, 1992, P.47) states in strategies of translation of the idiomatic expressions and collocations, that the translator

should convey the implicit meaning of the original text because translating the explicit meaning is not enough. (Kring, 1986, p.18) defines applied strategies in translation as the founded or proposed solutions applied by the translator in order to solve different translation problems in the framework of a concrete translation task.

Translators resort to apply different methods such as modification, deletion, addition, compensation, paraphrasing, using a collocation of similar meaning and form which is literal translation, and other methods in order to produce an equivalent meaningful target text.

2.4.1 Collocation of similar meaning and form

This strategy involves using a collocation in target language which conveys nearly the same meaning as that of the source-language collocation. This kind of match can only occasionally be achieved. For example: source language text: he has a heart of stone. Target language text

لديه قلب من حجر

2.4.2 Paraphrasing

(Newmark, 1988, P. 90) defines Paraphrasing as “an amplification or explanation of the meaning of a part of the text.” Paraphrasing a source language collocation is considered as a translation outcome when used as a strategy to overcome the shortage of exact target collocations. Sometimes with paraphrasing translator cannot produce a meaningful target text to a point he has to use more words than in the source language, also it can be the opposite, that means sometimes translator produce fewer words in target language in order to give a meaningful. Example:

* Not to waste energy is in Arabic. وقرَّ طاقة

* from every direction and elevated place (‘from everywhere’) من كل حد و صوب

Approximation

It is a type of translation in which translator produce a target text (collocation) without exactitude and accuracy, due to the lack of knowledge of the collocations in target language.

For example: escalation in the tensions this collocation is translated in ارتفع التوتر instead of تصاعد التوتر the translation in this case is correct but it is not exact.

2.4.3 Lexical synonymy

This strategy can be describe as a relationship between three parts: source text word, target text word and its synonym. It is applied except in the case of lack of the exact target language equivalent, for the source language item, thus the translator should choose an appropriate TL equivalent (Newmark, 1988:84). This strategy, Newmark admits, "is only acceptable when literal translation is not possible and because the word is not important enough. Example: عبر التاريخ is translated through history instead of across history, despite of the equivalent of the Arabic word عبر is in English across but the adequate one and the preferable is the word through.

2.4.4 Omission

Omission strategy refers to deleting a certain part or parts of a source text while transferring it into a target language that may occur due to culture differences between the SL and TL.

The translators may choose this strategy in order to produce a target text linguistically, culturally and ideologically suitable from certain aspects. In the translation of collocations omissions can be applied in two ways:

* Stands as a strategy where the translators may choose to eliminate the whole collocation from the target text cause a certain aspects which are in most case religious when occurring in political discourses. Give example

* The second type of omission is when the translator skips one or two words. It means they are not translated. Considering the fact that the words are not too significant for the whole text or it is difficult to translate those words example:

On the alert على اهبة الاستعداد

By accident على محض الصدفة

In this two examples the two words اهبة and محض are omitted from the target text which is still meaningful.

2.4.5 Cultural equivalent

In this strategy, the translator examines a TL cultural word for the SL cultural word. These cultural equivalents are extremely particular, i.e., belonging purely to the culture of that language, and the latter may not represent the exact equivalent. Example: the Arabic

collocation بين ليلة وضحاها which is in English overnight it is culturally close to Arab community it consist of two parts of the day especially الضحى which is a short period after the morning while that in English community is considered as a forenoon and it is a long period after morning .

Chapter Three : Political discourse and collocation

3.1. Political Discourse

Political discourse or power discourse can be spoken or written that is used for communication as a political action and interaction distinguished as a prominent way of `doing politics (such as passing laws, decision making, meeting, campaigning, etc.) Political discourse is a very ancient form of talk or statement that seems to have emerged in classical Greece and took off in Ciceronian Rome at a time when public speech has become an instrument of deliberation of the legal and political persuasion.

Usually Political Discourse can be both in formal and informal settings attempting to cope with or describe a given political event to achieve a political objectives, which is the obtaining of the power. Political discourse is a relative argumentative text in which officials express their plans, intentions, present their platforms, and give the possible solutions for problems facing their community in the sense of creating a favorable image of themselves. A political discourse is biased on view of politics in which the concepts of deliberation and decision making in contexts of uncertainty, risk and persistent disagreement are central. This view on politics is about action or what to do, being the fundamental question. According to (Van Dijk2001. 4) Political discourse can be simply marked as the discourse of politicians, i.e. their text and talk, and their professional activities. The topic discussed usually comes from public events that require collective decision-making, policies, regulation or legislation. (Van Dijk2001. 4)

On the other hands Georges Orwell quotes testify that political discourse is intended to give lies the accent of truth, to make murder respectable and to give the appearance of solidarity to a simple draft. (Orwell. P54 , 1970)

3.2 Tools of political discourse

The political discourse is characterized as a discourse based on the process of persuading people, those considered as the addressee or the audience. In order to influence them and win their voices, in addition to making them receive the speech with conviction and acceptance, through many methods supported by arguments and proofs, such as the correct linguistic and language going along the acceptance and the ability to understanding and having the best

feedback from the maximum of different social classes using expressions, and logical means of communication, Such as pictures and music in addition to the use of body language, giving more importance and interessence to the situation and living conditions of the population trying to reveal all mistakes already done by the late government or any officials. The aim behind all this is to urge citizens to go to the ballot boxes on Election Day and vote for one person or one party.

In political speeches during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through language so that they are agreed upon by the receivers as well as by others who may read or hear parts of the speech afterwards in the media. Words and expressions are used or omitted to affect meaning in different ways. Moreover, political speeches are composed by a team of professional speechwriters, who are educated in the use of persuasive language. Adding rhetorical devices to a pre-composed speech may be of crucial importance to election results. A political speech is not necessarily a success because of correctness or truth; rather it may be a matter of presenting valid arguments (Beard 2000: 18).

This dissertation will look at how American presidential candidates try to accomplish persuading an audience to support their political opinions. How are collocations employed in order to give a rhetorical aspect to the political discourse, emphasize certain speaker's point of view more specifically, how do they use language to make the audience assent?

As any type of texts, political discourses have very particular aspects playing an important role in the final output of such texts.

3.3. Politicians and rhetoric

Charteris-Black (2005) argues that successful speakers, especially in political contexts, need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the listeners.

When the listeners perceive that their beliefs are understood and supported, the speaker has created connections to the policy that they wish to communicate. When putting forward arguments a speaker has to communicate at an emotional level and take standpoints that seem morally correct. Furthermore, the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant for the issue. This cannot be done solely by lexical means although linguistic performance is the most important factor (Charteris-Black 2005: 10).

According to Charteris-Black (2005), the effect of rhetorical strategies in political speeches is often a result of them being combined. Therefore, it is as interesting to look at the interaction of various strategies as it is to look at each one separately (Charteris-Black 2005: 11). Jones and Wareing (1999) argue that the ability to convey the message that speaker and listener want the same thing plays a decisive role in the process of establishing an ideology (Jones & Wareing 1999: 34). To achieve a sense of congruence between audience and speaker, politicians often make use of symbols to foster national unity (Ball & Peters 2000: 81).

3.3.1 Metaphors

Metaphors are linguistic symbols, which give concrete labels to abstract ideas. This is possible because of the perceived similarity between objects and concepts as regards particular features that one wants to convey. The SUNSHINE of a smile is an example of a metaphor, where it is understood that a smile brings out the same feelings of warmth and well-being as sunshine does.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) hold that the conceptual system of human beings is metaphorical. Metaphors are not merely linguistic instruments. They actually permeate perception, thought and behavior (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3).

Simultaneously, political campaigns can be seen as actions of war, although the military actions are in the shape of arguments. In Western societies, the two concepts 'argument' and 'war' are generally understood as being closely connected in spite of the fact that they are different types of matters (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5).

When talking about real war, however, there are a number of conventions that limit what can be said, hence the usage of language plays a decisive role (Lakoff 1991). Lakoff (1991) states that a whole system of metaphors was used to justify the first war in the Gulf. First and foremost, THE STATE AS A PERSON metaphor was at work, where the state was conceptualized as a person, the landmass its home, economic wealth its well-being and strength its military force. In this sense, WAR can be presented as a fight between two people fitting the scenario of the FAIRY TALE of the just war metaphor, including an evil villain, who has committed a crime, an innocent victim and an honorable hero. Lakoff (1991) argues that former President Bush used two variants of this FAIRY TALE structure to explain the situation in the Gulf. The first was a Self-Defense Setting, where Iraq was the villain, the US was the hero, the US, other industrialized nations were the victims, and the crime was a death

threat to the economic health of these nations. The second explanation was a Rescue Setting, where Iraq was the villain, the US the hero, Kuwait was the victim and the crime was kidnap and rape. The latter eventually became the government's moral justification of going to war, since the American people did not accept the first explanation, because it traded lives for oil (Lakoff 1991).

Lakoff (1991) stresses the importance of looking systematically not only at what metaphors represent, but at what they conceal. Hidden in THE STATE AS A PERSON metaphor are the economic, religious and class divergences within a country.

It is to introduce a new word in any language or giving a new meaning to the already existed word, for this reason we can say it is the innovation in the language.

A neologism from Greek word “neo means new” and “logos means speech or utterance” in English Language it is the name for a relatively new or isolated term, word, phrase that may be in the process of entering common use, but that has not yet been accepted into mainstream language. Neologisms are often directly attributable to a specific person or event. A concrete example of the new word related to the event, I can mention a famous new European word which is “Brexit” is an abbreviation for “British exit” referring to the UK's decision in a June 23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union (EU) created to express the event of UK leaving the European Union.

In my study I would like to expose a famous example of neologism about the case study which is the new added words by USA President DONALD Trump confirmed by oxford which is the word “COVFEFE” appeared on Donald Trump twitter page on “May 31, 2017” to express his anger and criticize the media by showing its professional incompetence when he wrote the following sentence: “Despite the constant negative press Covfefe” the tweet is followed by another in which Donald Trump wrote who can figure out the true meaning of “Covfefe” and in a comical manner on his twitter page Trump defying people about the new word “covfefe is my maid up word. No one has my permission to use it. For the translator this new word is really problem how to understand meaning, how to find its equivalent in other language (Arabic).

3.3.2 Metonymies

In Lakoff and Johnson's terms, metonymy is “using one entity refer to another that is related to it” (2003:35).

A metonymy is also when an idea or a concept replaced by a single word or feature that is connected to it. The foundation of metonymies is conceptual as is also the case with metaphors (Gibbs 1993: 259). They can be useful in political speeches as they reduce or increase responsibility. For instance, using the metonymy The White House instead of the President's name reduces the President's personal responsibility.

3.4 .Collocation political discourse and Culture

According to (Baker, 1992:59) the relation between culture and collocations means the belonging of a set of collocations to a specific and well determined culture. "collocations that reflect the cultural setting in which they occur" in most cases they indicate a concrete concept with some cultural specificities which may carry a connotative meaning. For example the Arabic collocation: ارتدت الحجاب it is about a kind of clothes worn by Muslims women; it has a cultural and religious background. So, it has no total equivalent in English neither in non Muslim society. Although it can be referred to الحجاب as 'veil' or 'scarf', it does not convey the same meaning, because الحجاب in Arabic does not mean " scarf " that covers the head only but it covers the whole body and it has specific characteristics. On the other side, concerning the English culture specific collocation "drink a toast" means kicking the wine glasses to celebrate good events, on a special occasion, or after signing an important deal. This western collocation has no equivalent in Arabic because it is not a part of the Arabic culture neither religion, thus it is unfamiliar to Arabs.

3.5 Definition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As per Fairclough (1989), Critical Discourse Analysis aims at systematically exploring these non-transparent relationships as factors in securing power and hegemony and drawing attention to power imbalances, social inequities, non-democratic practices and other injustices. A critical discourse analyst should be able to differentiate ideology from knowledge.

Fairclough as a founder of Critical Discourse Analysis his model can be considered as the cornerstone of the entire field, it is based on the assumption that language is a principal part of social life. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (written or spoken texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (languages) (Fairclough 2003:24).

According to TEUN A. VAN DIJK Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. It focuses on social problems and political issues.

Critical Discourse Analysis has become an independent field within linguistics, it goes in a deep relationship between language and social reality thus it will be able to disclose the hidden intentions, ideologies, in a spoken or a written discourse. It is continuously adapted to Translation Studies as a tool in the translation process, in order to be applicable in the analysis of source texts (ST) and target texts (TT) within a specific social and cultural context and framework.

The integration of Critical Discourse Analysis into Translation Studies has brought the concept of translation into another dimension. The act of translation is rooted in a particular social context and the translator's interpretation (understanding) of the source text (ST) and the choices made in the production of the target text (TT) are based on the translator's socio-cultural background, linguistic background and experience with other texts and discourses. This may result in the fact that translators embed their own world views and ideologies in translations either unconsciously or deliberately according to their own assumptions.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the most theoretical aspects of political speeches, and discourses, their definition and the playing role as a weapon for obtaining and defends the power. Collocations and their relation to political discourses in translation. Using the a aforementioned data in this chapter, translation of collocations is particularly a part of political translation and should not be considered as a separated part, for having them used to serve in a given context. Therefore, translator of such words has to be extremely selective choosing the most appropriate procedures and techniques in order to have an output fitting in with the work of such texts and very particular words.

Part II: Practical part

The Analysis of Translation of Collocations in Obama's Speech

1.1 Metonymy in Obama speeches

“American citizens don’t want their tax money wasted by a welfare agency or the Pentagon”, in this example "Pentagon" refers to the America government, which keeps running with the majority of income from tax. As well known to all, the headquarters of the United States’ Department of Defense is a building in the shape of pentagon. American people, including President Obama, usually uses the capitalized Pentagon to represent the American government to refrain themselves from unnecessary troubles when mentioning something bad directly related to government.

We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes.

Sometimes, a national flag is the best symbol of a country. The flag of the United States is the combination of both five-pointed stars and stripes. Since America is one of the most noted countries around the world, people can easily relate the national flag to the Country consequently, the feature of the flag becomes the symbol of the United States, which is also something they feel proud of. Consequently, patriotism once again is motivated among the audience, which will lay the foundation of their approval and support for the appearance on political stage for this young man.

Political discourse is a theatrical act

The politician presents his speech on a podium as part of a show and a staging with a decor that is well adapted and adequate to the conditions and situation of the population to seduce them. The photos and the posters are chosen according to the preoccupation of the citizens for example the idol or politician's pictures, the flags and the slogans are also present taking into account also his self-image which is specified by the contents of the speech.

1.2 collocations used in Obama's discourse (in Arabic and English)

Original discourse English collocations	Equivalent Arabic collocations
over night	ليلة وضحاها
in both heart and mind	قلبا وقالبا
are part and parcel	جزء لا يتجزأ
have failed without success	يبوء بالفشل.
with complete frankness quite frankly	بمنتهى الصراحة
High costs and considerable political difficulties	تكاليف باهظة ومصاعب سياسية جمة
Providing services	توفير خدمات
tackle the issue address the issue	تطرق الى موضوع
to resolve our problems	لتسوية مشاكلنا
America now has to assume a responsibility	تتحمل أمريكا اليوم مسؤولية
Strictly prohibited Strictly prohibited	منعاً باتاً
Widely	على نطاق واسع
the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries	تعرض اليهود على مر القرون للاضطهاد
an unprecedented	لم يسبق لها عبر التاريخ أي مثيل
a life of peace and security	يسودها السلام والامن
legitimate aspirations	طموحاته المشروعة
compromise elusive	أمراً صعب المنال
live in peace and security	يعيشوا في سلام وأمن
and all of us -- to live up to our responsibilities	يتحمل الجانبان مسؤولياتهما
lash of the whip	سوط العبودية
determined and insistence	اصرارهم وعزمهم
stalemate, deadlock	طريق مسدود
serve the needs or Ambitions	تلبية طموحات
put an end to violence	يضع حداً للعنف
achieve peace	لتحقيق السلام
It is time	لقد ان الاوان
live up to its obligation	تفي بالتزاماتها
Peace initiative	مبادرة السلام
privately, inside themselves	في قرارة أنفسهم
In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role	لعبت الولايات المتحدة في ابان فترة الحرب الباردة دور

move forward	سوف نمضي قدما ,للمضي قدما
privately, inside themselves	في قرارة أنفسهم
In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role	لعبت الولايات المتحدة في ابان فترة الحرب الباردة دور
move forward	سوف نمضي قدما ,للمضي قدما
without preconditions	دون شروط مسبقة
to respect one another /on the basis of mutual respect	على أساس الاحترام المتبادل
reflect the will of the people	تعبير عن ارادة الشعب
Philantropy donations, charitable donations, charitable contribution	التبرعات الخيرية
These things we share Our common interests	مصالحنا المشتركة
They have doubts	تراودهم الشكوك
some are eager to stoke the flame of differentiation and division	تأجيج نيران الفرقة والانقسام
Living together in peace	تعيش معا في سلام
peace be upon you, salaam alaikoum	السلام عليكم

Tab 01 : collocations used in Obama's discourse (in Arabic and English)

1.3 Analysis of the collocation:

Pattern 01: noun+ noun collocations

Sample 01:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
Peace initiative	noun+ noun	مبادرة السلام	اسم+اسم noun+ noun (مضاف ومضاف اليه)

Tab2 : Pattern 01: Sample 01: noun+ noun collocations

Discussion:

The English collocation is translated literally into Arabic as it is in the ST with the replacement of each noun with an equivalent noun. This collocation is broadly used in politics and frequently read in political discourse. However, the translator added the definite article "the" to the Arabic collocation as it is a particular initiative for peace; something that is not found in the ST.

Sample 02:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
Are part and parcel	Noun + noun	جزء لا يتجزأ	noun + Negative adverb verb

Tab3 : Pattern 01: Sample 02: noun+ noun collocations

Discussion

The English collocation is used to express that little thing “one feature” is essential or fundamental part of the whole thing it cannot be avoided. The collocation is frequently used in politics to show that all features are important.

In this example we have a case of transposition, the English ST collocation noun +noun is replaced by Arabic TT noun + adverb no(negative particle) + verb.

Pattern 02: verb+ noun collocation

Sample: 01

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
serve the needs	verb+ noun	تلبية طموحات	noun+ noun

Tab 4 : Pattern 03: Sample: 01 verb+ noun collocation

Discussion:

The collocation “serve the needs” is usually used when it is about groups or communities and that means to provide things that someone needs. The English collocation “verb + noun” is transposed into Arabic by its equivalent with the different grammatical structure “verb + noun”. The remarkable changes is the replacement of the verb “serve” by its synonym in Arabic more expressive which is لبي instead of قدم.

Sample : 02

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
achieve peace	verb + noun	لتحقيق السلام	Noun + noun

Tab 5 : Pattern 02: Sample: 02 verb+ noun collocation

Discussion:

The English ST collocation is translated by its Arabic equivalent لتحقيق السلام literally. We notice here the equation of the two structures: Infinitive + Noun in the two languages. The procedure used is synonymy because the Arabic translation and its equivalence in the English verb achieve is التوصل or الوصول but the verb تحقيق can be the verb to realize. In the Arabic collocation the word التوصل is replaced by its synonym توصل. تحقيق.

In both the first and second samples the verbs are not replaced by the identical equivalents they are rather replaced by its synonym in TL as it is explained in this case the translator should make an effort to select the correct and meaningful verb.

The English verb + noun collocation with an identical equivalent verb in TT are less problematic because the translation can be literal word for word (Ghazala 1995, cited in Brashi, 2005:67). The three following examples have identical equivalent in TL:

To solve an equation: يحل معادلة

To write a message: يكتب رسالة

To attend a lecture : يحضر محاضرة

The English verb + noun collocations can be translated merely into a single verb (Brashi, 2005:70):

To tell a lie : كذب

To pay a visit : زار

Pattern03: adjective + noun

Sample01:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
Mutual respect.	Adjective + noun	الاحترام المتبادل	noun + adjective

Tab 6 : Pattern 03: Sample 01: adjective + noun

Discussion:

Mutual respect collocation is always used in political speeches and official ministerial statement to show that even we don't share the same beliefs and values we must respect each other. The collocation is translated literally by its equivalent in Arabic. The most important remarkable thing in translation of adjective + noun English collocation in most of the time is transferred into TT Arabic as noun + adjective we see here the grammatical structure is reversed.

Sample 02:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
Charitable Donations	adjective + noun	التبرعات الخيرية	noun + adjective

Tab 7: Pattern 03: Sample 02: adjective + noun

Discussion:

Charitable Donations is an adjective + noun collocation used in both Arabic and English texts when making a gift without compensation. The collocation is translated literally (word for word), this type of translation is the easiest and most frequently used by the translators regardless to what is said by the native speakers.

Sample01:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
Protests against	verb + preposition	يحتج على	verb + preposition

Tab 8: Pattern 04: Sample 01: verb + preposition

Discussion:

The English verb + preposition collocations it considered as a grammatical collocations they are always translated into Arabic with the same grammatical structure. "Protest against" this collocation may be translated into Arabic in two valid collocations:

"يحتج على" and "يحتج ضد" In term of the translation the two Arabic collocations deemed to be correct, but for the equivalent it depends to the situation or the context. The first one is translated literally it is used when speaking about law. The second one is usually used when protesting against a given decision, for example protesting against the decision of the referee in football match. The same thing for the verb + preposition collocations because the English preposition has more than one Arabic equivalent example "on".

Sample 02:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
discuss with	verb + preposition	ناقش مع	verb + preposition

Tab 9: Pattern 04: Sample 02: verb + preposition

Discussion

The verb to discuss can be translated into Arabic into two verbs ناقش or تباحث therefore the two translations are correct. The first one is the equivalent Arabic collocation while the second is the literal translation. The collocation is frequently used in politics when discussing certain topics.

Pattern 05: verb + adverb collocation

Sample01:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
argue convincingly	verb + adverb	يجادل بإقناع	verb + adverb

Tab 10 Pattern 05: Sample 01: verb + adverb collocation

Discussion:

The collocation is used when engaged in a debate presenting the arguments in order to try to convince the others. The Arabic equivalent translation of this collocation is different in terms of grammatical structure the English “verb + adverb” collocation resulted in verb + adverb plus the preposition “ب” which replace the preposition with. Also it is noticed that the translation of the English adverb into Arabic can be with the addition of the word "بشكل" that means “in the manner” the action is done or being done.

Sample 02:

ST COLLOCATION	TYPE	TT COLLOCATION	TYPE
agree strongly	verb + adverb	أوافق بشدة	verb + (with"ب") + adverb

Tab 11 Pattern 05: Sample 02: verb + adverb collocation

Discussion

Agree strongly used as collocation when supporting an idea. It is translated literally into Arabic and the same grammatical structure with the addition of the Arabic preposition "ب" as a grammatical device when asking for more details.

2. Collocations of Similes

The English collocations which contain comparison markers such as “like, as” used to describe something by comparing it to something else. Example “As white as a snow” that means something is white like a snow. The translation of this type of collocations from English into Arabic can be problematic. The equivalent in Arabic is usually a comparative form showing exaggerations to say that it is brighter in color white than the snow. The translator must be aware of the fatal role of direct translation may play.

The literal translation “word for word” is “أبيض مثل الثلج” while the Arabic equivalent collocation is “أبيض من الثلج” which signify the comparison not the similarity. In addition, the back translation of the TT is “whiter than a snow” in which the article of similarity is replaced by the one of comparison. For this reason, the translator should be familiar with the different functions and possible uses of collocations in both languages.

Conclusion

After studying collocations, it was revealed that they are an important Linguistic phenomenon in language, they are necessary because of the co-occurrence of the words provide a clear meaning in comparison with a single word. Both Arabic and English language are full of collocations in several forms (types).

The results of the above analysis of collocations show that the different forms of collocation are not used equally. It is acceptable when saying that verb + noun collocation is the main form used in English language due to the fact that verbs and nouns play a more central position in the sentence than adjectives, in addition to the huge number of nouns within a same language.

The translation of this type of collocations is in general easy it can be literal, without the changing of the structure.

The same to Arabic language the main type of collocation used is verb + noun the two are sufficient to form a meaningful and expressive sentence.

The less English collocations used is verb + preposition.

On the other side the less used collocation type in English language is verb + adverb collocation. It can be due to the characteristics of English language which is not in need of stress to express the meaning.

Verb + preposition collocations are the less used collocations in Arabic language because of most the time the only verb can convey the meaning.

In the most of studies about translating collocations the literal translation is the much used technique of translation and the easiest one.

General Conclusion

The present thesis deals with problems and difficulties encountered while translating collocations existed in political discourses. Plurality of meaning of the collocation, the difference between denotative and connotative meanings of words are always the Obstacle to the translator to find the adequate equivalent in target language. For this reason, a competent translator is not only bilingual, but also bicultural.

Translator should expand his collocation repertoire in all languages through reading and listening, and acquired a perfect knowledge of source language collocations and their equivalents in the target language.

The thesis was reached at some important facts about knowing collocations it helps student (learners of the language) to master English language, and the translator to accomplish his duty.

They are arbitrary co-occurred, but they are fixed non-substitutive even the synonym of one of the parts of the same collocation cannot give the same meaning, for example it is not acceptable to say quick food instead of fast food.

Collocations are presented in numerous patterns, noun noun , adjective noun, verb adverb...etc. and the translation of different types is not always in the same grammatical structure.

Literal translation is one of the main and the easiest method applied when translating collocations but it is not acceptable in all cases, translator should applied the different strategies.

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القاهرة

APPENDIX A

Full text of President Barak Obama's speech at Cairo University from website American Rhetoric

Thank you so much. Good afternoon. I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. 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. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I'm grateful for your hospitality and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I'm 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 [Peace be upon you].

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. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. 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. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 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. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.

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

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

overlap and share common principles -- principles of justice and progress, tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors. 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. As the Holy Qur'an tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth." That is what I will try to do today -- 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.

Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I'm a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities -- 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. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. 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." And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States.

They have fought in our wars; they have served in our government; they have stood for civil rights; they have started businesses; they have taught at our universities; they've excelled in our sports arenas; they've won Nobel Prizes,

built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Qur'an that one of our Founding Fathers -- Thomas Jefferson -- kept in his personal library.

So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.

But, that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. Just as Muslims -- Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. 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. 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."

Now much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. But my personal story is not so unique. 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 -- and that includes nearly 7 million American Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average.

Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1200 mosques within our borders. That's why the United States 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.

So let there be no doubt -- let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. 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. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.

Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. 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.

For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.

And this is a difficult responsibility to embrace. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes -- and, yes, religions -- subjugating one another in pursuit of their own interests. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners to it. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared. Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

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

In Ankara, I made clear that America is not -- and never will be -- at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security -- because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together.

Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support.

We did not go by choice; we went because of necessity. I'm aware that there's still some who would question or even justify the events of 9/11.

But let us be clear: Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women, and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. 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. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

Now, make no mistake: We do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We see no military -- We seek no military bases there. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. 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 now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

And that's why we're partnering with a coalition of 46 countries. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths. But more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam. The Qur'an teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as -- it is as if he has killed all mankind. And the Holy Qur'an also says whoever -- whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism -- it is an important part of promoting peace.

Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That's why we plan to invest 1.5 billion dollars 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've been displaced. That's why we are providing more than 2.8 billion dollars to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on.

Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. 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. 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."

Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future; and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. And I have made it clear to the Iraqi people -- I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq's sovereignty is its own. And that's why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. 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 of our troops from Iraq by 2012. We will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. 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. So America will defend itself, respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

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

America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. 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.

Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. 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.

Six million Jews were killed -- more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today. Denying that fact is baseless; it is ignorant; and it is hateful. 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.

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people -- Muslims and Christians - - has suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation. 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. They endure the daily humiliations -- large and small -- that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

For decades then, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It's easy to point fingers -- for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about 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. 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.

That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. The obligations -- The obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them -- and all of us -- to live up to our responsibilities.

Palestinians must abandon violence. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: Violence is a dead end. It is a sign neither of courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That's not how moral authority is claimed; that's how it is surrendered.

Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its peoples. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.

At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop.

And Israel must also live up to its obligation to ensure that Palestinians can live and work and develop their society. 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. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. 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.

America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and we will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed. 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 the 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 Isra -- as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer.

The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve. 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. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America's interests. It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons. And that's why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. 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. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I am hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy.

I know -- 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. So let me be clear: No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other.

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. 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.

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. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere.

Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful, and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America -- America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments -- provided they govern with respect for all their people.

This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they're out of power. Once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would 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. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

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

Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.

Among some Muslims, there's a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of somebody else's faith. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld -- whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt.

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

Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat. 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.

We can't disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism.

In fact, faith should bring us together. And that's why we're forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That's why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. 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.

The sixth issue -- The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights.

I know --- I know -- and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue. 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. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous. Now, let me be clear: Issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity -- men and women -- to reach their full potential. 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. But it should be their choice. And 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.

Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations -- including America -- this change can bring fear; fear that because of modernity we lose 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.

But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

And 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. Many Gulf states have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century -- and in too -- and in too many Muslim communities, there remains underinvestment in these areas. I'm emphasizing such investment within my own country. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas when it comes to this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America, invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world, and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.

On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. 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.

On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to -- to the marketplace so they can create more jobs. We'll 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, grow new crops. Today I'm announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

All these things must be done in partnership. 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.

Now the issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that 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. Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

I know there are many, Muslim and non-Muslim, who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort -- that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward.

And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country: You, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to remake this world. All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. 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.

It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path. There's one rule that lies at the heart of every religion -- that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. 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. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the hearts of billions around the world. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.

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.

The Holy Qur'an 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."

The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."

The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."

The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.

Thank you. And may God's peace be upon you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

APPENDIX B

The renditions of Obama's speech

تلفزيون الجزيرة

إنه لمن دواعي شرفي أن أزور مدينة القاهرة الأزلية حيث تستضيفني فيها مؤسستان مرموقتان للغاية إحداهما الأزهر الذي بقي لأكثر من ألف سنة منارة العلوم الإسلامية، بينما كانت جامعة القاهرة على مدى أكثر من قرن بمثابة منهل من مناهل التقدم في مصر، ومعا تمثلان حسن الاتساق والانسجام ما بين التقاليد والتقدم.

وإنني ممتن لكم لحسن ضيافتكم ولحفاوة شعب مصر، كما أنني فخور بنقل أطيّب مشاعر الشعب الأميركي لكم مقرونة بتحية السلام من المجتمعات المحلية المسلمة في بلدي: السلام عليكم.

إننا نلتقي في وقت يشوبه التوتر بين الولايات المتحدة والعالم الإسلامي، وهو توتر تمتد جذوره إلى قوى تاريخية تتجاوز أي نقاش سياسي راهن. وتشمل العلاقة بين الإسلام والغرب قرونا سادها حسن التعايش والتعاون، كما تشمل هذه العلاقة صراعات وحروباً دينية.

وساهم الاستعمار خلال العصر الحديث في تغذية التوتر بسبب حرمان العديد من المسلمين من الحقوق والفرص، كما ساهم في ذلك الحرب الباردة التي عولمت فيها كثير من البلدان ذات الأغلبية المسلمة -بلا حق- كأنها مجرد دول وكيلة يجب عدم مراعاة تطلعاتها الخاصة. وعلاوة على ذلك حدا التغيير الكاسح الذي رافقته الحداثة والعولمة بالعديد من المسلمين إلى اعتبار الغرب معاديا لتقاليد الإسلام.

لقد استغل المتطرفون الذين يمارسون العنف هذه التوترات في قطاع صغير من العالم الإسلامي بشكل فعال، ثم وقعت أحداث 11 سبتمبر/أيلول 2001. واستمر هؤلاء المتطرفون في مساعيهم الرامية إلى ارتكاب أعمال العنف ضد المدنيين، الأمر الذي حدا ببعض في بلدي إلى اعتبار الإسلام معاديا لا محالة، ليس فقط لأميركا والبلدان الغربية، وإنما أيضا لحقوق الإنسان، ونتج عن ذلك مزيد من الخوف وعدم الثقة.

هذا، وما لم نتوقف عن تحديد مفهوم علاقتنا المشتركة من خلال أوجه الاختلاف فيما بيننا، فإننا سنساهم في تمكين أولئك الذين يزرعون الكراهية ويرجونها على السلام ويرجون للصراعات ويرجونها على التعاون الذي من شأنه أن يساعد شعوبنا على تحقيق الازدهار .

هذه هي دائرة الارتباب والشقاق التي يجب علينا إنهاؤها.. لقد أتيت إلى هنا للبحث عن بداية جديدة بين الولايات المتحدة والعالم الإسلامي استنادا إلى المصلحة المشتركة والاحترام المتبادل، وهي بداية مبنية على أساس حقيقة أن أميركا والإسلام لا يعارضان بعضهما البعض، ولا داعي أبدا للتنافس فيما بينهما، بل إن لهما قواسم ومبادئ مشتركة يلتقيان عبرها ألا وهي مبادئ العدالة والتقدم والتسامح وكرامة كل إنسان .

إنني أقوم بذلك وأنا أدرك أن التغيير لا يحدث بين ليلة وضحاها، ولا يمكن لخطاب واحد أن يلغي سنوات من عدم الثقة، كما لا يمكنني أن أقدم الإجابة عن كافة المسائل المعقدة التي أدت بنا إلى هذه النقطة، غير أنني على يقين من أنه يجب علينا من أجل المضي قدماً أن نعبر بصراحة عما هو في قلوبنا وعملاً لا يقال إلا خلف الأبواب المغلقة .

كما يجب أن يتم بذل جهود مستديمة للاستماع إلى بعضنا البعض وللتعلم من بعضنا البعض وللاحترام المتبادل والبحث عن أرضية مشتركة، وينص القرآن الكريم على ما يلي "اتقوا الله وقلوا قولاً سديداً" وهذا ما سأحاول -بما في وسعي- أن أفعله، وأن أقول الحقيقة بكل تواضع أمام المهمة التي نحن بصددتها اعتقاداً مني كل الاعتقاد أن المصالح المشتركة بيننا كبشر هي أقوى بكثير من القوى الفاصلة بيننا .

يعود جزء من اعتقادي هذا إلى تجربتي الشخصية، إنني مسيحي بينما كان والدي من أسرة كينية تشمل أجيالاً من المسلمين، ولما كنت صبياً قضيت عدة سنوات في إنديونسيا واستمعت إلى الأذان ساعات الفجر والمغرب، ولما كنت شاباً عملت في المجتمعات المحلية بمدينة شيكاغو حيث وجد الكثير من المسلمين في عقيدتهم روح الكرامة والسلام .

إنني أدرك بحكم دراستي للتاريخ أن الحضارة مدينة للإسلام الذي حمل معه في أماكن -مثل جامعة الأزهر- نور العلم عبر قرون عدة، الأمر الذي مهد الطريق أمام النهضة الأوروبية وعصر التنوير، ونجد روح الابتكار الذي ساد المجتمعات الإسلامية وراء تطوير علم الجبر وكذلك البوصلة المغناطيسية وأدوات الملاحة وفن الأقلام والطباعة، بالإضافة إلى فهمنا لانتشار الأمراض وتوفير العلاج المناسب لها .

حصلنا بفضل الثقافة الإسلامية على أروقة عظيمة وقمم عالية الارتفاع، وكذلك على أشعار وموسيقى خالدة الذكر وفن الخط الراقي وأماكن التأمل السلمي، وأظهر الإسلام على مدى التاريخ قلباً وقالبا الفرص الكامنة في التسامح الديني والمساواة بين الأعراق .

أعلم كذلك أن الإسلام كان دائماً جزءاً لا يتجزأ من قصة أميركا، حيث كان المغرب أول بلد اعترف بـ الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وبمناسبة توقيع الرئيس الأميركي الثاني جون أدامس عام 1796 على معاهدة طرابلس فقد كتب ذلك الرئيس أن "الولايات المتحدة لا تكن أي نوع من العداوة تجاه قوانين أو ديانة المسلمين أو حتى راحتهم ."

منذ عصر تأسيس بلدنا ساهم المسلمون الأميركيون في إثراء الولايات المتحدة.. لقد قاتلوا في حروبنا وخدموا في المناصب الحكومية ودافعوا عن الحقوق المدنية وأسسوا المؤسسات التجارية، كما قاموا بالتدريس في جامعاتنا وتفوقوا في الملاعب الرياضية وفازوا بجوائز نوبل وبنوا أكثر عماراتنا ارتفاعاً وأشعلوا الشعلة الأولمبية، وعندما تم أخيراً انتخاب أول مسلم أميركي في الكونغرس قام ذلك النائب بأداء اليمين الدستورية مستخدماً نفس النسخة من القرآن الكريم التي احتفظ بها أحد أبائنا المؤسسين توماس جيفرسون في مكتبته الخاصة .

إنني إذن تعرفت على الإسلام في قارات ثلاث قبل مجيئي إلى المنطقة التي نشأ فيها الإسلام، ومن منطلق تجربتي الشخصية أستمد اعتقادي بأن الشراكة بين أميركا والإسلام يجب أن تستند إلى حقيقة الإسلام وليس إلى ما هو غير إسلامي، وأرى في ذلك جزءاً من مسؤوليتي كرئيس للولايات المتحدة حتى أتصدى للصور النمطية السلبية عن الإسلام أينما ظهرت .

لكن نفس المبدأ يجب أن ينطبق على صورة أميركا لدى الآخرين، ومثلما لا تنطبق على المسلمين الصورة النمطية البدائية فإن الصورة النمطية البدائية للإمبراطورية التي لا تهتم إلا بمصالح نفسها لا تنطبق على أميركا، فقد كانت الولايات المتحدة أحد أكبر المناهل للتقدم عبر تاريخ العالم، وقمنا بثورة ضد إحدى الإمبراطوريات، وأسست دولتنا على أساس مثال مفاده أن جميع البشر قد خلقوا سواسية، كما سالت دماؤنا في الصراعات عبر القرون لإضفاء المعنى على هذه الكلمات داخل حدودنا وفي مختلف أرجاء العالم .

وقد ساهمت كافة الثقافات من كل أنحاء الكرة الأرضية في تكويننا تكريسا لمفهوم بالغ البساطة باللغة اللاتينية: من الكثير واحد. لقد تم تعليق أهمية كبيرة على إمكانية انتخاب شخص من أصل أميركي أفريقي يدعى باراك حسين أوباما إلى منصب الرئيس، ولكن قصتي الشخصية ليست فريدة إلى هذا الحد، ولم يتحقق حلم الفرص المتاحة للجميع بالنسبة لكل فرد في أميركا، ولكن الوعد قائم بالنسبة لجميع من يصل إلى شواطئنا، ويشمل ذلك ما يضاهاه سبعة ملايين من المسلمين الأميركيين في بلدنا اليوم. ويحظى المسلمون الأميركيون بدخل ومستوى للتعليم يعتبران أعلى مما يحظى به معدل السكان .

علاوة على ذلك لا يمكن فصل الحرية في أميركا عن حرية إقامة الشعائر الدينية، كما أن ذلك السبب وراء وجود مسجد في كل ولاية من الولايات المتحدة ووجود أكثر من 1200 مسجد داخل حدودنا، وهو أيضا السبب وراء خوض الحكومة الأميركية إجراءات المقاضاة من أجل صون حق النساء والفتيات في ارتداء الحجاب ومعاقبة من يتجرأ على حرمانهن من ذلك الحق .

ليس هناك أي شك في أن الإسلام جزء لا يتجزأ من أميركا، وأعتقد أن أميركا تمثل التطلعات المشتركة بيننا جميعا بغض النظر عن العرق أو الديانة أو المكانة الاجتماعية، ألا وهي تطلعات العيش في ظل السلام والأمن والحصول على التعليم والعمل بكرامة والتعبير عن المحبة التي نكنها لعائلتنا ومجتمعاتنا وكذلك لربنا، هذه هي قواسمنا المشتركة وهي تمثل أيضا آمال البشرية جمعاء .

يمثل إدراك أوجه الإنسانية المشتركة فيما بيننا بطبيعة الحال مجرد البداية لمهمتنا.. إن الكلمات لوحدها لا تستطيع سد احتياجات شعوبنا، ولن نسد هذه الاحتياجات إلا إذا عملنا بشجاعة على مدى السنين القادمة وإذا أدرنا حقيقة أن التحديات التي نواجهها تحديات مشتركة، وإذا أخفقنا في التصدي لها سيلحق ذلك الأذى بنا جميعا .

لقد تعلمنا من تجاربنا الأخيرة ما يحدث من إلحاق الضرر بالرفاهية في كل مكان إذا ضعف النظام المالي في بلد واحد، وإذا أصيب شخص واحد بالإنفلونزا فسيعرض ذلك الجميع للخطر، وإذا سعى بلد واحد وراء امتلاك السلاح النووي فسيزداد خطر وقوع هجوم نووي بالنسبة لكل الدول، وعندما يمارس المتطرفون العنف في منطقة جبلية واحدة سيعرض ذلك الناس من وراء البحار للخطر، وعندما يتم ذبح الأبرياء في دارفور والبوسنة سيسبب ذلك وصمة في ضميرنا المشترك، هذا هو معنى التشارك في هذا العالم في القرن الحادي والعشرين، وهذه هي المسؤولية التي يتحملها كل منا تجاه الآخر كأبناء البشرية .

إنها مسؤولية تصعب مباشرتها، وكان تاريخ البشرية في كثير من الأحيان بمثابة سجل من الشعوب والقبائل التي قمعت بعضها البعض لخدمة تحقيق مصلحتها الخاصة، ولكن في عصرنا الحديث تؤدي مثل هذه التوجهات إلى إلحاق الهزيمة بالنفس.

ونظرا إلى الاعتماد الدولي المتبادل، فأى نظام عالمي يعلي شعبا أو مجموعة من البشر فوق غيرهم فسيبوء بالفشل لا محالة، وبغض النظر عن أفكارنا حول أحداث الماضي يجب ألا نصيح أبدا سجناء لأحداث مضت، وإنما يجب معالجة مشاكلنا بواسطة الشراكة كما يجب أن نحقق التقدم بصفة مشتركة .

لا يعني ذلك بالنسبة لنا أن نفضل التفاوضي عن مصادر التوتر، وفي الحقيقة فإن العكس هو الأرجح، يجب علينا مجابهة هذه التوترات بصفة مفتوحة، واسمحوا لي انطلاقا من هذه الروح أن أتطرق بمنتهى الصراحة وأكبر قدر ممكن من البساطة إلى بعض الأمور المحددة التي أعتقد أنه يتعين علينا مواجهتها نهاية المطاف بجهد مشترك .

المسألة الأولى التي يجب أن نجابهها هي التطرف العنيف بكافة أشكاله، وقد صرحت في مدينة أنقرة بكل وضوح بأن أميركا ليست ولن تكون أبدا في حالة حرب مع الإسلام، وعلى أية حال سنتصدى لمتطرفي العنف الذين يشكلون تهديدا جسيما لأمننا، والسبب هو أننا نرفض ما يرفضه أهل كافة المعتقدات: قتل الأبرياء من الرجال والنساء والأطفال. ومن واجباتي كرئيس أن أتولى حماية الشعب الأميركي .

يبين الوضع في أفغانستان أهداف أميركا وحاجتنا إلى العمل المشترك، وقبل أكثر من سبع سنوات قامت الولايات المتحدة بملاحقة تنظيم القاعدة ونظام طالبان بدعم دولي واسع النطاق.. لم نذهب إلى هناك باختيارنا وإنما بسبب الضرورة .

إنني على وعي بالتساؤلات التي يطرحها البعض بالنسبة لأحداث 11 سبتمبر أو حتى تبريرهم لتلك الأحداث، ولكن دعونا نكون صرحاء.. قتل تنظيم القاعدة ما يضاهاى ثلاثة آلاف شخص في ذلك اليوم، وكان الضحايا من الرجال والنساء والأطفال الأبرياء، ورغم ذلك اختارت القاعدة بلا ضمير قتل هؤلاء الأبرياء، وتباهت بالهجوم وتؤكد -إلى الآن- عزمها على ارتكاب القتل مجددا وبأعداد ضخمة .

إن هناك للقاعدة من ينتسبون لها في عدة بلدان وممن يسعون إلى توسعة نطاق أنشطتهم، وما أقوله ليس بآراء قابلة للنقاش وإنما هي حقائق يجب معالجتها، ولا بد أن تكونوا على علم بأننا لا نريد من جيشنا أن يبقى في أفغانستان ولا نسعى لإقامة قواعد عسكرية هناك.. خسائرنا بين الشباب والشابات هناك تسبب لأميركا بالغ الأذى، كما يسبب استمرار هذا النزاع تكاليف باهظة ومصاعب سياسية جمة، ونريد بكل سرور أن نرحب بكافة جنودنا وهم عائدون إلى الوطن إذا استطعنا أن نكون واثقين من عدم وجود متطرفي العنف في كل من أفغانستان وباكستان والذين يحرصون على قتل أكبر عدد ممكن من الأميركيين .

ورغم ذلك كله لن تشهد أميركا أي حالة من الضعف لإرادتها، ولا ينبغي لأحد منا أن يتسامح مع أولئك المتطرفين.. لقد مارسوا القتل في كثير من البلدان، لقد قتلوا أبناء مختلف العقائد ومعظم ضحاياهم من المسلمين.. إن أعمالهم غير متطابقة على الإطلاق مع كل من حقوق البشر وتقدم الأمم والإسلام، إذ ينص القرآن الكريم على أن "من قتل نفسا بغير نفس أو فساد في الأرض فكأنما قتل الناس جميعا ومن أحياناها فكأنما أحيانا الناس جميعا ."

ولا شك أن العقيدة التي يتحلى بها أكثر من مليار مسلم تفوق عظمتها بشكل كبير الكراهية الضيقة التي يكنها البعض.. إن الإسلام ليس جزءا من المشكلة المتلخصة في مكافحة التطرف العنيف، وإنما يجب أن يكون الإسلام جزءا من حل هذه المشكلة .

علاوة على ذلك نعلم أن القوة العسكرية وحدها لن تكفي لحل المشاكل في كل من أفغانستان وباكستان، ولذلك وضعنا خطة لاستثمار 1.5 مليار دولار سنويا على مدى السنوات الخمس القادمة لإقامة شراكة مع الباكستانيين لبناء المدارس والمستشفيات والطرق والمؤسسات التجارية، وكذلك توفير مئات الملايين لمساعدة النازحين، وهذا أيضا السبب وراء قيامنا بتخصيص ما يربو على 2.8 مليار دولار لمساعدة الأفغان على تنمية اقتصادهم وتوفير خدمات يعتمد عليها الشعب .

اسمحوا لي أيضا أن أتطرق إلى موضوع العراق، لقد اختلف الوضع هناك عن الوضع في أفغانستان، حيث وقع القرار بحرب العراق بصفة اختيارية مما أثار خلافات شديدة سواء في بلدي أو في الخارج، ورغم اعتقادي بأن الشعب العراقي في نهاية المطاف هو الطرف المستفيد في معادلة التخلص من الطاغية صدام حسين، فإنني أعتقد أيضا أن أحداث العراق قد ذكرت أميركا بضرورة استخدام الدبلوماسية لتسوية مشاكلنا كلما كان ذلك ممكنا. وفي الحقيقة إننا نستذكر كلمات أحد كبار رؤسائنا توماس جيفرسون الذي قال "إنني أتمنى أن تنمو حكمتنا بقدر ما تنمو قوتنا، وأن تعلمنا هذه الحكمة درسا مفاده أن القوة ستزداد عظمة كلما قل استخدامها ."

تتحمل أميركا اليوم مسؤولية مزدوجة تتلخص في مساعدة العراق على بناء مستقبل أفضل وترك العراق للعراقيين.. إنني أوضحت للشعب العراقي أننا لا نسعى لإقامة أية قواعد في العراق أو لمطالبة العراق بأي من أراضي أو موارده، فالعراق يتمتع بسيادته الخاصة به بمفرده، لذا أصدرت الأوامر بسحب الوحدات القتالية مع حلول شهر أغسطس/آب القادم، ولذا سنحترم الاتفاق المبرم مع الحكومة العراقية المنتخبة بأسلوب ديمقراطي والذي يقضي بسحب القوات القتالية من المدن العراقية بحلول شهر يوليو/تموز، وكذلك سحب جميع قواتنا بحلول عام 2012.. سنساعد العراق على تدريب قواته الأمنية وتنمية اقتصاده، ولكننا سنقدم الدعم للعراق للأمن والموحد بصفتنا شريكا له وليس بصفة الراعي .

وأخيرا مثلما لا يمكن لأمركا أن تتسامح مع عنف المتطرفين يجب علينا ألا نغير مبادئنا أبدا. قد أُلحقت أحداث 11 سبتمبر إصابة ضخمة ببلدنا، حيث يمكن تفهم مدى الخوف والغضب الذي خلفته تلك الأحداث، ولكن في بعض الحالات أدى ذلك إلى القيام بأعمال تخالف مبادئنا.. إننا نتخذ إجراءات محددة لتغيير الاتجاه، وقد قمت بمنع استخدام أساليب التعذيب من قبل الولايات المتحدة منعاً باتاً، كما أصدرت الأوامر بإغلاق السجن في خليج غوانتانامو مع حلول مطلع العام القادم .

نحن في أميركا سندافع عن أنفسنا محترمين في ذلك سيادة الدول وحكم القانون، وسنقوم بذلك في إطار الشراكة بيننا وبين المجتمعات الإسلامية التي يحدق بها الخطر أيضا لأننا سنحقق مستوى أعلى من الأمن في وقت أقرب إذا نجحنا بصفة سريعة في عزل المتطرفين مع عدم التسامح معهم داخل المجتمعات الإسلامية .

أما المصدر الرئيسي الثاني للتوتر الذي أود مناقشته هو الوضع بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين والعالم العربي .

إن متانة الأواصر الرابطة بين أميركا وإسرائيل معروفة على نطاق واسع ولا يمكن قطع هذه الأواصر أبداً، وهي تستند إلى علاقات ثقافية وتاريخية، وكذلك الاعتراف بأن رغبة اليهود في وجود وطن خاص لهم هي رغبة متأصلة في تاريخ مأساوي لا يمكن لأحد نفيه .

لقد تعرض اليهود على مر القرون للاضطهاد، وتفاقت أحوال معاداة السامية بوقوع المحرقة التي لم يسبق لها عبر التاريخ أي مثيل، وإنني سأقوم غداً بزيارة معسكر بوخنفالده الذي كان جزءاً من شبكة معسكرات الموت التي استخدمت لاسترقاق وتعذيب وقتل اليهود رمياً بالأسلحة النارية وتسميماً بالغازات. لقد تم قتل ستة ملايين من اليهود، يعني أكثر من إجمالي عدد اليهود بين سكان إسرائيل اليوم .

إن نفي هذه الحقيقة أمر لا أساس له وينم عن الجهل وبالغ الكراهية، كما أن تهديد إسرائيل بتدميرها أو تكرار الصور النمطية الحقيرة عن اليهود هما أمران ظالمان للغاية ولا يخدمان إلا غرض استحضر تلك الأحداث الأكثر إيذاءً إلى أذهان الإسرائيليين، وكذلك منع حلول السلام الذي يستحقه سكان هذه المنطقة .

ومن ناحية أخرى، لا يمكن نفي أن الشعب الفلسطيني بمسليميه ومسيحييه قد عانى أيضاً في سعيه لإقامة وطن خاص له، وقد تحمل الفلسطينيون آلام النزوح على مدى أكثر من ستين عاماً، حيث ينتظر العديد منهم في الضفة الغربية وغزة والبلدان المجاورة لكي يعيشوا حياة يسودها السلام والأمن، هذه الحياة التي لم يستطيعوا عيشها حتى الآن.. يتحمل الفلسطينيون الإهانات اليومية -صغيرة كانت أم كبيرة- الناتجة عن الاحتلال، وليس هناك أي شك في أن وضع الفلسطينيين لا يطاق، ولن تدير أميركا ظهرها عن التطلعات المشروعة للفلسطينيين ألا وهي تطلعات الكرامة ووجود الفرص ودولة خاصة بهم .

لقد استمرت حالة الجمود لعشرات السنوات: شعبان لكل منهما طموحاته المشروعة ولكل منهما تاريخ مؤلم يجعل من التراضي أمراً صعب المنال. إن توجيه اللوم أمر سهل، إذ يشير الفلسطينيون إلى تأسيس دولة إسرائيل وما أدت إليه من تشريد للفلسطينيين، ويشير الإسرائيليون إلى العداء المستمر والاعتداءات التي يتعرضون لها داخل حدود إسرائيل وخارج هذه الحدود على مدى التاريخ، ولكننا إذا نظرنا إلى هذا الصراع من هذا الجانب أو من الجانب الآخر، فإننا لن نتمكن من رؤية الحقيقة لأن السبيل الوحيد للتوصل إلى تحقيق طموحات الطرفين يكون من خلال دولتين يستطيع فيهما الإسرائيليون والفلسطينيون أن يعيشوا في سلام وأمن .

إن هذا السبيل يخدم مصلحة إسرائيل ومصلحة فلسطين ومصلحة أميركا، ولذلك سأسعى شخصياً للوصول إلى هذه النتيجة متحلياً بالقدر اللازم من الصبر الذي تقتضيه هذه المهمة .

إن الالتزامات التي وافق عليها الطرفان بموجب خريطة الطريق هي التزامات واضحة. لقد آن الأوان -من أجل إحلال السلام- لكي يتحمل الجانبان مسؤولياتهما، ولكي تتحمل جميعنا مسؤولياتنا .

كما يجب على الفلسطينيين أن يتخلوا عن العنف.. إن المقاومة عبر العنف والقتل أسلوب خاطئ ولا يؤدي إلى النجاح .

لقد عانى السود في أميركا طوال قرون من الزمن من سوط العبودية ومن مهانة التفرقة والفصل بين البيض والسود، ولكن العنف لم يكن السبيل الذي مكنهم من الحصول على حقوقهم الكاملة والمتساوية، بل كان السبيل إلى ذلك إصرارهم وعزمهم السلمي على الالتزام بالمثل التي كانت بمثابة الركيزة التي اعتمد عليها مؤسسو أميركا، وهذا هو ذات التاريخ الذي شاهده شعوب كثيرة تشمل شعب جنوب أفريقيا وجنوب آسيا وأوروبا الشرقية وإندونيسيا .

وينطوي هذا التاريخ على حقيقة بسيطة ألا وهي أن طريق العنف طريق مسدود وأن إطلاق الصواريخ على الأطفال الإسرائيليين في مضاجعهم أو تفجير حافلة على متنها سيدات مسنات لا يعبر عن الشجاعة أو عن القوة، ولا يمكن اكتساب سلطة التأثير المعنوي عبر مثل هذه الأعمال، إذ يؤدي هذا الأسلوب إلى التنازل عن هذه السلطة .

والآن على الفلسطينيين تركيز اهتمامهم على الأشياء التي يستطيعون إنجازها، ويجب على السلطة الفلسطينية تنمية قدرتها على ممارسة الحكم من خلال مؤسسات تقدم خدمات للشعب وتلبي احتياجاته .

إن حركة حماس تحظى بالدعم من قبل بعض الفلسطينيين، ولكنها تتحمل مسؤوليات كذلك. ويتعين على حركة حماس، حتى تؤدي دورها في تلبية طموحات الفلسطينيين وتوحيد الشعب الفلسطيني، أن تضع حدا للعنف وأن تعترف بالاتفاقات السابقة وأن تعترف بحق إسرائيل في البقاء .

وفي نفس الوقت، يجب على الإسرائيليين الإقرار بأن حق فلسطين في البقاء حق لا يمكن إنكاره، مثلما لا يمكن إنكار حق إسرائيل في البقاء .

إن الولايات المتحدة لا تقبل مشروعية من يتحدثون عن إلقاء إسرائيل في البحر، كما أننا لا نقبل مشروعية استمرار المستوطنات الإسرائيلية. إن عمليات البناء هذه تنتهك الاتفاقات السابقة وتقوض من الجهود المبذولة لتحقيق السلام.. لقد أن الأوان لكي تتوقف هذه المستوطنات .

كما يجب على إسرائيل أن تفي بالتزاماتها لتأمين تمكين الفلسطينيين من أن يعيشوا ويعملوا ويطوروا مجتمعهم، لأن أمن إسرائيل لا يتحقق عبر الأزمة الإنسانية في غزة التي تصيب الأسر الفلسطينية بالهلاك أو عبر انعدام الفرص في الضفة الغربية .

إن التقدم في الحياة اليومية التي يعيشها الشعب الفلسطيني يجب أن يكون جزءا من الطريق المؤدي إلى السلام، ويجب على إسرائيل أن تتخذ خطوات ملموسة لتحقيق مثل هذا التقدم .

وأخيرا يجب على الدول العربية أن تعترف بأن مبادرة السلام العربية كانت بداية هامة، وأن مسؤولياتها لا تنتهي بهذه المبادرة، كما ينبغي عليها ألا تستخدم الصراع بين العرب وإسرائيل لإلهاء الشعوب العربية عن مشاكلها الأخرى، بل يجب أن تكون هذه المبادرة سببا لحثهم على العمل لمساعدة الشعب الفلسطيني على تطوير مؤسساته التي ستعمل على مساندة الدولة الفلسطينية ومساعدة الشعب الفلسطيني على الاعتراف بشرعية إسرائيل، واختيار سبيل التقدم بدلا من السبيل الانهزامي الذي يركز الاهتمام على الماضي .

ستتسق أميركا سياساتها مع سياسات أولئك الذين يسعون من أجل السلام، وستكون تصريحاتنا التي تصدر علنا هي ذات التصريحات التي نعبر عنها في اجتماعاتنا الخاصة مع الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين والعرب.. إننا لا نستطيع أن نفرض السلام، ويدرك الكثير من المسلمين في قرارة أنفسهم أن إسرائيل لن تختفي، وبالمثل يدرك الكثير من الإسرائيليين أن دولة فلسطينية أمر ضروري .

لقد آن الأوان للقيام بعمل يعتمد على الحقيقة التي يدركها الجميع.. لقد تدفقت دموع الكثيرين وسالت دماء الكثيرين، وعلينا جميعا تقع مسؤولية العمل من أجل ذلك اليوم الذي تستطيع فيه أمهات الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين مشاهدة أبنائهم يتقدمون في حياتهم دون خوف، وعندها تصبح الأرض المقدسة التي نشأت فيها الأديان الثلاثة العظيمة مكانا للسلام الذي أراده الله لها، وعندها تصبح مدينة القدس وطنا دائما لليهود والمسيحيين والمسلمين، المكان الذي يستطيع فيه أبناء سيدنا إبراهيم عليه السلام أن يتعايشوا في سلام تماما كما ورد في قصة الإسراء عندما أقام الأنبياء موسى وعيسى ومحمد سلام الله عليهم الصلاة معا .

إن المصدر الثالث للتوتر يتعلق باهتمامنا المشترك بحقوق الدول ومسؤولياتها بشأن الأسلحة النووية.. لقد كان هذا الموضوع مصدرا للتوتر الذي طرأ مؤخرا على العلاقات بين الولايات المتحدة وجمهورية إيران الإسلامية التي ظلت لسنوات كثيرة تعبر عن هويتها من خلال موقفها المناهض لبلدي، والتاريخ بين بلدينا تاريخ عاصف بالفعل، إذ لعبت الولايات المتحدة إبان فترة الحرب الباردة دورا في الإطاحة بالحكومة الإيرانية المنتخبة بأسلوب ديمقراطي .

أما إيران فإنها لعبت دورا منذ قيام الثورة الإسلامية بأعمال اختطاف الرهائن وأعمال العنف ضد الجنود والمدنيين الأميركيين ..

هذا التاريخ معروف.. لقد أعلنت بوضوح لقادة إيران وشعبها أن بلدي بدلا من أن يتقيد بالماضي يقف مستعدا للمضي قدما .

والسؤال المطروح الآن لا يتعلق بالأمر التي تناهضها إيران، ولكنه يرتبط بالمستقبل الذي تريد إيران أن تبنيه. إن التغلب على فقدان الثقة الذي استمر لعشرات السنوات سيكون صعبا، ولكننا سَنَمُضِي قَدَمَا مسلحين بالشجاعة واستقامة النوايا والعزم. سيكون هناك الكثير من القضايا التي سيناقشها البلدان، ونحن مستعدون للمضي قدما دون شروط مسبقة على أساس الاحترام المتبادل .

إن الأمر الواضح لجميع المعنيين بموضوع الأسلحة النووية أننا قد وصلنا إلى نقطة تتطلب الحسم، وهي ببساطة لا ترتبط بمصالح أميركا ولكنها ترتبط بمنع سباق للتسلح النووي قد يدفع بالمنطقة إلى طريق محفوف بالمخاطر ويدمر النظام العالمي لمنع انتشار الأسلحة النووية .

إنني مدرك أن البعض يعترض على حيازة بعض الدول لأسلحة لا توجد مثلها لدى دول أخرى، ولا ينبغي على أية دولة أن تختار الدول التي تملك أسلحة نووية، وهذا هو سبب تأكيدي مجددا وبشدة على التزام أميركا بالسعي من أجل عدم امتلاك أي من الدول للأسلحة النووية، وينبغي على أية دولة بما فيها إيران أن يكون لها حق الوصول إلى الطاقة النووية السلمية إذا امتثلت لمسؤولياتها بموجب معاهدة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية، وهذا الالتزام جوهري في المعاهدة ويجب الحفاظ عليه من أجل جميع الملتمزين به.

الموضوع الرابع الذي أريد أن أتطرق إليه هو الديمقراطية ..

إن نظام الحكم الذي يسمع صوت الشعب ويحترم حكم القانون وحقوق جميع البشر هو النظام الذي أوّمن به، وأعلم أن جدلا حول تعزيز الديمقراطية وحقوق جميع البشر كان يدور خلال السنوات الأخيرة، وأن جزءا كبيرا من هذا الجدل كان متصلا بالحرب في العراق .

اسمحوا لي أن أتحدث بوضوح وأقول ما يلي: لا يمكن لأية دولة ولا ينبغي لأية دولة أن تفرض نظاما للحكم على أية دولة أخرى، ومع ذلك لن يقلل ذلك من التزامي تجاه الحكومات التي تعبر عن إرادة الشعب، حيث يتم التعبير عن هذا المبدأ في كل دولة وفقا لتقاليد شعبها .

إن أميركا لا تفترض أنها تعلم ما هو الأفضل بالنسبة للجميع، كما أننا لا نفترض أن تكون نتائج الانتخابات السلمية هي النتائج التي نختارها، ومع ذلك يلازمي اعتقاد راسخ بأن جميع البشر يتطلعون لامتلاك قدرة التعبير عن أفكارهم وآرائهم في أسلوب الحكم المتبع في بلدهم، ويتطلعون للشعور بالثقة في حكم القانون وفي الالتزام بالعدالة والمساواة في تطبيقه، ويتطلعون كذلك لشفافية الحكومة وامتناعها عن نهب أموال الشعب، ويتطلعون لحرية اختيار طريقهم في الحياة .

إن هذه الأفكار ليست أفكارا أميركية فحسب، بل هي حقوق إنسانية، وهي لذلك الحقوق التي سندعمها في كل مكان .

لا يوجد طريق سهل ومستقيم لتلبية هذا الوعد، ولكن الأمر الواضح بالتأكيد هو أن الحكومات التي تحمي هذه الحقوق هي في نهاية المطاف الحكومات التي تتمتع بقدر أكبر من الاستقرار والنجاح والأمن. إن قمع الأفكار لا ينجح أبدا في القضاء عليها.. إن أميركا تحترم حق جميع من يرفعون أصواتهم حول العالم للتعبير عن آرائهم بأسلوب سلمي يراعي القانون، حتى لو كانت آراؤهم مخالفة لآرائنا، وسنرحب بجميع الحكومات السلمية المنتخبة شرط أن تحترم جميع أفراد الشعب في ممارستها للحكم .

هذه النقطة لها أهميتها لأن البعض لا ينادون بالديمقراطية إلا عندما يكونون خارج مراكز السلطة، ولا يرحمون الغير في ممارساتهم القمعية لحقوق الآخرين عند وصولهم إلى السلطة .

إن الحكومة التي تتكون من أفراد الشعب وتدار بواسطة الشعب هي المعيار الوحيد لجميع من يشغلون مراكز السلطة، بغض النظر عن المكان الذي تتولى فيه مثل هذه الحكومة ممارسة مهامها، إذ يجب على الحكام أن يمارسوا سلطاتهم عبر الاتفاق في الرأي وليس عبر الإكراه، ويجب على الحكام أن يحترموا حقوق الأقليات وأن يعطوا مصالح الشعب الأولوية على مصالح الحزب الذي ينتمون إليه .

أما الموضوع الخامس الذي يجب علينا الوقوف أمامه معا، فهو موضوع الحرية الدينية .

إن التسامح تقليد عريق يفخر به الإسلام.. لقد شاهدت بنفسي هذا التسامح عندما كنت طفلا في إندونيسيا، إذ كان المسيحيون في ذلك البلد الذي يشكل فيه المسلمون الغالبية يمارسون طقوسهم الدينية بحرية. إن روح التسامح التي شاهدها هناك هي ما نحتاجه اليوم، إذ يجب أن تتمتع الشعوب في جميع البلدان بحرية اختيار العقيدة وأسلوب الحياة القائم على ما تمليه عليهم عقولهم وقلوبهم وأرواحهم بغض النظر عن العقيدة التي يختارونها لأنفسهم، لأن روح التسامح هذه ضرورية لازدهار الدين .

ومع ذلك تواجه روح التسامح هذه تحديات مختلفة.. ثمة توجه في بعض أماكن العالم الإسلامي ينزع إلى تحديد قوة عقيدة الشخص وفقا لموقفه الراض لعقيدة الآخر ..

إن التعددية الدينية ثروة يجب الحفاظ عليها ويجب أن يشمل ذلك الموارنة في لبنان أو الأقباط في مصر، ويجب إصلاح خطوط الانفصال في أوساط المسلمين كذلك لأن الانقسام بين السنة والشيعة قد أدى إلى عنف مأساوي ولا سيما في العراق .

إن الحرية الدينية هي الحرية الأساسية التي تمكن الشعوب من التعايش، ويجب علينا دائما أن نفحص الأساليب التي نتبعها لحماية هذه الحرية، فالقواعد التي تنظم التبرعات الخيرية في الولايات المتحدة على سبيل المثال أدت إلى تعصيب تأدية فريضة الزكاة بالنسبة للمسلمين، وهذا هو سبب التزامي بالعمل مع الأميركيين المسلمين لضمان تمكينهم من تأدية فريضة الزكاة .

وبالمثل، فمن الأهمية بمكان أن تمتنع البلدان الغربية عن وضع العقوبات أمام المواطنين المسلمين لمنعهم من التعبير عن دينهم على النحو الذي يعتبرونه مناسبا، فعلى سبيل المثال عن طريق فرض الثياب التي ينبغي على المرأة المسلمة أن ترتديها .

إننا ببساطة لا نستطيع التظاهر بالليبرالية عبر التستر على معاداة أي دين.. ينبغي أن يكون الإيمان عاملا للتقارب فيما بيننا، ولذلك نعمل الآن على تأسيس مشاريع جديدة تطوعية في أميركا من شأنها التقريب فيما بين المسيحيين والمسلمين واليهود .

إننا لذلك نرحب بالجهود المماثلة لمبادرة جلالة الملك عبد الله المتمثلة في حوار الأديان، كما نرحب بالموقف الريادي الذي اتخذته تركيا في تحالف الحضارات. إننا نستطيع أن نقوم بجهود حول العالم لتحويل حوار الأديان إلى خدمات تقدمها الأديان يكون من شأنها بناء الجسور التي تربط بين الشعوب وتؤدي بهم إلى تأدية أعمال تدفع إلى الأمام عجلة التقدم لجهودنا الإنسانية المشتركة، سواء كان ذلك في مجال مكافحة الملاريا في أفريقيا أو توفير الإغاثة في أعقاب كارثة طبيعية .

الموضوع السادس الذي أريد التطرق إليه هو موضوع حقوق المرأة .

أعلم أن الجدل يدور حول هذا الموضوع، وأرفض الرأي الذي يعبر عنه البعض في الغرب ويعتبر المرأة التي تختار غطاء لشعرها أقل شأنًا من غيرها، ولكنني أعتقد أن المرأة التي تحرم من التعليم تحرم كذلك من المساواة. إن البلدان التي تحصل فيها المرأة على تعليم جيد هي غالبا بلدان تتمتع بقدر أكبر من الرفاهية، وهذا ليس من باب الصدفة .

اسمحو لي أن أتحدث بوضوح.. إن قضايا مساواة المرأة ليست ببساطة قضايا للإسلام وحده.. لقد شاهدنا بلدانا غالبية سكانها من المسلمين مثل تركيا وباكستان وبنغلاديش واندونيسيا تنتخب المرأة لتولي قيادة البلد، وفي نفس الوقت يستمر الكفاح من أجل تحقيق المساواة للمرأة في بعض جوانب الحياة الأميركية وفي بلدان العالم، ولذلك ستعمل الولايات المتحدة مع أي بلد غالبية سكانه من المسلمين من خلال شراكة لدعم توسيع برامج محو الأمية للفتيات ومساعدتهن على السعي في سبيل العمل عبر توفير التمويل الأصغر الذي يساعد الناس على تحقيق أحلامهم .

بإستطاعة بناتنا تقديم مساهمات إلى مجتمعاتنا تتساوى مع ما يقدمه لها أبناؤنا، وسيتم تحقيق التقدم في رفاهيتنا المشتركة من خلال إتاحة الفرصة لجميع الرجال والنساء لتحقيق كل ما يستطيعون تحقيقه من إنجازات .

أنا لا أعتقد أن على المرأة أن تسلك ذات الطريق الذي يختاره الرجل لكي تحقق المساواة معه، كما أحترم كل امرأة تختار ممارسة دور تقليدي في حياتها، ولكن هذا الخيار ينبغي أن يكون للمرأة نفسها .

وأخيرا أريد أن أتحدث عن التنمية الاقتصادية وتنمية الفرص.. أعلم أن الكثيرين يشاهدون تناقضات في مظاهر العولمة لأن شبكة الإنترنت وقنوات التلفزيون لديها قدرات لنقل المعرفة والمعلومات ولديها كذلك قدرات لبث مشاهد جنسية منفرة وفضة وعنف غير عقلائي، وباستطاعة التجارة أن تأتي بثروات وفرص جديدة ولكنها في ذات الوقت تحدث في المجتمعات اختلالات وتغييرات كبيرة .

وتأتي مشاعر الخوف في جميع البلدان حتى في بلدي مع هذه التغييرات، وهذا الخوف هو خوف من أن تؤدي الحداثة إلى فقدان السيطرة على خياراتنا الاقتصادية وسياساتنا، والأهم من ذلك على هوياتنا، وهي الأشياء التي نعتز بها في مجتمعاتنا وفي أسرنا وفي تقاليدنا وفي عقيدتنا .

ولكني أعلم أيضا أن التقدم البشري لا يمكن إنكاره، فالتناقض بين التطور والتقاليد ليس أمرا ضروريا، إذ تمكنت بلدان مثل اليابان وكوريا الجنوبية من تنمية أنظمتها الاقتصادية والحفاظ على ثقافتها المتميزة في ذات الوقت، وينطبق ذلك على التقدم الباهر الذي شاهده العالم الإسلامي من كوالالمبور إلى دبي.. لقد أثبتت المجتمعات الإسلامية منذ قديم الزمان وفي عصرنا الحالي أنها تستطيع أن تتبوأ مركز الطليعة في الابتكار والتعليم، وهذا أمر هام إذ لا يمكن أن تعتمد أية إستراتيجية للتنمية على الثروات المستخرجة من تحت الأرض، ولا يمكن إدامة التنمية مع وجود البطالة في أوساط الشباب .

لقد استمتع عدد كبير من دول الخليج بالثراء المتولد عن النفط، وتبدأ بعض هذه الدول الآن بالتركيز على قدر أكبر من التنمية، ولكن علينا جميعا أن ندرك أن التعليم والابتكار سيكونان مفتاحا للثروة في القرن الواحد والعشرين .

إنني أؤكد على ذلك في بلدي.. كانت أميركا في الماضي تركز اهتمامها على النفط والغاز في هذا الجزء من العالم، ولكننا نسعى الآن للتعامل مع أمور تشمل أكثر من ذلك فيما يتعلق بالتعليم.. سنتوسع في برامج التبادل ونرفع من عدد المنح الدراسية مثل تلك التي أتت بوالدي إلى أميركا، وسنقوم في نفس الوقت بتشجيع عدد أكبر من الأميركيين على الدراسة في المجتمعات الإسلامية وسنوفر للطلاب المسلمين الواعدين فرصا للتدريب في أميركا، وسنستثمر في سبل التعليم الافتراضي للمعلمين والتلاميذ في جميع أنحاء العالم عبر الفضاء الإلكتروني، وسنستحدث شبكة إلكترونية جديدة لتمكين المراهقين والمراهقات في ولاية كنساس من الاتصال المباشر مع نظرائهم في القاهرة .

وفيما يتعلق بالتنمية الاقتصادية سنستحدث هيئة جديدة من رجال الأعمال المتطوعين لتكوين شراكة مع نظرائهم في البلدان التي يشكل فيها المسلمون أغلبية السكان، وسأستضيف مؤتمر قمة لأصحاب المشاريع المبتكرة هذا العام لتحديد كيفية تعميق العلاقات بين الشخصيات القيادية في مجال العمل التجاري والمهني والمؤسسات وأصحاب المشاريع الابتكارية الاجتماعية في الولايات المتحدة وفي المجتمعات الإسلامية في جميع أنحاء العالم .

وفيما يتعلق بالعلوم والتقنية سنؤسس صندوقا ماليا جديدا لدعم التنمية والتطور التقني في البلدان التي يشكل فيها المسلمون غالبية السكان، وللمساهمة في نقل الأفكار إلى السوق حتى تستطيع هذه البلدان استحداث فرص للعمل، وسنفتتح مراكز للتفوق العلمي في أفريقيا والشرق الأوسط وجنوب شرق آسيا، وسنعين موفدين علميين للتعاون في برامج من شأنها تطوير مصادر جديدة للطاقة واستحداث فرص خضراء للعمل لا تضر بالبيئة، وكذا سبل لترقيم السجلات وتنظيف المياه وزراعة محاصيل جديدة .

واليوم أعلن عن جهود عالمية جديدة مع منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي للقضاء على مرض شلل الأطفال، وسنسعى من أجل توسيع الشراكة مع المجتمعات الإسلامية لتعزيز صحة الأطفال والأمهات .

يجب إنجاز جميع هذه الأمور عبر الشراكة.. إن الأميركيين مستعدون للعمل مع المواطنين والحكومات ومع المنظمات الأهلية والقيادات الدينية والشركات التجارية والمهنية في المجتمعات الإسلامية حول العالم من أجل مساعدة شعوبنا في مساعيها الرامية إلى تحقيق حياة أفضل .

إن معالجة الأمور التي وصفتها لن تكون سهلة، ولكننا نتحمل معا مسؤولية ضم صفوفنا والعمل معا نيابة عن العالم الذي نسعى من أجله، وهو عالم لا يهدد فيه المتطرفون شعوبنا، عالم تعود فيه القوات الأميركية إلى ديارها، عالم ينعم فيه الفلسطينيون والإسرائيليون بالأمان في دولة لكل منهم، وعالم تستخدم فيه الطاقة النووية لأغراض سلمية، وعالم تعمل فيه الحكومات على خدمة المواطنين، وعالم تحظى فيه حقوق جميع البشر بالاحترام .

هذه هي مصالحنا المشتركة وهذا هو العالم الذي نسعى من أجله، والسبيل الوحيد لتحقيق هذا العالم هو العمل معا .

أعلم أن هناك الكثير من المسلمين وغير المسلمين الذين تراودهم الشكوك حول قدرتنا على استهلال هذه البداية، وهناك البعض الذين يسعون إلى تأجيج نيران الفرقة والانقسام والوقوف في وجه تحقيق التقدم، ويقترح البعض أن الجهود المبذولة في هذا الصدد غير مجدية ويقولون إن الاختلاف فيما بيننا أمر محتّم وإن الحضارات ستصطدم حتما، وهناك الكثيرون كذلك الذين يتشككون ببساطة في إمكانية تحقيق التغيير الحقيقي، فالمخاوف كثيرة وانعدام الثقة كبير، ولكننا لن نتقدم أبدا إلى الأمام إذا اخترنا التقيد بالماضي .

إن الفترة الزمنية التي نعيش فيها جميعا مع بعضنا البعض في هذا العالم هي فترة قصيرة، والسؤال المطروح علينا هو: هل سنركز اهتمامنا خلال هذه الفترة الزمنية على الأمور التي تفرق بيننا أم سنلتزم بجهود مستديمة للوصول إلى موقف مشترك وتركيز اهتمامنا على المستقبل الذي نسعى إليه من أجل أبنائنا واحترام كرامة جميع البشر؟ هذه الأمور ليست أمورا سهلة ..

إن خوض الحروب أسهل من إنهاؤها، كما أن توجيه اللوم للآخرين أسهل من أن ننظر إلى ما يدور في أعماقنا، كما أن ملاحظة الجوانب التي نختلف فيها مع الآخرين أسهل من العثور على الجوانب المشتركة بيننا، ولكل دين من الأديان قاعدة جوهرية تدعونا لأن نعامل الناس مثلما نريد منهم أن يعاملونا، وتعلو هذه الحقيقة على البلدان والشعوب وهي عقيدة ليست بجديدة، كما أنها ليست عقيدة السود أو البيض أو السمر، وليست عقيدة مسيحية أو مسلمة أو يهودية، هي عقيدة الإيمان الذي بدأت نبضاتها في مهد الحضارة والتي ما زالت تنبض اليوم في قلوب آلاف الملايين من البشر، هي الإيمان بالآخرين، الإيمان الذي أتى بي إلى هنا اليوم .

إننا نملك القدرة على تشكيل العالم الذي نسعى من أجله، ولكن يتطلب ذلك منا أن نتحلى بالشجاعة اللازمة لاستحداث هذه البداية الجديدة، أخذين بعين الاعتبار ما جاء في القرآن الكريم "يا أيها الناس إنا خلقناكم من ذكر وأنثى وجعلناكم شعوبا وقبائل لتعارفوا"، ونقرأ في التلمود ما يلي "إن الغرض من النص الكامل للتوراة هو تعزيز السلام"، ويقول لنا الكتاب المقدس "هنيئا لصانعي السلام لأنهم أبناء الله يُدعون ."

باستطاعة شعوب العالم أن تعيش معا في سلام.. إننا نعلم أن هذه رؤية الرب، وعلينا الآن أن نعمل على الأرض لتحقيق هذه الرؤية .

شكرا لكم والسلام عليكم.

ملخص الدراسة

الملخص

المقدمة:

أضحت اللغة الإنكليزية بلا ريب من أهم لغات العالم وهذا لأن هذه اللغة شرفت بأن تكون لغة العلم في الوقت الحالي، ولما كان ذلك فقد ترجم منها وإليها. إلا أن الترجمة دائماً ما يشوبها النقص وهذا ناجم عن اختلاف الأبنية والتراكيب اللغوية بينها وبين اللغات الأخرى وبالأخص اللغة العربية كونها تنتمي إلى اللغات السامية والتي تختلف واللغات الهندو أوروبية.

يسلط هذا البحث الضوء على ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية، وهي إحدى الظواهر اللغوية، الخاصة بالخطاب السياسي من الإنكليزية إلى العربية وعليه انتقي خطاب أوباما، والذي ألقى بالقاهرة، وهذا لثرائه بهذه المادة. سيجاول هذا البحث دراسة إلى أي مدى يتغير مبنى المتلازمات اللفظية التي لها نفس المعنى. بالإضافة إلى، تقنيات الترجمة المستخدمة في ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية. وهذا إلى جانب إبراز المشاكل التي من المحتمل أن يواجهها المترجمون عند ترجمتهم للمتصاحبات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي من اللغة الإنكليزية إلى العربية.

أهداف البحث:

يجاول هذا البحث تقصي كيفية ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية، الخاصة بالخطاب السياسي، من اللغة الإنكليزية إلى اللغة العربية. وهذا لتبيين مدى الفارق في ترجمة معنى نفس المتلازمات اللفظية في كل من اللغتين الإنكليزية والعربية. وهذا إلى جانب، إبراز التقنيات المستخدمة في ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية. وبالإضافة إلى إيضاح مفهوم المتلازمات اللفظية وترجمتها في مثل هذا النوع من النصوص - النصوص ذات الطابع السياسي. ويهدف البحث إلى إيضاح الإشكالية التي يواجهها المترجمون عند ترجمتهم للمتلازمات اللفظية الخاصة بالنصوص ذات الطابع السياسي من الإنكليزية إلى العربية.

إشكالية البحث:

لما كانت المتلازمات اللفظية من أهم مكونات اللغة الإنكليزية، فإن المترجم سيواجه مختلف المشاكل عند نقل معانيها إلى اللغة العربية عند ترجمته للنصوص ذات الطابع السياسي، مما يؤثر على فاعلية المعلومات في النصوص ذات الطابع السياسي.

تساؤلات البحث:

تحاول هذه الدراسة الإجابة على الأسئلة الموائية للوصول لأهداف البحث المذكورة أعلاه.

- كيف تترجم المتلازمات اللفظية الخاصة بالنصوص ذات الطابع السياسي من اللغة الإنكليزية إلى

العربية؟

- هل يجب أن تتفق المتلازمات اللفظية، التي لها نفس المعنى في اللغتين الإنكليزية والعربية، في

المبنى؟

- ما هي التقنيات المستخدمة في ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية ؟

- ما هي المشاكل التي سيواجهها المترجمون عند ترجمتهم للمتلازمات اللفظية الخاصة بالخطاب

السياسي؟

فرضيات البحث:

وللإجابة على الأسئلة أعلاه قدمت الفرضيات التالية:

- يتعذر نقل معنى المتلازمات اللفظية الخاصة بالنصوص ذات الطابع السياسي إلى اللغة العربية.

- فضل ترجمة أحد أنواع المتلازمات اللفظية الأكثر شيوعا إلى اللغة العربية.

- يستخدم المترجم في أغلب الأحيان تقنيات معينة لترجمة المتلازمة اللفظية.

- منهجية البحث:

لما كانت الدراسة حول كيفية ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي. سيطبق المنهج الوصفي التحليلي الوصفي على خطاب أوباما، الذي ألقى بالقاهرة، بنسخته العربية وبناء على هذا سينتقي الباحث مجموعة من المتلازمات اللفظية المستخرجة من الخطاب وسيصف كيفية ترجمتها. وإلى جانب هذا، تحليل النتائج المحصل عليها لاستبيان ما إذا كان هناك فوارق أو أوجه تشابه عند ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية من اللغة الإنكليزية إلى العربية.

هيكلية الدراسة

تنقسم هذه الدراسة إلى قسمين رئيسيين؛ نظري وعملي. ينقسم الجزء الأول إلى ثلاثة فصول الفصل الأول بعنوان المتلازمات اللفظية في اللغتين العربية و الانجليزية من حيث التعريفات المختلفة بالاطافة الى اقدمية استعمالها و مميزاتها خاصة انها تلازمت بصفة اعتباطية غير خاضعة لأي قواعد. اما بالنسبة للفصل الثاني فيتناول ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية من و الى اللغة العربية و التغييرات التي تطرأ عليها خلال عملية الترجمة. و يتمحور الفصل الثالث حول استعمال المتلازمات اللفظية في الخطاب السياسي و اهميتها في بلوغ الهدف المنشود الا و هو ايصال المعنى المراد الى المتلقي.

الجزء الثاني من الدراسة و هو تطبيقي يتناول طرق و استراتيجيات ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية مع التركيز على ايجاد المكافئ لها في اللغة الهدف.

الخاتمة

تتناول الاطروحة الحالية المشكلات و الصعوبات التي من الممكن مواجهتها اثناء ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية المتداولة في الخطابات السياسية. ان تميز هذه المتلازمات اللفظية بتعدد معانيها وكذلك إمكانية وجود الفرق بين المعنيين الظاهري والخفي لكل منها يشكل عقبة امام المترجم لترجمتها وإيجاد مكافئ لها في لغة الهدف. لهذا على المترجم ان يكون متعدد الثقافات مثلما هو متعدد اللغات.

يجب على المترجم اثناء مخزونه من حيث المتلازمات اللفظية بجميع أنواعها وفي العديد من اللغات من خلال القراءة والاستماع، واكتساب معرفة تامة بمزايا اللغتين، لغة المصدر و لغة الهدف.

نتج عن هذه الاطروحة ان تعلم المتلازمات اللفظية والالمام بمعانيها في اللغة الإنجليزية قد يساعد الطلبة والمترجمين في تعلم اللغة واتقانها.

رغم اعتباطية اقتران الكلمات عند تكوين المتلازمات اللفظية الا انها غير قابلة للاستبدال حتى من مرادفها فمثلا لا يمكن القول وجبة عاجلة بدلا من وجبة سريعة.

تتميز المتلازمات اللفظية بتعدد انماطها واختلاف اشكالها، من فعلين متلازمين، او اسمين، او فعل واسم... الخ. الا ان ناتج ترجمتها قد يكون مختلف عن لغة المصدر.

تعتبر الترجمة الحرفية احدى الطرق السهلة والواسعة الاستعمال التي يتم تطبيقها عند ترجمة المتلازمات اللفظية، الا انها ليست هي الطريقة الأنسب في كل الحالات لذا يجب على المترجم اختيار الاستراتيجيات الملائمة.

